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- ♦ *CULTURES OF WAR*
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I. CULTURES OF WAR

(THE SECTION EDITED BY PHILIPPE BUC)

PHILIPPE BUC
WIEN

BY WAY OF AN INTRODUCTION



This dossier of articles offers reflections on religion, culture, and war in four premodern human ensembles, the medieval European West, Japan between ca. 1000 and ca. 1600, the city-empire of Tenochtitlan before the Spanish Conquest of Mexico, and medieval Islam. There are well-known difficulties in defining these three concepts. “Religion” has been criticized as a projection of the odd specificities of Late Modern Christianity onto far different dimensions of human existence outside Europe¹. “Culture” has hundreds of definitions, and labors under the suspicion, among others, of being reductionist in assuming systemic coherence and shared dispositions in a given human ensemble. As for “war”, how many human beings must be involved to have a “war”? Is civil war within a social ensemble the same as war between social groups that understand one another as alien? Where are the boundaries between feud and war? To address these concerns would take page after page of academic scholasticism, and stop from its very beginning the comparative enterprise. Admittedly, the soliciting of these articles did not come with a set of questions to be answered by each author. My own contribution will try to build a few comparative bridges, around the theme of religion and war.

Isabel Bueno Bravo’s article concentrates on the technical aspects of Tenochca warfare, and its social embeddedness, very much in the respectable

¹ One example of the impact of “religion” conceived of in terms of dogma and canon onto an up until then unstructured constellation, H. Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, Chicago 1994; one rejoinder, J.Á. Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan*, Chicago 2012.

tradition represented in the United States by Ross Hassig². Pragmatism takes here pride of place, as against cultural or religious determinants. Left aside is the other tradition, which views Tenochtitlan's wars as motivated by the desire to capture victims to sacrifice them to the gods and maintain the cosmos. Indeed, Hassig has criticized the idea that the Nahua tribes waged "religious wars", since their warfare by no means aimed at spreading a belief (an objection which is semantic, given that there are other ways for wars to be related to religion). Hassig has also underlined how the Aztecs manipulated their myths and their sacred calendar for power-political purposes, a more interesting objection against "war for the gods", to which we shall return in the last paragraph of this introduction³. For him as in Bueno Bravo's approach, culture is about social hierarchy and stratification.

One might measure the warlords of Tom Conlan's medieval Japan with a similar stick. Parties to the destructive Ōnin War (1467-1477) are seen using gods to curse their opponents, moving them as virtual markers of authority to strategic places in the real and symbolic space. These maneuvers led to the formation of new sacred geography and a translation of sacrality westward around the Ōuchi's tutelary shrine in Yamaguchi. This city around a key temple was made immune to impurities, and became the center of a mandala. For decades, until the mid-16th century, this space rivaled and even overshadowed the capital, Kyoto. In focusing on religious capital as a serious object for struggle and competition, Conlan pursues a line he incepted in his *From Sovereign to Symbol*⁴, faintly foreshadowed in a lone chapter of his *State of War*⁵.

Mikael Adolphson, focusing on Japan's late classical period, would seem at one level to de-emphasize the religious dimension so present, while with instrumental character, in Conlan's contribution. Otherwise put, he separates violence issuing from the great monastic institutions from these institutions' religiosity, and he furthers his earlier works' spirited attack on the concept of "warrior monks"⁶. Contrary to what the concept assumes, there existed no hybrid figure between "monk" and "warrior", in particular if one assumes that these categories were (1) as fixed, (2) as well-defined as they were in Western Europe's High Middle Ages, and (3) worse, identical

2 R. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control*, Norman 1988.

3 R. Hassig, *Aztec and Spanish Conquest in Mesoamerica*, in: *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, eds. R.B. Ferguson, N.L. Whitehead, Santa Fe 1992, pp. 83-102; idem, *Time, History and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico*, Austin 2001.

4 T.D. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*, Oxford 2011.

5 T.D. Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan*, Ann Arbor 2003.

6 M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, Honolulu 2000; idem, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History*, Honolulu 2007.

with the European “monk” and “warrior”. Where there is commonality is between temple and aristocratic court a structural similarity: Both temple and court factions readily employed violence in defense (or acquisition) of economic privileges. At another level, though, Adolphson reiterates the religious dimension of conflict. The elites sincerely believed in the mutual interdependency of Buddhism and state, so right religious order might have to be defended; lower down, there existed the idea that the redress of injustice pursued with unanimity had the gods’ blessing.

A little more to the West, with Mark Edward Lewis’ *Warring States China*, the focus is not religion, but a culture discourse on war and emotions (what medieval Europeans called “the passions of the soul”), in particular anger. Emotions were believed to strengthen the army (and the realm) as a community, and used instrumentally, either cynically (to manipulate one’s soldiers or the enemy) or more altruistically⁷. Fear and love, as in European political theology and statecraft, were related either causally or as elements in a balance. As in the West, there existed discussions of rewards and punishment, related to the emotions they would elicit, and thus to social and political effects⁸. Further explicit comparative studies seem therefore a desideratum. They will open windows on the experience of warfare, including killing or dying.

Only one contribution in this dossier discusses the world of Islam, on the jurist discussions of “the right of resistance”, important obviously for civil wars. One should be aware in reading, as Jenny Oesterle insists, following Khaled Abou el-Fadl⁹ that one is dealing with a specific source-genre, produced by men whose focus was not the ruler against whom one might rebel, and who might suppress rebellion, but the community. The jurists’ prime interest was therefore not to theorize tyranny and right rule; rather, they sought to regulate in the interest of the community both repression and rebellion, and limit its violence. The article’s final section proposes a welcome comparison between the foci and logic of medieval jurists in the later medieval West and their Muslim counterparts.

7 B.H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca 2006; eadem, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700*, Cambridge (UK) 2016. See also the multi-authored *AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions*, “The American Historical Review” CXVII (2012) 5, pp. 1487-1531, quite useful while at times too self-indulgently chatty (but would one not expect a lack of Stoicism with such a topic?).

8 I allow myself to refer by way of example to my own *Pouvoir royal et commentaires de la Bible (1150-1350)*, “Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations” XLIV (1989) 3, pp. 691-713, here pp. 696-699; a classic on political anger is J.E.A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 2nd ed., London 1963, joined recently by *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.H. Rosenwein, Ithaca 1998. See for a discussion G. Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2003.

9 K. Abou el-Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law*, Cambridge 2001.

Mikael Adolphson suggests that the Buddhist sense of living in a last age, the *mappō*, may have contributed to violence; violence and the Christian apocalypse are squarely in the center of Jay Rubenstein's contribution. After a discussion of the reasons why some historians have a hard time perceiving the presence of apocalyptic conceptions in religious wars, and positioning himself in a revisionist wave (to which I belong) that returns to enthusiastic religiosity as a motivator, Rubenstein piles up arguments in favor of 1096-1099 – the First Crusade – as an apocalyptic moment. Here he provides the historiographic dimension that silently underpins his narrative history of this event, *Armies of Heaven*¹⁰.

My own editorial “fenêtre” will pick up some (but not all) of these themes in the comparative dimension, on the background of the recently published *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West*¹¹. To discuss them all – law, emotions, and so on – is beyond any single individual. I can at least offer some considerations on monotheisms and war, and muse about the apocalyptic dimensions of warfare. This may be the place already, though, to return to the issue of manipulation of religion, which for Hassig invalidates the thesis that Aztec warfare was motivated by beliefs as opposed to material interests. At least to Christians, manipulating religion is hardly allowed, given the unbridgeable gap between God and humans. Tricks on the smaller scale, “for the greater glory of God”, may be reluctantly allowed; major lies are not. But in conceptions of the world in which the gods and divine powers are on a continuum with human beings, the matter is different. The Aztecs feed the gods; their priests and warriors (and sacrificial victims) can in certain circumstances impersonate a god. Japanese rulers and warlords belonged to a religious culture of reincarnation. The same was the case in pagan Rome: It might not shock Romans that Numa Pompilius, the founder of Roman cultic practices, allegedly pretended to receive from a nymph the blueprints of cult so as to civilize his wild warlike people. Roman rulers and magistrates bargained with gods, bribing them, since they were not too different from them¹². Some among the former might, through apotheosis, join the cohort of the higher beings. What is to a pious Christian blasphemous manipulation by metaphysical inferiors can thus in cosmotheisms be rationalized as intelligent management within a club of related figures.

¹⁰ J. Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, New York 2011.

¹¹ Ph. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West*, Philadelphia 2015.

¹² See the discussion in Ph. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, Princeton 2001, pp. 144-145.

PHILIPPE BUC
WIEN

RELIGIONS AND WARFARE: PROLEGOMENA TO A COMPARATIVE STUDY¹



That the earth is round can be proven both with a pendulum and with circumnavigation. The thesis presented in *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror* was that Western Christendom has shaped in specific ways Christian and Post-Christian mass violence, and in particular war. Explicit was an attack against the idea of “anthropological universals”, forms common to all humankind regardless of culture. It posited, to the contrary, that there were and are, traits specific to Western Europe and its US offshoot when it comes to violence. This thesis was buttressed by a vertical, diachronic accumulation of information². But it can also be, and should also be, tested comparatively. Not so much in fact with the desire to prove, but with the desire to think. These pages shall thus examine a set of comparanda: Byzantium, the world of Islam, Japan, and the pre-Columbian Aztecs. The first part will tend to focus on differences and commonalities in the dimensions of holy war and eschatology; the final paragraphs will suggest cursorily that there must exist differences as to the experience of war and its meaningfulness owed to differences in religious conceptions.

East Rome a.k.a. Byzantium, that Orthodox and Roman empire, provides an obvious point of comparison with Catholicism and the plural

¹ My thanks here to my Vienna students, in particular Martino Santuari, Lukas Huber, Alberto De Santi, Karin Anspach Hoch, Jakob Freudenthaler, and Stefan Knott, and to my colleagues Mikael Adolphson (Cambridge) and Aziz al-Azmeh (Central European University). I have benefited from their wisdom; the latter named knows that I shall not have agreed to all his disagreements with this text... A shorter French version will appear as a postface to the French translation of my *Holy War* (see n. 2 below), entitled *Guerre Sainte, martyre, et terreur*, Paris 2017.

² Ph. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West*, Philadelphia 2015.

Protestantisms. On the one hand, Byzantine imperial power was intimately connected to religion and ecclesiastical institutions, with a *princeps* who warranted dogmatic purity and watched over the quality of the clergy, but this not without frequent conflicts³. On the other hand, the majority consensus is that the Byzantines did not wage holy war. It is evidently a matter of definition, and the discussion, if one does not fetishize concepts, brings out East Roman specifics. By this denial, that the Byzantines did not wage holy war, is meant that Byzantines did not know anything like the crusade, and even wars waged for principally religious reasons⁴. Of course, like all the societies the historian can access, heaven was involved in Byzantine warfare. One invoked God, His Mother, and the saints; these heavenly powers could operate miracles; and one had to thank them after victory, or appease them after a defeat. Liturgy and prayer before battle was for Emperor Leo VI, ca. 900, the *téchne ieratiqué*, what Gilbert Dagron translates as “liturgical technique”, one among many *technes* necessary at war, and meant to curry God’s favor as well as make the soldiers more courageous through “trust in salvation” (*dià tèn pistis tes sōterías*)⁵. The same Leo VI in his *Taktika*, reproducing a late-6th-century treatise of military rhetoric, ordained that the cantors should lead in the following prayer, reminding the soldiers of

the reward for faith (*pistis*) in God and the good deeds of the emperor and earlier victories; [reminding them] that the battle takes place for God and for His love for them and for the whole people (*ethnos*) and for fellow believers (*adelphoi omopistoi*) (and if it is fitting for wives and children and homeland); and [reminding them] that the memory of those who illustrate themselves in combat for their brothers’ freedom and who strove so bravely against God’s enemies will last forever; and

3 G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre: Étude sur le “césaropapisme” byzantin*, Paris 1996; English transl. *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, transl. J. Birrell, Cambridge (UK) 2003.

4 See I. Stouraitis, *Krieg und Frieden in der politischen und ideologischen Wahrnehmung in Byzanz (7.-11. Jahrhundert)*, Vienna 2009, pp. 260-376; idem, “Just War” and “Holy War” in the Middle Ages: Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study, “Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik” LXII (2012), pp. 227-264; A. Kolia-Dermitzakè, “Holy War” in Byzantium Twenty Years Later: A Question of Term Definition and Interpretation, in: *Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion: Akten des Internationalen Symposiums (Wien, 19.-21. Mai 2011)*, eds. J. Koder, I. Stouraitis, Vienna 2012, pp. 121-131. Useful state of the field for the late 1990s by T. Kolbaba, *Fighting for Christianity: Holy War in the Byzantine Empire*, “Byzantion” LXVIII (1998), pp. 194-221.

5 G. Dagron, *Byzance et le modèle islamique au X^e siècle: À propos des “Constitutions tactiques” de l’empereur Léon VI*, “Comptes rendus de l’Académie des inscriptions et des belles-lettres” CXXVII (1983) 2, pp. 219-243, here p. 226; repr. in: idem, *Idées byzantines*, I-II, Paris 2012, I, pp. 329-352, here pp. 339-340, with reference to Leo VI, *Taktika*, Epilogue, 53; see *The Taktika of Leo VI*, ed. and transl. G.T. Dennis, rev. ed., Washington (DC) 2014, pp. 634-635.

[reminding them] that we have God as our friend, He Who determines the outcome of war, while they [the enemy] by virtue of their infidelity vis-à-vis Him, have Him as opponent⁶.

This looks like holy war. But, first, counters the Vienna historian Ioannis Stouraitis, the same practices and liturgies that East Rome employed against pagans, it used against Christian enemies, even against internal enemies in its many civil wars. And, second, adds the same, the pagans were not fought against as unbelievers, but purely as enemies⁷. Third, so still Ioannis Stouraitis and John Haldon, Byzantine discourse proclaimed that peace was the supreme good⁸, in contradistinction with the West, where war and peace were in balance. Is cited to this effect Leo VI's prologue to his *Taktika*, § 4, which explains that there should be peace, but that one must counter war, the Devil's tool, with the same instrument, war⁹. Conversely, Byzantine thinkers thundered against Muslim holy war, including Islam's promise of paradise for fallen warriors¹⁰. The ideological justification of war came from Roman notions of the just war: The defense of Roman lands and the recovery of lands that had belonged to the empire¹¹. To simplify, when it came to war, in Byzantium – the second Rome founded by the first Christian emperor, Constantine – the Roman heritage was stronger than Old Testament models – those models that sometimes animated Western Europe's post-Roman kingdoms.

Yet why did something similar to what was occurring in the Latin West not take place in East Rome? Might eschatology, which in the West could mobilize radical violence, have been different in the Byzantium?¹² This has sometimes been asserted. Two reigns provide what is to the one school an exception, and what can be to the other a moment of transformation, those of Heraclius (610-641) and his grandson and successor Constans II (641-668)¹³. Heraclius, who in 630 had brought back to Jerusalem the True Cross, which the

6 Leo VI, *Taktika*, XII, 57; see ed. G.T. Dennis, pp. 248-251.

7 I. Stouraitis, *Krieg und Frieden...*, p. 279.

8 J. Haldon, *Fighting for Peace: Attitudes to Warfare in Byzantium*, in: idem, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565-1204*, London 1999, pp. 13-33.

9 Ibidem, pp. 25-27; I. Stouraitis, *Krieg und Frieden...*, p. 277 (citing Leo VI, *Taktika*, Prologue, 8; see ed. G.T. Dennis, pp. 2-5). See further Leo VI, *Taktika*, II, 29-32; ed. G.T. Dennis, pp. 34-37.

10 See, e.g., A.-Th. Khoury, *La polémique byzantine contre l'islam (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Leiden 1972, pp. 243-259.

11 I. Stouraitis' thesis, defended in his many publications.

12 P. Magdalino, *The End of Time in Byzantium*, in: *Endzeiten: Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, eds. W. Brandes, F. Schmieder, Berlin 2008, pp. 119-133.

13 M. Nicheanian, *De la guerre "antique" à la guerre "médiévale" dans l'empire romain d'orient: Légitimité impériale, idéologie de la guerre et révoltes militaires*, in: *Guerre et société au Moyen Âge, Byzance – Occident (VIII^e-XIII^e siècle)*, eds. D. Barthélemy, J.-C. Cheynet, Paris 2010, pp. 27-41, here p. 40, n. 35 (references there to earlier studies).

Persians had captured, seems to have been moved by apocalyptic expectations. This may explain why he decreed after his triumphal entry into Jerusalem the forced conversion of Samaritans and Jews (at least in Carthage, possibly throughout the empire, the data is fragmentary). Jean-Claude Cheynet has also underlined that the 10th century, which saw one emperor propose that fallen soldiers be officially recognized as martyrs, was in Byzantium also rich in apocalypticism¹⁴.

The Byzantine critique of war as an evil, albeit necessary practice, and the Byzantine rejection of military martyrdom may owe something to a desire to differentiate itself. East Rome faced along miles of border Islam, which promised its warriors Heaven in exchange for martyrdom. Evidently, proximity might also have led to considering the borrowing of Muslim forms, thus to considering (but not effectuating) the establishing of a Byzantine Jihad. This position was staked in 1986 by Gilbert Dagron¹⁵. Without going into the debate's details, a careful reading of Dagron suggests that there coexisted in East Rome both a refusal of sanctifying warfare (as the majority view would have it) and a willingness to wage a sanctified warfare (as the minority view proposes), possibly on Old Testament models¹⁶. Was this coexistence a constant, or do we have trends, starting for instance in Heraclius' 7th century, or with the iconoclast emperors?¹⁷ Dagron and Cheynet have proposed two interesting distinctions. There might have been, first, a difference of sensibility between the empire's central parts (in particular the capital) and the Microasian frontier, from which came the armies and the more militant emperors¹⁸. There might have been, second, a gap between the New Testament-oriented Christianity of the clergy and the Old Testament-oriented Christianity of the emperors. This hypothesis, in its seductive force, makes clear that while it makes full sense to envisage heuristically as unitary and coherent a given religious "culture" (here East Rome's), it can be done

14 J.-C. Cheynet, *La guerre sainte à Byzance au Moyen Âge: Un malentendu*, in: *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte: Guerre, religion et idéologie dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)*, eds. D. Baloup, Ph. Jossierand, Toulouse 2006, pp. 13-32, here p. 29.

15 G. Dagron, *Byzance et le modèle islamique...*, p. 242, repr. in: idem, *Idées byzantines*, I, pp. 351-352.

16 I. Stouraitis, *Methodologische Überlegungen zur Frage des byzantinischen "heiligen" Krieges, "Byzantinoslavica" LXVII (2009)*, pp. 269-290, here p. 285: owing to Nicephorus Phocas' demand that fallen soldiers be considered as saints, "[es] ist festzustellen, dass eine Idee des 'heiligen' Krieges in einem militarisierten Teil der byzantinischen Gesellschaft doch vorhanden war".

17 M. Nicheanian, *De la guerre "antique" à la guerre "médiévale"...*, pp. 37-41.

18 See also G. Dagron, *Le combattant byzantin à la frontière du Taurus: Guérilla et société frontalière*, "Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public" XVIII (1987) 1, pp. 37-43, esp. p. 42: "la frontière intérieure qui sépare Constantinople des thèmes frontaliers [...] est devenue aussi important que la frontière extérieure". J. Haldon (*Warfare, State and Society...*, pp. 29-32) accepts but minimizes.

only considering the “splitting” alternative. Cheynet and Dagron propose the existence of a not inconsequential split within East Rome’s religious culture, one that one might compare in its potential consequences to the divergences over icon-worship that tore apart 8th-century Byzantine society.

In East Rome, as was normally the case in the neighboring early medieval West all the way to and including the Carolingian era, religious merit for war accrued to the ruler, and not to the soldiers. Ordinary warriors might fight pagans, but had to undergo penance for the shedding of blood. For Latin Europe, the situation evolved in the century leading to the First Crusade¹⁹. Even more, the West developed a mechanism by which the duty and right, mandated by Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, to bear the sword for God (Romans 13) devolved from the ruler to lesser magistrates and even ordinary individuals. For Islam, the duty to defend was a collective one, incumbent upon the whole community led by its imam; but in cases of necessity, or if the community and its leadership failed to execute this duty, it devolved on the individual. This individual duty has been in recent years a backbone for fundamentalist Jihadis. But it was during substantial periods of time the dominant motor of Muslim holy war on the frontier, next to a Jihad ordained and led by imam or khalif²⁰.

This takes us to Islam, which being related to Christianity, constitutes an obvious object for the comparative approach. It has recently been studied comparatively in its historical dimension by Michael Cook, with a view to the relation between contemporary fundamentalisms and earlier traditions (Cook compares Islam with Hinduism and Catholic Christianity)²¹. Islam may in its beginnings have been moved by apocalyptic expectations. In the Qur’ān, divine unicity and the Last Days are the two most common themes. Its End Time scenario includes Jesus as Messiah – a Messiah in arms. While present in Scripture, the eschatological dimension is not always “expressed”, to use a metaphor from genetics, to mean “activated”. But as in the case of Christianity, apocalypticism allows one to break with tradition and the rules which, according to the tradition, govern ordinary time. The eschatological horizon is Islam’s ultimate victory, either with the conversion of all to the

19 K.J. Leyser, *Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood*, in: *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. L. Fenske, Sigmaringen 1984, pp. 549-566, repr. in: *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, eds. K.J. Leyser, T. Reuter, I-II, London 1994, I, pp. 51-71.

20 Ch. Picard, *Regards croisés sur l’élaboration du jihad entre Occident et Orient musulman (VIII^e-XII^e siècle): Perspectives et réflexions sur une origine commune*, in: *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte...*, pp. 33-66, here pp. 38-41.

21 M. Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton 2014.

true religion, or with the recognition of Islam's superiority and submission to it. War will ensure this victory; for this reason, there is theoretically and normatively no lasting peace between believers and unbelievers. Truces are allowed, but – theoretically and normatively as well – are supposed to be limited in time²².

The initial community may not have yet seen itself as "Muslim". Its members were rather, argues Fred Donner, a group of monotheistic "believers" who sought to reform ambient Abrahamic monotheism. Building on this, Stephen Shoemaker has recently proposed that these "believers" were living an apocalyptic scenario present among their Jewish and East Roman contemporaries: that of a "last world-emperor" who would reform monotheism, and would unify the world and convert it by the sword. This might explain why the "believers" directed initially their expansion towards Jerusalem (not to mention the Prophet's night ascent from the Rock and the relatively early building there (late 7th century CE) of what may have been the new Temple)²³. Did Muhammad and his companions, then, not see themselves as actors in an End Time narrative? An interesting question in and of itself. But these are now fully forgotten origins. The historian's question thus becomes: When and under which conditions do the eschatological elements in the Muslim Scripture reactivate themselves? One sees well enough from ISIL's own propaganda that it is in part animated by the idea that an eschatological battle should take place near Raqqa.

Earliest Islam may have also known the combination of material war and of ascetic war against human weaknesses. This formula links Islam to its late antique environment, argued the late Thomas Sizgorich, through the Near-Eastern Christian monk, a figure ready to be violent against his flesh and violent against God's human enemies, the heretics. The Prophet's Christian environment was splintered in a multitude of contending sects. The monks of Greater Syria warranted their group's identity, as exemplary and heroic guardians of orthodoxy, in particular through their readiness both to suffer martyrdom and to perpetrate violence against those they considered

²² A paradox famously brought to Western attention by M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955.

²³ See S. Shoemaker, "The Reign of God Has Come": *Eschatology and Empire in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, "Arabica" LXI (2014), pp. 514-558. Doubts expressed in a still unpublished paper by A. Cameron, *Late Antique Apocalyptic? A Context for the Qur'ān?*, forthcoming in the proceedings of the Oxford University workshop *Beyond the Fathers* held on 18 March 2013 (my thanks to Aziz Al-Azmeh for the reference), available thus far on Academia.edu. The line of attack is classic: (1) the sources are too complex to be evidence for apocalyptic expectations, (2) the traces of apocalyptic readings represent a reaction to an event as opposed to a motivator for an event.

to be dogmatically deviant²⁴. We may have thus in Islam's beginnings an approximation of the conjoining of material and spiritual warfare that we meet in the Christian trajectory²⁵. Yet the greater Jihad, according to David Cook, seems to have been first theorized only towards the 10th and 11th century, by sufis who wanted to assert the superiority of inner struggles over combats using the sword²⁶. A superiority which did not prevent sufi ascetics from fighting, for instance alongside Saladin against the crusaders. If this position is correct, the relation of Islam to war involved within the first centuries after Muhammad the simplification in favor of bellicism of initially polyvocal positions (Reuven Firestone), and only hundreds of years later the assertion of spiritual warfare's superiority over the sword (David Cook). Indeed, it may be that just as among the earliest Christians there existed in the first community around Muhammad and his first Khalifs a multiplicity of positions as to war's desirability and the conduct of warfare. This, according to Reuven Firestone, would explain the Qur'ān's noteworthy contradictions – the coexistence in the same holy book of pacifist and bellicist suras, plus divergent utterances as to right conduct in warfare. It was only later that Islam invented a history for itself, positing that the revelation had been progressive, and thus arraying the different prophetic statements along a timeline. God would have first dictated pacific and quietist verses, when the community was weak, then abrogated these with bellicist verses to accompany the community's growing successes²⁷.

The late discovery of spiritual warfare in the form of Greater Jihad would represent almost the inverse trajectory to Christianity's. In early Christianity, an initially complex position juxtaposing zealots and quietists seems to have been resolved in favor of pacifism and the spiritual reading of Scriptural violence. In Western Christendom, the sword of the spirit became material again only with the Carolingians²⁸, although there had taken place very

24 Th. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam*, Philadelphia 2009.

25 Aziz al-Azmeh (personal communication, April 2016), expresses doubts as to Sizgorich's thesis, based on evidence which is not only fragmentary, but refracts, rather than the Late Antique original context, the 8th and 9th century Near East. He is also opposed to the reconstruction of some pristine Islam, which Sizgorich is clearly tempted to essentialize and make (as I am myself tempted) determinative for later history.

26 D. Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, Berkeley 2005.

27 Rudolph Peters objects in his review of Firestone ("International Journal of Middle East Studies" XXXIV (2002) 4, pp. 738-740), that the Qur'ān took very quickly its final form, the one that we know, in a milieu where individuals personally remembered the Prophet. How then would these men have tolerated the inclusion of positions that did not reflect the Prophet's views? It is however possible that different first-generation followers wanted to remember different things!

28 Modifying as to the chronology the still valid study of C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart 1935; idem, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, transl. M.W. Baldwin,

physical violence between Christian groups already before Constantine's conversion and with heightened intensity afterwards²⁹. If one then compares the two religions' respective "virtual libraries" – by which image is meant the cumulative set of sacred texts, myths, and interpretations to which a social agent can have recourse so as to understand a situation and act – one can say that war weighs more than peace on the Muslim bookshelves.

But the driving interest of this research is not causality, but religion as condition of possibility, that is, its impact on the forms and rhythms that warfare in practice or in ideology will take. The apocalyptic component in Islam leads one to surmise that as in Western Christendom one fights differently when one believes to be at the Eschaton. With or without the Apocalypse, the Muslim understanding of history is like its Christian cousin structured by typology. As Aziz Al-Azmeh has since long explained, present and future take up and re-iterate partly the past's holy models³⁰. And it is precisely apocalyptic or contemporary political Islamisms that dare desire a full re-iteration of the origins³¹. Has ISIS then not recovered in the Muslim "virtual library" the bloody exploits of the Khawarij (Kharijites), figures both reviled and condemned given their excessive zeal and admired as exemplars of ascetic heroism? Is it a coincidence that among current atrocities, ISIS members sometimes rip out yet unborn babies from their mother's womb³²,

W. Goffart, Princeton 1977, in the light of more recent studies such as, e.g., M. McCormick, *Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens à la première croisade*, in: "Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII: Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto-1 settembre 1989, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, XIII, Milano 1992, pp. 211-240.

²⁹ M. Gaddis, *There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*, Berkeley 2005.

³⁰ A. Al-Azmeh, *The Times of History: Universal Topics in Islamic Historiography*, Budapest 2007.

³¹ A. Al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Politics*, London 1997, p. 164: in Islamic thought, historically, the Medinan regime was re-iterated to the full only in eschatology-driven moments. "The Medinan regime was an unrepeatable miraculous or semi-miraculous irruption in the natural course of human history, and the Medinan example, though always thought of as salutary and the source of almost binding individual example in the construction or justification of legal and ethical norms, was not integrally repeatable, exempt in the context of chiliastic expectation". Historically, for it was only in the 20th century with political Islam that the idea arose that this Medinan "order [...] was integrally repeatable" (ibidem).

³² W. Müller, *Grazer Jihadistenprozess: "Ich weiß, dass ich getötet werde", "Der Standard" 25/26 February 2016: <http://derstandard.at/2000031800668/Grazer-Jihadistenprozess-Ich-weiss-dass-ich-getoetet-erde> (last accessed: 17 October 2016): [a witness:] "An einem Felsenplatz haben wir drei schwangere Frauen gesehen [...] sie haben ihnen die Bäuche aufgeschlitzt, die Kinder lagen daneben. Sie haben die Kinder einfach aus den Bäuchen genommen". Compare the Kharijite raiders in Th. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity...*, pp. 17, 196-197, 215-217; p. 351, n. 70, from al-Tabarī, al-Balādhurī and others.*

as was reported of the Khawarij in Islam's first century? There are of course other explanations of the parallel between current reports and early Islamic images³³.

Liberty from sin is a Christian ideal; it is paradoxically allowed to coerce to bring men and women into this freedom. Something similar is present in Islam (the question being, how and with what sort of relation, if any, to tradition). Here is, relatively recently, Sayyid Qutb, one of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's founding figures, in his widely read *Milestones*:

Since this [Islamic] movement comes into conflict with the Jahiliyyah [the state of corruption and infidelity that existed prior to Muhammad and exists again now in nominally Muslim societies] which prevails over ideas and beliefs, and which has a practical system of life and a political and material authority behind it, the Islamic movement had to produce parallel resources to confront this Jahiliyyah. This [Islamic] movement uses <1> the methods of preaching and persuasion for reforming ideas and beliefs; and <2> it uses physical power and Jihad for abolishing the organizations and authorities of the Jahili system which prevents people from reforming their ideas and beliefs, but [rather] forces them to obey their erroneous ways and make them serve human lords instead of the Almighty Lord. This [Islamic] movement does not confine itself to mere preaching to confront physical power, as it also does not use compulsion for changing the ideas of people. These two principles are equally important in the method of this religion. Its purpose is to free those people who wish to be freed from enslavement to men so that they may serve God Almighty alone³⁴.

Qutb reminds one of Augustine: The propagation of the true faith necessitates the violent liberation from the material constraints that hamper the word's spread. One finds the same cluster of ideas in al-Tabarī (d. 923). In his *Chronicle of the Kings and Messengers*, al-Tabarī imagined how Rabi' ibn 'Amir harangued the Persian general Rustam:

God has sent us and brought us here so that we may extricate those who so desire from servitude to the people [earthly rulers] and make them servants of God; that we transform their poverty in this world into affluence; and that we may free them from the inequity of the [false] religions and bestow upon them the justice of Islam. He has sent us to bring His religion to His creatures and to call them to Islam. Whoever accepts this from us, we shall be content. We shall leave him on his land

33 Or do we have here false accusations that ISIS's fighters behave as the reviled Kharijite/Khawarij? (Yet another hypothesis is that since End Time enemies will be like the reviled Khawarij, one imagines honestly that reviled ISIS acts thus).

34 *Milestones*, ed. A.B. al-Mehri, Birmingham 2006, p. 65.

to rule it without us; but whoever refuses, we shall fight him, until we fulfill the promise of God³⁵.

Three alternatives present themselves to deal with the similarities between the Western Christian and Post-Christian tradition represented by Augustine, al-Tabarī, and Sayyid Qutb. Does there exist some continuous Muslim tradition between al-Tabarī and Sayyid Qutb?³⁶ Or, since one does not need a continuously existing belief in the necessity of the sword for spiritual liberation, it might just be that Qutb found these ideas in the Muslim “virtual library”. One shelf he may have reached for contained the works of the (now) famous Ibn Taymiyyah, as Emmanuel Sivan proposes. To underline the gap between these two options, Ibn Taymiyyah need not have been continuously read, and his tomes may have gathered dust, untouched by most hands, until more recent centuries. In his exploration of that vast issue, the passages from traditional medieval Islam to 20th-century militant Islamism, Sivan has not proposed many stepping stones between Ibn Taymiyyah’s 14th century and the 20th century, or to the now equally famous late 18th-century jurist Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb³⁷. The borrowing hand may have reached instead for a volume on the virtual library’s shelves placed earlier than either men. The *Milestones* after all do mention Rabi’ ibn ‘Amir as a bearer of a message of liberation from idolatry before the battle against the Persian Rustam³⁸. Finally, the Egyptian purist may borrowed, more or less unconsciously, these notions of liberty from the West, where he lived a number of years. He may have found them in the westernized Egyptian circles that he so intensely despised. He may have also borrowed from the European virtual library. Similarities in his oeuvre with post-Christian Western conceptions point in this direction. Here one does well to read Al-Azmeh’s passionate warning against the potentially essentialist presumptions of an Islamic, in the singular, continuity. Sayyid Qutb’s 20th century and his Egypt (as well as the first decades of our own 21st) are a context of its own, enmeshed in a global world³⁹.

³⁵ *The History of al-Tabari*, transl. Y. Friedmann, I-XL, New York 1989-2007, XII, p. 67. Rustam is then told what is God’s promise: Paradise for those who die while fighting the recusant, and victory to the righteous survivor.

³⁶ This seems to be – for Jihad in general – the implicit position in M. Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics...*, pp. 221-224.

³⁷ E. Sivan, *The Holy War Tradition in Islam*, “Orbis” XLII (1998) 2, pp. 171-194, here p. 191: in order to legitimize rebellion against a public authority that was nominally Muslim, had to have recourse to “obscure” 14th-century Sunni sources. Sivan had Ibn Taymiyyah (1268-1328) in mind, as is clear from his earlier *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*, New Haven 1985, 94ff.

³⁸ *Milestones*, pp. 81-82.

³⁹ One of the key arguments in A. Al-Azmeh, *Islams and Modernities*, 3rd ed., Cambridge (UK) 2009, e.g., pp. 203-205. In context, Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb had cooperated with the expansionism of the House of Saud; the labeling as *kuffār*, non-believers and the as it were

Japan's Middle Ages provide a third comparandum. What might the period going from the 12th century to the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) and the Tokugawa Shoguns' persecution of indigenous Christians (1617, 1637 with the Shimabara rebellion) teach us? The religion to consider is local Buddhism, a universalist axial faith, which over the course of the Ancient era aggregated itself to the islands' local cults. Buddhism's own irenism is limited. In India, and later in South-East Asia (notably in Cambodia and Thailand), as well as in China and Korea, two figures are central. There is on the one hand the "world-renouncing" ascetic or monk who sheds materiality and pulls upward ordinary mortals along with him. This ascetic figure is paired with, on the other hand, the world-conquering Chakravartin, "He whose [chariot] wheel traverses [the globe without hindrance]" or "He who turns the wheel [of dharma]", whose mission is to order the world, if needed by force, helping thus to brake the entropy of desires that soil the All⁴⁰. Thus early on a functional duality between Bodhisattva and king, between monk-ascetic and warrior, is present in Buddhism. Yet early on as well, in China, Korea, and Japan, one finds instances of monastic violence, against the very early prohibition of killing and arms-bearing. Japan's monasteries are famous for their armies of so-called monk-soldiers, and medieval Japanese history has a few instances of monastic violence and monastic warfare. As in the late Protestant notion of an early Christian pacifist purity that was perverted starting with Constantine's Milvian Bridge vision, one can chalk this development to corruption. But some scholars have argued for its authenticity, in the sense that justifications for violence and war are easily integrated in the initial Buddhist axioms. Christoph Kleine speaks of a transformation of the "normative system" according to the "standards of the Mahāyāna Ethic, according to an internal logic". The militarization of the monks can be interpreted as a "logical, while not necessary consequence of Mahāyāna teachings themselves"⁴¹. Not everyone will be convinced that "logical derivations", to use the words of an already old critique, are logical⁴².

"excommunication" as not being authentically Muslim, of *de facto* Muslim Bedouin tribes that were not yet subjected to the Saudis favoring their ultimate subjection, see A. Al-Azmeh, *Wahhabite Polity*, in: *Islams and Modernities*, pp. 157-173.

40 S.J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, Cambridge (UK) 1976.

41 C. Kleine, *Evil Monks with Good Intentions? Remarks on Buddhist Monastic Violence and Its Doctrinal Background*, in: *Buddhism and Violence*, eds. M. Zimmermann, H.H. Chiew, P. Pierce, Lumbini 2006, pp. 65-98, here pp. 74-75 (his translation); idem, *Üble Mönche oder wohlthätige Bodhisattvas? Über Formen, Gründe und Begründungen organisierter Gewalt im japanischen Buddhismus*, "Zeitschrift für Religion" XI (2003), pp. 235-258, here pp. 255-256.

42 P. Demiéville, *Le bouddhisme et la guerre (1957)*, in: idem, *Choix d'études bouddhiques (1929-1970)*, Leiden 1973, pp. 261-299, here p. 289; idem, *Buddhism and War*, transl. M. Kendall, in: *Buddhist Warfare*, eds. M.K. Jerryson and M. Juergensmeyer, Oxford 2010, pp. 17-57, here p. 38.

But let us see what one can make of them. “Scriptures and the military have always jointly pacified the world”, wrote Shunzen in his history of the Tendai school of Buddhism (*Sange yōki senryaku*, 1409), attributing the idea to the revered 10th-century abbot of the Enryakuji monastic complex on Mount Hiei, Ryōgen (d. 985)⁴³. Shunzen could thus explain a functional division between the better monks, devoted to scholarship, and other members of the monastic community who could specialize in war. The latter, the *bumon shuto*, would thus “protect the estates”, i.e., monastic domains, “against rebels and intruders”, “protect us against the false rituals and extreme [religious] practices of the various other schools, defend the True Teaching and guard those who study and practice meditation”. Was not Indra-Taishaku himself warded by militant celestial beings? A biography of the same Ryōgen, finished in 1469, presented the Boddhisatva Mañjuśrī (Japanese Monju or Manjushin) wielding in his left hand scriptures, representing wisdom, and in his right hand a sword, this wisdom’s application. This symbolized respectively two classes of denizens of the monastic compounds, in the biographer’s interpretation the scholar-monks (*gakusō*) and the *shuto*, what Christoph Kleine translates as monk-soldiers, and Mikael Adolphson simply as generic other clergy⁴⁴. Whatever the exact identification of the *shuto* – whether we have here (as Kleine has it in the wake of older historiography) regular monks in arms or (to follow the revisionist Adolphson) people attached in some vague, more or less institutionalized manner to the monastic community – we may have in this intra-monastic duality the miniaturization of the initial pairing of universal world-renouncer and world-conqueror to the lesser scale of the Tendai school’s empire. Would-be “immune” monastic domains became a separate realm, and so needed an internal functional bipartition⁴⁵. We are

43 In *Üble Mönche...*, Kleine dates the work to 1399. For what Ryōgen actually did, see M. Adolphson, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History*, Honolulu 2007, pp. 28-33.

44 These two texts so interpreted by C. Kleine in *Evil Monks...*, pp. 74-75. The same sources in: P. Demiéville, *Le bouddhisme et la guerre*, pp. 290-292; idem, *Buddhism and War*, pp. 39-40. Kleine is much more ready than his French predecessor to assume that these words attributed to Ryōgen might refract something of the 11th century! For the general meaning of *shuto* as generic clergy, see M. Adolphson, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, p. 59. A major thrust of Adolphson’s work was to resist the quick assimilation of Japanese status groups to western equivalents; how easily can one call “monks” in the Western monastic sense the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa or the warrior-noble Taira no Kiyomori. Both took vows (personal communication, 9 April 2016). Status look to me here like gradients, plus status can be added to status, it is intensive and not an either-or (where one would be exclusively in or out of monasticism).

45 R. Shek, *Ethics and Polity: The Heterodoxy of Buddhism, Maitreyanism, and the Early White Lotus*, in: *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, eds. K.-C. Liu, R. Shek, Honolulu 2004, pp. 73-108, here pp. 75-76.

not here too far from the late early medieval French setup, in which one sees pure praying monks and next to them their armed friends, who will fight for the monastic institution behind the banner of its patron saint⁴⁶. Justifications for militant monasticism also drew on the notion of *mappō* – since the cosmos had entered a final era characterized by the Law's degeneracy, norms had changed.

Eschatology thus may have mattered. In this era, demons have inspired false teachings to attack the *dharma* and pollute it. We have here something comparable to the Christian concept of heresy⁴⁷, as devilish ersatz of the truth meant to deviate the faithful from this very truth. From the 13th century on, the rise of new Buddhist sects motivates mutual accusations; the rival is the vector of a false Buddhism invented by evil celestial powers. Nichiren (1222-1282), founder of the Hokke sect (*Hokke-shū*), could thus thunder that other sects betrayed the realm (*kokudo*), and condemn the Nembutsu to the deepest level of hell, Zen as invented by demons, the Shingon sect (*Shingon-shū*) as a false doctrine that plagued the land, and (Hināyāna) Ritsu as high treason. He assimilated the rival schools to “pagans”⁴⁸. These heated controversies did not usually engender armed confrontations between sectarians. Such confrontations are a true exception, and not a rule; the rare occurrences involved two specific sects, the Hokke-shū and the Jōdoshin-shū. It is indeed a fact that as Général Georges Renondeau and Mikael Adolphson have shown, monasteries and sects have armies, and use them. But as Adolphson demonstrates (see also his article in this volume), they fight for political and territorial aims, or to assert their status in precedence conflicts with other schools. They do not go to war to rectify doctrine or to annihilate the human vectors of false doctrine. Hardly a case is known when a person was killed

⁴⁶ The historiography is massive. For a recent orientation, see D. Barthélemy, *The Peace of God and Bishops at War in Gallic Lands from the Late Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, “Proceedings of the Battle Conference” XXXII (2010), pp. 1-23.

⁴⁷ For heresy in Islam, see R. Langer, U. Simon, *The Dynamics of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy: Dealing with Divergence in Muslim Discourses and Islamic Studies*, “Die Welt der Islam” XLVIII (2008) 3-4, pp. 273-288, esp. pp. 284-285 for the concepts native to Islam (with further reference to *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*); also J. van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*, I-II, Berlin 2011 (my thanks to Aziz Al-Azmeh for this reference).

⁴⁸ K.U.W. Pauly, *Ikkō-Ikki: Die Ikkō-Aufstände und ihre Entwicklung aus den Aufständen der bündischen Bauern und Provinzialen des japanischen Mittelalter*, Bonn 1985, p. 260; see also J. Stone, *The Atsuhara Affair: The “Lotus Sutra”, Persecution, and Religious Identity*, “Japanese Journal of Religious Studies” XLI (2014) 1, pp. 153-189; eadem, *When Disobedience is Filial and Resistance is Loyal: The Lotus Sutra and Social Obligations in the Medieval Nichiren Tradition*, in: *A Buddhist Kaleidoscope: Essays on the Lotus Sutra*, ed. G. Reeves, Tokyo 2012, pp. 261-281. Gaston Renondeau provides a full French translation of Nichiren's incendiary treatise and letters in G. Renondeau, *Le “Traité sur l'État” de Nichiren, suivi de huit lettres de 1268*, “T'oung Pao” XL (1950) 1/3, pp. 123-198, here p. 195.

owing to religious beliefs or practices. Even the famous *ikkō ikki*, the military leagues mobilizing True Pure Land (Jōdoshin-shū) believers, should be looked at carefully. A study willing to consider sympathetically religious explanations for the conflicts that involved these Buddhist sectarians underscores that their violence aimed first and foremost at defending judicial and tax immunities⁴⁹. Furthermore, the warlords Oda Nobunaga and Tokugawa Ieyasu fought against Buddhist temple-states, but not on ground of belief; their persecution of Christians was also political – the Padres were seen as agents of foreign powers and as would-be territorial lords in Kyūshū, the southernmost island of the archipelago.

The Buddhist school most prone to violence on religious grounds during Japan's Middle Ages is without doubt Nichiren's sect, the Hokke-shū. Jacqueline Stone has underscored how Nichiren could place loyalty to the school over filial loyalty and vassalistic fidelity. Nichiren also claimed a right and duty of reproach towards authorities (*kokka kangyō*). After Nichiren, Hokke school followers did several times "admonish the state", on some occasions explicitly waging their head to warrant the truthfulness of their words. We have here a parallel with late antique martyrs. These Christian men and women also sundered their family and social bonds in the name of the Christian spiritual family and spiritual society. Heirs to the Jewish prophetic charisma and the philosophic "free speech" (*parrhesia*), the early Christian martyrs risked death while admonishing rulers and magistrates, not always only about the true religion, but sometimes as well about right order. In Japan, Nichiren put this duty to admonish in dualist terms: "Having been born in the ruler's domain, I may have to follow him with my body, but I don't have to follow him with my mind"⁵⁰. Like the late Antique monks discussed by Thomas Sizgorich (and Michael Gaddis), Nichiren's devotees might desecrate other schools' shrines and holy objects. In 1567, one such devotee, the *daimyō* Matsunaga Hisahide burnt down the Great Buddha Hall (*Tōdaiji*) in Nara⁵¹. The school did develop a literature of martyrdom, based on incidents in Nichiren's own lifetime, and involving a confrontation with an official who utters threats; a common trope is the attempt to force the devotee into saying the *nembutsu*, invoking the Buddha Amida. One will think of the

49 C. Tsang, *War and Faith: Ikkō Ikki in Late Muromachi Japan*, Cambridge (MA) 2007.

50 *Senji shō*, in: *Zuisō goshō, Shōwa teihon Nichiren shōnin ibun* 2:1053, cited in: J. Stone, *When Disobedience is Filial...*, p. 274.

51 J.P. Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered*, Japonica Neerlandica, VIII, Leiden 2000, pp. 77, 152; S. Turnbull, *The Samurai and the Sacred*, New York 2006, p. 94, is willing to follow the Friar Luis Frois, who attributed this act to a Christian iconoclast soldier, left unnamed! This is consistent with Frois' tendency to attribute Buddhist mishaps to his own vengeful Christian god, see J.P. Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus...*, p. 172.

Christian set-piece, in which the pagan magistrate exhorts the future martyr to sacrifice for the emperor. And finally, as in the Passions and Acts of the Christian martyrs, karmic vengeance might strike the persecutors⁵².

Hokke absolutism drew on eschatology. An earlier era in Buddhist time could tolerate a plurality of roads to salvation; living in the *mappō*, however, called for the exclusive devotion to the Lotus Sūtra, and for the rejection of the other sects' sacred texts, rites, and doctrines. To delegitimize these, Hokke sectarians provoked members of other schools to disputations. An armed conflict, for instance, was triggered by the following incident:

At that time [1536] a priest of [Enryakuji] lectured in Kyoto on the Lotus Sūtra. Somebody calling himself a Hokke sectarian interjected a number of responses into the lecture, making it into a dispute; whereupon the lecturer was at something of a loss to respond and lost face. The lecture consequently ended in confusion. Because [Enryakuji] itself lost face, people say [the monastery] was determined to punish the Hokke sectarians of Kyoto⁵³.

And not a minor conflict at that! The forces of the Enryakuji temples on Mount Hiei joined with the Honganji *ikkō ikki* and the Shogun's regent (*kanrei*) Hosokawa Harumoto, to attack the then Hokke-dominated capital, Kyoto. All of the capital's twenty-one Hokke temples were burnt to the ground. In the Buddhist imagination, disputations were not mere verbal tourneys. Stories about Buddhism's origins recounted how the schools of defeated debaters had to acknowledge the winning sect's superiority, and even give up wealth and independence to the benefit of the winner.

The prehistory of the 1536 Kyoto disaster also involved sectarian warfare. Hokke control of the city had lasted close to four years, from 1632 on. During those years, the Nichiren devotees, merchants and artisans mostly, had waged war in alliance with the same Hosokawa Harumoto against the rising tide of Jōdoshin-shū. The Hokke forces had attacked the sect's shrines in and around Kyoto, including its key temple, the Yamashina Honganji, then usurped governance and police powers in the capital⁵⁴. Beth Berry chalks this exceptional moment to a combination of factors, including the uncompromising temper of Nichiren devotees. It was, she argues, a well-known feature of Hokke. In 1465, an official of the Shogunate had warned Enryakuji against too sharp a military intimidation of Hokke. Half of the capital city's population belonged to the school, and, to cite, "the whole city will be

52 J. Stone, *The Atsuhara Affair...*, pp. 182-186.

53 K. Yuen, *Shiryō Kyōto no Rekishi*, I-XVI, Tokyo 1979-1994, V, p. 278 (16), cited in: M.E. Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*, Berkeley 1994, p. 165.

54 M.E. Berry, *The Culture of Civil War...*, pp. 145-170.

cast into unparalleled upheaval when the pious Hokke elders, sacrificing their own lives, lead a war of defense [against Mount Hiei's forces]"⁵⁵. The just mentioned uncompromising temper was not shared by all schools; only Jōdoshin-shū, which in the 15th and 16th century built itself into a vast lordship, comes close to it. In its position that an act of self-devotion was enough to ensure rebirth in the Pure Land paradise, and in its insistence on the recitation of a formula expressing gratitude to the Buddha Amida, the "True Pure Land" school cut out even related sects' rituals. Like Hokke Buddhism, it thus tended away from the "normal" Buddhist eclecticism and syncretism.

The comparison with Western Christianity and Islam thus brings out both a fundamental difference when it comes to mainstream Japanese schools and a telling similarity when it comes to the two exceptions. Exclusivism and the refusal of eclecticism generated with Hokke-shū and Jōdoshin-shū dynamics closely related to those of historical Catholicism and Protestantisms⁵⁶.

For all the parallels between these minority positions and the Christian premodern West, there are major differences, shaped by Buddhism, in the Japanese cultural experience of war. While early medieval canon law mandated warrior's individual purification through penance for having killed even a pagan on the battlefield, Japanese concerns bore on the wrathful anger of the ghosts of even the legitimately killed. Ashoka's mythical example – that of the first Chakravartin – taught that the kingdom would be destabilized by war victims. Ashoka had built eighty-four thousand stupa-reliquaries after a bloody conquest. Minamoto Yoritomo's victory over the Ise Taira clan in the *Gempei kassen*, "the war of the Genji against the Heike" (1180-1185) demanded the erection of the same number of stupas; so did the repression of Go-Toba's 1221 rebellion, the so-called *Jōkyū no ran*; so did, after the death in exile of the same Go-Toba. The long Nambokuchō civil war (1336-1392) also occasioned identical religious outlays⁵⁷. Relatedly, as discussed in this volume by Tom Conlan, one might deify people fallen on the battlefield so as to assuage their spirits. In both Buddhism and early medieval Christianity, thus, bloodshed occasioned fears of impurity, but this impurity was positioned differently and thus admitted different solutions.

Finally, a look at the Tenochcas, the Aztec sub-group of Tenochtitlan. We have here a warfare without asceticism, therefore without notions of purity. In fact, the wider Nahuatl understanding of "dirt" is to European eyes

55 Ibidem, pp. 154, 169.

56 See D.C. Kang, *Why Was There No Religious War in Premodern East Asia?*, "European Journal of Internal Relations" XX (2014) 4, pp. 965-986, who also rightly underlines that a variable in comparative studies will be the relationship between religious and state institutions.

57 B.D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*, Cambridge (MA) 2000.

wholly alien⁵⁸. Dirt was both destructive and creative, a paradox that has had to be recovered by reading between the lines of our prime informants on pre-Columbian culture, the Spanish friars⁵⁹. Purification must per force have had a different shape and meaning. Among Nahua and Maya cultures, ascetic self-mortification is not mortification of the flesh, it is one of several ways to shed blood to feed the gods and the march of the cosmos. Another is, as is well known, human sacrifice, the religious motivation for warfare, since war provides the prisoners who will be offered to the gods. The notion of time at play is quite at from that animating Christianity. Mesoamerica had a cyclical notion of time; war for the gods is therefore continuous, with peaks of intensity perhaps at moments of *tlatoani* accession. Against the received *doxa* of “othering” for war, one should note a Tenochca predilection for victims belonging to the closest cultural group – Nahua speakers. To make the point here explicit. This predilection, and lack of interest in sustained othering explains the odd wars between Tenochtitlan and its immediate neighbor and enemy Tlaxcala: far from being waged for conquest, the so-called Flowery Wars were mutually organized for the capture of victims. A source states that the gods do not like barbarian flesh. This is explained by the Nahua understanding of the cosmos, all the way from the gods to vegetal and mineral stuff: The ability of every substance – including a god – to transform itself into another substance. What makes sacrifice meaningful is this continuum, which involves the god, priests, warriors, human victims, and basic foodstuffs. In general, the victim was made into an *ixiptla*, a mask or personification. The important yearly sacrifice for the god Xipe Totec, “Our lord the flayed one”, involved many personifications of the deity: the sacrificing priest was one *ixiptla*, the victim was one, the warrior who had captured the victim, and who would wear his skin, was one, his assistants, to whom he lent the dead captive’s skin, as well. Hence the victim had better be as close as possible to a cultural insider, if his substance was to bear these transmutations. If religiously conceived war existed for human sacrifice, in reverse (and here I follow David Carrasco), sacrifice – the *tlacaxipeualiztli* for Xipe Totec in particular – might represent the perfect war, devoid of its so-called “fog”, within the capital city. The captive was killed only after a ceremonial fight with mock feathered weapons; the captor danced through the city with mock fights against all encountered; his assistants did the same⁶⁰. Fascinatingly alien! An alienness that underscores

58 Without flirting with Mary Douglas’ *Purity and Danger*, a book that has known too many lovers for comfort.

59 P. Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture*, Durham 2011.

60 D. Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization*, Boston 1999, pp. 140-163 (note especially his statement on p. 163). I. Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation*, Cambridge (UK) 1991, evokes powerfully the aesthetics of Tenochca warfare.

how different religious conceptions entailed different sorts of war-making, and a different topography of holy violence.

Hopefully this catalogue of remarks will have, by contrast, underlined how what we know best – the West’s culture of war – is by no means obvious, and by no means determined by so-called “anthropological universals”, basic forms common to all humankind regardless of culture. Like pepper on a strawberry, comparative history brings out nuances in flavor, even if this flavor has the taste of blood.

ABSTRACT

The article seeks to demonstrate the fruitfulness of the comparative approach when it comes to religious cultures and warfare. Drawing on the Byzantine Christian, Muslim, Japanese Buddhist, and Aztec cultures, it highlights specific differences in war, its meaning, and its meaningfulness, that cannot be reduced to basic anthropological universals. Belief in the End of Times and ascetic values seem to have been factors in making radical violence more probable, yet they did not necessarily lead to identical outcomes.

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THE ARMY AS AN EMOTIONAL COMMUNITY IN WARRING STATES CHINA



The army was the key institution in the restructuring of the polity in China's Warring States era (5th-3rd centuries BC), and the emotions were central both in narrative and theoretical accounts of the military forces' formation and use. These accounts invoked emotions to explain how the soldiers were drawn together, what motivated them to fight, and what could lead them to die for their country. They were also discussed as a tool for manipulating the enemy, and as a danger that had to be avoided by the commander in order to carry out his duties. Finally, another version of ideas about the emotions was invoked to account for the role of the army as a means of creating peace and social order through inspiring fear in one's own population, and those of enemy states. These discussions of the emotions in the context of the army were one part of their re-imagining as fundamental elements of the Chinese political order in these centuries.

EMOTIONS AMONG THE WARRIOR ARISTOCRACY

A baseline for examining the shifting political nature of the army, and the consequent changes in the role of emotions, is provided by the 4th-century BC Warring State era text, the *Zuo zhuan* (*Tradition of Zuo*). This account bearing on an earlier period, specifically on 722-468 BC, is preserved as a commentary to the *Spring-and-Autumn Annals*, although it may have originally been an independent work. Although ultimately compiled by men working in the tradition associated with Confucius, who appears as a character in the text and to whom are assigned moral judgments on characters and events, it preserves actions and speeches at odds with the intellectual and political world of the Warring States. Specifically, it portrays a world dominated by

a warrior aristocracy whose status was marked by its monopoly of ritually directed violence in the form of sacrifice, hunting, and war. It also depicts a state in which power is dispersed among a hierarchy of courts, each ruled by the head of a more or less senior lineage within a ruling family, which all enjoyed graded forms of shared ritual privileges and political powers.

Armies in this earlier period were dominated by the warrior elite fighting on chariots, and a state's army was composed of contingents provided by the various junior courts, with each contingent acting independently. Although there were commanders, who operated independently of the ruler, major decisions were made in consultation by the heads of all the contingents, and many stories tell of nobles refusing to comply with such decisions. Warfare was justified as a means of securing the honor of individuals and their lineages, with campaigns beginning and ending with offerings at the ancestral temple, and the recognition of the superiority of a state by its chief rivals as the ultimate aim. Given the segmentary nature of the state, the proximate equality of nobles, and the concern with honor, battles took place not only between states, but among the lineages of a single state. Many wars, both inter-state and intra-state, were motivated by the desire to avenge perceived wrongs, and the violent resolution of individual disputes was common, both off and on the field of battle¹.

Emotions are important throughout the text. Thus, a narrative set in the first year of the history, tells of a mother who "hates [*wù*]" her eldest son, the ruler, because of having had a difficult time giving birth to him, and consequently supports his younger brother in increasingly insubordinate actions that culminate in civil war². However, in a political world dominated by male warriors competing for prestige, the predominant emotion in accounts of war was "anger [*nu*]". As the force that drove men to risk their lives in defense of their own honor and that of their lineage or state, it figures in numerous accounts both of motives for going to war and of the conduct in the field of individuals or entire armies. It provides a legitimate explanation for fighting a campaign, but also frequently serves as the reason why such a campaign fails.

Already in its first year, the *Zuo zhuan* begins a litany of accounts in which one state attacks another in reprisal for an earlier offense. Finally, in the fifth year it records verbal exchanges explaining this behavior, and showing that emotions were articulated as an aspect of war:

1 M.E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, Albany 1990, ch. 1.

2 [*Chun qiu*] *Zuo zhuan zhu*, annotated by Y. Bojun, Beijing 1981, Lord Yin year 1, pp. 10-14.

The men of Song took fields from Zhu. The men of Zhu reported this to the ruler of Zheng, saying, "We request that you vent your resentment [*han*] against Song [due to an earlier attack]. Our humble city/state will serve as guides". The men of Zheng, together with the Zhou royal army joined [Zhu], attacked Song, and penetrated their outer city wall, in order to requite [*bao*] Song's attack [the previous year] on Zheng's eastern gate...

Song sent emissaries [to Lu] to report the emergency. The lord [of Lu] heard that they had entered the outer wall and was going to rescue them. He asked the emissaries, "Where has the invading army reached?" They replied, "It has not yet reached the capital". The lord of Lu became angry [*nu*] and stopped the rescue expedition, saying, "Until they have reached the capital, this is not something I would dare to heed"³.

Here resentment or anger over previous attacks is offered as a reason for conducting a campaign, and also appears as the reason for *not* campaigning, when the ruler of Lu is offended that he has been called to rescue an ally who is not really endangered. Although the commentators cannot agree on an explanation for the emissaries' conduct – anger against their ruler, anger with the lord of Lu for quibbling over the need for a rescue, or shame over acknowledging their weakness – the way in which anger undercuts either alliance or obedience is a recurrent theme. A few years later, when the ruler of Song failed to attend the Zhou court so that Zheng, whose ruler was the king's chief minister, attacked Song, the latter state chose not to report this to Lu, because of their "resentment [*yuan*]" of the lord of Lu's earlier behavior. The lord of Lu, in turn, became angry (*nu*) that no report was sent, and cut off relations. Retaliation for perceived slights in rituals also led one state to attack another⁴.

3 For retaliatory wars prior to this discussion of anger as a motive, see *ibidem*, Lord Yin year 1, p. 18; year 2, p. 23 (retaliation for the previous year), year 3, p. 27 ("mutual hate [*jiao wù*]" between the Zhou monarchy and the state of Zheng over military attacks), year 4, pp. 36, 37; year 5, pp. 44, 45 (2 cases), 46. For the account of anger and the venting of emotions in warfare, see Lord Yin year 5, p. 47. For subsequent accounts of retaliation as a motive, see Lord Yin year 11, p. 78; Lord Huan year 14, p. 140; Lord Xi year 8, p. 322; year 17, p. 372; year 19, p. 383; year 33, p. 501; Lord Wen year 2, pp. 519, 526; year 4, p. 534; year 8, p. 566; Lord Xuan year 1, p. 649; year 2, pp. 654-655; year 3, p. 672; Lord Cheng year 13, pp. 861-863; year 15, p. 873; Lord Xiang year 10, p. 978; year 12, p. 996; year 14, pp. 1008-1009; year 16, p. 1027; year 20, p. 1053; year 23, pp. 1077-1078; year 25, p. 1095; Lord Zhao year 4, p. 1255; year 5, pp. 1267-1268, 1270, 1272; Lord Ding year 5, p. 1554; year 6, p. 1556; year 8, p. 1567; year 10, p. 1579 (2 cases); year 14, p. 1596; Lord Ai year 1, p. 1604. On anger between the ruler and his commander leading to a defeat, see Lord Xi year 28, pp. 456-457.

4 *Ibidem*, Lord Yin year 9, p. 65. This pattern recurs in the next year, when Song and Wei retaliated against Zheng, and called for Cai to support them. Because the latter became angry, the army was not harmonious and was defeated. See Lord Yin year 10, p. 69. For battles over ritual slights, see Lord Huan year 6, p. 113; year 10, p. 126; Lord Zhuang year 10, p. 184; Lord

Anger also leads to combat between noble lineages within a state, as do resentment or fear. An early passage tells how the head of a junior line of the Song ruling house killed one of Confucius's ancestors in order to take the man's wife. The ruler of the state became angry (*nu*), and out of fear of retaliation the killer assassinated him. Similar incidents, in which anger among nobles led to civil conflict and sometimes the death of a ruler, frequently recur⁵. Such anger is not treated as positive, since it leads to civil disorder that results in defeat. Similarly, men provoked anger in the enemy commander so that he would choose to fight when it was not in his interest⁶. Thus anger led to conflicts both between and within states, drove people who would ideally have been allies into enmity, and led to serious errors in conducting campaigns.

Nevertheless, several stories indicate the legitimacy of waging war due to anger. Thus, one speaker suggests that states have the right to anoint their war drums with the blood of prisoners, but in order to secure peaceful relations they could choose to suppress their rage (*fen*), which is assumed as inherent in the situation, and release the prisoners⁷. The propriety of anger is also articulated by a speaker who tried to dissuade the king of Chu from attacking Jin by arguing that even if they managed a temporary victory, all the nobles of Jin would "arouse their martial anger [*wu nu*] in order to repay this great disgrace"⁸. Here anger is fundamental to martial valor, and a regular impulse to fighting in a just cause. A surrendering ruler also indicated the justice of anger in his formula of submission to the victor:

Indeed I am not favored by Heaven! Unable to serve my lord, I caused you to harbor anger [*nu*] and come to my humble city. This is indeed my crime.

This speech, which suggested all the possible punishments the victors could properly inflict, again treats justified anger as a proper motive for battle. The justified anger of the king of Chu is also cited by a leader of the Jin army in arguing that fighting Chu would result in defeat⁹. A closely related idea

Xi year 19, p. 383; year 24, p. 420; year 30, p. 479; year 33, p. 497; Lord Xuan year 17, p. 772; Lord Xiang year 19, p. 1047; Lord Ai year 8, pp. 1646-1647.

5 Ibidem, Lord Huan year 2, p. 85; Lord Wen year 1, pp. 513-515; year 18, p. 630; Lord Xuan year 4, pp. 677-678; Lord Xiang year 14, pp. 1011-1012; Lord Zhao year 21, pp. 1425-1426; Lord Ding year 8, pp. 1568-1569; year 13, pp. 1589-1590; Lord Ai year 26, pp. 1728-1729.

6 Ibidem, Lord Xi year 28, p. 458. In the case of the battle of Bi, two members of the Jin army (at one point called "the two resentful ones [*er han*]"), who were angry over their treatment by the lord, provoked a battle by angering (*nu*) Chu when peace had been settled, which resulted in Jin's defeat. See Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 736-737.

7 Ibidem, Lord Cheng year 3, p. 813.

8 Ibidem, Lord Zhao year 5, p. 1269.

9 Ibidem, Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 719, 722. For another example of justified anger leading to victory, see Lord Xuan year 14, pp. 755-756; year 15, p. 761. In yet another case, one man

is the formula that “the anger of the masses” cannot be confronted, or that it is like fire and flood. A text that traces the origins of the people’s emotions to the six natural energies (*qi*), also links anger to their decision to fight¹⁰. This indicates that anger’s power to drive people to combat is based in the dynamic material that animates all of the nature.

Anger was also cited as a motive for combat that could drive people offended by improper behavior to fight heroically. In some cases leaders devised stratagems to elicit the anger of their own troops against an enemy whom they portrayed as rejecting reasonable offers of peace. One man in Zheng suggested a device for provoking the anger of Jin against Chu, so that the former would become committed to supporting Zheng. Several people suggest temporarily allowing an opponent to win so that “they would be arrogant [*jiao*], while we were angry [*nu*], and then we can conquer”¹¹. Anger is accepted as a motivation to combat, celebrated as means of attaining victory, and manipulated as a tool in conducting diplomacy.

Major battles narratives also sometimes hinge on anger. An example is the first of the six great battles in the text, the battle at Han between Qin and Jin in 645 BC. The text had enumerated a long series of moral and ritual failures by the lord of Jin. Just prior to the battle, he had a minister report on the enemy’s forces:

“Their army is smaller than ours, but they have twice as many fighting men”. The lord asked, “Why do you say that?” [The man] replied, “When you were out of the state, you relied on Qin’s resources, and then you returned [to Jin] through Qin’s favor. When you were starving you ate its grain. Three kindnesses, and you have repaid none. That is why they have come, and they are about to attack. Our troops lack spirit, while Qin’s are furious [*fen*]. To say they have twice as many fighters is an understatement”¹².

argues that unnecessarily provoking the enemy’s anger would mean that their own forces could not win. See Lord Cheng year 6, p. 830. See also Lord Zhao year 22, p. 1432; year 30, pp. 1508-1509; Lord Ding year 4, p. 1542.

¹⁰ Ibidem, Lord Xiang year 10, p. 981; Lord Zhao year 13, p. 1347; year 25, p. 1464; year 26, p. 1472; year 30, p. 1508; Lord Ai year 25, p. 1726. For the passage on the six energies, see Lord Zhao year 25, pp. 1458-1459.

¹¹ Ibidem, Lord Huan year 8, p. 122. See also Lord Xi year 28, p. 455. On provoking Jin’s anger to manipulate it into supporting another state, see Lord Xiang year 11, p. 988. On luring the opponent into arrogance, while provoking one’s own forces, see Lord Wen year 16, pp. 618-619. For the argument that provoking the opponent’s anger through a ritual failure leads to destruction, see Lord Xiang year 19, p. 1047.

¹² Ibidem, Lord Xi year 15, p. 355. Earlier in the same year there is an account of the emotional links between the men of a state and the horses bred there, and of how foreign horses will lack such links and be inclined to panic. See pp. 354-355. This passage is discussed, as well as the close ties of horses with “anger” and “martiality”, in R. Sterckx, *The Animal and*

Here the willingness to fight, and indeed the capacity to be a warrior, are identified with anger, in this case a righteous anger produced by a long history of moral abuses.

One speech, within a broader discussion of emotions, theorizes the validity of righteous anger, defined as anger that serves to suppress disorder:

I have heard that delight and anger [*xi nu*] are rarely proper. In fact incorrect emotions are the most frequent. *The Odes* says, "If the lord were angry [with the slanderers], the disorder would cease; if the lord were pleased [with others], the disorder would cease". The delight or anger of the true gentleman serves to end disorder. If it does not end it, it will certainly increase it¹³.

Here the speaker was retiring as chief minister of Jin, and yielding the position to a man planning to launch an expedition against Qi in order to avenge being laughed at by a woman at the Qi court. So righteous anger on behalf of the state largely blends with seeking personal vengeance.

Besides anger, battles could be motivated by other emotions, most notably greed (*tan*). However, while anger could sometimes be an appropriate motive for a campaign, desire for material benefit was invariably treated as an error resulting in defeat¹⁴. Indeed, such motives elicited the moral anger that would drive the opponent to fight.

In addition, the *Zuo zhuan* also frequently appealed to shame (*chi*), the emotional expression of concern for honor, as a motive for combat. In several stories the fear of being shamed became the foundation of martial heroism. The most frequently cited example of this idea, and the earliest example of any reference to *chi* in the *Zuo zhuan*, is the following:

Li Ke of Jin commanded the army, with Liang Youmi as his charioteer and Guo She as their spearman. They defeated the Di people at Caisang. Liang Youmi said, "The Di have no shame, so if you pursue them, they will certainly be routed". Li Ke replied, "We will just put proper fear into them, without stirring up the masses of other Di". Guo She said, "In

the Daemon in Early China, Albany 2002, pp. 35-36, 107-109. For another account of righteous anger leading to victory, see *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 748-749. On the importance of having heart/minds set on fighting, see Lord Cheng year 16, p. 883.

¹³ *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xuan year 17, p. 774. The *Ode* that he quotes is "Cunning Words", which is glossed as a criticism of the ruler's refusal to suppress slanderers. For another use of this ode for veiled communication in the court, see Lord Xiang year 14, p. 1011. See also *Kongzi jia yu*, annotated by W. Su, in: *Xin bian zhuzi ji cheng*, I, Taipei 1974, ch. 1: "Wu yi jie", p. 13: "To attack many with few, to offend the strong with the weak, with inappropriate anger [*fen nu*] to not measure one's own strength, weapons will kill him".

¹⁴ *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 33, p. 497. For a similar argument, see Lord Cheng year 16, p. 883.

a year the Di will certainly come to attack, because [in failing to pursue them], you have shown that we are weak"¹⁵.

The passage was originally written as part of a broader debate about the limits of civility in combat, and it has been cited by modern scholars as an early piece of evidence for a nascent distinction between a civilized people, identified as Hua or Xia, and their "barbaric" neighbors. However, it is notable that this distinction takes the form of a claim that Di people lack the sense of shame that distinguishes the Hua, or at least their nobles, and that this lack would mean a tendency to collapse and run when combat took a turn for the worse. Thus shame here, as in the ancient Mediterranean world, was that which separated the noble man, who would fight to the death for the sake of his honor, from the lesser man who valued his safety above all else¹⁶.

The most elaborate theorization of the links between shame and bellicosity as a general feature of the social order is the following reply to the king of Chu's suggestion that he should humiliate the emissary from Jin who has come to arrange a marriage between the two ruling houses:

You should. If you have sufficient military preparations, why shouldn't you? If you shame even a common man you must be prepared to fight, how much more if you shame a state? For this reason the sage king's devoted themselves to diplomatic ritual and never sought to shame anyone.

The speaker goes on to enumerate all the elements of interstate diplomacy and to suggest that states suffer defeats as a result of abandoning these practices. He demonstrates this point by enumerating the alternation of victory and defeat between Jin and Chu, with the winner always losing the next conflict by growing arrogant and lax in diplomacy. This argument ends by pointing out that not only has Jin observed all the rules of interstate exchange since its last victory, but is now more highly honoring Chu and establishing marital ties. The speaker then enumerates all the outstanding figures in Jin's government, and argues that any mistreatment of one of them would incite the "martial anger [*wu nu*]" of all of them who would "requite their great shame"¹⁷.

15 Ibidem, Lord Xi year 8, p. 322.

16 On the centrality of honor to the evolving forms of warfare in the ancient Mediterranean, see J.E. Lendon, *Soldiers & Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity*, New Haven 2006; idem, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World*, Oxford 1997; J. Roisman, *The Rhetoric of Manhood: Masculinity in the Attic Orators*, Berkeley 2005, ch. 5, 8; C.A. Barton, *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones*, Berkeley 2001, pp. 75-90, 126-127, 142-143, 167-168; M. McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic*, Cambridge (UK) 2006, ch. 4, 8; P. Robinson, *Military Honour and the Conduct of War: From Ancient Greece to Iraq*, London 2006, ch. 1-3.

17 *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Zhao year 5, pp. 1267-1269. For another story in which a speaker insists on the danger of insulting people and the consequent need for military preparations, see *Guo yu*, annotated by M. Zuoqiu, Shanghai 1978, ch. 15: "Jin yu jiu", p. 502.

This passage elaborates a generalized theory of the social importance of shame that makes at least three major points. First, it posits that people of any social rank would feel shame if insulted, and that such a feeling would motivate a violent response¹⁸. Second, it twice posits that states as well as individuals experience shame and respond with violence, first with the quoted reference to state's being shamed, and second in a lengthy account of all the noblemen who would violently respond to any insult to Jin, and all the military resources at their disposal. Third, it invokes the term *bao* "requite" or "repay", as the intended purpose of the violence that responds to an insult, and in doing so it makes explicit that shame is the driving force in appeals to vengeance.

There are over thirty further references to shame in the *Zuo zhuan*, the vast majority of which pertain to this emotion as the driving force for combat. In addition to repeating the arguments noted above, other passages argue that the people would fight because their ruler had been shamed; that one should "make clear [to the warriors] what was shameful and then teach them to fight"; that one who withdrew in the face of the enemy should be executed because this was an insult (*chi*) to his state; that a refusal to fight (just like a defeat) was a matter of shame for an army, and that such shame would be increased by the presence of allied forces who witnessed it; that a defeat disgraced a commander as well as his army; that loss of territory from a defeat increased its shame; that a state acting as hegemon would be shamed if it could not militarily protect the Zhou royal house; that to have a ruler taken prisoner in battle was a disgrace; and that a state's shame could be eliminated by defeating rebels and their invader allies¹⁹.

18 This extension of a concern for honor/shame to all levels of society also appears in the roughly contemporary *Mencius*, in this text's assertion that even a homeless wanderer or a beggar would refuse food needed to survive if it were given with an insult or a kick. See *Mengzi zheng yi*, annotated by J. Xun, in: *Xin bian...*, I, ch. 11: "Gaozi shang", p. 462.

19 *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Xi year 15, p. 366; year 22, p. 398; year 28, p. 459; year 33, p. 504; Lord Cheng year 16, p. 882; Lord Xiang year 10, p. 982; year 14, p. 1009 (2 cases); year 25, p. 1105; Lord Zhao year 21, p. 1428; year 22, p. 1433; year 24, pp. 1451-1452 (2 cases); Lord Ding year 4, p. 1546; year 14, p. 1597 (this uses *xiu*); Lord Ai year 2, p. 1614; year 11, p. 1658 (2 cases). On the theme of military defeat as a disgrace, see also *Guo yu*, ch. 9: "Jin yu san", p. 328; ch. 12: "Jin yu liu", pp. 419-420; ch. 20: "Yue yu shang", p. 637 (5 cases). Another passage in the same text uses the assumption that military defeat or failures in the hunt are shameful as part of a mocking critique. See ch. 14: "Jin yu 8", pp. 461-462. Yet another uses the shame involved in not fighting to manipulate an opponent into an unwise battle. See ch. 19: "Wu yu", p. 618. A Western Han text recounts a story set in the period of the *Zuo zhuan*, and it accepts the idea that a military defeat would "disgrace the ruler". However, it demonstrates the change that has taken place in that it presents the army's commander as choosing not to fight in order to avoid such a disgrace, and the enemy choosing to withdraw out of respect for his consideration for the ruler's honor. See *Shuo yuan jiao zheng*, compiled by L. Xiang, annotated by X. Zonglu, Beijing 1987, ch. 4: "Li jie", p. 87.

A half dozen cases are also linked to military conflicts between states or lineages, as in the argument that a state was disgraced by being forced to seal a covenant for peace with a lesser official of the victor (rather than its ruler), that rebellious nobles who disobeyed and engaged in a feud (a form of war) were a disgrace for the ruler; that to be surpassed by another state was a disgrace, that a noble planning rebellion against his ruler is disgraced by thus turning his back on his kin and neighbors, and that being able to bear shame meant accepting subordination, which in this case meant not leading the attack²⁰.

In contrast, with this abundance of cases that link shame to defeat in battle or the failure to achieve pre-eminence, there are only three cases that deal with other topics, all ritual errors, and one of these concludes with the argument that there was no disgrace. Finally, there is one case where a man is praised because “when reduced to a humble state, he still maintains a sense of shame, and although yielding, he will not be bullied”²¹. This sentence anticipates a major later development, in which people praise the ability to tactically accept what would seem to be disgraceful treatment in order to achieve ultimate success and glory. However, in contrast with the later cases, this does not praise the accepting of shameful treatment in pursuit of a greater aim, but rather the ability to reject or avoid shame even when one has temporarily lost a higher position. Thus throughout the *Zuo zhuan*, shame is presented as a response to defeat in battle or the reduction of status, and it is invoked as a feeling that should drive men to fight for the supremacy of their state or themselves.

EMOTIONS IN THE MILITARY TREATISES

The *Zuo zhuan*'s discussions of the relation between emotions and warfare led into the same themes in the military treatises that were composed from the middle of the Warring States period. Such works criticized the *Zuo zhuan*'s celebration of martial heroism²². Consequently, anger – which in the *Zuo zhuan* was positive in driving men to heroism, but potentially negative in that such heroism might be turned against their own state – became almost

On the idea in the works of Homer of the threat of shame that impels one to fight, see B. Williams, *Shame and Necessity*, Berkeley 1993, pp. 79-80.

²⁰ *Zuo zhuan zhu*, Lord Wen year 2, p. 522; Lord Xuan year 12, pp. 739-740 (this uses *xiu*); Lord Xiang year 17, pp. 1031-1032; Lord Zhao year 1, p. 1201 (2 cases); year 12, pp. 1336-1338; year 22, p. 1433 (this uses *xiu*).

²¹ *Ibidem*, Lord Wen year 13, pp. 594-595; Lord Zhao year 16, pp. 1377-1378 (3 cases); Lord Ding year 1, pp. 1526-1527; Lord Ai year 11, pp. 1665-1666.

²² M.E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence...*, ch. 3.

entirely negative. This critique of anger as a dangerous motive in conflict that could ruin the state also appeared in the late Warring States philosophical synthesis, the *Spring and Autumns of Master Lü*²³.

The *Master Sun* (*Sunzi*) urges the commander to stir up the anger of the opposing general so that he would be more easily duped or provoked to fight. In contrast, the anger of one's own general would lead to such stupid decisions as storming a fortified city. Another passage insists that the general must always remain tranquil. Similarly, the text condemns launching a war because the ruler is angry, basing the argument on the idea that emotions are inherently unstable, temporarily sweeping over one and then turning into their opposite. Finally, officers' anger is twice cited as demonstrating the breakdown of discipline, which leads to insubordination and the disintegration of the army. Discussions of the destructive power of anger figure in the other treatises, several of which introduce the idea that the people's collective anger produces inauspicious omens that lead to catastrophe. After insisting that the ruler cannot launch a war out of anger, the *Master Wei Liao* (*Weiliaozi*) describes the commander's being provoked to anger or lured by wealth as equivalent to being insane, blind, and deaf. This would disqualify him from command²⁴.

23 *Lü shi chun qiu jiao shi*, annotated by Ch. Qiyu, Shanghai 1984, ch. 16: "Cha wei", pp. 1003-1004: two stories in which anger – in one case an escalating series of angry responses to provocations – led to undertaking disastrous military expeditions that either seriously damaged the state or toppled the ruling house. Other stories tell how anger led rulers to alienate good advisers. See ch. 16: "Qu you", pp. 1013-1014.

24 [*Shi yi jia zhu*] *Sunzi*, Shanghai 1978, ch. 1: "Ji", p. 18 – this also instructs the commander to entice the enemy with profits, another form of emotional manipulation; ch. 3: "Mou gong", p. 53; ch. 8: "Jiu bian", p. 210; ch. 9: "Xing jun", p. 235 (2 cases); ch. 11: "Di xing", pp. 254, 294; ch. 13: "Huo gong", p. 325. On the dangers of anger, see also *Wei Liaozi zhi jie*, in: *Ming ben wu jing qi shu zhi jie*, annotated by L. Yin, Taipei 1972, ch. 2: "Bing tan", p. 6a: "The army cannot be mobilized out of anger [*fen*]. If victory can be foreseen, then mobilize. If not, then stop"; pp. 6b-7a: "[The commander] should be broad-minded, so that he cannot be provoked to anger [*nu*], and pure so that he cannot be lured by wealth. If the mind is crazed, the eyes blinded, and the ears made deaf [by desires], then it is difficult to command people". Closely related is a passage in ch. 5: "Gong quan", p. 27a: "One who fights for personal benefit or resentment responds only when it cannot be helped. Even though resentments have been formed, you must await [their error] and value responding". See also ch. 23: "Bing ling shang", p. 22b on the necessity of the general remaining calm and still; *Xunzi ji jie*, annotated by W. Xianqian, in: *Xin bian...*, II, ch. 15: "Yi bing", p. 184, which argues that the general should not be provoked to anger by the enemy, nor delighted (*xi*) by his own ruler's proffered rewards.

On enticing the enemy through offering them things that they desire, see *Sunzi*, ch. 5, p. 114; ch. 6: "Xu shi", p. 124; ch. 7: "Jun zheng", p. 155; ch. 8: "Jiu bian", p. 207; *Wuzi zhi jie*, in: *Ming ben wu jing...*, ch. 2: "Liao di", p. 18b (this applies to fighting Qin, whose forces tend to fragment because the warriors are heroic but greedy). Spies, who were the dearest [*qin*] people to the ruler, could also be baited with profit, as in *Sunzi*, ch. 13: "Yong jian", pp. 340, 344. One could also force the enemy to engage by attacking what they loved, as in ch. 11:

Tai Gong's Six Secret Teachings argues that anger is necessary in imposing punishments, which in this period extends to using military force:

If one *should* become angry but does not, treacherous ministers will arise. If one should execute someone but does not, great bandits will emerge. If military power should be practiced but is not, enemy states will become strong²⁵.

However, the anger in this case applies only in the relation of the ruler with his own officials, and not to the conduct of military campaigns against enemy states.

The only positive appraisal of anger in the *Master Sun* is a statement that anger leads the common soldiers to kill the enemy. This is extended to several emotions in a passage from *The Methods of the Grand Commandant* (*sima fa*):

In general people will die for love, die out of anger, die out of fear [*wei*, i.e., fear or awe of their superiors], die out of a sense of duty, and die for profit [*li*]²⁶.

Here anger remains useful, but only at the level of the troops who are treated as relatively mindless creatures who could benefit from the unthinking impulsion of anger. Even for them, the treatises enumerate cases in which individual bellicosity harms the army. Although they must be prepared for combat, if the people love (*hào*) war the state will perish²⁷. More importantly, enumerating many motives for combat reduces the warrior's emotion *par excellence* to only one of a range of useful feelings, including such base motivations as fear of commanders or desire for booty. Several texts – as discussed below in the context of the *Master Han Fei* and the *Book of Lord Shang* (*Shang Jun shu*) – make these lower emotions, above all fear of punishment or

"Jiu di", pp. 281, 312; *Sima fa zhi jie*, in: *Ming ben wu jing...*, I, ch. 3: "Ding jue", p. 38b; *Wei Liaozi...*, ch. 22: "Bing jiao xia", p. 18b. On the commander's "love of profit [*hào li*]" resulting in disaster, see *ibidem*, ch. 7: "Shier ling", p. 35a; ch. 22: "Bing jiao xia", p. 20b; *Tai Gong liu tao zhi jie*, in: *Ming ben wu jing...*, II, ch. 19: "Lun jiang", pp. 59b-60a.

²⁵ *Tai Gong liu tao...*, ch. 9: "Shang xian", p. 29b.

²⁶ *Sunzi*, ch. 2: "Zuo zhan", p. 43; *Sima fa...*, ch. 4: "Yan wei", p. 48a. The *Sunzi* also argues that if the enemy's troops are "angry" but do not engage, there must be some trap. See ch. 9: "Xing jun", p. 235. A term closely related to "anger" that also drives the soldiers to fight, but which is lost through inept command, is *rui*, which as an adjective identifies elite troops but as a noun means "ardor" or "audacity". See, for example, *Sunzi*, ch. 2: "Zuo zhan", p. 31 (2 cases); ch. 7: "Jun zheng", p. 183.

²⁷ *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 1: "Tu guo", p. 3a (on the inadequacy of "heart/minds set on fighting" without the guidance of a commander), pp. 3b, 11a (on the dangers of anger or greed as motives); ch. 2: "Liao di", p. 18b (the *dou xin* of the Qin soldiers leads them to disperse and fight on their own), p. 19b (the love of courage of Yan's soldiers disinclines them to move), p. 22b (anger and bad omens/catastrophe), p. 30a (heroism of fighters depending on anger); *Sima fa...*, ch. 1: "Ren ben", p. 5b. On the troops as mindless and defined by simple, physical energies, see M.E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence...*, pp. 110-112, 222-226.

desire for rewards, central to motivating peasant soldiers. Among the military treatises, these are particularly important in the *Master Wei Liao*, which is closely linked to the institutions of Qin and the so-called “legalists” texts associated with that state²⁸.

Some texts argue for luring the enemy with tempting targets, or forcing them to defend by attacking something they love. Others argue for the emotional manipulation of the enemy through giving them something that they desire so they become arrogant. Thus, *Tai Gong’s Six Secret Teachings* argues:

Accord with what delights [xi] him in order to humor his ambitions [zhi].
He will grow arrogant and certainly have some business that he loves
[hào]. If you can go along with this, you will be able to eliminate him.

This passage then enumerates several policies which lure the enemy to his destruction through pandering to his desires or manipulating his favorites and those whom he loves. Such manipulation is based on giving them what they love (*ai*) or what they desire (*yu*)²⁹.

28 Thus the *Sunzi* argues that the Way, which makes the people willing to die for the ruler, along with regulations imposing discipline through reward and punishment, are among the basic factors that determine victory. See *Sunzi*, ch. 1: “Ji”, p. 3 (2 cases). See also ch. 11: “Jiu di”, p. 291. For other military treatises on how emotions elicited by training, rewards, and punishments are crucial to combat, see *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 2: “Liao di”, pp. 21b, 24a; ch. 3: “Zhi bing”, pp. 27b-28a; ch. 4: “Lun jiang”, pp. 38b-39a; ch. 6: “Li shi”, p. 50b; *Sima fa...*, ch. 2: “Tianzi zhi yi”, pp. 20a, 21a, 25b-26a. The *Wei Liaozi* has numerous chapters on military regulations or laws as the basis of victory. This is elaborated in ch. 3: “Zhi tan”, which begins with the proposition (p. 8a): “All military affairs begin with the fixing of regulations”, and later (p. 10b): “It is not that the people delight in [le] death and hate [wù] life. If the commands and rules are clear, and the laws and regulations are manifest, then you can certainly cause them to advance”. P. 14b argues that people will compete in going to battle if they are rewarded with titles, and p. 15b describes how laws and regulations give the people “heart/minds committed to war”. The last dozen chapters of the text deal with commands, rules, and regulations. See also *Tai Gong liu tao...*, ch. 22: “Jiang wei”, p. 67b; ch. 27: “Qi bing”, pp. 80a-b; *Sun Bin bing fa jiao li*, ed. by Zh. Zhenze, Beijing 1984, p. 27: “Rewards are a means of delighting [xi] the masses of troops and causing the soldiers to forget about death. Punishments are a means of bringing order to chaos and causing the people to fear [wei] their superiors”; p. 54: “Keeness in battle lies in the soldiers trusting [their commanders]... Trust depends on the troops clearly perceiving rewards”.

A related idea is that the troops’ courage or cowardice is a matter of circumstances, e.g., terrain, formations, and maneuvers, that are manipulated by the commander. See *Sunzi*, ch. 5: “Shi”, p. 111; ch. 7: “Jun zheng”, p. 173; ch. 11: “Jiu di”, pp. 286, 297, 302, 307. Similarly, passages urge the commander to share plunder with the troops, using their desire for material gain to encourage them to fight, or otherwise manipulating their desires. See ch. 8: “Jun zheng”, p. 171; ch. 11: “Jiu di”, p. 303; *Sima fa...*, ch. 3: “Ding jue”, pp. 32a, 40b.

29 *Tai Gong liu tao...*, ch. 15: “Wen fa”, pp. 43b-46b. Manipulating him or his favorites with gifts of what they love is also described in ch. 17: “San yi”, pp. 51a-b. A late chapter of

Texts also insist that for the army to be unified the commander and his troops must share a common mind, including “identical desires [*tong yu*]”³⁰. This echoes earlier philosophical texts, where sharing the same likes and dislikes is tied to shared moral judgments that led men to join together, whether as scholars or as neighbors.

One of the most important ideas in the military treatises about the emotional bases of warfare is that the commander and his troops should be linked by mutual love or caring, but that such love must be temperate. Thus, the *Master Sun* argues:

If you regard your soldiers as young children, they will plunge into the deepest ravines with you. If you regard them as your beloved children [*ai zi*], they will die for you. But if you are too generous and cannot control them, or too loving and cannot command them, so that when there is chaos you cannot impose order, then they are like spoiled children and cannot be employed³¹.

Love of the commander for his troops is necessary to elicit the desired response, which manifests itself in willingness to go to their deaths for him. However, as argued elsewhere, such love carried to extremes would become destructive, either, as here, through excessive indulgence, or by causing the commander to wear himself out in constant efforts to avoid casualties or rescue those in danger³².

While the love between commander and soldiers is a secondary topic in earlier treatises, such as the *Master Sun*, in the treatises written in the late Warring States period, as well as philosophical texts from that time, it became

the *Guanzi* attributes the Zhou conquest of the Shang, which is also the historical setting of the “Wen fa” chapter of the *Tai Gong liu tao*, to the bribery of concubines and favorites. See *Guanzi jiao zheng*, annotated by D. Wang, in: *Xin bian...*, V, ch. 80: “Qing zhong jia 輕重甲”, p. 389.

³⁰ *Sunzi*, ch. 3: “Mou gong”, p. 73. On the necessity of the troops and the commander having a single mind, which ultimately is that of the commander, see M.E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence...*, pp. 104-109, 225, 231, 238. In addition to the passages cited therein, see also *Sima fa...*, ch. 4: “Yan wei”, p. 43a; *Wei Liaozi...*, ch. 4: “Zhan wei”, p. 21b.

³¹ *Sunzi*, ch. 10: “Di xing”, p. 261. A more positive passage on combining severity with love sees the latter as the necessary foundation to the former. Ch. 9: “Xing jun”, p. 242: “If you punish soldiers who are not yet intimately attached [*qin fu*], they will not obey”. Such “intimate attachment” was also a consequence of the unity produced by driving deeply into the enemy’s terrain. See ch. 11: “Jiu di”, pp. 286, 297. This page also argues that courage is produced by terrain from which one cannot escape. The idea that one must first establish relations of intimate affection with the troops, and only then impose regulations, is also in the *Wei Liaozi...*, ch. 4: “Zhan wei”, p. 19a: “First have close relations and love [*qin ai*] and only then impose laws on their bodies”.

³² *Sunzi*, ch. 8: “Jiu bian”, p. 210: “The general has five dangers:... If he is angry or hasty, he can be provoked by insults... If he loves the people, he can be plagued/vexed with worries”.

a major issue³³. Thus, the *Master Wu* (*Wuzi*), the *Master Wei Liao*, and the *Six Secret Teachings of Lord Tai* all repeatedly cite the people's love for their ruler or commander as the basis of military success, as does the chapter on the military in the *Master Xun*.

The *Master Wu* argues that the ruler must achieve intimate affection (*qin*) with the people before launching a campaign, and that because the people know that he loves/begrudges their lives and confronts danger with them, they will regard dying for him as glorious. Similarly, "intimate love [*qin*]" for local officials is described as the basis of the state's defenses being secure. Inversely, the enemy's ruler loving (*ai*) his people and consequently being generous to them means that war must be avoided. Love as the basis of military success also figures in the description of an army that is invincible due to the unshakeable unity of its troops as a "father-and-son army". The same feelings of closeness or love (*qin*) must also exist between the army's horses and their drivers³⁴.

The troops' emotional intensity as the basis of their capacity to fight, and their emotional relation to the ruler as the basis of that intensity, was later pointed out in the early Han-dynasty *Master of Huainan*:

A brave warrior with a single shout can cause the entire army of the enemy to retreat. This is because he brings it forth with complete sincerity/singlemindedness [*cheng*]. If you command and the troops do not harmonize, or if you have an idea and they do not support it, then something is not in accord within your inner heart³⁵.

Here the total sincerity of the individual fighter that inspires fear in the opponent is explicitly contrasted with an internal division in the mind of the ruler or commander that leads his own men to not obey. Either as a fighter or commander, the text attributes success to mental focus and its resulting energies.

This emphasis on the intensity of the troops' emotional energies as the key to military success appears in a passage from the *Records of Ritual* listing the emotions that are the primary concern for each category of political ritual. After discussing the emotions that underlay receiving guests, performing sacrifices or funerals, and staging interstate conferences, it concludes:

33 For arguments on the dating of these texts, received as well as those found in tombs, see M.E. Lewis, *Writings on Warfare Found in Ancient Chinese Tombs*, "Sino-Platonic Papers" CLVIII (2005), pp. 1-15.

34 *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 1: "Tu guo", pp. 4b-6a, 14a; ch. 2: "Liao di", p. 23b; ch. 3: "Zhi bing", pp. 28b, 34a. The *Xunzi* also makes the ruler's love for his people essential for the army's strength. See *Xunzi ji jie*, ch. 6: "Fu guo", p. 126.

35 *Huainanzi*, annotated by G. You, in: *Xin bian...*, VII, ch. 10: "Miu cheng", p. 155.

In the army one ponders the dangers of terrain, and then assesses [the troops'] emotions [*qing*] in order to judge the situation³⁶.

Some commentators suggest that the *qing* in this passage refers to “the facts of the situation” rather than emotions, but the list in which it appears clearly shows that this is a reference to feelings³⁷.

A passage in the *Master Wu* describes forming a special unit of men who delight (*le*) in advancing into battle to display their loyalty and courage. *Tai Gong's Six Secret Teachings* goes further, discussing how troops can be led to compete to be first into battle, angry (*nu*) upon hearing the signal to retreat, and delighted (*xi*) at the signal to advance. It argues that this joy in battle can be attained only if the general shares the physical circumstances of his men, suffering cold and heat with them and eating only after they have. By thus “halting his desires [*zhi yu*]” the commander can understand the emotions of his men and elicit their enthusiastic participation³⁸.

These maxims in the military treatises are dramatized in a story in the *Stratagems of the Warring States (Zhanguo Ce)* demonstrating the decisive role of the emotions elicited by the commander's willingness to suffer with his troops, or the hostility aroused by his refusal to do so. After Tian Dan scorned Lu Zhonglian's prophecy that he would fail to take the Di people's capital, and for three months was unable to do so, a prophetic song attributed to children said:

'Helmets large as winnowing baskets [*ji *kə*],
Long swords that reach their chins [*yi *jə*],
Attack the Di but unable to conquer [*neng *nə*],
Stuck beneath the wall at Ku Hill [*qiu *khwə*].'

36 *Li ji zhu shu*, in: *Shisan jing zhushu*, V, Taipei 1974, ch. 35: “Shao yi”, p. 19a.

37 The commentators are on the same page as the original passage.

38 On elite units who delight in battle, see *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 1: “Tu guo”, p. 13a. On getting the entire army to delight in attack and be angry when signaled to retreat, see *Tai Gong liu tao...*, ch. 23: “Li jun”, pp. 68b-70a. On the balancing of anger (*nu*) and delight (*xi*) as crucial to the army's harmony, see ch. 27: “Qi bing”, p. 80b; ch. 29: “Bing zheng”, p. 85b. For another description of special units distinguished by their skills and love of combat, and whom the ruler is charged to love (*ai*), see *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 1: “Tu guo”, pp. 20b-21a. On soldiers who delight (*le*) in hearing commands, fight in battle, and die as being the basis of the ruler's power, see ch. 6: “Li shi”, p. 50b. A variant of the “father-and-son army” is the idea that fellow villagers or neighbors should form units. See ch. 3: “Zhi bing”, p. 32b. On special units, see also *Wei Liaozi...*, ch. 22: “Bing jiao xia”, p. 17a; *Tai Gong liu tao...*, ch. 18: “Wang yi”, p. 55b; ch. 53: “Lian shi”, pp. 47a-49b (11 cases); ch. 56: “Wu che shi”, pp. 54b-55a; ch. 57: “Wu ji shi”, p. 55b. Another passage in the *Wei Liaozi* describes rituals to honor those who die in battle, and material aid given to their surviving relatives, as allowing soldiers to know that the ruler loves/begrudges their lives. See ch. 6: “Li shi”, pp. 51a-b. On “delighting in” battle, see also *Sima fa...*, ch. 3: “Ding jue”, p. 33a; ch. 4: “Yan wei”, p. 52a.

Tian Dan was frightened [*ju* or *kong hai*], and asked Lu Zhonglian, “You said I would be unable to conquer the Di; could you explain your thinking?”

Lu Zonglian said, “When you were at Jimo [scene of Tian Dan’s greatest victory], you sat [with your men] weaving mats [to sleep on] and stood resting on your shovels. For your soldiers you sang out [*chang*],

‘We should advance [*wang *wan*],
The ancestral temple perishes [*wang *man*],
The days drag on [*shang *djan*]
(Or “Our ancestral spirits grieve [*sang *sân*]”)
To what comrades can we return [*dang *tañ*]?’

At this time your heart/mind was resolved on death, and your soldiers had no disposition [*qi*] to stay alive. Upon hearing your words, none of them did not wipe away his tears, shake his fists in anger, and desire to [*yu*] fight. This is how you smashed Yan. Now in the east you have an income from your fief at Yeyi, in the west you enjoy pleasures on the banks of the Zi River. In your golden belt you gallop about between the Zi and Sheng Rivers, with all the delights [*le*] of life and no heart/mind resolved on death [or ‘therefore you delight in life and hate [*wù*] death’]. This is why you do not conquer.

Tian Dan said, “I do have this heart/mind [resolved on death], you mark what I say”. The next day with vaulting spirit [*qi*] he moved along the wall. Standing amidst the volleys of arrows and stones, he took the mallet in hand and drummed his army forward, so the Di fell³⁹.

The argument explains Tian Dan’s success or failure primarily in terms of whether or not he shares the sufferings and exertions of his soldiers, and secondarily in whether he is emotionally tied to the world by love of wealth and pleasures. This latter point links with arguments from the period, where the ideal ruler would, with a mind like a mirror or still water, be free of emotional attachments to whatever he encountered.

The story also demonstrates the powers of songs or verse. First, it shows how young children in groups can channel divine inspiration into prophetic verse, which explains Tian Dan’s fear of their song while he ignored the warnings of a skilled adviser. Second, it dramatizes how chanted verse can bring people together in emotional communities, with the power of verse to unite the commander and his troops replacing the earlier sharing of material conditions. This is also emphasized by the use of the verb *chang*, which besides meaning “to sing” also has the sense of “to lead” or “to sing a solo line” which

39 *Zhan guo ce*, Shanghai 1978, ch. 13: “Qi liu”, pp. 467-468. The story with textual variants – including the alternate description of Tian Dan’s fear, the divergent third line in his song, and the divergent description of his current emotional state – also appears in *Shuo yuan*..., ch. 15: “Zhi wu”, pp. 373-374.

would be joined in harmony (*he*) by the chorus. Tian Dan's joining with his troops is also emphasized by the reference to the energetic impulsion (*qi*) that drives him on the final day. The term *qi* routinely identified the mental or emotional state of the soldiers, and was something that the commander manipulated, rather than joining in. Finally, the nearly magic power of the drumming extends this idea of the army's *qi*, which is routinely aroused by the beating of the drum.

The *Methods of the Grand Commandant* (*Sima fa*) argues that one should not merely love (*ai* and *qin*) one's own people, which allows secure defenses, but extend this love to the enemy's people, who could thus be disarmed or brought under one's own control. This idea of extending the bonds of intimate affection (*qin*) beyond one's borders, and thereby winning over the enemy, also appears in the *Master Wei Liao* and in *Tai Gong's Six Secret Teachings*⁴⁰.

Tai Gong's Six Secret Teachings also describes the ruler's love for his people, at least the good ones, as the basis of the state. Because he loved the people, was just in his judgments, and lived modestly without taking other's wealth, the common people were happy (*le*) and loved (*qin*) the ruler like their own parents. The emphasis on the emotions in this text reaches such a point that when King Wen asks about how to administer a state, Tai Gong replies: "Simply love [*ai*] the people", and he defines this love as benefitting (*li*) them, making them happy (*le*), delighting (*xi*) them, and not making them angry (*nu*)⁴¹.

The *Master Wei Liao* extends the theme of loving the people, and of winning their love, to attaining the intimate affection (*qin*) of migrants, i.e., attracting population from other states to fill up one's own empty spaces. This policy is clearly linked to the state of Qin and the rise of that state as the dominant power among the Warring States⁴². This *Master Wei Liao* also shares with the

40 *Sima fa*..., ch. 1: "Ren ben", pp. 4a-5a. For accounts of loving the people or making them happy as the basis of military action, see also ch. 3: "Ding jue", p. 28b (to wage war one must "follow the people's heart/minds") pp. 29b-30a, 36a-37a. *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 8: "Wu yi", p. 36a: "Because the military policies lie with a single man, the troops do not need to bloody their blades [to conquer], and the whole world loves [*qin*] him". See also *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 9: "Shang xian", p. 29a; ch. 17: "San yi", pp. 51b-52a; ch. 19: "Lun jiang", pp. 58a-b.

41 *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 2: "Ying xu", pp. 10b-11b; ch. 3: "Guo wu", p. 12a. See also p. 13b: "One who is skilled at administering a state governs the people like parents with a beloved child".

42 *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 2: "Bing tan", p. 5a. Qin's emphasis on attracting people to cultivate unused land is discussed in the *Book of Lord Shang*. See *Shang Jun shu zhu yi*, annotated by G. Heng, Beijing 1974, ch. 2: "Ken ling"; ch. 15: "Lai min". The *Wei Liaozi* is full of arguments that reflect Qin institutions introduced by the reforms of Shang Yang and the theories expounded in the *Lord Shang*. These include collective units of military service and shared legal liability, agriculture and warfare as correlates and the sole legitimate activities of the

Book of Lord Shang ideas about warfare: that the stratagems of the general that are central to the *Master Sun* are secondary, and that victory depends on the ruler and the administrative system. These texts also emphasize the emotional responses of the populace – especially their love of the ruler, their desire for rewards, and their fear of punishments – as the foundation of the army’s success. Consequently, the *Master Wei Liao* argues that one must establish ties of intimate affection before rewards and punishments can be made to work⁴³.

In addition to emphasizing the people’s love of the ruler as the foundation of military regulations, and thus of military success, the *Master Wei Liao* also elaborates the means of “stimulating” both officers and soldiers, including the granting of titles. However, this ultimately depends on the intimate emotional affections that define the family, and the broader virtues of cooperation that define the village:

Thus engaging in combat must be based on commanding the self, just like the mind’s commanding the four limbs. If their ambitions [*zhi*] are not stimulated, the officers will not die for honor, and if the officers will not die for honor then the masses will not fight.

As for the way of stimulating the soldiers, the people’s livelihoods must be generous. The ranked political titles and the intimate affections [*qin*] of mourning rituals are what the people work at, so these must be made notable. You must accord with that by which the people live in order to control them, and accord with that at which they work and make it notable. The fruits of the fields, the intimate affections [*qin*] of eating and drinking together, the mutual encouragement in village ceremonies, the mutual assistance in death and the rites of mourning, with military service following after all of these, this is what stimulates the people.

Cause the squads of five and ten to be like intimate kin [*qin qi*] and the members of companies and their officers to be like friends [*peng you*]. Then when they stop, they will be like a wall, and when they move, they will be like the wind and rain⁴⁴.

Here identifying the army with the peasantry, the most important development in Warring States political institutions, becomes an emotional

populace, denunciation of relying on alliances, gaining rank solely through military service, avoiding enriching the officials, imposition of legal punishments on even the most honored and powerful, regulations as the key to military success, and even having “everything emerge from one hole/source” as the key to political success.

⁴³ *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 4: “Zhan wei”, pp. 18b-19a.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 19b-20b. The links of loving the people, encouraging agriculture, and laying the foundation for warfare is also in *Sima fa*..., ch. 1: “Ren ben”, p. 5b.

program in which the intimate affections of families and neighbors – as enacted in familial commensality, collective mourning, and the village drinking ceremonies – elicit the feelings that stimulate the people to fight. These practices, at the same time, are linked to the need to draw sustenance from the fields, and the appeal of earning titles from the state that will give men an honored status within their communities.

The importance of emotional ties among troops, and between these and the ruler, was also elaborated in the early imperial *Master of Huainan*. After discussing how the ruler follows the people's desires (*yu*) so that he can employ their physical strength, the text continues:

Those who value the same things will die for one another; those who share the same emotions [*qing*] will complete one another; those who have the same desires [*yu*] will aid one another⁴⁵.

It continues with analogies of hunting – where all exhaust their energies and risk their lives without any threat of punishment – and of people sharing an endangered boat. So long as the ruler will share the gains of the war with the people, they will serve him like sons serving their fathers.

This linking of titles, family intimacy, and the neighborly virtues echoes passages from two later chapters of the *Master Mo*, which would be roughly contemporary with the *Master Wei Liao*. The “Canons B” chapter argues, “Things in different categories cannot be compared. The explanation lies in measurement”. This idea that things in different categories are incommensurable because measured by different standards is glossed as follows:

Of wood and night, which is longer? Of knowledge and grain, which is greater? Of titles, family intimacy [*qin*], good conduct [*xing*], and monetary worth, which is more valuable/nobler [*gui*]?⁴⁶

This posits four distinct realms of value – the state, the family, the group linked by common moral values, and the market. These four incommensurable types of value are the same set as that in the *Master Wei Liao*. The first three are posited in the passage cited above, and the last one is suggested by the reference to people's livelihoods and the fruits of the earth. Moreover, a later passage lists five aspects of military affairs on which the Former Kings concentrated, and the second reads:

⁴⁵ *Huainanzi*, ch. 15: “Bing lüe”, p. 254. This chapter then argues that in the highest model of warfare the officials “love and adhere [*qin fu*]” to the ruler, the common people are “harmonious”, and superiors and subordinates have a “single mind”.

⁴⁶ *Mozi jian gu*, annotated by S. Yirang, in: *Xin bian...*, VI, ch. 10: “Jing xia” and “Jing shuo xia”, pp. 196, 216.

If rewards and salaries are not generous, then the people will not be encouraged to act⁴⁷.

This makes the desire for money yet another of the values that drove the people to fight. Thus, these categories of what was socially valued seem to have become conventional in the late Warring States, but whereas the *Master Mo* uses them to show diverse values that lack any common measure, the *Master Wei Liao* draws them together in an integrated complex of emotions and desires that stimulates people to serve the state in war.

Perhaps based on the aforementioned sequence of winning the soldiers' love and then imposing punishments, the *Master Wei Liao* also links the awe that the commander inspires in his troops to the "love and delight [*ai yue*]" that he elicits:

Therefore the one who understands the Way of victory and defeat must first understand the balance of awe and contempt [i.e., whether they hold their commander in awe and the enemy in contempt, or vice versa]. If he cannot inspire love and delight in their heart/minds, then he will not be employed. If he cannot inspire a solemn awe in their heart/minds, then he will not be promoted by us to command. Love [*ai*] follows from below, while awe is established above. If they love the commander, they will have no thoughts of disobedience; if they hold him in awe they will not violate the regulations. Therefore excellence as a general consists of nothing but [inspiring] love and awe⁴⁸.

This reduces generalship to the ability to inspire two emotions, roughly corresponding to the "two handles" of reward and punishment. This is an extreme formulation, but many passages insist on the centrality of inspiring love or devotion, and on the ability to inspire awe or fear. As in the "balance" in this passage, the fear inspired by the enemy in one's soldiers is another emotion analyzed in the military treatises, as is the means of inspiring fear in the enemy. Fear also appears occasionally in discussions of the general, who must rise above his own fear in order to strike when the possibility of victory presents itself⁴⁹.

47 *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 4: "Zhan wei", p. 21a. The last of the five is also linked to this: "If the rewards and punishments are not correct, the masses will not hold the ruler in awe". This is followed immediately by: "If one devotes oneself to these five, then when [the army] is still, it will be able to defend those places it secures, and when it moves it will attain what it desires [*yu*]".

48 *Ibidem*, ch. 5: "Gong quan", pp. 25b-26a. The theme of the "balance of awe and contempt" is first discussed on p. 25a; p. 25b also discusses the need to keep the officers in awe of the commander.

49 On the troops' necessary fear of their commander and his regulations, see *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 4: "Lun jiang", pp. 38a-b; ch. 6: "Li shi" p. 53a; *Sima fa*..., ch. 1: "Ren ben", p. 5a; ch. 3:

In addition to emphasizing as the basis of warfare the love between the general and his troops, or the ruler and his subjects, *Tai Gong's Six Secret Teachings* argues that the ruler should share all his emotions with the common people. Another passage in the same text argues that if the ruler can share his emotions, then he will be invincible through the force of his people's spirit:

If you share the same problems with the people, then you will save one another. If you share the same feelings [*qing*], you will complete one another. If you share the same hates [*wù*], you will assist one another. If you share the same loves [*hào*], you will pursue them together. Therefore without armored troops you will be victorious; without battering rams you can attack, and without ditches or moats you can defend⁵⁰.

Just as mastering the people's emotions could be the entirety of the general's art, so sharing those emotions could make the ruler an unmatched master of battle.

The emotional links between the ruler and his people as the key to military discipline and victory also figured in the "Debate on Warfare [*yi bing*]" in the *Master Xun*. This depicted a debate between the eponymous author and an imaginary exponent of the art of war as articulated in the *Master Sun*. In response to the former's appeals to deception and maneuver, Master Xun argues that victory depends entirely upon uniting the people, which depends

"Ding jue", p. 40b; ch. 4: "Yan wei", pp. 44b, 45b-46a; *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 24: "Bing ling shang", p. 22b; *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 29: "Jun zheng", p. 85b; *Xunzi ji jie*, ch. 15: "Yi bing", p. 183. On the troops' fear of the enemy as a problem for the general, see *Sunzi*, ch. 12: "Jiu di", p. 286; *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 5: "Ying bian", pp. 46a, 48b; *Sima fa*..., ch. 3: "Ding jue", pp. 34b-35a; ch. 4: "Yan bian", pp. 43a-44a, 45b-46a; *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 6: "Shou quan", p. 32b (this describes the people weeping from fear and sorrow on the walls of a besieged city as being their "constant emotion/nature [*chang qing*]"); ch. 7: "Wu yi", pp. 37b, 39b; ch. 13: "Zhong xing", p. 63a (2 cases); ch. 21: "Bing jiao shang", p. 14b; ch. 22: "Bing jiao xia", pp. 20b-21a (2 cases); *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 39: "Jue dao", p. 21b; ch. 40: "Lue di", p. 22b; ch. 44: "Tu zhan", p. 30b; ch. 45: "Di qiang", p. 32b; ch. 46: "Di wu", p. 34b; ch. 47: "Wu yun shan bing", p. 36a; ch. 48: "Wu yun ze bing", p. 39a. On making the enemy afraid or availing oneself of their fear, see *Sunzi*, ch. 9: "Xing jun", p. 235; ch. 12: "Jiu di", p. 303; *Wuzi zhi jie*, ch. 2: "Liao di", pp. 19b, 23a, 26a; ch. 4: "Lun jiang", pp. 38b, 40b; ch. 5: "Ying bian", pp. 47b, 49b; ch. 6: "Li shi", pp. 52b-53a; *Sima fa*..., ch. 1: "Ren ben", p. 5a; ch. 4: "Yan wei", p. 52a; ch. 5: "Yong zhong", pp. 53b-54b; *Wei Liaozi*..., ch. 5: "Gong quan", p. 27a (this does not mention fear, but says that enemies who disperse their forces in ravines lack "the heart/mind to do battle"), p. 27b; ch. 12: "Zhan quan", pp. 59b, 61a; *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 27: "Qi bing", p. 79a; ch. 36: "Lin jing", p. 16a; ch. 37: "Dong jing", pp. 16b-17a; ch. 38: "Jin gu", p. 19a; ch. 40: "Lue di", pp. 22b, 23b; ch. 44: "Tu zhan", p. 31a; ch. 45: "Di qiang", pp. 33a-b; ch. 46: "Di wu", p. 35a; ch. 52: "Wu feng", p. 46a; ch. 58: "Zhan che", p. 58b (2 cases); ch. 59: "Zhan qi", pp. 60a-b. On the general's lack of fear, see *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 26: "Jun shi", p. 76a.

50 *Tai Gong liu tao*..., ch. 1: "Wen shi", pp. 7a-8a; ch. 13: "Fa qi", p. 36b. See also p. 37b: "Conquering the world is like pursuing wild game, and the world's people all desire to share in the meat".

upon the ruler's ability to gain their love (*qin*) and adherence (*fu*). These emotional ties of the ruler to his army are described as equivalent to those between father and son, or older and younger brother, or like the parts of a single body. This is extended to the idea that given such a virtuous ruler, even his enemy's people would love (*qin*) him like their own parents, and yearn for (*hao*) him like the fragrance of pepper and orchids. The sentiments/disposition (*qing*) of people are such that no one would adhere to a ruler they hated (*wu*) in order to harm someone they loved. The ruler's love for the people also justifies his using punitive military expeditions that are motivated by hate (*wu*) for those who harm them. Throughout the chapter the authors contrast this highest form of government that relies on emotional attachments based on virtue with lower forms based on rewards and punishments or on brute force⁵¹.

EMOTIONS IN THE TEXTS ON STATECRAFT

As an alternative to this emphasis on the emotional links of the ruler to his people, both the *Master Han Fei* and the *Book of Lord Shang* (the two major texts conventionally identified as the embodiments of a philosophy centered on the techniques of statecraft) argued that only a rigorous system of rewards and punishments, with the emphasis on the latter, could impel the peasants to devote themselves both to agriculture and to military service. This identification of the entire free peasant population with the army was the founding principle of the warring state, entailing that the state was based on the correlate service of these peasants on their lands and in the military. Both these texts rejected the possibility of appealing to the emotional devotion of the peasants for these purposes⁵².

51 *Xunzi ji jie*, ch. 15: "Yi bing", pp. 176-178, 185. References to the importance of the emotional links of ruler and ruled are scattered throughout the chapter: p. 179: "One who is fond [*hao*] of his officials will be strong, but one who is not will be weak. One who loves [*ai*] his people will be strong, but one who does not will be weak"; p. 182 argues that the armies of the late Warring States are all motivated by their pursuit of rewards and profits, in this way being like hired workers; p. 186 describes how the people in antiquity loved the excellence and virtues of their rulers, and also how people love and delight (*le*) in benevolent government, for which they are willing to die; p. 188 describes how the people's love of the ruler makes them respond to him like a shadow or an echo.

The idea that the common people will be happy (*yu*) to fight to the death for the humane, loving ruler – whom they love (*qin*) like their own parents – is also asserted in ch. 6: "Fu guo", pp. 117, 123. The same idea appears in ch. 7: "Wang ba", p. 147. The reverse situation, in which the ruler does not love or benefit his people, does not gain their love, and thus cannot get them to die for him, is described in ch. 8: "Jun dao", p. 154.

52 M.E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence...*, ch. 2. On the identity of the peasantry and the army, see especially pp. 64-67.

However, control through rewards and punishments entails a predictable emotional response from those who are subjected to them. Consequently, the emotions of the common people must be restricted to those that would make them responsive to the state's rewards and punishments. This manifests itself in several forms. First, both the *Han Fei* and the *Lord Shang* repeatedly discuss the nature of the peasants' presumed emotional responses and the means of eliciting them. Most commonly, they note that people "love [hào] rewards and hate [wù] punishments", which are the bases of effective government. This can also be described more broadly as an inevitable emotional tendency (*qing*) to pursue what is materially beneficial and avoid what is harmful⁵³.

53 *Han Feizi ji shi*, ed. Ch. Qiyong, Shanghai 1974, ch. 2: "You du", p. 86: "If you use praise to grant rewards and slander to impose punishments, then people who love rewards and hate punishments will abandon public-oriented conduct and pursue private techniques [*shu*], forming cliques to work for each other"; ch. 2: "Er bing", p. 111: "Zi Han said to the ruler of Song, 'rewards and gifts are what people delight in [*xi*], so you can handle those. Execution and punishments are what people hate, so I request to assume control of them'"; ch. 4: "Jian qie shu chen", p. 245: "To go to what gives peace and benefit, and escape what is dangerous or harmful is human nature/emotional tendency [*qing*]; ch. 8: "Yong ren", p. 498; ch. 14: "Wai chu shuo you shang", p. 763; ch. 15: "Nan yi", p. 800; ch. 16: "Nan san", p. 844; ch. 18: "Ba jing", p. 996: "Whoever rules the civilized world must accord with human sentiments [*qing*]. These sentiments include love and hate, and therefore rewards and punishments can be employed"; ch. 19: "Wu du", pp. 1052, 1075 (this last attributes people's pursuing ease and benefit and avoiding danger to their purposeful calculation, rather than loves and hates); ch. 20: "Xin du", p. 1134; ch. 20: "Zhi fen", p. 1141: "Loves and hates are what the ruler controls. The people love profits and salaries and hate punishments. The ruler manipulates these loves and hates to control the people's strength". See also *Shang Jun...*, ch. 5: "Shuo min", p. 131: "If the people are brave, then reward them with what they desire [*yu*]; if they are cowardly, then execute them in a manner that they hate [*wù*]", ch. 5: "Shuo min", pp. 134-135; ch. 9: "Cuo fa", p. 226: "As soon as they are born the people have loves and hates, so they can be controlled. The ruler must examine these loves and hates, which are the foundation of all rewards and punishments. People's natural sentiments [*qing*] are to love titles and salaries and hate punishments. The ruler sets these up in order to control the people's will [*zhi*]; ch. 12: "Bing shou", p. 262; ch. 15: "Lai min", pp. 311, 320: "When I think of the people's sentiments [*qing*], what they desire [*yu*] are homes and fields"; ch. 17: "Shang xing", p. 363: "The people's desire [*yu*] for wealth and honor will end only when they are sealed in the coffin, so the way to these must come entirely through the army". For a brief discussion of the necessity of these predictable emotional responses for the functioning of Han Fei's administrative theory, see A. Galvany, "Beyond the Rule of Rules: The Foundations of Sovereign Power in the Han Feizi," in: *Dao Companion to the Philosophy of Han Fei*, ed. by P.R. Goldin, Dordrecht-New York 2013, pp. 92-93.

The idea that the people are controlled through manipulating their desires [*yu*] and hates [*wù*], which are to be identified with rewards and punishments is also articulated in the *Lü shi chun...*, ch. 19: "Yong min", p. 1271; ch. 19: "Wei yu", pp. 1293-1294. The same text, ch. 20: "Chang li", p. 1336 also accepts the necessity of rule through emotional manipulation in the present day, but treats this as a decline from an earlier world in which the people knew neither resentment [*yuan*] nor delight [*yue*], but were as obedient as new-born babies. This idea is noted and explained in ch. 20: "Zhi fen", p. 1347. A closely related passage is ch. 20: "Zhao

Closely related, although argued from the perspective of what blocks good government rather than enables it, are observations that the laws and administrative techniques themselves, as that which imposes discipline and limits self-indulgence, are hated by most officials, by the common people, or by both. Both these ideas also underpin the notion that subjects are best controlled *within* their heart/minds, or that leading people to engage in war likewise takes place within their minds⁵⁴.

The *Book of Lord Shang* also argues that the ruler's use of rewards and punishments to mobilize his army and conquer the world will lead to the emergence of an emotional community in which those serving in his forces are mentally altered to share his emotional judgments, and come to actively delight in serving the state:

When he unites the world's masses, none would dare not to act for what he loves [*hào*] and to avoid what he hates [*wù*]. When I call him strong, it means that he causes all the strength and courage in the world to necessarily be used on his behalf. When his ambitions [*zhi*] are satisfied, then the people all regard it as of benefit to themselves, and when it is not yet satisfied, they still delight [*yue*] in it⁵⁵.

lei", p. 1360: "Civil government/culture [*wen*] is the expression of love [*ai*]; military matters [*wu*] are the outer form of hate [*wù*]".

⁵⁴ *Han Feizi...*, ch. 4: "He shi", p. 238; ch. 4: "Jian qie shi chen", pp. 247-248; ch. 5: "Nan mian", p. 298; ch. 9: "Nei chu shuo shang", p. 543; ch. 17: "Shuo yi", p. 913: "As for the method of suppressing treachery, the best is to suppress it within the heart/mind, next is to suppress it in their words, and the worst is to suppress it in their acts"; ch. 18: "Ba jing", p. 1037; ch. 20: "Xin du", p. 1134: "In regulating the people, you suppress treachery when it has not yet sprouted; in using armies, you cause the acceptance of war within the people's heart/minds"; p. 1135: "It is the nature of people to delight [*xi*] in indiscipline and to not love [*qin*] their laws". See also *Shang Jun...*, ch. 6: "Suan di", p. 174: "Shame, disgrace, toil, and suffering are what the people hate. Eminence, glory, idleness, and ease are what they people love. If the state's punishments cannot impose what they hate, while the titles and salaries are not sufficient to make them strive, these are the signs of a state that will perish"; ch. 20: "Ruo min", p. 438: "The army is easy to make weak and difficult to make strong. [This is because] the people delight in [*le*] life and feel at ease with idleness. They regard death and suffering as hard"; p. 449: "If the government does what the people hate [*wù*], then people are weak. If it does what they delight in [*le*], then the people are strong. If the people are weak, then the state is strong; if the people are strong then the state is weak".

⁵⁵ *Shang Jun...*, ch. 18: "Hua ce", p. 394. The idea that the ruler's control of his people ultimately alters them is described in the same chapter, p. 378: "How can one know that the people are ready to be employed? When they view war like hungry wolves seeing meat, then they are of use. In all cases war is what people hate [*wù*], so the one who can cause them to delight in [*le*] war will be a king. Among the people of a strong state the fathers send off their sons, the elder brothers their younger brothers, and the wives their husbands, saying, 'Without gaining [an award], do not come back!'" This imaginary scene portrays a Qin family acting like a Roman one, urging their sons to come back with their shields or on them. See also ch. 13: "Jin ling", p. 276, which states that a properly governed people will ultimately come to "delight in [*le*] being employed by their ruler"; ch. 25: "Shen fa", p. 514: "When the people see

Thus, the common people are not merely manipulated through rewards or punishments, but also come to share in the ruler's emotional responses and his political ambitions. The passage concludes with the argument that the ruler described here gains mastery of the world by first gaining mastery of himself, and that he can only conquer powerful foes by first conquering himself. In this way the ruler's perfection of his own mind manifests itself in correcting the judgments of his people, which underpin the social order.

While the idea that peasants would risk their lives for possible material gain seems unrealistic, it was articulated not only in the philosophical works discussed here but also made a matter of policy, as in Chao Cuo's early Western Han proposal that if pardoned convicts and freed slaves were insufficient in number to populate the frontiers in order to defend against the Xiongnu, one could attract free peasants with promises of awarding titles, or selling titles for specified quantities of grain, and granting remission from corvée labor⁵⁶. This indicates that the calculations of benefit posited by the *Master Han Fei* and *Book of Lord Shang* were not totally implausible.

Moreover, such ideas are not restricted to what is conventionally called the "legalist" tradition. In the early Western Han, Jia Yi (200-168 BC) likewise argued that victory in war depended on making people "delight [*xi*]" in engaging the enemy. Such eagerness to fight was produced in part through rewards and punishments, in part through showing the people that they would share in the ruler's nobility and wealth, and above all through a moral excellence, which would lead the people to "take joy in [*le*]" his success⁵⁷.

While these texts focus on rewards and punishments as the means of eliciting proper emotional responses from the people, one passage entitled "On Those Who Use Military Strength", from the *Master Xun*, sees the combat situation itself as the key to arousing emotions. Specifically, it sees possible gains resulting from battle being undercut by the hatred for a ruler both

that praising each other will be of no benefit and slandering each other do no harm, they will become familiar with the idea that they will not harm those they hate [*zeng*]. Loving others, they will not form cliques, and hating others they will not harm each other, so that their loves and hates are always correct/governed, this is the perfection of political order", ch. 25: "Shen fa", p. 518. The same idea also is suggested in *Han Feizi...*, ch. 20: "Zhi fen", p. 1141: "When the laws are heavy, one gains the emotional support of the people [*de ren qing*] As for their emotional support, they will all put forth every ounce of their strength to attain what they desire [*yu*]" ; p. 1142: "His laws penetrate through human sentiments [*tong ren qing*] and follow from the fundamental principles of social order".

⁵⁶ *Han shu*, by B. Gu et al., Beijing 1962, ch. 49, pp. 2284, 2286.

⁵⁷ *Jiazi Xin shu jiao shi*, annotated by Q. Yuzhang, Taipei 1974, ch. 9: "Da zheng shang", pp. 982-995. The chapter on the military in the *Huainanzi* offers a muddled argument, stating first that people would be resolved on death because the ruler had established a clear sense of duty, but then almost immediately arguing that they would go to their deaths because of the certainty of rewards and punishments. See *Huainanzi*, ch. 15: "Bing lue", pp. 264-265.

by the enemy and his own people due to the suffering and death that his aggression causes:

When I conquer others by force, then the harm inflicted on their people will inevitably be great. When I inflict great harm on the other's people, then their hatred [*wù*] of me will certainly be great. When these people's hatred is great, then their desire [*yu*] to fight against me will daily increase...

When I conquer others by force, then the harm inflicted on my own people will also inevitably be great. When I inflict great harm on my own people, then my own people's hatred of me will certainly be great. When my own people's hatred of me is great, then their desire to fight for me will daily decline. When the other people's desire to fight against me daily increases, and my own people's desire to fight against me daily decreases, this is the reason why the strong will become weak. Even if I gain land, the people depart... What you have to defend increases, but the means to defend it declines⁵⁸.

It goes on to describe the resentment (*yuán*) harbored by enemy rulers who never forget their grudge against the aggressor. Because of this emotion-based decline inherent in expansionist policies, someone who understands true strength will not rely on combat.

A third aspect of these discussions is a model of how social status and historical circumstances determine the people's emotional responses. The *Master Han Fei* espouses what seems to be a fairly simple psychological model, in which the calculation of maximizing pleasure (income and status) and minimizing pain (punishments) suffices to control the peasants' conduct. The *Book of Lord Shang*, however, says that this applies only to those who are simple and uneducated, and who consequently live in poverty and are unfamiliar with luxuries:

It is the natural disposition/sentiments [*qing*] of people that when they are simple and unspoiled [*pu*] they will produce labor and not resist exerting their physical strength. When extremely poor they begin to reflect and assess what benefits them. When they do not resist physical exertion, then they will treat death as unimportant and delight in [*le*] being employed. When they assess what benefits them, they will fear punishments and be willing to suffer. When they are willing to suffer, then land will be used to its full capacities, and when they delight in being used, then the army's strength will be fully developed.

This argument, assuming a mass infantry army manned by peasants, makes the poverty and simplicity of the peasants crucial to their being

58 *Xunzi ji jie*, ch. 5: "Wang zhi", p. 98.

controlled by the state's rewards and punishments. Only such poor and simple people would willingly devote themselves to agriculture and warfare. Another passage argues that the state's manifold legal prohibitions and the people's reliance on physical strength will keep them devoted to agriculture. This devotion in turn keeps them simple and unspoiled, loving to stay at home and hating (*wù*) to go out⁵⁹. Criticisms of employing scholars and rhetoricians, or honoring businessmen and martial artists, argue not only that this diverts people from agriculture and warfare, but also that it eliminates their primitive simplicity. They thus become "licentious" or "unrestrained [*yin*]", and shift their attentions to studying or accumulating wealth⁶⁰.

The *Master Han Fei* also insists that the people must remain simple, unspoiled, and emotionally controlled for the laws to work. Thus one passage argues that if the ruler, as the ideal "Great Man", situates himself between Heaven and Earth without the "poison" of improper emotions, then the common people will likewise have no hidden resentments, and the two will "join in unspoiled simplicity [*jiao pu*]". Another passage criticizing the scholars of Han Fei's day notes that the people's simplicity and purity are essential both for producing wealth and making the administration function, but that contemporaries persist in insulting the common people:

Those who rush into danger and sacrifice themselves in their sincere, undivided simplicity [*cheng*] are commoners of integrity unto death, but contemporaries ridicule them as people who cannot calculate utility. Those with little learning who obey orders are commoners who keep the law completely intact, but contemporaries ridicule them as simple, boorish rustics [*pu lou*]. Those who toil with their strength to eat are commoners who produce all the world's profits, but contemporaries ridicule them as totally lacking in skills. Those who are happy to be simple, straightforward, and pure are commoners who are upright and sincere, but contemporaries ridicule them as dimwitted simpletons⁶¹.

Thus poor commoners who obey the laws and devote themselves to agriculture and warfare are subjected to relentless abuse, while schemers devoted to their private profits dazzle the ruler with their language, leading

⁵⁹ *Shang Jun...*, ch. 6: "Suan di", pp. 153, 169.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, ch. 3: "Nong zhan", p. 57: "One who is skilled at administering teaches the people that only by doing one thing [agriculture] can they obtain offices and ranks [...]. If the state eliminates [fine] language, then the people remain simple and unspoiled, and thus do not become licentious or unrestrained"; p. 60: "Even though the granaries are full, they cannot steal away from agriculture [...]. Not being led astray by fine words, they remain simple, unspoiled, and single-minded".

⁶¹ *Han Feizi...*, ch. 18: "Liu fan", p. 948. A similar discussion of the people being corrupted by contemporary standards appears in the *Shang Jun...*, ch. 6: "Suan di", p. 156.

him to treat them with elaborate rituals and bestow great rewards. Here again simplicity and lack of learning are necessary conditions for the functioning of the system of law-based rewards and punishments.

Many passages in the *Master Han Fei* treat this shift from honest simplicity to cunning corruption as a change between antiquity and the present. Thus the people's simplicity figures in the argument that the sages' rule through virtue was possible only because the population was low and material resources consequently sufficient to meet people's needs without competition or hard labor⁶². Other passages depict primitive simplicity as characteristic of both the people of antiquity and the material goods with which they lived, treating the rise of luxury and refinement as corruption. However, rewards and punishments are sometimes associated with the decline of rustic simplicity, rather than that simplicity being the necessary condition for their use, as in the *Book of Lord Shang*⁶³.

Thus there were two distinct but related arguments on the relation of the honest simplicity of the impoverished peasants to social order. In discussions of contemporary society, the authors treated the peasant's simplicity as the basis of social order, because their lack of wealth meant that they were accustomed to the physical toil and hardships of agriculture and war, easily satisfied with basic rewards, eager to avoid punishments, and ignorant of the luxuries that attracted kings, courtiers, scholars, and businessmen. They were consequently the ideal foundation of the political order, both in their physical condition and in their emotional responses. In contrast, accounts of the emergence of the state from primitive simplicity posited that unspoiled simplicity characterized the earlier societies, and that the modern state had to control more knowing or cunning people.

However, in its commentary on the *Master Lao*, the *Master Han Fei* interpreted the primitive simplicity of antiquity as the universal pre-condition

62 *Han Feizi...*, ch. 19: "Wu du", pp. 1040-1041.

63 *Ibidem*, ch. 3: "He shi", pp. 186-187; ch. 8: "Da ti", p. 512 (this describes the laws of antiquity as "pure and simple [*chun pu*]"); ch. 18: "Ba shuo", p. 974; ch. 20: "Zhong xiao", p. 1109: "In antiquity the people were tranquil, still, and stupid, so they could be controlled with empty titles. Now the people are vigilant and cunning; they desire to work on their own behalf and ignore the ruler. The ruler must urge them with rewards and only then will they advance, or threaten them with punishments and only then will they withdraw"; ch. 20: "Xin du", p. 1135: "Only if laws change with the times will there be order; only if this order is suitable to the age will there be success. Therefore when the people were simple and unspoiled, the ruler used titles to control them, and the world was in order. When ages grew more cunning, only if one controlled them with punishments was there order". See also *Shang Jun...*, ch. 7: "Kai se", p. 194: "People in antiquity were simple, unspoiled, and honest. People of the present age are cunning and fraudulent. Therefore those among the ancients who were effective began with virtuous power and achieved order. Those who are effective in the present day begin with punishments and have laws".

of order, and saw cultural refinement and the luxuries of the modern world as bringing social chaos:

Ritual is the external appearance of emotions [*qing*]; meaningful patterns [*wen*] are the surface ornament of substance [*zhi*]. The true gentleman selects the true feelings and discards the appearance; he loves [*hào*] the substance and hates [*wù*] the surface ornament. Those who rely on external appearance to judge emotions will find these emotions bad; those who rely on surface ornament to judge substance will find the substance deteriorated... If objects must have surface ornament to work, then their substance lacks beauty. Therefore rituals between fathers and sons are simple [*pu*] and not showy, so [the *Master Lao*] says, "The ritual is sparse".

Where the reality is pure and simple, then the external appearance will be sparse; rituals between fathers and sons are a case of this. Seen from this point of view, where rituals grow profuse, then the true heart/mind declines. Those who create rituals strive to connect the simple, unspoiled heart/minds [*pu xin*]. When the masses of commoners perform rituals, if someone replies then they are easily made happy, but if not then they become resentful. Now those who make rituals are striving to connect the simple, unspoiled heart/minds, but all they do is provide them with grounds by which they will upbraid one another, so how could they avoid having quarrels? In this case there will be chaos⁶⁴.

Here the *Master Lao's* critique of ritual becomes a general reflection on the contrast between the honest simplicity of ordinary people, and the showy falsity of the more educated who focus on rich surface appearances. The former creates proper social relations, while the latter destroys them. Thus both the *Master Han Fei* and the *Book of Lord Shang* fundamentally concur in positing a state based on simple peasants with straightforward emotional responses to rewards and punishments. The more elaborate desires and emotions that elites cultivate in enjoying diverse luxuries must be suppressed by the government administration, or by bans on the political participation of most elites.

These interlinked ideas – unspoiled simplicity of the peasants as the basis of order, elite luxuries as the threat that destroys it, and the identification of the peasants' simplicity with primitive antiquity – also converged in the admiring account of the state of Qin attributed to Master Xun in his dialogue with Fan Sui. When asked about what he observed in Qin, Master Xun first notes the extraordinary security of its topography and the wealth of its resources. He then describes the common people:

64 *Han Feizi...*, ch. 6: "Jie Lao", pp. 334-335.

Then I entered the frontiers and observed its customs. The common people were simple and unspoiled [*pu*]. Their music and dances were not dissipated or unclean; their clothing was not frivolous or provocative. Holding the authorities in awe, they were obedient like the people of ancient times⁶⁵.

He then described the solemnity and sincerity of the officials, who are devoted to the public good and form no factions in the pursuit of private gain. Finally he gave an account of the court, which smoothly decided all affairs so that things proceeded “tranquilly as though there were no administration”.

The preceding chapter of the *Master Xun* sketches Qin’s military institutions, including observations on how the harsh, restrictive topography of Qin produced people who were likewise restricted and intellectually simple. The account indicates that Qin pursued a policy of sealing its people off or hiding them away; and even using rewards is a means of “habituating” them. Both accounts conclude with an identical formula noting that Qin has been victorious for four generations, and that this is “a result not of good fortune but of method and calculation”⁶⁶. Thus the ideas of simple poverty as both a lingering echo of antique virtue, and a necessary basis for modern administration based on the peasants’ routinized emotional responses, had become widespread by the late Warring States.

One final demonstration of the importance assigned to predictable emotional responses in late Warring States administrative theory is the *Master Han Fei*’s idea that those who do not respond to rewards and punishments are threats to the state and must, if necessary, be executed. Hermits who rejected the world’s attractions, ascetic scholars who held material wealth in contempt, or stalwart heroes who viewed death with indifference, all of whom were objects of widespread admiration, had to be condemned:

In antiquity there were Bo Yi and Shu Qi. King Wu sought to yield the throne to them, but they would not accept it, and they starved to death at Mt. Shouyang [refusing to eat the grain of a rebel government]. Ministers like this do not fear even brutal execution, and do not regard even generous rewards as beneficial, so you cannot with punishments stop them from doing something, nor can you with rewards have them do something. These are called useless ministers, whom I view with contempt and would eliminate, but they are honored and sought out by rulers of the present day.

65 *Xunzi ji jie*, ch. 11: “Qiang guo”, p. 202.

66 *Ibidem*, ch. 15: “Yi bing”, p. 181. The preceding half of the phrase *gu si shi you sheng* is also completely identical. On the topography of Qin as the basis of its people’s characters as a conventional topos, see M.E. Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China*, Albany 2006, pp. 201-210.

Other chapters condemn longer lists of historical figures for the same reason, and yet another criticizes the Yangist philosophy, which in making preserving life and the body the highest values rejects the idea of sacrificing oneself for the state⁶⁷.

Again, a mock historical narrative tells of Tai Gong Wang learning of two worthy hermit brothers in Qi who had vowed to live entirely from their own labor without accepting an office or position as retainers with any lord. Tai Gong Wang had them seized and killed, explaining to the Duke of Zhou that such people are not only personally disloyal and enemies of the social order, but a potential model for others who could opt out of the state's administration⁶⁸. Other passages use this problem as an argument against brutal tyranny, which would cause people to no longer hope for rewards or to escape punishments:

The third [Way of danger for a ruler] is to regard as beneficial what harms others. The fourth is to delight [*le*] in what others regard as a calamity. The fifth is to introduce danger where people are wont to find security. The sixth is to not draw close [*qin*] to those you love, and not keep those you hate [*wu*] at a distance. If you do these, then people forget why they ever delighted [*le*] in life, and why they ever regarded death as important. If the people do not delight in life, then the ruler will not be honored; if they do not regard death as important, then commands will not be carried out.

This argument is elsewhere epitomized:

Individuals who without food or clothing do not feel hunger or cold, and moreover who do not hate [*wu*] death, have no intention of serving

⁶⁷ *Han Feizi...*, ch. 4: "Jian qie shi chen", p. 251; ch. 17: "Shuo yi", pp. 917-918; ch. 19: "Wu du", pp. 1090-1091: this criticizes people like Yang Zhu; ch. 20: "Zhong xiao", pp. 1109-1110: "Xu You [who declined world rule] was one who did not rule the world, but would not do what was needed to obtain it. Yao and Shun [who yielded the throne] were those who ruled the world, but would not do what was necessary to keep it. The Robber Zhi was one who abandoned all integrity to seek wealth, risking any punishment in pursuit of profit, forgetting even his own death. These three are dangerous creatures. The Way of ruling a state and employing people cannot fit such people into its standards. To regulate is to regulate the ordinary. To direct is to direct the ordinary. Dangerous creatures and marvelous words are what harms social order. The loftiest men of service cannot be urged on with rewards; the basest men of service cannot be blocked with punishments, but if you do not set rewards or punishments for such men, then you abandon the Way of regulating the state and employing people".

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, ch. 13: "Wai chu shuo you shang", pp. 711, 722-723: "If they will not serve, then they create no social order; if they cannot be employed, then they are not loyal. The means by which previous kings commanded their officials and people was either titles and salaries, or mutilating and non-mutilating punishments. Now if these four things are not sufficient to command these men, then who can be a ruler above them?".

their ruler. If their desires cannot be manipulated by the ruler, then they cannot be commanded⁶⁹.

Thus, the model of the state based on incorporating the peasantry into military service ultimately depended on these people's emotional responses, and anyone whose responses were unconventional was a menace who had to be destroyed. This model of the army, and by extension the state, as an emotional community based on predictable responses ran throughout the late Warring States military treatises and the philosophical texts that are conventionally described as "legalist".

EMOTIONS AND THE "RIGHTEOUS ARMY"

Another text from the late Warring State period that examines the emotional aspects of the army is the *Springs and Autumns of Master Lü*, which was also composed in the state of Qin. This text does not follow the more militarist traditions of Qin, but instead emphasizes the use of "righteous armies [*yi bing*]" whose suppression of criminality justifies the violence of war⁷⁰. This emphasis, in turn, leads to a different approach to the theme of emotions. Specifically, the *Master Lü* emphasizes inspiring fear among the common people in order to maintain order.

The first discussion of armies begins by arguing that war is essential to civilization. This discussion combines the theme of the "righteous army" and the need to inspire fear:

The ancient sage kings had righteous armies, but there were none who abolished weapons. Weapons originated in high antiquity, appearing together with humanity. As a rule, weapons/armies are to inspire fear [*wei*] because fear is a question of power. It is part of people's inborn nature to fear power. This inborn nature is what is received from Heaven. It is not something a person can create, a soldier strip away [*ge*, etymologically refers to stripping fur from animal skins to produce leather, and then to the treated leather used as an early form of armor], or an artisan shift⁷¹.

69 Ibidem, ch. 8: "An wei", p. 483; ch. 18: "Ba shuo", p. 976.

70 M.E. Lewis, *The Just War in Early China*, in: *The Ethics of War in Asian Civilizations: A Comparative Perspective*, ed. by T. Brekke, New York 2006, pp. 185-200.

71 *Lü shi chun...*, ch. 7: "Dang bing", p. 383. The emphasis on inspiring fear also figures in an elaboration of the famous line from the *Master Lao* that weapons are "inauspicious tools [*xiong qi*]", which says: "When one lifts an inauspicious tool one must kill, but killing is the means to give life to the others [i.e., the good]. In practicing this inauspicious power [*xiong de*] one must overawe [*wei*], but overawing is the means of causing fear [*she*] in the others [i.e., the bad]. When the enemy are frightened then the people live". A later discussion of how a conqueror should generously treat the people he has conquered ends with the following

This is followed by an account of mythic cases of reliance on violence going back to the earliest rulers, when weapons consisted of natural substances such as fire, water, and the branches of trees. This culminates in a description of the origins of political power –developing from tribal chieftains to rulers of states to the Son of Heaven ruling the world – out of ever-increasing conflicts. It ends in reiterating the opening statement about the antiquity of weapons, the impossibility of abolishing them, and the need for righteous armies.

This posits violence as a permanent aspect of the human condition, and argues that rulers wielding armed force are necessary to social order. The term used here for “fear”, *wei*, could also be translated as “awe”, indicating the fear inspired by great power in lesser beings. The grammar of the sentence on fear and power is actually a series of “subject = predicate” propositions: “weapons/armies [are] awe-inspiring fear; awe-inspiring fear [is] power”. This makes emotional response definitive of the social use of armed force, i.e., armies are *defined* by their capacity to inspire fear. The second clause declares that power is *defined* by this fear, so the passage as a whole argues that political power emerges from the evolving use of violence to inspire a fear that creates obedience. However, the passage discusses only *li*, which indicates physical power or strength, whereas political power would include a more numinous “authority”, indicated by terms such as *de* or *shi*.

Different forms of fear also characterize the impact of brave fighters or a united army on an enemy state’s army:

[The soldiers] screen their energies from outer disturbances and totally concentrate their refined energies. Consequently their heart/minds do not ponder, their eyes see nothing, and their ears hear nothing; they are totally concentrated on battle. When Ran Shu vowed that he would die fighting the Marquis Tian, the whole state of Qi was terrified [*ju*]. When Yu Rang resolved on sacrificing himself to slay Viscount Xiang, the whole Zhao clan was afraid [*kong*]. When Cheng Jing resolved to die in order to slay the ruler of Han, the whole Zhou army was fearful [*wei*]. How much more so would this be the case with an entire great state that was sincerely, completely determined? How could anyone match them? Even before blades were crossed, they would have obtained

emotional scenario: “Because of these actions, the worthies [of the conquered state] will glorify your name, the elders will delight in [*yue*] your rituals, and the people will cherish [*huai*] your virtuous power/kindness”. See ch. 7: “Huai chong”, p. 413.

The intellectual ramifications of the early Chinese debate about the origins of weapons and warfare are discussed in M.E. Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence...*, pp. 141-142, 150, 156-157. The possibility of eliminating warfare is discussed more positively in a speech attributed to the rhetorician Gongsun Long, but he argues that a ruler who was to do this would have to possess a heart-mind that “universally loved each and every person in the entire world”. See *Lü shi chun...*, ch. 18: “Shen ying”, p. 1142.

what they desired [*yu*]. Totally shocked and terrified, their trembling, agitated spirits would be completely exhausted. Like the mental forces of madmen, their vital energies would separate from their bodies. Not knowing where to go or where to flee, even if they had dangerous defiles and narrow passes, with cutting or sharp weapons, they would not dare to resist or even remain in place⁷².

Here the mental resolve of one side, patterned on celebrated bravos or assassins, results in the abject fear and total panic of the other, a panic leading to mental collapse and the disintegration of the army.

The passage cited at note 71 goes on to argue for the necessity for corporal punishment in the household as another example of using tools of violence (here the whip) to create order. It then extends the argument to the smallest unit of human society, the individual self, arguing that weapons have always subtly or invisibly (*wei*) existed in human psychology:

When we examine the subtle/invisible forms of weapons, what is in the heart and has not yet come forth is a weapon, an angry glare is a weapon, a change in facial expression is a weapon, haughty words are a weapon, pulling and pushing is a weapon, throwing someone to the ground [with a wrestling move] is a weapon, group fighting is a weapon, and attacking with the state's army is a weapon. These eight are all weapons; they are forms of struggle that [differ in being] subtle or large-scale⁷³.

This list suggests glossing “weapon [*bing*]” as a more general “violence”, which it posits as inherent in the human mind. While it does not specify how violence exists hidden within the human heart/mind, this is almost certainly a reference to anger, conventionally recognized as the emotional origin of conflict. This is supported by the fact that describing something as being “within” the heart/mind and then moving outward usually refers to an emotion that emerges in poetry or music. It is also supported by the next stage, which stipulates the “angry glare”, and the facial expression is presumably also one of anger. Thus the list moves from the hidden emotion, through its earliest physical manifestations, to words, to limited individual physical conflict, to more extreme conflict, to group fighting, and finally to warfare. It thus again interprets a central element of the political order as the expression of emotion.

72 *Lü shi chun...*, ch. 8: “Lun wei”, p. 431. The rather medical approach to courage in this passage also figures in a slightly later one: “There are no people who are always courageous, and none who are always cowardly. If they have *qi* energies then they are full, and if full then courageous. If they lack such energies then they are empty, and thus cowardly... If courageous then they will fight, and if cowardly they will flee”. See ch. 8: “Jue sheng”, p. 452.

73 *Ibidem*, ch. 7: “Dang bing”, p. 384.

This section ends on a different emotional note, arguing that killing a violent ruler delights [*yue*] the suffering people, just like seeing a loving [*ci*] parent would delight a filial son, or seeing fine food would delight a starving man⁷⁴. Thus while the army originates as the largest-scale expression of anger, and ideally works through inspiring a fear that maintained order without actual violence, its proper use would also create joy among the common people and inspire them to love their rescuer. This inventory of the different emotions that inform the proper use of armies is extended in a later passage arguing that punishment (of which warfare is the highest form) expresses people's hatred [*wù*] for those who abandon the Way⁷⁵.

Without discussing righteous armies, a final passage discusses the emotions that unite the army:

People's emotional nature [*qing*] is to desire life and hate [*wù*] death, to desire glory and hate disgrace [*ru*]. If the Way of life and death, glory and disgrace is one, then the men of service in the state's armies will have a single mind⁷⁶.

The rest of the passage describes how such mental unity makes the army awesome, inspiring fear in the enemy.

CONCLUSION

Ideas about emotions were central to the army's role as the foundation of the Warring States polity. Manipulating sentiments and forming emotional ties prominently figured in the military treatises and in the texts later identified as legalist, i.e., those texts devoted to the new form of the state and its techniques for creating order. Themes included arousing the anger of one's own troops, manipulating the anger or other emotions of the enemy commander, and above all securing the emotional attachments of the troops to their commander or the ruler, so that they would be willing to die for him. Discussions in other masters' literature, such as the *Master Xun*, of using troops also emphasized the theme of creating emotional commitments to unite the soldiers and bind them to their commander and their ruler. They emphasized that these emotional attachments stemmed from the superior's capacity to bestow rewards and punishments. Consequently, rewards and punishments became the key to extending the emotional reach of the ruler from his court to the people at large.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 384.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, ch. 7: "Zhen luan", p. 394.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, ch. 8: "Lun wei", p. 430.

The importance of emotional bonds created by rewards and punishments was also crucial to arguments in the *Master Han Fei* and the *Book of Lord Shang*. First, since rewards and the emotions they elicited were the key to getting people to risk their lives in battle, which was the foundation of state power, offering rewards for activities such as cultivating rhetorical or scholarly excellence, was to be avoided at all costs. Second, since the love of rewards – primarily titles and money – and the fear of punishments were essential to creating social order, individuals who did not share these emotions became a threat and had to be executed.

Finally, the emotions, particularly the emotion of fear, were assigned a central role in the ideal of the “righteous army”, which was the closest Chinese equivalent to the Western idea of the “just war”. This theory, particularly elaborated in the *Spring and Autumns of Master Lü*, argued that warfare had been invented by the ancient sages as a necessary means of imposing order in an otherwise chaotic world where people were not separated from wild animals. Without the violence of warfare, and above all without the fear that this violence inspired, the human race invariably disintegrated into a Hobbesian universal conflict of each against all. Thus the political order was ultimately based on the emotions that led the king’s armies to fight on his behalf, and the further emotions that those armies inspired in others.

As universal military service was the foundation of the new style of state, the vision of the army as an emotional community that performed its ultimate role through inspiring emotions in others, made the new style of emotional regime – defined by love of rewards, fear of punishment, and intimate love for the ruler who provided such rewards, or the commander who shared their hardships – fundamental to the political order.

ABSTRACT

In early China the emotions were understood to be central crucial to driving men to fight, to join together in an army, and to serve the ruler or state with complete devotion. Over the course of several centuries, as the social patterns and scale of military service evolved, the specific emotions that were emphasized for the conduct of military affairs likewise developed, as did the ways in which they were to be elicited. Moreover, different genres of writing, and different traditions in the philosophical realm, developed different theories on the cultivation and use of emotional responses. However, virtually all writings made the emotions central to forming and mobilizing an army, and by extension a central foundation of the ruler’s power.

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VIOLENCE, WARFARE AND BUDDHISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL JAPAN*



Many modern observers balk at violence involving Buddhist clerics and monasteries in premodern (pre-1600) Japan. Such views are commonly based on an association of Buddhism and peace and on a modern assumption of a separation of church and state. However, Buddhism does not in fact have a particularly long history of separation from worldly affairs or of peace activism. When it comes to the latter, Brian Victoria has convincingly argued that the notion of Buddhism, especially Zen, holding peace and pacifism as special values is a much later phenomenon, promoted first by Zen proponents and cultural nationalists such as Suzuki Daisetsu and others following the Asia-Pacific War¹. In contrast to this recently constructed image of peace, armed monastics were in fact quite common in premodern times, as we find them involved in everything from smaller skirmishes within the monasteries to countrywide wars. Those religious forces were later codified into the image of the “monk-warrior”, or *sōhei*, a figure often depicted wearing a monk robe with a head cowl, using clogs (*geta*) for footwear, and armed primarily with a long glaive called the *naginata*. No figure illustrates this better than the great Benkei (?-1189), a giant of a monk who fought alongside his master in the Genpei War of 1180-1185, when Japan was divided behind two great

* Names are given in the Japanese order starting with the surname followed by the personal name (except bibliography). For larger noble families, it was common practice in the premodern period to insert a genitive *no* between surname and personal name. Thus, Taira no Masamori means “Masamori of the Taira family”. Members of the imperial family did not have surnames and emperors are here referred to by their reign names.

¹ Not only did B.D. Victoria point out the fallacy of the image of peaceful Zen, he also noted that one of its foremost promoters, Suzuki Daisetsu, had served the Japanese military expansion. See B.D. Victoria, *Zen at War*, Lanham (MD) 2006; R. Sharf, *The Zen of Japanese Nationalism*, “History of Religions” XXXIII (1993) 1, pp. 1-43.

warrior families. In his supposed birthplace of Kii Tanabe some two hours train ride from Osaka today, we find statues dedicated to Benkei, showing him with the traditional *sōhei* attire (see fig. 1). In reality, neither Benkei's existence (or his exploits for that matter) nor the presence of *sōhei* themselves can actually be confirmed in contemporary sources, as both bear the marks of later imaginations and later attitudes towards these figures.

Despite being an after-construct, the *sōhei* image has been so prevalent that even when historical evidence contradicts it, scholars have been unable to disassociate themselves from the idea of a degenerate and corrupt clergy acting against the precepts of Buddhism, and so this negative connotation has been perpetuated in both scholarly publications and in popular media. At the same time, one cannot but note that whereas monastic armies in Japan are frequently frowned upon, their contemporaries in Europe, such as the Knights Templar, are viewed much more positively. In short, the *sōhei* discourse has more to do with views and preferences of modern scholars and intellectuals than with conditions in the times when Buddhist institutions and practitioners were seen carrying arms, resolving disputes with violence and engaging in warfare². But, what then, was the mental setting, or *mentalité*, of such times, and how might it have affected the ways in which Buddhism was involved in violence? In this essay, I aim to offer an interpretation of the role of Buddhism and its clerics in Japan's violent early medieval period (roughly 1100-1400), by exploring both the kind of activities that monastics were involved in and the ideological context within which they acted.

MONASTIC VIOLENCE IN EARLY JAPAN

Buddhism was introduced in Japan in the early to mid-6th century from one of the kings in Korea, but the texts and ideas ultimately came from China. Previous treatments of this early stage of Buddhism were frequently concerned with intellectual traditions and have therefore mainly emphasized the adoptions of various doctrines and schools. As a result, later developments, which included more political engagement, economic and military power, have been seen as a decline from an envisioned pure form that was originally adopted. However, the continental Buddhism that arrived in Japan was never separate from the political framework and it had already experienced a transformation from its Indian roots, including experiences of political and military struggles on the continent³. Indeed, monasteries were part of the military structure in

² See my *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History*, Honolulu 2007, from which I have drawn for this article.

³ The best-known example on the continent is the Shaolin monastery, which supported the Tang rulers against remnants of the Sui Dynasty in battles in 620-621; see M. Shahar,

China despite codes that expressly stipulated that Buddhist members were prohibited from killing, keeping and reading military manuals, forming bands, and receiving weapons⁴. Such rules reflected statements from the *Sutra of Brahma's Net* (*Bonmōkyō*), which specifically prohibits the possession, use of arms as well as resorting to violence. And yet, there was also a discourse within Buddhism about deities using arms to battle evil beings or other threats. Originally stemming from Hindu deities, the prime examples are undoubtedly the Four Deva Kings (*Shitenno*), who are frequently depicted with weapons and fierce expressions, such as can be seen among the statues at the imperial temple Tōdaiji and at other temples in the capital region⁵. The very existence of these deities in the Buddhist pantheon allowed for an ambiguous stance vis-à-vis violence, be it performed by members of a monastic community or endorsed by members of the nobles at the imperial court in Kyoto.

Two early instances will suffice to illustrate these contradictory stances. According to an 8th-century chronicle, a monk is recorded to have attacked his paternal grandfather with an axe in 624. In response, the imperial court, led by Empress Suiko (554-628, r. 592-628), threatened to punish all Buddhist monks in Japan, but a plea from a monk in one of the allied states (Paekche) on the Korean peninsula persuaded the court to not punish the entire clergy for the acts of one monk⁶. In sharp contrast to such condemnations, we learn of monk novices being part of an army in 764 to help defeat the troops of a rebellious leader known as Emi no Oshikatsu (706-764), though the record does not reveal in what capacity they participated⁷. It would seem, then, that there were few principle objections to monks engaging in or supporting violence and war. Rather, since Japanese leaders both condemned and encouraged participation of monastics in violent activities, the court's stance depended on the particular circumstances of each incident.

We find infrequent outbursts of monastic violence throughout the Nara (710-784) and early Heian (794-1185) eras, but they increase in intensity and quantity in the 10th century, when armed confrontations in general became more common. For instance, the imperial court faced two serious challenges in the late 930s when one aristocratic commander (Taira no Masakado,

Epigraphy, Buddhist Hagiography and Fighting Monks: The Case of the Shaolin Monastery, "Asia Major" 3rd ser. XIII (2000) 2, pp. 15-21.

4 *Sōniryō*, in: *Ryō no gige*, Shintei zōho kokushi taikai, XXII, Tokyo 1939, p. 81; T. Hirata, *Sōhei to bushi*, Tokyo 1965, pp. 16-19; E. Hioki, *Sōhei no rekishi: Hō to yoroi wo matotta ara hosshi tachi*, Tokyo 2003, pp. 51-52.

5 M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, Honolulu 2000, pp. 21-23.

6 W.G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Rutland 1972, pp. 152-153. See also *Nihon shoki*, II, Shintei zōho kokushi taikai, Tokyo 1984, pp. 164-165.

7 *Shoku Nihongi*, Shintei zōho kokushi taikai, Tokyo 1982, Tenpyō jingo 2 (766) 9/6.

?-940) rebelled in the eastern part of the realm and another militarized noble (Fujiwara no Sumitomo, ?-941) caused serious disruptions as he headed a fleet of pirates in the Inland Sea just west of the capital region. These trends were mirrored among monasteries. To mention just two cases, menial workers from Tōdaiji (the imperial temple in Nara; see map) rioted in 935, though they were eventually subdued by an imperial police captain, and in 959, a dispute in Kyoto between a branch of the well-known Gion Shrine and the influential temple Kiyomizudera resulted in brawls that similarly induced the imperial court to dispatch imperial police captains to arrest the violators⁸.

As can be expected, higher-ranking nobles and monks were not content with this string of violence and so attempts were made to curtail it, though little of the rhetoric at the time was concerned with Buddhism and violence. In order to better grasp this cultural setting, a close examination of the monk Ryōgen (912-985) will be useful. Ryōgen was trained at Enryakuji, the headquarters of the Tendai sect, situated on Mount Hiei just northeast of Kyoto. Tendai propounded an eclectic doctrine with a broad focus on sutra readings, meditation, monasticism and rituals, and as such was one of the most influential sects in the premodern age. Having risen through the Tendai hierarchy and proven his intellectual acumen at religious debates against other sects, Ryōgen was appointed head abbot in 966⁹. Well connected to the regental branch of the Fujiwara family, and having strong support of one of its chieftains, Ryōgen headed the reconstruction of deteriorating buildings within Enryakuji's monastic compound on Mount Hiei. Wishing to improve the discipline and conditions within the monastery, he then proceeded to issue a set of twenty-six regulations in 970, which contains specific prohibitions against rowdy and armed monks on Mount Hiei¹⁰. And yet, Ryōgen simultaneously worked to solidify his monastery's control of the Tendai sect by attaching other religious institutions to it, and this not infrequently with the help of armed followers. Most famously, he managed to gain control over the aforementioned Gion shrine-temple complex sometime in the 970s. If we are to believe a later literary source, Ryōgen managed to repel the dispatched government troops by employing a monk known for his military prowess, as well as the younger brother of the imperial captain sent out to contain Enryakuji¹¹. Absent other evidence, this account should

⁸ *Chōya gunsai*, Dai Nihon shiryō 1:6, Shōhei 5 (935) 6/31, p. 921; *Nihon kiryaku*, Tentoku 3 (959) 3/13; Dai Nihon shiryō 1:10, p. 539.

⁹ For a comprehensive study of Ryōgen and his times, see P. Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, Honolulu 2001.

¹⁰ DNS 1:13, Tenroku 1 (970) 7/16, p. 213; P. Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei...*, pp. XII, 358-359.

¹¹ *Konjaku monogatari shū*, V, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai, XXXVII, Tokyo 1996, pp. 492-493; T. Abe, *Heian zenki seiji shi no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1990, pp. 283-284.

not be taken at face value. Nevertheless, it may refract some reality, as such militarized confrontations were part of a broader 10th-century trend of using weapons to solve conflicts. What is essential here is that the court, which naturally desired order to rule effectively, remained inconsistent in its stance toward monastic violence. Thus, while it often condemned violence, it could also encourage the very same thing, as suggested by an incident in 982, when the court encouraged members of Enryakuji's Tendai sibling, Onjōji, to use armed guards to deter a possible attack by Enryakuji followers, at a time when the two Tendai centers were vying for control of the sect¹².

The 10th-century militarization emerged as part of a decline of the imperial bureaucratic apparatus, as titles proved insufficient to effectively administer provinces and to contain factional struggles at court. Private assets came to supplement and in some cases replace court titles, while the collection of taxes and other revenue became more dependent on the individual administrator's ability to enforce it. Needless to say, military means was one crucial component in those private assets. These changes were more pronounced in the provinces than they were in the capital region because the economic foundation for the elites resided almost exclusively in the countryside. Indeed, it was through the actions of local land stewards in the provinces that violence and disturbances frequently occurred. These warrior-administrators often attempted to expand their control by controlling the local farmers, or they might seek to remove the land they administered from public taxation by "donating" the land to powerful elites in the capital in exchange for patronage. Such land became private estates known as *shōen*. Similarly, provincial governors started using their termed appointments to enrich themselves at the expense of farmers and villages, frequently allying themselves with local strongmen who were looking for patrons to expand their own control. As a result, we find an increase in complaints from local village leaders objecting to the harsh approach taken by such opportunists. No document better evidences this than the 988 Petition of the District Officials and Local Notables of Owari Province (*Owari no kuni gunji haykushō ra gebumi*). In thirty-one articles, local residents in Owari accused the governor of unfairly raising taxes, using a silk-to-rice exchange rate that favored the governor and of forcing the taxpayers to raise and provide horses in excess of what was required. The governor was indeed dismissed, but the abuses continued, as indicated by a total of eighteen known grievances from 970 to 1041, with only six resulting in dismissals of the accused governors¹³.

¹² *Fusō ryakki*, Tengen 5 (982) 1/10; P. Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei...*, pp. 221-222.

¹³ Ch. von Verschuer, *Life of Commoners in the Provinces: The Owari no gebumi of 988*, in: *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*, eds. M. Adolphson, E. Kamens, S. Matsumoto, Honolulu 2007, pp. 305-328.

The imperial court had little choice but to accept these changes, endorsing both the tax-farming approach to governorships and the creation of private estates, in reflection of a softening of the court's direct control over the provinces. Replacing the old bureaucratic structures, we find a set of extra-governmental ties between local land managers, mid-level nobles or religious institutions, and the capital elites. While the traditional interpretation of this trend of privatization, which continued throughout the first three centuries of the Heian age (794-1185), has been that of a weakening of the state apparatus, recent scholars have emphasized instead the ability of the central elites to strengthen their direct control over land by involving stakeholders at different levels in a more personal way across generations. Essentially, local land managers managed to secure to their family rights and titles for eternity, in exchange for which the patron, be it a temple or a noble family, was guaranteed a fixed income from these estates. In short, such contracts, which effectively meant that the land was removed from the jurisdiction of the provincial governor, were advantageous enough to all involved that the system lasted into the 15th century. The state thus adjusted the way that its resources were managed, and it did so highly successfully, resulting in what might be called "something of a quiet watershed" that took shape in the 10th century¹⁴.

These changes resulted in a system of land management where both income and responsibilities were shared, inducing capital elites and provincial strongmen to collaborate. At the same time, since both patrons and land managers relied primarily on private assets to protect their interests, we see a new, more competitive environment characterized by factionalism where the capital elites competed with one another for land and retainers, and the latter fought with other land managers to control land. Accordingly, while the adjustments were made in response to a decline of the bureaucratic structures and a trend towards increased local violence, they also bred more violence to solve disputes. In this context, not just nobles but also major monasteries felt the necessity to secure enough armed support to guard their interests.

MONASTIC VIOLENCE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL JAPAN

Violent activities involving clerics became more commonplace as confrontations over land and appointments continued to increase in the 11th and 12th centuries. The character of such confrontations was accordingly no different whether the elites came from the nobility or from the highest-ranking temples. Indeed, monastic violence was identical in nature to violence involving aristocratic factions, as a couple of examples will illustrate.

14 M. Adolphson, E. Kamens, *Introduction*, *ibidem*, p. 3.

In the competition for rank and appointments, conflicts between the two Tendai centers, Enryakuji and Onjōji, stand out as particularly intense; they reflect well the times. These two lineages emerged in the 9th century, eventually forcing a physical separation that was cemented by the aforementioned Ryōgen, though the branches continued to compete for the head abbotship of the Tendai sect and other titles throughout the Heian and Kamakura (1185-1333) eras. In 1038-1039, for instance, the Fujiwara regent promoted an Onjōji monk as head abbot, but fierce protests at the Fujiwara mansion from the Enryakuji clergy thwarted the appointment¹⁵. Failing to gain control of the Tendai sect, the Onjōji clergy began to request a doctrinal separation by asking for their own ordination platform, which in turn intensified the animosity between the two monasteries. In the 12th century, during the resurgence of the imperial family, this competition became especially harsh. Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192, emperor 1155-1158, retired emperor 1158-1192), for example, decided to receive his initiation at Onjōji in 1161, indicating that the temple was granted an independent ordination platform. As could be expected, the clergy at Enryakuji protested and managed to force Go-Shirakawa to scale down the ceremony, but the retired emperor continued to exacerbate the tensions by appointing an Onjōji monk Tendai head abbot only a year later¹⁶.

Among other retired emperors' attempts to support or take control of specific temples to enhance their power within the factional imperial court, we might also note that Go-Shirakawa's great-grandfather Shirakawa (1053-1129, emperor 1072-1086, retired emperor 1086-1129) made attempts to extend the imperial family's influence into Kōfukuji, the powerful Fujiwara's family-temple and the headquarters for the Hossō sect, located in Nara. The Fujiwara had dominated the imperial court and indeed the entire political arena as regents and imperial advisors from the late 9th century until the late 11th, when Shirakawa embarked on a number of new policies to increase the imperial family's influence over elite temples, of which Kōfukuji was one of the top two together with Enryakuji. At any rate, following an unsuccessful attempt to promote his own ally for an important ceremony, Shirakawa took revenge by suspending the Kōfukuji head abbot Kakushin (1065-1121), ostensibly for not being able to contain his own clergy. The latter became infuriated and proceeded to attack the residence of Shirakawa's monk-ally, forcing the retired emperor to rescind the suspension¹⁷.

15 M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power...*, pp. 64-65.

16 *Sankaiki*, Eiryaku 2 (1161) 4/7-9; *Tendai zasuki*, p. 95; *Hyakurenshō*, Ōhō (1162) 2/1.

17 *Chūyūki*, Kōwa 4 (1102) 8/6, 8, 12, 15, 18, 21, 23, 26; 9/4, 5, 28, 29; 10/9, 17; *Dai Nihon shiryō* 3:6, pp. 517-519, 534-544, 556-558, 584-586, 601-605.

As demonstrated by these and numerous other incidents, the competition for monastic appointments could occasionally result in violent confrontations, but it was the need for assets in the form of land and branch institutions that caused the most severe conflicts. Two of the most persistent and violent cases from the late Heian age both involve Kōfukuji and Enryakuji. One concerned Tōnomine, a temple-shrine complex located in Yamato Province south of the old capital of Nara (see map), where Kōfukuji was located. Established as a Tendai branch, Tōnomine also housed the mausoleum for the progenitor of the Fujiwara (Kamatari, 614-669), whose family temple, as noted previously, was Kōfukuji. Needless to say, Tōnomine was therefore a thorn in the side of Kōfukuji, which repeatedly challenged Enryakuji's rights to its branch. There are too many conflicts to account for here, but to mention just one example, in 1072, the Kōfukuji clergy erected new tollgates in Yamato, which greatly inconvenienced Tōnomine as the tolls obstructed the travel to and from the compound. Tōnomine's clergy responded by tearing down some of the gates, prompting Kōfukuji supporters to attack Tōnomine on several occasions, burning parts of the complex. The court attempted to punish the offending attackers, but it could not get the Kōfukuji monastics to appear for questioning in Kyoto. Eventually, the Kōfukuji clergy resorted to threats against the court itself, stating that the entire monastic population would come to the capital, supported by their divine symbols, which would have amounted to a spiritual protest. The court accordingly found it difficult to identify the culprits, much less punish them, and thus had to settle for some symbolic punishments and a stern warning not to stage further attacks on Tōnomine¹⁸.

Another instructive example dates to 1113, when the retired emperor, Shirakawa, appointed a certain Ensei (n.d.) abbot of Kiyomizudera, located on the mountainside in the eastern part of Kyoto. Significantly, Ensei was a Tendai monk and Kiyomizudera was a branch of Kōfukuji, again prompting a conflict between the latter and Enryakuji. The Kōfukuji clergy threatened to stage a protest in the capital, and so Shirakawa relented by replacing Ensei with a Kōfukuji-affiliated monk, which in turn prompted Enryakuji to launch an attack on Kiyomizudera, resulting in considerable damage. Kōfukuji demanded that the Enryakuji perpetrators be punished, but the court wavered, and so the Nara clergy assembled followers from both the temple compound and from estates its home province of Yamato to try to settle the dispute with arms. Enryakuji responded to these threats by preparing to confront the Kōfukuji forces until the court finally stepped in by dispatching a force of seasoned warriors headed by the renowned

18 M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power...*, pp. 144-145; *Gyokuyō*, Jōan 3 (1173) 5/20; 6/21, 25, 27, 30; 7/1, 7, 12-15, 21; *Tōnomine ryakki*, Jōan 2 (1172) 9/6, 12/24; Jōan 3 (1173) 6/8.

commander Taira no Masamori (?-1121). The government forces clashed with the Kōfukuji supporters just south of Kyoto, with the former coming out on top, suffering only two casualties in contrast to Kōfukuji's forty¹⁹. But, who were these monastic warriors? It is a question that has perplexed scholars and other observers for some time, and so it is well worth exploring their origin and their ways of fighting before looking into the ideological and cultural contexts of monastic violence.

MONASTIC WARRIORS AND *SŌHEI*

20th-century representations of monastic forces have focused on the largely fictive figure of the *sōhei*, or "monk-warrior". The typical image of these *sōhei* with head cowls, monastic robes, wooden clogs and the *naginata* (a glaive that was used to both stab and cut with) hails from 14th-century artistic representations sponsored by supporters of new Buddhist orders that were often critical of the secular power of the established monasteries. Following the founding in 1600 of Japan's third shogunate, the Tokugawa Bakufu, the warrior class established itself as the premier rulers, in part by limiting the right to carry arms by other groups. It is in this setting that the traditional image of the *samurai* itself emerged, according to which the warrior class ruled by birthright. As part of this new social and cultural framework, groups now disarmed, especially those belonging to monasteries, were discredited. The term *sōhei* was largely unknown until that time, though it was likely imported to Japan from Korea as part of a negative connotation for Korean monastics who had resisted the invasion attempts by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) in the 1590s. In either case, as the *samurai* category was created in the early 17th century, those who had fought in the name of temples were soon relegated to the much less desirable and criticized category of *sōhei*, whose first known usage in Japan dates to 1715²⁰.

That this early modern invention of two such separate characters, both stemming from the same medieval social and political setting, was successful is beyond any doubt. The *samurai* remains to this day one of the most respected and praised warrior types in world history²¹, whereas the *sōhei* has come to symbolize what went wrong with Buddhism in Japan's medieval age. Not even scholars in the 20th century were able to deconstruct the *sōhei* image, as they kept reproducing later pictorial representations, rehashing the arguments

19 *Denryaku*, Eikyū 1 (1113) 3/20, 21, 22, 29; 4/1; *Chōshūki*, Eikyū 1/int. 3/20, 21, 22; 4/1, 30; 5/4; *Dai Nihon shiryō* 3:14, pp. 137-140, 145-147, 179-180, 182-183, 185; *Tendai zasuki*, pp. 77-78.

20 M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 146-147.

21 For a famous example, see J. Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, New York 1993.

about the inappropriateness of armed monastics. There are too many examples for an inventory here, but Japanese scholars' attempts in the 20th century to match the *sōhei* with one group of monks or another serve as ample evidence of how challenging it has been for historians to disengage themselves from that constructed image²². In reality, monastic warriors were sociologically identical to other local strongmen and scions of the nobility, who armed themselves to make a living. A brief description of those who engaged in violence on behalf of monasteries will illustrate this point.

Monastic warriors came from one of two groups: local land managers and their retainers, or mid- to low-level aristocrats, who served as local leaders and commanders. In the case of monastic commanders, they often heralded from one of the Minamoto, the Taira, or the Fujiwara branches, serving as "bridging figures" between the Kyoto elites and local strongmen. Far from professional commanders, they usually made their living as provincial officials and tax collectors or land administrators and due collectors, but soon learned to use their social rank to attract local, armed men into their service²³. We know the names and lives of a few of these commanders as they have made their mark in the sources. Perhaps one of the most famous ones is Shinjitsu (1086-?), who was called "Japan's number one evil, martial monk" in a later record²⁴. Shinjitsu was born a Minamoto, descending from a line of military commanders having served in estate management and provincial appointments. Both his father and grandfather were, however, more known for being too aggressive in their duties than for their administrative services, often extorting more taxes than required from farmers so that they both earned a reputation of being troublemakers²⁵.

Shinjitsu was not much different from his forefathers except that his master was the temple of Kōfukuji rather the imperial court or a noble. Despite having limited training in the ceremonies of the monastery, he was one of the most powerful figures within Kōfukuji, culminating in the years 1148-1151, when he was in charge of the temple during the absence of a head abbot²⁶. His fortunes ended in the Hōgen Incident of 1156, when a dispute over imperial succession resulted in two factions resorting to violence. Numerous

22 See for example, T. Hirata, *Sōhei to bushi*; E. Hioki, *Sōhei no rekishi: Hō to yoroi o matotta ara hosshi tachi*, Tokyo 2003; M. Watanabe, *Sōhei Genpei seisui*, Tokyo 1984.

23 Jeffrey P. Mass first argued the central importance of these "bridging figures". See his *Warrior Government in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Bakufu, Shugo and Jitō*, New Haven 1974; idem, *The Kamakura Bakufu*, in: *The Cambridge History of Japan, III: Medieval Japan*, ed. K. Yamamura, Cambridge (UK) 1990, p. 49.

24 *Sonpi bunmyaku* 3:162; *Kōfukuji bettō sangō keizu*, p. 27.

25 *Sonpi bunmyaku* 3:162; *Kōfukuji bettō sangō keizu*, p. 27; B. Tsunoda, *Shōmu tennō haka*, in: idem, *Ōchō no meian: Heian jidaishi no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1977, II, pp. 339-340.

26 M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 97.

commanders were called into action, including Shinjitsu, who was ordered to bring troops to Kyoto to support Kōfukuji's patron – the Fujiwara chieftain. A later narrative, the *Heike Monogatari* (*Tale of the Heike*, ca. mid-13th century), notes that Shinjitsu was supposed to provide one thousand of the sixteen hundred troops that the Fujiwara were counting on, but he never reached Kyoto in time as the opposing faction launched a preemptive strike. Shinjitsu returned to Kōfukuji and was shortly thereafter neutralized as a military factor within the temple²⁷. His fate was therefore not unlike other military commanders who ended up on the losing side in a court conflict, though he escaped with his life.

Another belligerent monk-commander worth noting is Jōjin (1037-1118), who was a descendant of a mid-ranking member of the Fujiwara with a tradition of holding provincial posts. Jōjin may have embarked on a monastic career within the Tendai sect in part to ascend to the ambitious levels that his ancestors had failed to reach. Indeed, his branch was quite despised among the higher-ranking nobles in Kyoto, as one Fujiwara regent (and a distant relative) had earlier referred to its members as having “evilness deeply rooted in their hearts”²⁸. In part because of his family's lack of connections in the capital, Jōjin too was met with disappointments and only rose to the mid-ranking level of preceptor within Enryakuji in 1085, at the mature age of 47. After having served mainly in the capital for the next decade, Jōjin turned his attention back to Enryakuji when an abbotship of one of the three main sub-sections there opened up. Finding himself out of favor with the Tendai head abbot, Jōjin took matters in his own hands and ascended Mount Hiei at the head of a group of armed men to press the matter²⁹. He was eventually forced to accept the decision of the head abbot to appoint someone else, but Jōjin returned in 1104 in an attempt to take physical control of the sub-temple with the help of more forces. This time, the fighting spread across the monastic complex on Mount Hiei, resulting in the destruction of numerous building and close to two hundred casualties. The Enryakuji clergy wanted Jōjin exiled for his deeds, but the imperial court decided to only strip him of one of his official monk offices³⁰. Two years later, in 1106, Jōjin finally managed, again with the help of substantial military support, to be appointed abbot of the sub-temple at the age of 69. Less than a year later, however, one of Jōjin's retainers killed an imperial messenger, and this time, the court finally took

27 *Hōgen Monogatari*, Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai, XXXI, Tokyo 1961, pp. 85, 125; *Heihanki*, Hōgen 1 (1156) 7/11.

28 *Shunki*, Eishō 7 (1052) 7/12. A more extensive treatment of Jōjin's exploits in English can be found in M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 87-93.

29 *Go-Nijō Moromichi ki*, Eichō 1 (1096) 2/12, 15.

30 *Chūyūki*, Chōji 1 (1104) 6/15, 21-24, 29; 8/13; *Sōgō bunin*, Chōji 1 (1104), p. 171.

decisive action. In the first month of 1108, he was exiled, and though he was pardoned some years later, he was no longer a threat to his surroundings (which is probably why he was allowed to return to Kyoto). When Jōjin died in 1118, aged eighty-one, he was still remembered as a man of violence³¹.

In contrast to Shinjitsu, Jōjin had the training to perform Buddhist ceremonies and seems to have known the Buddhist scriptures quite well. What they have in common is, however, more important. They were both part of a mid-level aristocratic class of highly ambitious families, who sought to extend their wealth and status in provinces or at monasteries with the help of arms. Looking only at the end result, they appear to have been rather unsuccessful, but both did in fact have long careers within their respective monasteries and both rose well above the ranks of their ancestors.

Compared with the half a dozen or so monk-commanders known in historical records, the lower-ranking monastics who fought in greater numbers are poorly represented. A few are noted in war tales, such as Jōmyō Myōshu, who in the *Heike monogatari* (*The Tale of the Heike*, 13th century) announces himself to his would-be opponents at a narrow bridge crossing Uji River just south of Kyoto: “You must have heard of me long ago. See me now with your own eyes! Everyone at Miidera knows me! I am the worker-monk Jōmyō Myōshu from Tsutsui, a warrior worth a thousand men. If any here consider themselves my equals, let them come forward. I’ll meet them!”³². The category Jōmyō claims himself to represent in this work – *dōshu* (translated here as “worker-monk”, though “hall cleric” is more accurate) – is one of many different monastic groups known to have carried weapons during the early medieval age. The challenge is to understand what these represent since numerous terms were used, often with different meanings depending on the monastery³³. By and large, however, we can distinguish between two general groups of armed clerics; those who worked and lived *within* the monastery and those who lived *away* from the central temple in estates or in branch temples and affiliated Shintō shrines.

Within monastic compounds, we find a broad range of armed members, referred to under the terms *daishu* (“clergy”), *dōshu* (“hall clerics”), *akusō* (“evil monks”) or *jinnin* (“shrine people”), but their meaning is not always clear since

31 *Chūyūki*, Kajō 1 (1106) 9/30; Kajō 2 (1107) 12/30; Tennin 1 (1108) 1/9; Eikyū 2 (1114) 2/30; Gen’ei 1 (1118) 2/15.

32 *The Tale of the Heike*, transl. H.C. McCullough, Stanford 1988, p. 153. I have adjusted the reading of the monk’s name from McCullough’s translation as it better reflects common naming practices at the time.

33 For a treatment of the *dōshu* and its usage in different contexts, see M. Adolphson, *The Dōshu: Clerics at Work in Early Medieval Japanese Monasteries*, “*Monumenta Nipponica*” LXVII (2012) 2, pp. 263-282.

they were mainly recorded in noble diaries and chronicles by people who rarely had detailed knowledge about the social configurations at the lower level of temples³⁴. The noble perspectives in these observations is particularly obvious in the use of the term “evil monk” (*akusō*), which was used, not to refer only to those who were armed but rather to those who violated the imperial court’s notion of order, something I will return to in more detail in this essay. At any rate, it is clear that those groups generally comprised of members from local communities surrounding temples, employed to do manual labor, such as cleaning, repairs and construction, preparation for ceremonies and management of buildings and the monastic compound.

Those who lived away from the main monastery resemble the local strongmen who served aristocratic warrior-administrators in the various provinces. Such retainers performed different manual tasks, on occasion using the authority of their masters to extend their own local influence. At times, these retainers were called to the capital area to support their masters in factional struggles, as happened in the aforementioned Hōgen Incident of 1156. As can be gleaned from contemporary sources, they were mostly recognized as armed men, referred to either as *bushi* (“military men”) or with different combinations of the character for “warrior” (*hei*), such as *zuihei* (“accompanying warriors”), *gunpei* (“warrior bands”), *heishi* (“warriors”). In the above mentioned 1113 conflict between Kōfukuji and Enryakuji, for example, one courtier wrote in his diary: “the clergy of the Southern Capital riot incessantly, assembling warrior bands [*gunpei*] from Kinpusen and Yoshino, as well as estate and provincial residents of Yamato. They all carry bows and arrows, following the lead of the Kōfukuji clergy”³⁵. The range of people carrying arms here indicates the lack of monopoly of warfare by one particular class but also that no matter where these people came from, we find so signs of them being called or dressed as *sōhei*.

Warfare and military strategies similarly indicate little to no difference between monastic and secular warriors. For example, as already explained, Jōmyō Myōshu is described in the *Heike Monogatari* as having used bows and arrows, swords, dirks as well as the *naginata*³⁶. Other records note that clerics were among the most skilled warriors on horseback, as indicated by a temple chronicle from the 13th century, where we find novices at Tōdaiji displaying skills of *yabusame* (rapid shooting from horseback) and *kasagake* (long distance shooting from horseback)³⁷. Picture scrolls from the 14th century

34 M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 58-71.

35 *Chūyūki*, Eikyū 1 (1113) 4/14; DNS 3:14, pp. 143-144. See also M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 71-78.

36 *The Tale of the Heike*, pp. 153-154, 194-195. See also *Genpei seisūiki*, p. 579.

37 M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, p. 79.

similarly show mounted archers fighting along foot soldiers using the same weapons among both monastic and secular warriors, though head cowls are occasionally depicted to identify those belonging to monasteries³⁸. In short, historical sources are unequivocal in showing that armed monastics cannot be separated from other types of warriors and that they were part of the increased tendency to solve conflicts with the use of arms that occurred across society from the 10th century and on.

THE CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS OF MONASTIC VIOLENCE

Contemporary historical and literary sources accordingly demonstrate that monastic violence cannot be conceptually or institutionally separated from the socio-political factionalism that characterized the late Heian and Kamakura periods. In other words, religious disputes and armed monastics were not separate from court politics but a vital and inevitable part of it. Even minor conflicts that involved intrusions into estates by managerial agents and others acting on their own must be understood in this setting, as they also acted with their patrons' interests in mind. In fact, some scholars characterize the early medieval age as a rule based on collaboration among three power blocs – court nobles, warriors and religious institutions – but also marked by intense factionalism within each bloc³⁹.

This socio-political setting was supported by an ideological framework, or *mentalité*, that allowed religious institutions and their practitioners to engage in violence as needed. However, contrary to what one might expect, and in sharp contrast to the age of crusades in Europe, we find surprisingly little religious rhetoric mustered in conflicts either to condemn or justify violence⁴⁰. Sure enough, some monks used Buddhist scriptures to comment and discuss monastic violence, but temple records mainly focus on defending the institution, thus overriding perceptual prohibitions of arms. Similarly, courtiers were rarely involved in such discussions, and when they did comment on monastic violence they mainly complained about the general state of affairs, or they were simply inconsistent. At times, they criticized clerics for taking up arms and prohibitions against such activities were occasionally

38 Ibidem, pp. 79-83, 132-135. For another telling example of non-*sōhei* like depictions of temple warriors, see the *Hōnen shōnin eden* (ibidem, p. 82).

39 This is the gist of the well-known *kenmon* theory presented by Kuroda Toshio in the 1960s. For an analysis of Kuroda's theory, see M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power...*, pp. 10-19. For Kuroda's own writing, see in particular *Chūsei jisha seiryoku ron*, in: *Iwanami kōza, Nihon rekishi 6, chūsei 2*, Tokyo 1975, pp. 245-295.

40 A most extreme case being the eschatological discourse explored by Jay Rubenstein in this volume.

issued, but such condemnations are connected to a desire for order rather than based on religious ideals. And, as already noted, there were numerous occasions when courtiers encouraged monastics to support the court's or their faction's cause, as was the case with Shinjitsu in the Hōgen Incident.

In terms of Buddhist justifications for violence, it is equally difficult to find examples in Japanese sources. From the 14th century, clerics of the traditional sects, such as Tendai, certainly attacked the newer, more populist doctrines that promulgated the superiority of prayers to Amida Buddha, who had the ability to save the general masses. However, even then, we find little religious rhetoric as concerns focused mainly on the loss of patronage, funding and religious appointments. Another more interesting case is the Jōdo Shinshū sect, an Amidist denomination that gained tremendous power in the late 15th and 16th century to the point that they controlled a whole province on the Japan Sea coast. It is said that Jōdo Shinshū leaders used notions of rebirth in the Western Paradise in their recruitment of commoners to fight for the religious order, but recent scholarship has demonstrated that such rhetoric was all but absent in such activities, and that those who did the fighting were actually warriors rather than peasant recruits. Indeed, the uprisings of the Warring States period (1467-1573) by such groups were mainly a result of heavy taxation and undue burdens on the farming population by the emerging warlord class⁴¹.

Absent extensive doctrinal discussions about violence in the name of Buddhism, it is in the cultural context where we find clues to understanding monastic violence in early medieval Japan. In particular, there were three ideologies that played a crucial role during this time. First, and as noted at the outset of this article, while Buddhist texts, including the aforementioned *Sutra of Brahma's Net*, prohibit the possession and use of arms as well as resorting to violence, there was also a discourse about deities using arms to battle evil beings or other threat, as evidenced by the *Shitennō* (the Four Deva Kings). Though these deities do not appear to have been the focus of much debate, their presence in the Buddhist pantheon opened the way for clerics to defend their orders and in its extension also the temple and its interest.

The second ideology, which is usually translated as the "mutual inter-dependence between the Imperial and Buddhist Law" (*ōbō buppō soe*), served as the foundation of the interaction between temples and the secular elites in Kyoto. The first known reference to this idea appears in a 10th-century document that states that a violation of the Imperial Law was also a crime against Buddhism. Another document dating to 1053 contains a complaint

⁴¹ See for example, C.R. Tsang, *War and Faith: Ikkōikki in Late Muromachi Japan*, Cambridge (MA) 2007.

from an estate manager of Tōdaiji, who made comparisons between the laws of the state and Buddhism, on the one hand, and the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart, on the other⁴². This idea of mutual inter-dependence made Buddhism a full-fledged partner in the imperial state, and, most importantly, it cemented its place as the state's spiritual protector. No period makes this clearer than the 11th and 12th centuries, when notions of Buddhism's decline (*mappō*) flourished in Japan. As is well known, Buddhism's understanding of time was based on *kalpas* or three different ages that represented the emergence of the faith, when understanding of its tenets were supreme, while the following ages represented a decline that would ultimately result in the return of the Buddha. According to continental calculations, the final age of Buddhism would occur in the year 1052, and so at this time Japanese courtiers and monks alike were obviously concerned. But it was not a time of inactivity on the part of Buddhist believers. Some buried sutras in the hope that they would preserve knowledge about the teachings until such a time that Buddha himself returned⁴³. Others hoped that Buddhism could help protect against the decline, either through prayers and rituals or by physically combating those who represented the lack of order, which in many cases were local warriors who encroached on estate management. Under such circumstances, noble diarists rarely mention clerics breaking the Buddhist precepts against violence, but instead lament the general state of affairs.

The ideology of the mutual inter-dependence of the two laws was more than just a theoretical notion. Courtiers often made connections between the declining authority of the imperial court and the state of Buddhism, and vice versa. A dispute over a religious ritual, for example, became an immediate concern for aristocrats at court since it might serve as a reminder of the impending end of imperial rule. The court was therefore committed to ensuring its religious allies' wellbeing, as evidenced by reconstructions of buildings and monuments at court expense throughout the early medieval era. If the court was unable to finance such an undertaking, as happened after the imperial temple in Nara, Tōdaiji, was burned down during the Genpei War of 1180-1185, a general fundraising campaign was set in place. The reconstruction was highly successful, mainly because the temple's revival was important to not just its closest supporters, but in effect to the state itself⁴⁴.

⁴² M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power...*, p. 272; *Heian ibun*, ed. R. Takeuchi, Tokyo 1968, III, doc. 702: *Mino no kuni shōshi jūninra gesu*, *Tengi* 1 (1053) /7, pp. 834-835; T. Kuroda, *Jisha seiryoku: mō hitotsu no chūsei shakai*, Tokyo 1980, p. 48.

⁴³ D.M. Moerman, *The Archeology of Anxiety: An Underground History of Heian Religion*, in: *Heian Japan...*, pp. 245-271.

⁴⁴ See for example, J. Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan*, Honolulu 1994.

It should come as no surprise that the mutual inter-dependence theory was popular among monastic leaders and the general clergies. Indeed, its foothold among temples and shrines was the very platform upon which the practice of divine demonstrations (*gōso*, literally “forceful protests”) was founded. These protests were staged in response to decisions about land or religious appointments by the imperial court that the clergies perceived to be unfair. The process culminated when members of the offending monastery brought a divine symbol of a Shintō shrine in support of their grievance to the capital, where the presence of the *kami* (Shintō deities) presented a considerable spiritual threat to the court. Informed by the notion of mutual inter-dependence, damage to any of the symbols frequently led to repairs done by the court and of course decisions in favor of the aggrieved temple. Failing to do so would have been tantamount to neglecting the very institutions that protected the imperial state, which was perilous in an age when *mappō* and *ōbō buppō soe* constituted central parts of the ideological framework⁴⁵.

A third idea needs to be added to this framework. Stemming from local practices among villages and emerging from Shintō beliefs, the concept of *ichimi dōshin*, or “fellows of one heart”, stipulated that a unanimous group faced with injustice had the *kami* on its side⁴⁶. This notion was adopted within monastic communities, where one could find horizontal ties among the clerics that can only be described as unusual for its time. Late Heian and Kamakura Japan was a hierarchically structured society, and vertical ties trumped all other connections, but monasteries seemed to constitute an important exception to this rule. Thus, while noble rank largely predetermined careers at court, promotions within a monastery were in theory based on years served. In the early Heian age, such principles were followed in many religious appointments, but ranking courtiers began putting their sons in monasteries from the late 10th century to enhance their influence into the realm of temples and religious rituals. These aristocratic monks were commonly put on a short-track, receiving promotions far beyond their training and age, eventually coming to dominate all major abbotships at the most influential institutions. The idea of *ichimi dōshin* took on an especially strong meaning in this context, allowing the general clergy recourse in case their leader was unfair. There was accordingly a notion that there was divine justification if there was unanimous consent among the clergy regarding perceived wrongdoings. At Kōfukuji this justice was called *Yamashina dōri* (“Yamashina justice”), named after what was believed to be the first location of the temple

45 M. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power...*, pp. 272-273.

46 Ibidem, pp. 271-272. See also T. Keirstead, *The Geography of Power in Medieval Japan*, Princeton 1992.

in Yamashina Province west of the capital close to Lake Biwa⁴⁷. The usage of *ichimi dōshin* is instructive for our understanding of the mentality of the age; we find it mustered in a confrontation dating to 1142, when armed clerics from Onjōji attacked Enryakuji and burned down several buildings on Mount Hiei. Two of the leaders were arrested, but to escape punishment, they claimed to have acted in the spirit of *ichimi dōshin*, representing the entire Onjōji clergy⁴⁸. Despite the different periods and great geographical distance, one cannot help but recall E.P. Thompson's work on modern mob mentalities, indicating perhaps that such ideas of justice of the many over the injustice of the few is not an isolated idea, though its early appearance in Japan is remarkable⁴⁹.

The term *akusō* ("evil monks") introduced earlier must be considered in this context of *ichimi dōshin*. It was used to contrast those who acted in accordance with the unanimous wishes of the clergy to those who proceeded without such an endorsement. For instance, it was to avoid being labeled *akusō* and thus punishment that the two Onjōji leaders in 1142 claimed to be acting in the spirit of *ichimi dōshin*. To note one more example, the Enryakuji monk Yūkei freed the popular head abbot Myōun (1115-1183) in 1177 to prevent the imperial court from exiling him. Despite the seriousness of this event – Yūkei having armed himself and having led a number of followers to interrupt the procession – the court found it difficult to punish him because the group claimed to have acted on behalf of the entire clergy as they saved their head abbot⁵⁰.

Scholars have traditionally tended to equate the *akusō* with the category of "monk-warriors" (*sōhei*), but that is misguided. The context of being in the "evil" category was tied to whether the people in question had acted in accordance with the rules of the monastic community or not. And, far from all *akusō* were armed. For instance, a search in the database of the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo University reveals that under one fourth of all instances of this term can conclusively be tied to armed activities⁵¹. In addition, contemporary diaries also indicate that monastics could be considered "evil" for different reasons. An entry from 1104 explains that two government commanders were ordered "to secure the western and

47 M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 64-65; idem, *The Gates of Power...*, pp. 271-272.

48 *Heian ibun*, Tokyo 1963, VI, doc. 2471: *Onjōji sō Chōjun ra shinji ki*, Kōji 1 (1142) 5/8, pp. 2073-2074; *Honchō seiki*, Kōji 1 (1142) 3/17.

49 E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, New York 1991, p. 188.

50 *Genpei seisuki*, pp. 110-111; *The Tale of the Heike*, p. 61; M. Adolphson, *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, pp. 62-63.

51 See <<http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller>> (last accessed: 21 October 2016). See also my search done in 2004, cited in *Teeth and Claws of the Buddha...*, p. 63, n. 15; p. 173.

eastern sides of Mt. Hiei, and to arrest evil monks and fellows carrying arms who ascend the mountain"⁵². In other words, the noble diarist here makes a distinction between "evil monks" and others who were armed. In further proof of this interpretation, we should also note that the character for evil, *aku*, can be found in several compounds, such as "evil bands" (*akutō*), "evil people" (*akunin*) and "evil deeds" (*akugyō*). In all of those cases, their usages depend more on the perspective of the observer rather than any absolute standards. For example, the aforementioned Shinjitsu was called an evil monk, but was also asked by his Fujiwara ally to bring his armed supporters to Kyoto. Shinjitsu never made it on time and his faction ended up losing, so one has to wonder if his reputation had been different had he won. In a similar vein, Onjōji was asked to rise against the Heike "usurpers" and provide military support to the Minamoto side in the opening of the Genpei War in 1180, but there are in those cases no references to the temple or its military supporters as being evil. One final example from a later time makes the arbitrariness even more obvious. During the rise of the Jōdo Shinshū sect in the late 15th and 16th centuries, the Ashikaga Bakufu encouraged its members to rebel against and unseat a local warlord, but only twenty years earlier it had ordered the sect to not engage in any military acts⁵³.

In short, when it suited the rulers or the patrons, temple forces were obviously not called "evil", so in the end, such labels depended entirely on the circumstances and the perspective of the dominating or victorious factions. Given such conditions, it also stands to reason that religious rhetoric would not have played a major role. In the end, then, those labeled evil had little to do with Buddhist precepts (a religious "evil") or even the laws of the imperial court (a constitutional "evil"), but was rather conditioned by the perspectives of the ruling or victorious bloc in the capital. As such, religious rhetoric could be as vital in favor of arming monastics as against it but only insofar as the entire ideological framework tied the fate of the imperial court and Buddhism together.

EARLY MEDIEVAL JAPAN: THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE AND WARFARE

Any attempt to grasp a culture or a *mentalité* of a historical society is faced with the problem of the general versus the specific. I have attempted to maintain a high-level perspective in explaining the religious context for violence and warfare in early medieval Japan, but I remain aware that for every example I have noted in support of my conclusions, others may find instances that

52 *Chūyūki*, Chōji 1 (1104) 10/30.

53 See C.R. Tsang, *War and Faith...*

would seem to contradict them. Of course, this is not a challenge unique to this essay, but we would be remiss as historians if we did not offer a synthesis that may help situate specific events in the past. And yet, a linear narrative may not always be the most effective way of conveying such a synthesis, so I might suggest here a different approach to summarize my observations; through the mode of contrasts and comparison. A cross-cultural comparison might serve best here, but it may be more instructive and appropriate to look forward a few centuries from the early medieval age to the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), often thought of as Japan's early modern age.

Separated by a just over two hundred years, it is difficult to imagine that two such different societies could be part of the same historical trajectory. Allow me to elaborate on three particular areas. First, the role of religion, especially Buddhism, was fundamentally different in those two periods. After numerous battles and long sieges in the second half of the 16th century, all powerful monasteries in central Japan were pacified, de-militarized and rendered almost without their financial foundations⁵⁴. This process continued and was reinforced during the first three shoguns of the Tokugawa period, leading in the late 1630s to Buddhist institutions being relegated to serving mainly as population registers and sites for funerary rites⁵⁵. Many temples certainly continued to be crucial locations of worship and rituals of its practitioners, but their role within the political, military and economic structures of the state was greatly reduced as compared to the early medieval age.

The shogunate was concerned not just with Buddhism but also with the spread of Christianity, which had initially been welcomed in the mid-16th century as a counterweight to the old, powerful Buddhist centers⁵⁶. Yet, less than a hundred years later the "foreign faith" (Buddhism was of course also foreign but it had been internalized by that time) was prohibited throughout Japan. Buddhist temples were charged with keeping registers of all households according to the sect they belonged to in order to ensure that there were no members of the Christian faith (though some converts remained in remote areas). In contrast, and as noted earlier, the Buddhist monastic complexes during the early medieval era played a significant role in sanctifying the state, in return for which they were granted judicial immunity for its estates and branch institutions. And they were an integral part of the state itself, acting like any other elite as part of a tripartite ruling structure.

⁵⁴ See N. McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, Princeton 1984.

⁵⁵ For an excellent overview in English of how local temples functioned during this period, see F. Tamamuro, *Local Society and the Temple-Parishioner Relationship within the Bakufu's Governance Structure*, "Japanese Journal of Religious Studies" XXVIII (2001) 3-4, pp. 261-292.

⁵⁶ A convenient survey is J. Elisonas, *Christianity and the Daimyo*, in: *The Cambridge History of Japan*, IV: *Early Modern Japan*, ed. J.W. Hall, Cambridge (UK) 1991, pp. 301-372.

A second, and equally substantial, difference can be found in the right to carry arms. During the early medieval age, there were no specific rules about who could take up arms and who could not, even as the emerging warrior class made a point of promoting itself as masters of highly skilled weaponry such as archery. Indeed, contrary to modern perceptions that extol the primacy of the sword, the way of the warrior was thought of being one of *kyūba*, the bow and arrow⁵⁷. And yet, those who mastered archery on horseback, typically thought of as being part of the archetypical *samurai*, included members of monasteries. In addition, large numbers of menial workers, administrators and artisans took up arms as the conditions called for it, especially from the 10th century, when military means became increasingly common to protect assets and solve disputes across the archipelago. In Tokugawa Japan, on the other hand, only the ruling *samurai* class was allowed to carry weapons. Less than half a century before the Tokugawa age, peasants were recruited as foot soldiers in the large armies of warlords, playing a significant role in the many battles of the Sengoku age (1467-1573). However, during the 1590s, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), himself of peasant origin, started a swords hunt that left some soldiers lodged in the warrior class permanently, while others were sent back to become farmers⁵⁸. To preserve peace, the Tokugawa shoguns followed this example by establishing a strict class division, where only the *samurai* were permitted to carry swords. It is perhaps not surprising that it is in that context that armed monastics were looked upon with much disdain (as were other armed groups not seen as part of the warrior class).

Moving to a third area of comparison, namely rituals, we find more commonality and carryover. In short, rituals were enormously important in both early medieval and Tokugawa Japan. In the earlier period, there was a myriad of ceremonies performed by temples and shrines, monks and priests in addition to a number of state rituals. In the Tokugawa age, we also find a fair number of rituals, but it would seem that the spiritual aspect may have been less prevalent than it had been for aristocrats. Sure enough, shrines were still patronized and the Tokugawa patriarch was buried at a shrine-temple complex, which was visited frequently by dignitaries, but we do not see the same multitude of religious institutions engaged in rituals at the state level. As a result, control of rituals appears to have been exercised in different manners. During the Tokugawa age, a vast majority of high level rituals were performed as part of a public function, though one should note an increase of popular rites attended by visitors, some of whom had come from afar to

⁵⁷ For an exhaustive and conclusive account of warfare during this period, see K. Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, New York 2004.

⁵⁸ See M.E. Berry, *Hideyoshi*, Cambridge (MA) 1982, esp. pp. 102-111.

experience various spots as part of sightseeing travels and pilgrimages⁵⁹. Even familial rituals in individual domains controlled by the warlords were of public nature, as were those on the village level. In the early medieval age, we find a vast array of rituals, some sponsored by the imperial court itself, but also many sponsored by individual families to enhance their own status and ensure spiritual support of their secular endeavors. In point of fact, it can be argued that privately sponsored rituals played an important public function in the early medieval period, but that is in itself significant⁶⁰. In other words, the distinction between private and public was more pronounced in the Tokugawa age than in the early medieval period.

What lies behind such differences is the socio-political system. Tokugawa society was more closed and above all much more centered as a state than early medieval Japan. The latter had a broad ruling structure at the top, where several groups (or blocs) of elites co-ruled: court nobles, warrior aristocrats and religious institutions. Each bloc held different responsibilities in the civil, military and religious spheres respectively, and the state thus constituted the sum of the three blocs. However, each bloc also consisted of numerous factions and so competition within the blocs, resulting in various alliances across bloc boundaries provided a highly competitive environment throughout the period⁶¹. Modern observers may find the participation by Buddhist institutions in the socio-political factionalism of the time objectionable, but such views assume a different set of ideas than those that were current during the early medieval age. There was, in short, no way of separating temples and shrines from politics. They were integral to it. Neither can one separate secular from religious violence, which is strongly supported by the way that warriors fought on both sides, using the same weapons and strategies. Moreover, they came from the same category of land administrators whereas their commanders descended from the same mid-level aristocratic families. Keeping in mind also that warfare was not a privilege for any single group at this time, any clerics, menial workers or peasants could feasibly be brought in to support their masters. It is precisely because religious institutions were part of the institutional, ritual and ideological fabric of the age that armed monastics did not appear out of the ordinary. When they were criticized, it was not from the principal point of Buddhism and violence, but rather from

⁵⁹ For an informative account about Tokugawa pilgrimages, see I. Reader, *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku*, Honolulu 2006, pp. 107-149.

⁶⁰ M. Bauer, *The Yuima-e as Theater of the State*, "Japanese Journal of Religious Studies" XXXVIII (2011) 1, pp. 161-179; idem, *The Absence of the Private: The Jion-e and Public Ritual in Premodern Japan*, "Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies" XV (2013), pp. 65-85.

⁶¹ See n. 39 above.

the broader perspective of a court-centered polity that emphasized and strived for order and harmony. It is thus futile to look for “religious warfare” in premodern Japan⁶².

The socio-political context surrounding war and violence in late Heian and Kamakura Japan was one that acknowledged dispute resolution through the use of arms. In part, this was due to a militarization that began in the provinces and the court’s ability to incorporate those powers into the ruling structures of the time⁶³. In part, it was also due to Buddhism’s ambiguous stance vis-à-vis violence, which provided the cultural framework. The precepts certainly discouraged the use of weapons and killing, but at the same time, the old Hindu deities imported into Japan (such as the Four Deva Kings) were thought of as protectors of the faith against evil. Then, as Buddhism became intertwined with the fate of the imperial state itself, violence could be justified to defend it, its major monasteries or even the resources of those institutions.

The lack of religious rhetoric can thus be understood from that context, but it might also be worth making a brief comparison to Europe, where the crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries were highly motivated by Christian narratives. The difference with Japan, of course, is that there was no evil “other” to fight. In fact, early medieval Japan was more a state of the Buddha than anything else, with a wide range of religious rituals for the imperial court performed by a handful of monastic centers. Because those ceremonies were attached to different schools, or sometimes even open to competition, no temple could feasibly make the argument that an attack on other temples served Buddhism, since they were all part of the same intellectual and political framework. The key difference must thus be found in the socio-political structures. While the emperor may be seen as the undisputed ruler in premodern Japan, the system relied on numerous elites behind the throne. As such, factionalism was integral to ancient and medieval rule, which in turn encouraged competition in different arenas, be they ritual or cultural. Considering the important role played by temples and shrines in providing services in both those areas, it is hardly surprising that they too were part of the ruling structures and engaged in the violence surrounding it.

⁶² While scholars today seem to acknowledge the futility of separating religious violence or warfare from other types of violence, the continued emphasis on the constructed *sōhei* indicates that some scholars are still committed to that paradigm. For a recent example of the “religious warfare” approach, see *Buddhist Warfare*, eds. M.K. Jerryson, M. Juergensmeyer, Oxford 2010.

⁶³ The Kamakura shogunate, recognized by the imperial court in 1183 was both an incorporation of warrior leaders into the governmental structures and an attempt to better control the spread of violence.

ABSTRACT

Japan's early medieval age, roughly the late eleventh through the late fourteenth centuries, is usually described as a time of decline, when power shifted from noble elites to the warrior class, and religious institutions became increasingly involved in violent confrontations. Buddhist monasteries, in particular, have been heavily criticized by later observer for their activities in secular arenas, and in some cases they have even been blamed for the decline of the imperial court. Such criticism is, however, based on modern notions of religion and politics and should therefore not be applied to a society where the two overlapped in all aspects of life. More importantly, the socio-political context surrounding war and violence in early medieval Japan was one that acknowledged dispute resolution through the use of arms, and one which did not recognize a monopoly of the use of arms for any particular social group.

Buddhism itself was ambiguous towards the use of violence, which could be justified to defend the faith or its monasteries and resources. In fact, one cannot help but note the almost complete lack of religious rhetoric surrounding violence and war during this period and the notions of "religious warfare" and religious warriors (later labeled *sōhei* or "monk-warriors") are thus misguided. Indeed, those who fought for monasteries came from the same social strata and families as those who fought for noble patrons, using the same weapons, equipment and strategies. Violence involving religious institutions in early medieval Japan can accordingly not be explained by using a politico-religious binary, but must rather be sought in a long-standing factionalism that had engaged the imperial family, noble houses as well as religious institutions in competitions in different areas, be they ritual, cultural or political. That Buddhist monasteries were part of this competition, and the violence that eventually broke out as a result of it, is hardly surprising.



Fig. 1. Caption: Benkei (left) and his supposed father depicted in front of a Shinto shrine in Kii Tanabe, Wakayama Prefecture. Photo by author.

THOMAS D. CONLAN
PRINCETON

WHEN MEN BECOME GODS: APOTHEOSIS, SACRED SPACE, AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY IN JAPAN 1486-1599



In 1486, the ritual specialist Yoshida Kanetomo proclaimed that Ōuchi Norihiro was the Great August Deity of Tsukiyama (Tsukiyama *daimyōjin* 築山大明神), and had this apotheosis sanctioned by Go-Tsuchimikado, the emperor (*tennō* 天皇) of Japan. Ōuchi Norihiro would not seem to be a likely candidate for deification. Although he was an able administrator, and a powerful western warlord, he left few traces. Save for codifying a few laws, and promoting international trade, his most notable act was the rebellion that he initiated against the Ashikaga, the shoguns, or military hegemon of Japan, in the last weeks of his life. Early in this campaign, Norihiro succumbed to illness and died on a small island in Japan's Inland Sea, leaving his son Masahiro to continue the conflict against the Ashikaga.

This deification, which was formalized some two decades after Norihiro's demise, was in and of itself not something unique. Japan's emperors had long been known to have sacerdotal authority, with several sovereigns in the 7th century being referred to as manifest deities (*akitsumigami* 現神), although this moniker fell out of favor in the 8th century¹. To be made a god, the court and its constituent ritual advisors had to recognize one as such. The court and its officials, who had long asserted the authority to bestow ranks and titles to gods, could transform men, most notably those who died with a grudge, into gods as well.

¹ Later sovereigns tended to emphasize their cosmic authority with the Buddhist notion of a *kinrin-ō* (金輪王) or a Universal Golden Wheel Turning monarch (*cakravartin*) who ruled by moral suasion.

The impulse for apotheosis arose not from the glorification of perfect individuals, but rather from fear, for it was thought that those who had been somehow wronged would haunt the world as malevolent spirit (*onryō* 怨靈). These *onryō* could best be pacified by receiving formal recognition as a god, as this honor would assuage their spirits and eliminate their lingering rancor.

One well-known example of this process concerns Sugawara Michizane, a banished official who became a god of learning some two generations after he died in 903. In another early case, the wronged emperor Sutoku was feared as a particularly potent *onryō*, whose transformation into a deity did not prevent him from being perceived as instigating disorder. Late in life, Sutoku was upset enough with his political marginalization to copy sutras in his own blood, thereby making his grudge known². He was not alone in possessing such rancor. Others would threaten to become malevolent spirits in the advent that their testaments were not followed, but none asserted divinity outright³.

In fact, an institution existed to manage the gods. Japan had since ancient times had the Ministry of Divine Affairs, or *Jingikan* (神祇官), a bureaucratic organ responsible for officially recognizing gods as being significant enough to merit rites emanating from the court, or locality, and at times, bestowing ranks and honors on deities as well. These officials could also recognize that certain angry spirits in need of pacification were in fact gods, and by doing so, transformed the *onryō* of Michizane and Sutoku into gods, but this process took years to accomplish, and only occurred rarely.

Norihiro himself never asserted godly status, or for that matter, acted in a way that suggested that he was wronged in any way. He successfully ruled the Ōuchi territories and his son Masahiro experienced considerable political and military success. The circumstances regarding Norihiro's apotheosis thus profoundly differed from that of earlier cases. Instead of the venerable Ministry of Divine Affairs, it was a shrine official, Yoshida Kanetomo, who issued the document making Norihiro a god. Unlike the earlier cases, for which the original paperwork does not survive, if in fact it ever exists, a copy of Kanetomo's missive survives; it gives the process a bureaucratic precision and finality that are absent in the earlier cases.

2 See *Sutoku Copies the Sutras in Blood and Writes a Curse at the End with His Death*, in: *Before Heike, and After: Hōgen, Heiji, Jōkyūki*, transl. R. Tyler, Charleston 2012, pp. 96-100 for a vivid reference to Sutoku in chronicles. Contemporary court diaries confirm that belief in Sutoku's vengeful spirit was widespread. Yoshida Tsunefusa wrote about it in his *Kikki* on 7.16.1183 (Jūei 2), see T. Yoshida, *Kikki*, ed. R. Takeuchi, Tokyo 1934, II, pp. 53-54.

3 For the 2.17.1299 (Shōan 1) reference, see T. Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan*, Ann Arbor 2003, p. 172; *Kakujitsu denchi kishinjō*, in: *Kamakura ibun*, ed. R. Takeuchi, Tokyo 1984, XXVI, doc. 20109, 2.17.1301 (Shōan 1), p. 344.

The process of Norihiro's apotheosis has attracted minimal attention from scholars in Japan, but the ramifications are profound⁴. Scholars have hitherto associated the deification of political leaders with establishment of absolutist political authority by generals, a process that was thought to have begun late in the 16th century. Asao Naohiro first argued that a troika of leaders – Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (?-1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) – had their authority legitimated and sustained by being declared as gods⁵. Most narratives of the 16th century are influenced to some degree by Asao's argument that the three "great unifiers" of Japan, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu, established absolutist political authority by being declared as gods. Asao Naohiro's argument has its supports and detractors⁶, as the question of whether Nobunaga or his followers attempted to classify himself as a god remains debatable, due in no small part to the fact that he was assassinated and his line was nearly extinguished, but no one question the apotheosis of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu⁷.

Some scholars, such as Bito Masahide, have perceived the apotheosis of powerful political figures as constituting an unprecedented development in late-16th-century Japan⁸. Willem Boot has argued to the contrary that this process was of greater antiquity, and suggested that the deification of Nakatomi no Kamatari, the 7th-century progenitor of the Fujiwara lineage, as the Tōnomine *daimyōjin* in 1464-1465 represents its oldest example⁹. Boot is correct here in that the bureaucracy of apotheosis, performed under the aegis of the Yoshida family of shrine attendants, originated in the latter half of the 15th century. Yet rather than the example of Kamatari, the 1486 deification of

4 T. Yamada, *Chūsei koki chiiki kenryoku ni yoru bushi no shinkakuka*, "Nenpō Chūseishi kenkyū" XXXIII (2008), pp. 61-84, first wrote an essay on this process, but it was mentioned in T. Hagiwara, *Chūsei Saishi soshiki no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1965.

5 For an English translation of his work, see N. Asao, *Shōgun and Tennō*, in: *Japan before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500-1650*, eds. J.W. Hall, N. Keiji, K. Yamamura, Princeton 1981, pp. 248-271.

6 Supporters include H. Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs 1570-1680*, Princeton 1985, while detractors include J. Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered*, Leiden 2000.

7 In the case of Hideyoshi, for the best study of his deification and its significance, see A.M. Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan*, Seattle 2004, esp. pp. 202-230. For a recent Japanese study, see H. Toyotomi, *Kami ni natta Hideyoshi*, Nagahama 2004.

8 M. Bito, *Thought and Religion: 1550-1700*, in: *The Cambridge History of Japan, IV: Early Modern Japan*, ed. J.W. Hall, Cambridge (UK) 1991, pp. 373-424, esp. pp. 393-395.

9 W.J. Boot, *The Death of a Shogun: Deification in Early Modern Japan*, in: *Shintō in History: Ways of the Kami*, eds. J. Breen, M. Teeuwen, Honolulu 2000, pp. 144-166, esp. pp. 157, 162. For more on the Tōnomine *daimyōjin*, see S. Kuroda, *Fujiwara Kamatari, jikū o kakeru: Henshin to saisei no Nihonshi*, Tokyo 2011, esp. pp. 210-214.

Ōuchi Norihiro became the template for the posthumous deification of the unifiers, with the links to the apotheosis of Hideyoshi being most clear (the only variation being that this latter case took place merely a year, rather than twenty years after his death, as had been the case for Norihiro)¹⁰.

Unlike the widely known example of Hideyoshi, however, the case of Norihiro remains obscure, for the Tsukiyama shrine where he is housed as a god remains a dilapidated structure that barely survived to this date. Nevertheless, his 1486 apotheosis suggests that arguments about deification serving as a central element of early modern absolutist authority and as an ideological keystone for the late-16th-century “unifiers” need to be reevaluated.

Assessments of the significance of the apotheosis of powerful figures such as the unifiers tend to fall into two camps: either this process is perceived as a means to legitimate absolutist politics, or it is described as a personal, private matter that did not sanction politics. Among scholars, the former approach is dominant, but a minority perceive apotheosis primarily as a “religious matter”, the driving force of which was “a deeply felt personal belief”¹¹. Both arguments, however, suffer from limitations, because the former expresses rites as a subset of politics, and thus, a façade to legitimate authority, while the latter suggests to the contrary that “religion” constituted a personal sphere of belief, but one divorced from politics.

In fact, in ancient and medieval Japan, “religion” and “politics” were indistinguishable. Linguistic evidence reveals that political and sacerdotal authority were one, for political and religious rites were described by the same homonym (*matsurigoto*). The existence of this term alone highlights the inadequacies of the durable notion of the separation of church and state to describe the political structure of Japan, because the *tennō* was simultaneously the most sacred figure, and also the pinnacle of political authority in Japan.

This enduring sacerdotal authority of Japan’s sovereigns has led some to describe the Japanese polity as if it were analogous to European kingship, with generals or shoguns, acting as “secular” leaders¹², but this proves

¹⁰ For the role of Yoshida Shintō and the deification of Hideyoshi, see T. Hagiwara, *Chūsei Saishi...*, p. 613; see pp. 673–677 for listing of the Yoshida Shintō documents (*Sōgensenji* 宗源宣旨) deifying individuals, with Norihiro being the case most analogous to Hideyoshi. The Tsukiyama *daimyōjin* is the fourth record listed here.

¹¹ W.J. Boot, *The Death of a Shogun...*, p. 162.

¹² For such sentiments, see K. Grossberg, *From Feudal Cheiftain to Secular Monarch: The Development of Shogunal Power in Early Muromachi Japan*, “*Monumenta Nipponica*” XXXI (1976) 1, pp. 29–49, while for metaphors of the emperor as resembling the Roman Pope, see M. Jansen, *The Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism*, in: *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, eds. Th. de Bary, C. Gluck, A.E. Tiedemann, II: 1600–2000, New York 2005, p. 963.

misleading. Indeed, these generals, the Ashikaga, strove to blur the distinction between themselves and Japan's emperors by adopting similar rituals so as to elevate their authority; furthermore, for much of the 15th century, ritually the Ashikaga behaved as if they were Japan's sovereigns. Thus, although the Ashikaga blurred the lines of sovereignty, they did not usurp the authority of emperors as much as supplant them, but they did not rely on claims of outright divinity. Here again, Norihiro's apotheosis was something new.

HELPING HOMELESS GODS AND THE RISE OF THE YOSHIDA

During the cataclysmic Ōnin War (1467-1477), two entrenched armies, one nominally under the command of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the shogun or nominal hegemon of Japan who exercised authority on behalf of the emperor and the court, and the other led by Ōuchi Masahiro, gutted Japan's capital. Ashikaga authority withered in the aftermath of this war, and Ōuchi power waxed, for their city of Yamaguchi, located in Japan's west, survived and expanded in the aftermath of the collapse of the center.

The destruction of so many important cultic sites in the capital led to a crisis in divine affairs, as it had long been assumed that deities required a structure to house their essence, or "divine presence" (*shintai* 神体). With so many shrines destroyed, some feared that the gods of Japan would aimlessly wander throughout the archipelago. Some in fact claimed to see gods flying about, looking for a suitable abode to reside after the destruction of their shrine¹³. In this crisis, the withered institutions of the *Jingikan*, itself largely destroyed, could not effectively respond.

Yoshida Kanetomo, an ambitious scion of a family of shrine attendants, solved this crisis by creating a special purified place, the *Saijōsho Daigengū* (齋場所大元宮), to house all of the deities of Japan, particularly those who had been displaced by the destruction of their shrines¹⁴. This site of ritual purity, and dorm for the gods, was built on Mount Yoshida in eastern Kyoto. Kanetomo resided in the eastern wards of the capital, in one of the few regions that the Ashikaga controlled during the decade long Ōnin War. In 1473, the sixth year of the conflict, the beleaguered shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa relied upon Yoshida Kanetomo to break this stalemate by cursing the armies led by Ōuchi Masahiro, and fomenting dissent in their ranks¹⁵.

13 T. Hagiwara, *Chūsei Saishi...*, pp. 645-646.

14 It would burn down during the conflict, but would later be rebuilt.

15 S. Inoue, *Bunmei gonen izen no Yoshida Kanetomo Saijōsho: Toku ni sōgen jiki o megutte*, "Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka kiyō. Tetsugaku, shigaku hen" XVII (1990), pp. 43-54, esp. p. 48; T. Inoue, *Kinsei no jinja to Chōtei ken'i*, Tokyo 2007, p. 29.

By creating the *Saijōsho Daigengū*, Yoshida Kanetomo initiated a process whereby he asserted overarching authority in all affairs relating to Japan's indigenous gods. Kanetomo, as a member of the Yoshida family, effectively supplanted the institutions of the *Jingikan*, and asserted authority over divine affairs. Through the Yoshida monopolization of divine authority, the nature of belief of Japan's gods became formalized into the corpus of belief known as Shintō today.

As the Yoshida were relying on their control over divine affairs, Ōuchi Masahiro, who occupied the western wards of the capital, countered the Yoshida curses by bringing his tutelary deity, Hokushin Myōken Sonjō-o daibosatsu (北辰妙見尊星王), to his encampment in western Kyoto. Masahiro enshrined a manifestation of the Northern Star in the form of a Buddhist avatar. He expressly relied on the Buddhist manifestation of a Northern Star deity, and thereby sidestepped the question of Yoshida influence entirely. Nevertheless, deities were thought to appear in either the guise of Japanese deities, or *kami*, or their Buddhist manifestations, and Masahiro otherwise described the Northern Star avatar as a god. In his request to move the gods, or *kanjō* (勧請), Masahiro wrote: "The glory of the gods increases with the fervor of belief, and people are able to protect their glory through their benefice"¹⁶.

Masahiro installed Myōken, the Northern Star deity, in western Kyoto, where he was encamped. This act proved threatening to the Ashikaga, because by bringing his god to Kyoto, Masahiro was able to imprint his ancestral deity on the religious fabric of the capital, and this act implied that the Ōuchi would retain a permanent presence in Kyoto. This proved particularly problematic for the Ashikaga, because he inserted his god in the vicinity of the Ashikaga ancestral shrine of Samegai Wakamiya Hachiman, one of three crucial cultic sites for the regime, where Hachiman, a god of war was housed¹⁷. This shrine constituted one of the crucial sites for legitimation of the Ashikaga, as it represented the historical abode of Minamoto Yorimitsu, the progenitor of the Ashikaga line. Over the course of the 16th century, Samegai Wakamiya went from being a shrine devoted to Hachiman to a mixed Myōken and Hachiman shrine to one where astral deities were ascendant, in a process mirroring the trajectory of Ōuchi and Ashikaga fortunes¹⁸.

¹⁶ *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai*, XXVII, Tokyo 1965, pp. 144-145.

¹⁷ *Wakamiya Hachimangū monjo kiroku*, "Gerin" XXVII (1978), 3.4.1475 (Bunmei 7) Ōuchi Mashahiro kinsei, p. 16.

¹⁸ This is most notable in the 1540s. In 1547, Ashikaga Yoshiharu refers to this as a Rokujō Myōken Hachiman shrine, which was built at the site of the Ōuchi residence. See the 5.20.1547 (Tenbun 16) Ashikaga Yoshiteru (sic) *migyōsho*, p. 22. Even in the early 20th century, links to Northern Star belief lingered. See R. Tanaka, *Kyoto no omogake*, Kyoto 1931.

Myōken's star continued to wax during the latter years of the Ōnin War, as Ōuchi success became evident. At some time later in the conflict, Masahiro's forces destroyed the *Saijōsho Daigengū*. In the ninth month of 1476, negotiations between the Ashikaga and the Ōuchi began in earnest to end the war¹⁹. The Ashikaga rebuilt a competing Hachiman shrine, that of Chinjufu Hachiman, and moved it, with the help of Yoshida Kanetomo so as to maintain some semblance of authority²⁰. For Kanetomo's efforts, Hino Tomiko, the wife of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, also provided the Yoshida with funds in 1478 for the rebuilding of the *Saijōsho Daigengū*, which had been largely destroyed during the Ōnin War²¹.

In spite of these efforts to restore the religious sites of Kyoto, Ashikaga cultic control remained tenuous, and some members of the monastic nobility left Kyoto to worship in the Ōuchi core city of Yamaguchi, a clear recognition of the ritual and political significance of this new site. Starting in the sixth month of 1476, the Kyoto monk Chikai worshipped at Kōryūji's Hikamisan, praying monthly to Myōken, performing *hōraku* (法樂), and flipping and reading the Golden Sutra of Victorious Kings (*saishōōkyō* 最勝王經) for the health of Ashikaga Yoshimasa and his son, and peace in the realm. Yamaguchi was becoming, due to the dissemination of the Myōken franchise, a ritual core. Chikai wrote how no temples could compare to Kōryūji and marveled at the peace and prosperity of Yamaguchi, where he performed an elaborate rite, the *saishōōkyō*, for: "peace, fertility of the land, the elimination of starvation and illness, and prosperity for all"²².

The Ōuchi maintained shrines and temples so as to provide order in the provinces, but they remained cognizant of the larger political and sacerdotal significance of these cultic sites. After establishing Myōken worship in western Kyoto, the Ashikaga confirmed Ōuchi lands and offices, and prayed to their gods so as to persuade the Ōuchi to leave the capital. When Masahiro did, the war ended, revealing his centrality in the conflict.

19 T. Yamada, *Shiryō shōkai Kunaichō shoryōbu zō Sagara Taketo shōsatsu maki no shōkai to honyaku*, "Yamaguchi kenshi kenkyū" XVIII (2010), pp. 72-89.

20 T. Hagiwara, *Chūsei Saishi...*, pp. 634-635. The third Ashikaga shrine, located at Shinomura to the northwest of Kyōto, suffered ruin at this time.

21 Hino Tomiko provided 20 thousand *hiki* in the third month of 1478 (Bunmei 10). T. Hagiwara, *Chūsei Saishi...*, p. 635.

22 *Kōmyōbujī kankei monjo*, *Chikai kansu kien*, in: *Kujō ke monjo 6*, *Shoji'in kankei monjo*, Tokyo 1976, p. 218-234, esp. pp. 226-229. Chikai can be documented as later praying for the Ashikaga when Ashikaga Yoshihisa was in a campaign (*dōza*) in Ōmi. See *Tōji hyakugo monjo*, IX hako ni, doc. 83, 9.6.1488 (Chōkyō 1) Muromachi dono ondōza kitō kechiba kaishō (廻請), pp. 57-58. Chikai (智海) can be documented as performing rites at Tōji and Chinjufu Hachiman through 1499. See <http://hyakugo.kyoto.jp/contents/result.php> (last accessed: 21 October 2016).

YOSHIDA POLITICS AND THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE ŌUCHI

Yoshida Kanetomo profoundly influenced the institutional structure of shrines, regularized previously inchoate beliefs and practices, and influenced the course of politics in the 15th and 16th century. One hitherto unacknowledged avenue of development of Yoshida Shintō arose when Yoshida Kanetomo shifted his attention from the Ashikaga to the Ōuchi when he helped deify Ōuchi Masahiro's father Norihiro as the Tsukiyama *daimyōjin*. For almost eighty years, this relationship proved profitable for both parties, for the Yoshida also moved important gods to Yamaguchi, thereby cementing their primacy as the arbiters of all Shintō affairs, and the authority of the Ōuchi as gods among men.

In 1482, Yoshida Kanetomo relied on forged imperial edicts (*rinji* 綸旨) to assert his position as the arbiter of all Shintō affairs. He then issued *sōgensenji*, or edicts that posited him with the full authority of the Ministry of Divine Affairs²³. With his position so enhanced, Kanetomo rebuilt his *Saijōsho Daigengū* as a hostel to collect and house the gods, which had been destroyed during the latter years of the Ōnin war. Hino Tomiko gave Kanetomo 2 thousand *kanmon* for this structure in 1484²⁴.

At the *Saijōsho Daigengū*, Amaterasu and Toyo-uke, the gods of the Outer and Inner Ise shrines, occupied a special role, and they alone of the deities merited their own sub-shrines within the precincts. Yoshida Kanetomo claimed that these deities sought refuge with him after the burning of the Ise shrines, and emperor Go-Tsuchimikado thereupon confirmed that the "true essence" (*shintai*) of the Ise gods was housed at the *Saijōsho Daigengū*²⁵. Go-Tsuchimikado's edict – one that conveniently was not forged – served to bolster Kanetomo's claims that he was the "ritual guarantor of political legitimacy"²⁶. Kanetomo asserted that he was the arbiter of rituals for the protection of the state because he could "prove" that the highest-ranking gods had flown to his shrine.

Once his position had been so established, Kanetomo shifted his attention away from the Ashikaga and the Hino to the Ōuchi. His 1473 curses against Masahiro were forgotten, or atoned for, when he deified Masahiro's father

23 T. Inoue, *Jingi kanrei (kanryō) Chōjō Yoshida ke*, in: idem, *Kinsei no jinja to Chōtei ken'I*, Tokyo 2007, pp. 31-36. For more on *sōgen senji*, see ibidem, pp. 77-95.

24 See T. Inoue, *Bunmei gonen izen no Yoshida Kanetomo no saijōsho*, p. 43; A. Grapard, *The Shintō of Yoshida Kanetomo*, "Monumenta Nipponica" XLVII (1992) 1, p. 43 for contributions from the Hino and Uesugi.

25 See A. Grapard, *The Shintō of Yoshida Kanetomo*, p. 43; T. Hagiwara, *Chūsei Saishi...*, pp. 645-646.

26 A. Grapard, *The Shintō of Yoshida Kanetomo*, pp. 47-48.

Norihiro as the Tsukiyama *daimyōjin* in 1486²⁷. Kanetomo, by doing so, emphasized his power over all shrine related affairs, including deification, and secured a patron independent of the crumbling Ashikaga bakufu, while Masahiro was able to honor his father, who died an enemy of the court and the Ashikaga, as a god.

Japan in 1486 was in considerable need of new gods, temples, and shrines, as this year witnessed a second wave of destruction that magnified the damage of the Ōnin War. Tōji, the most significant temple in Kyoto, for it functioned as a clearing house for prayers by monks of rival sects, was burned by mobs in 1486²⁸. During that same year, the most significant shrines at Izumo, and the Outer Shrine at Ise were destroyed, with the Inner Shrine, site of the sun goddess Amaterasu, the progenitor of the imperial line, burning in the following year²⁹. And with the displacement of so many gods and the destruction of their shrines, the west came to stand out, for its most important shrines were intact, and well taken care of, and this led to an exodus of gods, and the creation of new gods, to the west.

A NEW SENSE OF DIVINITY: TURTLES TABOOS AND THE SACRALIZATION OF YAMAGUCHI

Norihiro's apotheosis led to significant transformation of the social and geographic rubric of western Japan as Yamaguchi, their core city, and the surrounding western provinces, became increasingly defined as a distinct sacred area. The newly recognized Tsukiyama god became the protector of this territory, and his descendants had the added prestige of having a god as an immediate ancestor. Most immediately, this led to more sweeping regulations of Yamaguchi that focused on ritual purity, for prohibitions that had been confined to shrine precincts gradually became applied to much of the city.

The first regulations stem from the period of Yamaguchi's increased ritual prominence during the final years of the Ōnin War. The deification was not a mode of legitimation as much as establishing a new structure of territorial control. In 1475, Masahiro prohibited the hunting of any animals on Hikamisan, even those that a hunter had wounded and pursued from other regions³⁰. In 1478, he demanded that the shrine precincts for the Ima

27 T. Yamada, *Chūsei kōki chiiki kenryōku ni yoru bushi no shinkakuka – Ōuchi Norihiro no shinkakuka to "daimyōjin" go no kakutoku*, "Nenpō Chūsei shi kenkyū" XXXIII (2008), pp. 84-85.

28 M. Tomita, *Ōnin no ran*, Kyoto 1989, p. 3.

29 These shrines would not be rebuilt for over a century. K. Haga, *Sanjōnishi Sanetaka*, Tokyo 1960, p. 56, provides an overview of this destruction.

30 *Buke hō*, I, Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū, III, Tokyo 1965, p. 48 for Hikamisan regulations of 11.13.1473 (Bunmei 7). The animals here were referred to as *ryō* 獵.

Hachiman shrine were to be kept clean³¹, but nine years later, Masahiro ordered that Yamaguchi itself had to be cleaned much in the same manner as these shrines³². A cluster of laws issued in this same year served to regulate conduct, prohibiting the playing of instruments in public, or people wandering around Yamaguchi at night³³.

In 1489, Masahiro forbade the killing of snakes and soft-shelled turtles (*tochigame* 鼈) – animals that served as messengers for Myōken – throughout Yamaguchi and prohibited falconers from using them as food for their birds³⁴. Masahiro ruthlessly punished those who disobeyed his injunctions, threatening some with imprisonment or death, thereby revealing that the need to purify Yamaguchi, and protect its sacred animals, transcended concerns of non-violence per se. These prohibitions suggest that Yamaguchi became a purified area, and this sentiment can be confirmed in Jesuit writings from 1558, when one long term Portuguese resident explained that Yamaguchi was a purified area where people would not eat meat – and that he thereby did not so partake for seven years, a sign that these taboos were long lasting and strictly enforced³⁵. Thus Yamaguchi became a purified, sacred space, protected by both Tsukiyama, and Myōken.

The apotheosis of Norihiro transformed Ōuchi patterns of succession from fraternal, and often decided through force of arms, to linear, with the heir of each generation designated as Kidōmaru, a name that suggested that each Ōuchi heir was an incarnation of Myōken³⁶. Their enhanced status strengthened bonds of lordship. Ōuchi warriors, such as Sagara Taketō, swore oaths to Tsukiyama *daimyōjin*, revealing that they based their word not on the Northern Star, but rather the newly deceased Ōuchi lord³⁷. Tsukiyama served

31 Ibidem, p. 49.

32 Masahiro stipulated that from the Tsukiyama shrine to Matsubara, and another gate, were to be cleaned on the final day (*misoka* 晦日) of the month, with laborers assessed on all at the level of one per 100 koku of revenue; *ibidem*, p. 76. The location of Matsubara is unknown, but refers to the area south of the Ōuchi mansion, incorporating much of central Yamaguchi. S. Takahashi, *Bushi no sadame: Michi o meguru Kamakura Sengoku bushi no mōhitotsu to tataikai*, Tokyo 2012, pp. 168-169, 181-182.

33 *Buke hō*, I, Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū, III, pp. 80-81.

34 Ibidem. For an earlier example, limited to temple precincts, Ōuchi Moriakira had prohibited the killing of animals within Kokuseiji on 2.10.1404 (Ōei 11). *Buke hō*, II, Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū, IV, Tokyo 1998, pp. 96-97 Ōuchi Moriakira Kokuseijijō kaki an.

35 *Nihon kankei kaigai shiryō Iezusukai Nihon shokanshū Yakubun hen*, Tokyo 2014, III, p. 156 for the 1.10.1558 Melchior Barreto letter.

36 This was first recognized by J. Ōta, *Ōuchishi no Hikamisan Nigatsu-e shinji to tokusei*, in: *Kyūshū chūsei shakai no kenkyū*, Tokyo 1981, pp. 205-242, esp. p. 219.

37 *Mōri ke monjo*, IV, Tokyo 1924, doc. 1556, pp. 458-465 for Sagara Taketō's reference to the Tsukiyama *daimyōjin*.

as a deity that enforced oaths by Ōuchi retainers, and protected the newly purified Yamaguchi itself³⁸.

THE ERA OF ŌUCHI DOMINANCE

The deification of Norihiro, coupled with the insertion of Myōken in the capital, ensured the enduring Ōuchi influence central and western Japan. This did not translate into their actual movement to the capital, but rather their continued political influence from afar, something which has hitherto not been recognized. During the period from Norihiro's apotheosis through 1551, the Ōuchi shifted the crucial cultic sites and gods of Japan to the west, and this religious recalibration allowed for their attempt to move the court to western Japan.

A 1493 coup by Hosokawa Masamoto caused the shogun Ashikaga Yoshitane to flee to Yamaguchi, where he sought the aid and support of Ōuchi Masahiro. Yoshitane pressured Masahiro to restore him as the shogun, but Masahiro relied on signs, including a hawk eating a dog and a mouse nesting in a horse's tail, to refrain from attacking the capital, and, symbolic of the Yoshida-Ōuchi alliance, his judgment not to return to Kyoto was upheld by Yoshida Kanetomo³⁹. Confirming the relative decline of the Ashikaga, Yoshitane worshipped at Hikamisan and Kōryūji. To succeed in the capital, the Ashikaga shogun now needed to worship Ōuchideities in Yamaguchi⁴⁰.

Ōuchi Masahiro died in 1495 and was succeeded by his son Yoshioki (1477-1528). As Yoshioki consolidated his authority in the west, Ashikaga Yoshizumi, the puppet of Hosokawa Masamoto, saw his authority weakened to the point that in 1500 he had to demand court edicts calling the destruction of Ōuchi, which proved to be singularly ineffective⁴¹. Yoshizumi then asked Kanetomo perform divination so as to ascertain whether he would be successful against his rivals Yoshioki and the deposed shogun Yoshitane⁴². Kanetomo refused, and, the court revealed its sympathies with the Ōuchi when it adopted the era

38 This was epitomized by references to his sword having been buried at Tsukiyama so as to prevent invaders from sacking the town. *Bōchō fūdō chūshin an*, I-XXIII, Yamaguchi 1961-1965, XIII, p. 38. See also T. Yamada, *Chūsei kōki chiiki kenryoku ni yoru bushi no shinkakuka*, "Nenpō Chūseiishi kenkyū" XXXIII (2008), pp. 61-84.

39 *Kujōke Rekidai kiroku*, Tokyo 1990, II, pp. 150-153.

40 *Bōchō fūdō chūshin an*, IX: *Mitashiri jō*, pp. 588-594, about how Ashikaga shogun worship here with Yoshioki.

41 *Dazai Tenmangū shiryō*, Dazaifu 1993, XIV, pp. 122-123 for a 3.30.1500 (Mei'ō 9) Ashikaga Yoshitaka (Yoshizumi) migyōsho addressed to the Ōtomo.

42 This episode is discussed in: A. Grapard, *The Shintō of Yoshida Kanetomo*, p. 44.

name *bunki* 文龜 (“cultured turtle”) for the years 1501-1504, which constituted homage to the Myōken bodhisattva, the tutelary Ōuchi deity⁴³.

Nevertheless, after 1504, the court once again changed the era name away from one favored by the Ōuchi, and people affiliated with Ashikaga Yoshizumi, such as Kujō Masamoto, who had fled the capital in 1501, thereupon returned. In response, or so it would seem, Ōuchi Yoshioki thereupon reached out to the Chosŏn leaders of Korea for aid in rebuilding the “Third Shrine”, otherwise known as the Kameyama Hachimangū shrine, of Nagato⁴⁴. Yoshioki’s appeal to a power outside the Japanese court for patronage was unprecedented, and suggests that the boundary between the two states, at least during the time of Yoshioki, was permeable. Ultimately, however, Yoshioki decided to focus his attentions to Japan’s capital in the east, and led an army to the Kyoto to restore Ashikaga Yoshitane, and oust Yoshizumi after Hosokawa Masamoto’s death.

REVISITING MYŌKEN IN THE CAPITAL

Ōuchi Yoshioki occupied the capital for a decade from 1508 through 1518. In 1511, at Funaoka, near where Myōken was worshipped in western Kyoto, Yoshioki won a resounding victory over the Hosokawa. A commemorative portrait of Yoshioki attributes his victory to Myōken, and explains how a shooting star in the west predicted his victory. Nevertheless, in 1518, Yoshioki returned to Yamaguchi, and began a campaign to make it, rather than Kyoto, the ritual and political center of Japan. He had yin yang (*onmyōdō* 陰陽道) specialists confirm how the city befitted the four directional deities (*shijinsō-ō* 四神相応), which constituted one of the crucial markers of a capital⁴⁵. Yoshioki also transferred Amaterasu, the sun goddess, and Toyo-uke, a deity associated with the Northern Star, to Yamaguchi, where he reconstructed both the Inner and Outer Ise Shrines at a place called Kōnomine.

No other lord could succeed in moving the most important gods of Japan, and this act was impossible without the aid of the Yoshida, and the court. Although the Yoshida worshipped the Ise deities along with all of the other gods of Japan at their *Saijōsho Daigengū*, these Kōnomine structures

⁴³ *Yamaguchi kenshi shiryōhen chūsei*, III: *Kōryūji monjo*, Yamaguchi 2004, doc. 36, 4.13.1501 (Bunki 1) Ōuchi Yoshioki kishinjō, p. 240.

⁴⁴ *Zenrin kokuhōki Shintei Zoku Zenrin kokuhōki*, Tokyo 1995, p. 304-306 for 2.10.1506 (Eishō 3).

⁴⁵ *Yamaguchi kenshi shiryōhen chūsei*, III, doc. 242, 11.1521 (Daiei 1) Ōuchi Yoshioki keihaku utsushi, pp. 327-328 for reference to Yamaguchi as being hallowed land befitting the four directions (*shijinsō-ō no rei chi nari* 四神相応の靈地). See also *Bōchō fūdō chūshin an*, XIII: *Yamaguchi saiban*, II, Yamaguchi 1961, p. 373.

constituted the only imperially sanctioned sites (Daijingū) that housed Amaterasu and Toyo-uke for most of the 15th and 16th centuries, as both shrines did not exist at Ise from 1486 through 1585⁴⁶. The ability to transfer Amaterasu and Toyo-uke further strengthened Yoshida power vis-à-vis the Ise shrine attendants, and made them the ultimate arbiter of all shrine affairs.

In the case of the Ōuchi, this movement of the Ise gods to Yamaguchi led to their increased prominence as a source of divine support. A battle flag survives from the time of Yoshioki, which reveals the central deities of Ōuchi rule, and Amaterasu possesses the most central role. The five deities in this flag also included Myōken, in Yamaguchi, and Usa, located directly south from Kōryūji. To the west, Sumiyoshi, of Nagato, was privileged, and, as a sign of contested authority in Hakata, Shika no Umi shrine was listed as well (see fig. 1).

The shrines associated with these deities represent the most important sites during Yoshioki's age. At this time, the sea itself appears as the geographic core of the Ōuchi domains, for it represents the midpoint between the various shrines that served as important cultic sites for the Ōuchi. This would change, however, in the 1540s, as Yoshida Kanemigi traveled to Yamaguchi and visited most of its shrines in order to systematize and regularize Shintō practices in the Ōuchi domains. Kanemigi aided the Ōuchi in creating a clear network of shrines that made Yamaguchi the manifest core, not only of the Ōuchi territories, but also for all of Japan (see fig. 2).

THE SACRED GEOGRAPHY OF THE WEST

After Ōuchi Yoshioki's death, his son Yoshitaka employed Yoshida Kanemigi to come to Yamaguchi, itself a sign of Yamaguchi's centrality. Kanemigi was in a strong position because Emperor Go-Nara recognized Kanemigi's role in monopolizing all shrine affairs in 1533⁴⁷. Kanemigi regularized rites for Tsukiyama, and also had shrine attendants belonging to multiple shrines performing Myōken rites at Hikamisan. Analysis of the location of the shrines mentioned in Kanemigi's records reveals a marked change in the geography of Ōuchi cultic sites. In contrast to the earlier mapping, Yamaguchi's centrality is unquestioned, for it occupies the intersection of two north/south and east/west axes. The inclusion of Ōi shrine to the north, in what is now Hagi, means that Yamaguchi is now a central, rather than the northern point of this axis, which extends south from Yamaguchi to Usa.

⁴⁶ The Outer and Inner shrines were destroyed at Ise in 1486-1487. The Outer Shrine was not rebuilt until 1563 and the Inner Shrine was not restored until 1585.

⁴⁷ N. Kaburagi, *Yoshida ke no dōtō danzetsu ni tsuite*, "Shintōshūkyō" CCXX-CCXXI (2011), pp. 49-50.

Yoshitaka's authority allowed him to incorporate three important shrines into his realm: Itsukushima and the Ōyamazumi shrine, the Ichinomiya or First Shrines of Aki and Iyo provinces in the east, and Hakozaki in the west. This meant that the east/west axis of these shrines expanded laterally as well, revealing that Yoshitaka now fully controlled the strategic islands of the western Inland Sea beyond Itsukushima and Ōyamazumi shrines in the east, as well as the harbor of Hakata itself in the west. Indicative of their significance, Yoshitaka rebuilt both Itsukushima and Hakozaki at this time, and it is worth noting that at this time, no other region would have such a concentration of major shrines still standing.

Having made the west a cultic and political center, the elites of Kyoto increasingly congregated in the west, as numerous courtiers took up residence in Yamaguchi. Yoshitaka's displacement of the Ashikaga became manifest in the 1540s, as the Ashikaga had become ritually subservient to the Ōuchi even in their home base of Kyoto⁴⁸. In 1548, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru was the nephew of the Ōuchi lord, and possessed markedly inferior status and court rank to him as well. A 1551 picture scroll portrays Minamoto no Yoritomo, the founder of the Japan's first warrior government, the Kamakura bakufu (1185-1333), as praying to Myōken as well, suggesting that this deity was becoming the star of the warrior gods. Yoshitaka now had made Yamaguchi a central location, and one where important rites of state were long performed. He rebuilt crucial shrines, and effectively made Yamaguchi the ritual and economic core of Japan.

The deification of Norihiro as Tsukiyama served to regularize Ōuchi succession, as each successive heir was given the name Kidomaru, with links to Myoken. It would seem as if both the earlier star worship and the deification of Norihiro as Tsukiyama blurred. Surviving sources from the writings of Yoshida Kanemigi reveal, however, that the Tsukiyama rites, which occurred next to the Ōuchi mansion, consisted of a procession where a *mikoshi* or palanquin for the god, was surrounded by warriors, and transported from the shrine to a temporary abode⁴⁹. This was presumably quite the spectacle, and Yoshida Kanemigi in his explanation would write how these ceremonies typically occurred during the new year, thus making them the preeminent rite of their day. These rites were of considerable display, and laws would prohibit people from excessively congregating on the grounds near these shrines⁵⁰.

48 Epitomizing this, see the 5.20.1547 (Tenbun 16) Ashikaga Yoshiterumigyōsho, where Yoshiteru recognized this shrine as "Myōken Hachiman". *Wakamiya Hachimangū monjo kiroku*, "Gerin" XXVII (1978) 4-5, doc. 35, p. 22.

49 *Yoshida bunko* 42-383, unpublished manuscript, "Tsukiyamasha Sairei shidai". For a more fragmentary version in Kanemigi's hand, see *Yoshida bunko* 65-306. For a transcription, see K. Shimai, *Yoshida bunko no Kanemigi jihitsu hon ni tsuite 1*, "Biblia" XXV (1963), p. 30.

50 *Bukehō*, I, Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū, III, law 146, 6.1492 (Entoku 4), p. 96.

The Ōuchi marked their territory by building or patronizing shrines and temples. Although at times the Ōuchi relied on existing cultic sites, the insertion of their favored astral deities served to mark that region as Ōuchi territory. Likewise, the yearly performance of rites at Kōryūji, which were paid for by revenue from specific territories, and included nearly all the important Ōuchi retainers, served to forge the communal bonds of Ōuchi rule. The apotheosis of the Tsukiyama deity, and the movement of the Ise gods also established Yamaguchi as a core region during the 16th century. With so many eastern shrines destroyed, and much of central Japan in ruins, the centrality of the prosperous, integrated west, was obvious to contemporaries. Yoshitaka was, to Japan's Ming and Korean traders, the King of Japan⁵¹. Kyoto courtiers, monks and shrine attendants traveled to Yamaguchi, where the rites of state continued to function.

The arrival of the Portuguese, led by Francis Xavier, in Yamaguchi in 1549, led to a rupture in 1551, when the last great Ōuchi lord Yoshitaka was killed in a coup, led by his father-in-law Naitō Okimori, who later dramatically converted to Christianity⁵². In the resulting turmoil, all of Yamaguchi was consigned to the flames, including the "palace of the King"⁵³. So great was the damage that the Jesuits suggested that the city would never recover, an observation that proved prescient⁵⁴.

Most who destroyed the Ōuchi were sympathetic, or ultimately converted to Christianity, but one cannot conclusively know what led several men – most particularly Miyoshi Nagayoshi, Matsunaga Hisahide, and, for that matter, Oda Nobunaga – to turn away from the earlier framework of power. These warriors let rites fall into abeyance, built castles on mounded tombs (*kofun*), allowed dead emperors rot under the hot summer sun, destroyed ancient temples such as Tōdaiji or Enryakuji, and brought much death and ruin to Japan. Although they excelled at violence and warfare, they achieved only fleeting success. None would establish a stable political structure until a generation had passed, and men once again strove to become gods.

51 Several volumes survive with Yoshitaka's seal on them as King of Japan, including the *Sok samgang haengsil-to* 續三綱行實圖, printed 1514. See P. Kornicki, *Korean Books in Japan: From the 1590s to the End of the Edo Period*, "Journal of the American Oriental Society" CXXXIII (2013) 1, pp. 72-73. I am indebted to Professor Kornicki for bringing this to my attention. For an illustration, see *Tōyō bunko no meihin*, Tokyo 2007, pp. 240-241.

52 *Nihon kankei kaiga ishiryō Iezusukai Nihon shokanshū*, III, p. 107 for the 11.7.1557 Cosme de Torres letter describing Naitō Okimori's conversion.

53 *Ibidem*, p. 107 for an initial description of the destruction; p. 158 for reference to the burning of the palace in a 1.10.1558 Melchior Barreto letter of 1.10.1558.

54 *Ibidem*, p. 162.

CONCLUSION

Apotheosis did not serve as the basis for absolutist political authority in 16th-century Japan, for developments that were perceived as being new to the late 16th century in fact arose a century earlier. This does not, however, suggest that “religious” beliefs were limited to personal belief, or for that matter, served as a mechanism to legitimate authority. To the contrary, the case of the Ōuchi reveals that they used their wealth to enact rites which combined their followers into a community of belief. The movement of gods, or construction of religious institutions, served to determine the boundaries of their authority, and privileged western Japan as constituting the most sacred space of Japan from the mid-15th through the mid-16th century.

Nevertheless, the arrival of Christianity, and plots by rivals within the Ōuchi organization, their polity collapsed, and its constituent rites fell into abeyance. Sporadic attempts to reestablish them would meet with little success until Toyotomi Hideyoshi reestablished political authority late in the 16th century. His actions have been perceived as constituting the unification of Japan, but this is misleading, for the constituent elements of “unification” had largely existed during the centuries of Ōuchi hegemony.

ABSTRACT

Explores a symbiotic relationship between Yoshida shrine specialists and the Ōuchi lords of Western Japan, and argues that the apotheosis of Ōuchi Norihiro in 1486 stabilized their domains at the time when Japan’s central authority collapsed. In an age where the distinction between “religion” and “politics” did not exist, and the concept of “secular” was inconceivable, Norihiro’s deification became an important template for the exercise of authority. Apotheosis did not, however, serve as the basis for absolutism in 16th-century Japan, as some scholars have asserted, for developments that were perceived as being new to the late 16th century in fact arose in 1486. The case of the Ōuchi also reveals that they used their wealth to enact rites which combined their followers into a community of belief, and forged their territories into a sacred space centered on their capital at Yamaguchi. The movement of gods and the construction of religious institutions served to determine the boundaries of their authority, and privileged Western Japan as constituting the most sacred space of Japan from the mid-15th through the mid-16th century.

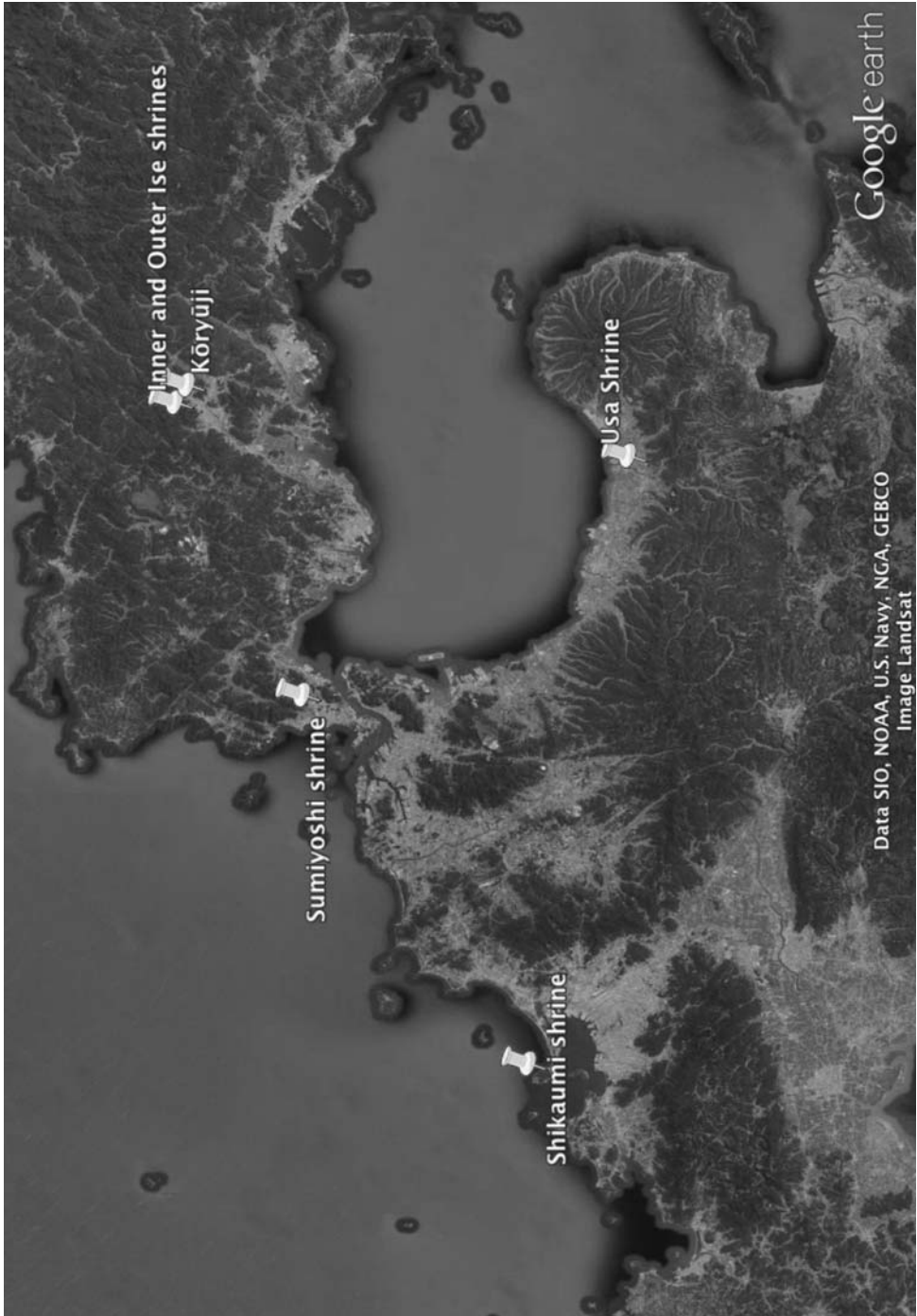


Fig. 1. The Shrines Depicted in Ōuchi Yoshioki's Battle Flag (circa 1508).

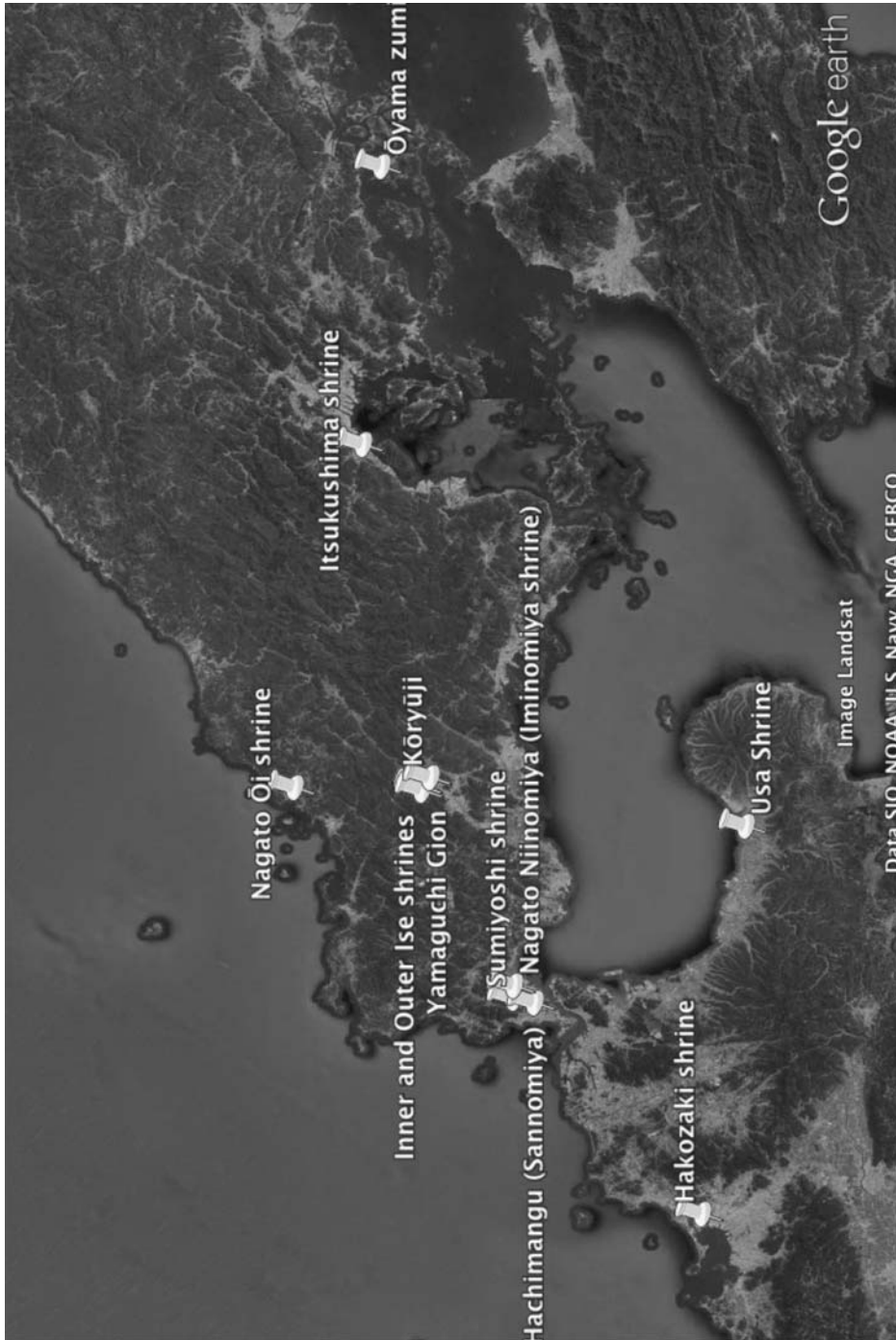


Fig. 2. The Shrines Worshipped by the Ōuchi in the 1540s.

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THE MEXICA POLITY AND THE CHALCO CONFLICT: A CASE-STUDY IN MESOAMERICAN WARFARE



These pages focus on war and military institution insofar as they constitute a key element for the understanding of the socio-political organization of the Tenochcas or Mexica (the core group among the so-called Aztecs) political community. The latest research on the wider Mesoamerican cultures' power structures shows how these societies grew by relying on armed force and developed a complex system of domination over the peoples around them. They were not, as earlier historiography has sometimes supposed, peaceful theocracies. Since the scope of this article does not allow us to take in all the groups present before the Spanish Conquest in today's Mexico, we will focus on the Mexica. They provide indeed the best example to illustrate war in Mesoamerica, because Mexico-Tenochtitlan grew up on the basis of a long inherited tradition; because it reached an unprecedented scale; and finally because (owing to the Spanish Conquest) it constitutes the last representative of this fascinating world, and as such left behind more abundant data than other societies. Much in the Mexica system was based on what in modern terms is called military deterrence. This dissuasion was not the result of spontaneous or occasional violent reactions. It entailed, rather, the requirement that basic institutions such as education and religious and social values granted the military a key role. War also constituted a factor for promotion in this hierarchical society.

EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In comparison with other great ancient civilizations, there are not many studies as should be desirable devoted to Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica. Even more, for some specific aspects, the information is virtually nil. One of these voids relates specifically to the framework surrounding the sphere of war.

Until the 1980s, Mesoamerican studies had devoted a lot of attention to the religious or mythological dimensions. The latter had captured the attention of scholars and the general public. Some studies, like Jacques Soustelle's pioneering 1955 French book, *La vie quotidienne des Aztèques à la veille de la conquête espagnole*, did however consider side-by-side myths and warfare¹.

The new turn was, broadly speaking, anthropological. It demonstrated the fruitfulness for researchers to overcome their isolation and to initiate interdisciplinary collaborations. Only so could one display the rich Mesoamerican society in full and in all its nuances. In this sense, the study of war using an anthropological approach allows one to discover almost completely how the war effort as a social act involves politics, ideology, economy, religion, social relations and even art².

One problem has been that secondary studies on the topic are practically inexistent. One has to turn the so-called "classical sources", mainly codices and chronicles written by Spanish and indigenous mestizos. While they have since long been extensively mined, they always provide interesting data when subjected to new questions – thus came about, starting with the 1980s, the harvest of Anthropology.

Today, there is no way to be "romantic" and imagine a peaceful Mesoamerica – this is true both for the Classic period (150-650/900 AD) and for the Post-Classic period (900-1521). One can say that in Mesoamerica there never were long periods of peace. As I see it, it was structurally determined: all major cities were very close to each other, forcing them to compete for the same ecological niches. The desire to control resources and obtain political and economic hegemony was latent in every age. So there was no break between the emergence of a powerful center, its decline, and the birth of the next. On this basis, this allows one to speak about societies in which the military was very present; over time, even, it became more important. This is being increasingly confirmed as archaeological discoveries accumulate themselves.

Mexica rulers, aware of this fact, undertook reforms that affected education and the army. Education was key to getting good soldiers who did not question the importance of their life when fighting for the welfare of their people. Rulers, as is at least visible for Aztec society, designed a mandatory, state-funded education system, where children were indoctrinated. The second type of reform involved remodeling the army, to make it more attractive to society, expanding its base, and opening the possibility of upward social

1 English translation as J. Soustelle, *Daily Life of the Aztecs on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Stanford 1961. I want to thank here the dossier's editor, Dr. Philippe Buc, for his invaluable help, kind suggestions and continuous encouragement.

2 A recent example is the synthesis by F.F. Berdan, *Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, Cambridge (UK) 2014, with an introduction to the sources.

mobility through success in war. Conversely, this infused in society an ideology that surrounded the soldier with a halo of virtue, in the most classic sense. Fame and prestige were essential for being a respected member of the community and obtaining access to certain political charges (which otherwise would have been impossible in an increasingly more complex administration).

Religion also supported the military development because it had an official character, very dependent on political power. It was used to protect and hallow these changes, render acceptable a pantheon of new warriors gods and a “gospel” that proclaimed to one’s fellows that they were a chosen people, with a hard mission that doomed them to a permanent war in order to delay the world’s end³. Had not the gods, after humankind’s creation, sacrificed themselves for the latter? Following this notion, Mesoamerican ideology introduced into society the concept of being indebted to one’s creators⁴.

Next to religion, art – being as a rule an exceptional witness for the period in which it develops – immortalized in beautiful, enigmatic and sometimes terrifying works all the changes that happened to the warriors, the army and their countless battles.

Finally, we cannot forget the relationship between war and the Mesoamerican economy⁵, because trade, in particular long-distance trade, provided enormous wealth, especially to the strongest political regime (in comparison with other, less developed counterparts). This was possible by controlling the monopolies on basic products, as well as on luxury ones used mainly for elite consumption. These rich caravans received military protection to prevent unwanted attacks. The exciting pairing war-economy is well reflected in the conflict between the Aztecs and the Confederation of Chalco, as we will see in the relevant section.

MEXICA SOCIETY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARMY

The Mexica founded Tenochtitlan, their capital city, in an island in the Texcoco lake. This location made it impossible for them to have enough fields to nourish its growing population⁶.

³ Common among pre-Hispanic peoples (and not only particular to the Mexica) are myths of origin involving a journey under divine leadership towards a promised land.

⁴ M. Graulich, *El sacrificio humano en Mesoamérica*, “Arqueología Mexicana” XI (2003) 63, p. 19.

⁵ I. Bueno, *Objetivos económicos y estrategia militar en el imperio azteca*, “Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl” XLIV (2012) 2, pp. 135-163.

⁶ I would highlight that Mesoamerican cities were quite populous in comparison with European cities from the same era. At the time when Hernán Cortés arrived in America,

Given the proximity of Tenochtitlan to other coastal cities, and especially considering that the island on which it was founded belonged to Azcapotzalco, the power actually dominating the valley, the Mexicas could hardly have gotten land through pacific means. So the lack of cultivable land and the desire to dominate trade routes and their monopolies, on the model of Azcapotzalco, the city to which the Tenochcas were initially subordinate, is likely to have compelled Tenochtitlan to live in a permanent state of war.

For the successful development of armies and their mobilization, weather, topography, and also technology, are very important. These aspects were not favorable in the Mesoamerican area; there, neither metals nor the wheel were yet in use. Then which were the keys of the Mexica success in creating the huge empire that Cortés encountered?

THE MEXICA SUCCESS

Tenochtitlan's leaders, once independent from Azcapotzalco (1428) through a bloody war in which they ended victorious, opted for a management system governed by what I call "the law of flexibility", which they applied to all kinds of political situations, as well as to the way in which they mobilized the army. But let us go step by step and see how the military sphere was in the Mexica period.

In Nahuatl, the ruler was called *tlatoani*, which we might translate "king" or "emperor". He was also the highest representative of the army; he was the one who declared war, but he could not do it without the agreement of the Council consisting of himself, his right hand called the *cihuacoatl*, and two senior army officials, the *tlacatecatl* and *tlacochcalcatl*⁷. Once the decision was made, the *tlatoani* announced it in the main square, giving time to the warriors to prepare and to the messengers to forward the orders to the friendly areas, and, further, to allow the ambassadors to enter into negotiations with the hostile province, if the latter preferred a diplomatic arrangement⁸.

A good logistical organization was paramount because due to successful expansion objectives were increasingly further away. One cared that foodstuffs

Tenochtitlan, Texcoco or Coatlichan had a population of between 250 thousand and 400 thousand inhabitants. Contemporaneously, in the 16th century, European cities with over 100 thousand inhabitants were scarce; only Naples, Constantinople, Paris, Venice and Milan surpassed that figure early in the century, and it is only later that we can add Seville, Lisbon, London, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Palermo and Rome.

⁷ Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España*, Madrid 2001, pp. 506-507.

⁸ J. Lameiras, *Los déspotas armados: Un espectro de la guerra prehispánica*, México 1985, pp. 104-116; Alonso de Zorita, *Relación de los Señores de la Nueva España*, Madrid 1992, p. 95.

should not go bad too quickly, or suffer extreme humidity, and additionally that they did not occupy a big space and weigh too much, since the Mexica had neither draft animals nor wheeled carriages. The army supply problem was solved by demanding from villages through which the troops passed to provide it with food – omelet, roasted corn, cornmeal, ground chili and beans – plus the men and the weapons they needed⁹. When the Mexica decided to attack a target, they usually sent messengers to the friendly zones or vassal polities to announce in advance the arrival of their troops, so they could have everything ready.

To avoid unexpected attacks, the men and the bulk of the weapons did not journey at the same time or through the same paths. The men responsible for transporting the supplies and the weapons were professionals called *tlamemes*. Each one, carrying 23 kilos, walked a daily distance of 25 kilometers. When the army arrived at the camp, the tributaries were already prepared, with the *aoxacali* or official's tents raised plus another one, much bigger, called the *yaotanacalco*, which was used to store food and weapons. There were also lots of blankets for the warriors' use¹⁰.

Next to avoiding ambushes, the reasons for travelling in separate groups responded to tactical considerations: to prevent the enemy from gaging the army's actual size, and to attack the target by different routes in order to destroy its defenses. These tactical motivations overrode logistical factors, as we can deduct from the fact that, in comparison, all war-groups returned by a single road after the campaign¹¹.

The imperial troops were formed in *xiquipilli* or units of 8 thousand men, supplied by the districts or *calpullis*. A *xiquipilli* was divided in twenty squads of four hundred men each under the command of a captain¹². The imperial army grew greatly with the incorporation of the auxiliaries composed of young people from subjugated populations, but these forces were used only to complete and to help in situations in which the threat constituted a high risk¹³. However, in the case of a lower threat level, the problems were solved by means of the tributary armies, who defended the empire's borders at their own cost. With this organization the Mexica obtained the allegiance of

⁹ Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme*, ed. A.M. Garibay, México 1984, p. 156.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 180; T.R. Orellana, *La guerra*, in: *Esplendor del México antiguo*, ed. W. Jiménez Moreno, II, México 1959, p. 860.

¹¹ R. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control*, Oklahoma 1988, pp. 70-71.

¹² F. Katz, *Situación social y económica de los aztecas durante los siglos XV y XVI*, México 1966, p. 160; R. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare...*, p. 56.

¹³ Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, p. 164.

subjugated peoples and a proof of their loyalty to the Tenochtitlan regime. This represented a considerable saving for the Mexica administration and, in turn, this kind of organization was a good way to dose the terrific staging of the imperial army with its strict discipline. Indeed, in the imperial army, it was punishable by death to disobey orders during battle, and after the completion to kill a prisoner, to attribute to oneself a captive belonging to another warrior, to reveal plans to enemies, etc.¹⁴

The Mexica government, like any state, had a good channel of intelligence formed by official ambassadors, messengers, traders, and spies, whose services were richly rewarded¹⁵. With the data that they provided, it prepared military campaigns, since this permitted to draw detailed maps with geographical obstacles, to calculate the days of travel, to know how many people lived in the hostile region and of what sort were their weapons, etc.¹⁶ While such preparations were made, there was time to harvest crops and to let the rainy season pass¹⁷. But diplomats were not always or only spies. Mesoamerican politics were extremely complex; intrigues, factions and alliances were a dynamic element. Diplomacy could be needed to avoid armed conflict. In these diplomatic missions the men in charge of the negotiations had to be as brave as the warriors, because on more than one occasion Mesoamerican ambassadors were cooked and eaten¹⁸.

The military's use of force was accompanied by continuous diplomatic actions in search of a balance between, on the one hand, the clear demonstration of who was the mightiest, displaying the terrible consequences of forgetting

¹⁴ Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 671; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, ed. M. León-Portilla, México 1969, p. 384.

¹⁵ C. Cipolla, *Entre la Historia y la Economía*, Barcelona 1991, p. 187; R. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare...*, p. 49.

¹⁶ J. Lameiras, *Los déspotas armados...*, p. 108; Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 670.

¹⁷ R. Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, New York 1994, pp. 14-36.

¹⁸ See Francisco Chimalpahin, *Relaciones Originales de Chalco Amaquemecan*, ed. and transl. S. Rendón, Mexico 1965, p. 207, relating an incident during the war of 1473 between Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan in which the ambassadors who went to Chalco were later cooked and eaten. We cite this savory text: "Ninguno de ellos quiso prestar ayuda al Moquihuix para tratar de vencer a los tenuchcas, antes bien allí mismo aprehendieron a los embajadores de Tlatilulco, les ataron las manos, los echaron de bruces en una canoa, les metieron un rollo de tules en las bocas y durante toda la noche así los anduvieron trayendo de aquí para allá en la canoa. Al día siguiente, que era de signo 7-Jaguar, los chalcos los tomaron y los llevaron a la presencia del Señor Axayacatzin. Fueron colgados pasándoles un mecate por el cuello, frente a este jefe, en el día que tenía por signo 1-Lagartija, mismo día en que le fueron mostrados. Después de haber sido muertos, los hicieron bañar para hervirlos en una vasija y los trajeron a Chalco para allí cocerlos; mandaron convidar a un banquete al Señor Moquihuix y a otros varios tlatilulcas para que vinieran a comer de sus propios embajadores ignorando que éstos hubieran sido muertos por los tenuchcas. Esto se hizo en el día que tenía por signo 1-Movimiento".

this raw fact, and, on the other hand, the offer of enough incentives to the conquered people to incite the latter to not in any sense rebel, not even in their dreams.

While there is no doubt that the use of the weapons was fundamental for Tenochtitlan to reach its political targets, there is still a heated debate concerning the professionalism or not of the Mexica army. Greece never had a professional army, and Rome did not professionalize its armed forces until the reforms of Augustus. While it is true that in earlier times, ca. 108-109 BC, the generalissimo Gaius Marius had made some reforms in this direction, it must be said that it was more a professionalization of fact and not a matter of law.

Of course, it may seem paradoxical to speak of imperial expansion without the existence of professional soldiers, working full time for the state and paid by it. Although Ross Hassig claims that in Tenochtitlan there was such a body of professional soldiers, this position goes against the opinion of the majority of the researchers, for whom data that would demonstrate the express payment to men devoted solely to warfare has not been found in the sources¹⁹. However, we should reflect on two considerations. On the one hand, what is understood as a "professional" soldier? How can we contextualize it for Mexica society? And on the other hand, what would have constituted a "salary" at the time? Was not the state in an equivalent manner responsible for the warriors' livelihood and did it not share with them a part of the booty? Did it not in addition bestow social privileges on successful warriors, which we could see as equivalent to a "salary"?

Yet there are countervailing considerations. In the model of imperial organization the Aztecs had chosen, a non-professional army was a necessity. If the roads were for much of the year impassable for both conquerors and their targets; if, in addition, the security of the borders of the subjugated peoples were not the Mexica's responsibility, as explained below, it is arguable that a professional army would have been a useless expense for an administration that aimed at maximizing economic performance in any circumstance with a minimum expenditure.

In fact, Tenochtitlan had an effective army that perfectly fulfilled the role adjudicated by the imperial system. Subject to political objectives, it obtained the reputation of being fierce and terrible, a fame instrumental for conquering, pacifying uprisings, and securing trade routes, etc., without any need for a permanent presence in all conquered territories. Nor should we forget that the imperial army had invaluable support with the creation of an

¹⁹ R. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare...*, p. 169; idem, *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica*, Berkeley 1992, p. 142.

“auxiliary” army, composed of men from the polities of the Triple Alliance (Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, and Tlacopan), as well as of the subjugated peoples²⁰.

The auxiliary troops represented a substantial saving for the Mexica treasury not only in human but also in economic terms, because each *auxilia* (we use here the Roman military term) entered the army with the necessary weapons and supplies, which was a key for imperial expansion. Again, Tenochtitlan found the ideal formula for the provinces not to be of any burden. The military contribution was established as a tribute, although not named as such; thus, some provinces were forced to give men to reinforce the army’s ranks²¹.

The political apparatus selected the target, and the army launched itself to conquer these economically productive areas from which the Mexica obtained several kinds of tribute; in exchange for their loyalty, they allowed these areas to continue with their local organization. It was a way to get what Tenochtitlan’s elites wanted, but at a minimal cost in men and intendance. Sometimes, the Mexica kept the local ruler, after checking his loyalty; otherwise, he was replaced by another member of the dynasty; or a military government managed by Aztecs was imposed (as discussed in the case of the conflict against Chalco), applying the “law of flexibility”.

This arrangement created a strong bond with the army, because the local ruler was not only responsible for his people’s payment of the tribute to Tenochtitlan, but also for their guarding their own borders. With this formula the empire economized in military and administrative expenses.

The imposition of a tax also varied and depended on the conquered people’s resistance²². If the area had a tendency to rebellion, a Mexica governor was left in charge of the area; and in some places the conquerors set up garrisons populated with settlers from the cities of the Triple Alliance²³. The existence of Mesoamerican garrisons has been a rather controversial issue, with researchers taking varied positions over time. Yet the sources expressly refer to their presence throughout the territory of Mexica expansion. The issues raised by their existence, their function and the evidence (or lack thereof) supporting their presence will be the subject of the following lines.

20 I. Bueno, *La guerra mesoamericana en época mexica*, Madrid 2007.

21 E.E. Calnek, *Patterns of Empire Formation in the Valley of Mexico: Late Postclassic Period, 1200-1521*, in: *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, eds. G.A. Collier, R. Rosaldo, J.D. Wirth, New York 1982, p. 56; R. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare...*, p. 227; Alonso de Zorita, *Relación de los Señores...*, pp. 76, 95.

22 Alonso de Zorita, *Relación de los Señores...*, p. 142.

23 Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca*, ed. G.V. Chamorro, Madrid 1985, pp. 179, 188; Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, eds. G.D. Migoyo, G.V. Chamorro, Madrid 2001, pp. 182, 319-332.

GARRISONS IN THE AZTEC EMPIRE

In the historiography one finds different positions on this issue. Shirley Gorenstein and Nigel Davies²⁴ doubt that the places mentioned in the chronicles were garrisons. Ross Hassig rejects their arguments. For him, there may be no unambiguous proof in the sources that might confirm that there were garrisons in major tributary provinces. But the same contain clear hints of the establishment of settlements in strategic locations that were populated with people from Central Mexico. In these places (so Hassig, on the basis of these hints), there was placed an officer of high rank in charge of the government; the peoples of the region in which they settled had an obligation to provide supplies and military service to the corresponding garrison. One can name a number of these "colonies-garrisons" that the Aztec empire established: Oztuma, Alahuiztlan, Asuchitlan, Chinantla, Oaxaca, Cuestlahuaca, the Mixteca region, Acatlan, Teozacualco, Ayusuchiquilazala, Xilotepec, Cotastla and Otopo, and Tepecuacuilco. These were the most warlike and difficult borders, facing Tenochtitlan's most powerful enemies, especially the Tarascans. The latter, conversely, were constantly on guard against Aztec attacks; and so they had established garrisons in Taymeo, Sirándaro and Guayameo. Metztitlan also had a garrison on the border it shared with the Aztecs to oversee the latter's movements²⁵.

Recent studies have been providing more information in this regard, allowing to confirm that the number of officials and colonies was higher than what previous researchers believed²⁶. Even Pedro Carrasco and Rudolph van Zantwijk²⁷ claim that there were real "military districts" that match the names that ancient sources offer. These garrisons were established in remote provinces of the empire; Michael Smith has called them strategic²⁸. Their mission was to protect the most productive provinces from hostile raids given that the imperial center was supplied by them; to maintain peace and ensure the flow of taxes; to discourage rebellions; and to impose Mexica authority. The information provided by Bernal Díaz del Castillo in his report of the

24 S. Gorenstein, *The Differential Development of New World Empires*, "Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos" XX (1966), pp. 60-63; C.N. Davies, *Los Aztecas*, Barcelona 1977, pp. 97-100.

25 R. Hassig, *Comercio, tributo y transportes: La economía política del valle de México en el siglo XVI*, Mexico 1990, pp. 100-101.

26 E. Umberger, *Aztec Presence and Material Remains in the Outer Provinces*, in: *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, ed. F. Berdan, Washington, DC 1996, p. 152.

27 P. Carrasco, *Estructura político-territorial del Imperio Tenochca: La Triple Alianza de Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco y Tlacopan*, Mexico 1996; R. Zantwijk, *La organización de once guarniciones aztecas, una nueva interpretación de los folios 17v y 18r del "Códice mendocino"*, "Journal de la Société des Américanistes" LVI (1967), p. 531.

28 M. Smith, *The Strategic Provinces*, in: *Aztec Imperial Strategies...*, pp. 141-147.

conquest of Mexico backs those scholars who affirm the existence of frontier garrisons on – to use Michael Smith’s coinage – “strategic” (as contrasted with “tributary”) provinces²⁹.

The relationship of the Mexica Empire with “strategic regions” was different than the one it had with the “tributary provinces”. Although both paid tribute, its nature was different. For the strategic provinces, most important was their military contribution. Rather than providing material goods, they assisted by furnishing military equipment and also captive enemy soldiers (who would be sacrificed in the capital). These contributions were not depicted as tribute but as gifts. The delivery schedule also varied, being more flexible when subjected to the needs of military campaigns. Furthermore, these “strategic regions” were responsible for the maintenance and supply of garrisons, although here again the sources do not present this contribution as a tribute, but (more honorably for the donors) as a gift. To mention just an example,

Axayacatl made war [on the people of Totoltepec] until he subjugated them. They did not bring him tribute because they were on the Tarascan frontier; they supplied the Mexica soldiers that were stationed there and at the fortress of Oztuma. A few times each year they sent presents to Mexico consisting of mantas, green stones, and copper³⁰.

As to the way in which garrisons were recruited and how their troops were paid, let’s see if the sources provide sufficient information. Garrisons were populated with people coming from of the Basin of Mexico, i.e., people belonging to the Triple Alliance, an organization formed by Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and Tacuba for mutual support. These people migrated with their families and rendered military service. Towns adjacent to the garrison, usually conquered by the Empire, were obliged to furnish supplies and support it militarily³¹. In addition, the law was modified to serve the policy of garrison settlement, benefiting both the soldiers and the Empire. For example, Nezahualpilli, ruler of Texcoco, the second largest city of the Triple Alliance after Tenochtitlan, abolished the death penalty for soldiers convicted of adultery, in exchange for being exiled for life to frontier garrisons³².

We have enough data to not doubt of their existence. Careful reading of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl or Hernando

²⁹ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. M.L. Portilla, Madrid 2000, p. 344; J. Litvak, *Cihuatlan y Tepecoacuilco: Provincias tributarias de México en el siglo XVI*, Mexico 1971, p. 38; B. Holt, *Mexica-Aztec Warfare: A Developmental and Cultural Analysis*, Austin 1979, pp. 366, 367.

³⁰ Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de la Nueva España*, I-XVI, Mexico 1939-1942, VI, p. 149.

³¹ Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca*, pp. 147, 179; Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, pp. 75-77, 182, 319-332.

³² Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca*, p. 202.

Alvarado Tezozómoc, in addition to names of places where the empire used to set up these garrisons, offers a fairly complete picture about the custom of the Alliance of leaving “gente de guarnición en las más fuertes ciudades y cabeceras de aquellas provincias” (people in garrison in the strongest cities and capitals of these provinces [they conquered]), and at the borders³³. They did so in order to protect the empire, both from a revolt by the newly conquered people and from potential external attacks; to guarantee the continuous flow of taxes; and to ensure quiet areas for trade caravans’ transit; and to discourage with their presence the rebellious aims of the provinces more distant from the imperial heartland.

This all being said, and while it is true that the sources provide data on the organization and operation of the garrisons that allow us to imagine how they were, the fact remains that there are still many aspects lacking a satisfactory explanation. They await to be unveiled through new ethnohistorical and archaeological studies.

MEXICA TACTICS

The previous pages have been devoted to logistics and strategy. But to ensure success, a tactical approach was essential. Tactic is the art of arranging, moving and employing military force for combat or for the implementation of the strategy designed. We do not know if the army was divided into infantry and navy, or if all its components received a mixed preparation in the *telpochcallis* or military schools.

The organization in battle was very strict. There was a captain for each unit of two hundred men, another one for units of four hundred, and yet another one of higher rank who coordinated both. Each captain paid attention to the convened-upon signals to start the fight³⁴. These could be acoustic – drums, sea-conches, trumpets, and other instruments, shouts and slogans, or smoke. He also took care to transmit orders and encouraged the fighters. These signals also served to frighten the enemy (as reflected by two exceptional witnesses, Hernán Cortés and Bernal Díaz del Castillo)³⁵. In addition to this type of signals, each body of warriors was clearly identified by its distinctive banner; the purpose was for all of them to fight together, and in case they got separated, the banner helped the reorganization.

³³ Ibidem, p. 188.

³⁴ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista...*, p. 62; Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, pp. 166-167.

³⁵ Hernán Cortés, *Cartas de Relación de la Conquista de México*, Mexico 1963, p. 121; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista...*, pp. 57, 236, 514; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, p. 538.

In addition to the main army, there were Special Forces, elite commandos, composed of the *Cuauhuehuatl* ("very experienced old Eagles"), captains with many hours of fighting; the *quachic* ("very brave warriors"), something like martyrs who died in battle rather than falling back³⁶; and the *otomitl* who were placed at the forefront³⁷. These warriors were not only excellent fighters, but also experts at ambushes, as well as great scouts. They operated in groups of a minimum of four and, if the mission required it, they could form a commando of twenty men³⁸.

Once the attack signal was given, the battle began with missiles, to continue at close combat³⁹. The warriors were not only very skilled in handling all kinds of weapons, but they also combined direct attack with ambushes (in which they deceived the enemy by fleeing away to allow fresh squads that were hidden to attack the pursuers)⁴⁰. At other times, they used traps, pre-digging covered holes in which were placed pointed stakes to wound the enemy driven towards them, or they placed obstacles on the roads by different means to hamper and delay the enemy's progression⁴¹.

Attacks took place according to the most varied scenarios. If the clashes were in cities, they combined "land" attacks, combining direct fight, traps and the burning of military objectives with "air" ones, launching from the rooftops sturdy showers of arrows and stones, as described by Cortés and his men during the conquest of the Mexica capital⁴².

Continuing with war tactics, it is worth investigating in what sense the Aztecs can be said to have practiced "naval warfare". This very interesting mode of combat has not been given due attention⁴³. While the Aztecs did not live on the coast, theirs was in fact a lacustrine environment that imposed the use of canoes to navigate, and perhaps also to attack and/or defend. If the scene of the battle was one of the cities located in the lakes, to ground combat was added a naval component. There also the order of battle was fundamental. For naval warfare, there were at least two types of ships, of different size. There were battleships with shields behind which the soldiers took cover to

36 Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 775.

37 Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, pp. 166-167.

38 A. Bandelier, *On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*, "Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology" X (1877), p. 118, cited in: J. Lameiras, *El encuentro de la piedra y el acero*, Mexico 1994, p. 70.

39 Jean de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, pp. 538-539.

40 Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista...*, p. 32; Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, p. 330.

41 Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista...*, pp. 274, 287, 304; Jean de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, p. 539.

42 Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista...*, pp. 453, 454.

43 I. Bueno, *La guerra naval en el valle de México*, "Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl" XXXVI (2005), pp. 199-223.

throw a shower of arrows at the target, while remaining protected from enemy fire. As depicted in particular in the plates of the *Lienzo Tlaxcala* (a Tlaxcalan book depicting step-by-step the Spanish Conquest), these ships look at first sight quite fragile, especially in comparison with the Spanish brigantines. Yet they could bear much more than one would expect. During these battles on lakes the Mexica also used the same tricks as in land-war, setting traps in the water to sink enemy ships, and simulating flight in order to attack later more fiercely.

Interestingly, two combat modes we would categorize as “modern” – psychological and chemical warfare – were already part of “premodern” Mexica military tactics. Chronicles describe how great psychological pressure was applied on the enemy, using different methods. For example, the Mexica were wont to emit unceasingly, day and night, sounds of instruments and screams that not only prevented the enemy from resting, but also reminded these enemies of their presence. Furthermore, they used body painting, with terrifying designs; and as is well known intimidating human sacrifices were commonly practiced. One can also speak of a chemical warfare, in the sense that they made “bombs” with the spiciest chilies, which functioned as genuine tear gas, to produce suffocation⁴⁴. Additionally they launched another kind of bombs: made with honeycombs full of wasps, these forced attackers out in disarray, even to surrender. Finally, they also poisoned the water supply of the besieged population.

Poison takes us to doctors. An experienced medical staff took part in combat, attending the wounded in battle. Aztec Nahuatl historiography provides terms that refer to this type of specialists known as *texoxotlaticitl* or war surgeons⁴⁵. There were men specialized in the collection of the wounded in battle to bring them to the medical station, where they were served by these medical professionals. The Spanish admitted that there were better and cheaper physician staffs in Mexico than in Europe⁴⁶.

The same men who collected the injured also carried those fallen in combat. Not all the deceased received the same treatment; some fallen warriors’ flesh was pared to the bone in the camp to offer meat to the gods, in an attempt to buy divine favor⁴⁷. Warriors of high rank were cremated, their ashes stored and carried back to Tenochtitlan, where they would be honored according to their social status⁴⁸.

44 Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, p. 198.

45 J. Lameiras, *El encuentro...*, p. 73.

46 Jean de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, p. 539.

47 M. León-Portilla, *Izcóatl, creador de una cosmovisión guerrera, Siete ensayos sobre cultura náhuatl*, Mexico 1956, p. 43.

48 Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 1101.

Once the battle ended, emissaries were sent to Tenochtitlan to inform the tlatoani of its outcome, of the deceased, of how many of the fallen warriors were of high social status, of individual feats, and of the number of captives brought back by the army⁴⁹. With these data, one prepared to receive back the army. Impressive public commemoration ceremonies were held, where the tlatoani rewarded the warriors' gallantry and exalted their power over the conquered peoples.

As we have seen, close combat had much importance in Mesoamerican war; because once formations broke, only the most skilled in direct struggle survived. This skill was of particular relevance in a kind of war that owing to its name, Flowery War or *xochiyaoyotl*, has attracted the attention of researchers. Yet scholarship has mostly stressed its ritual aspect, without analyzing its practical significance.

Sources call them "flowery", but the vision we have of them is far from soft or harmless. Generally we have a point of view that is Mexica, so their interpretation is biased. But prior to the formation of the Mexica state, flowery wars can be traced also among Chalcas, Tepanecs, and even Tarascans. I have discussed this form of warfare in another article⁵⁰.

But where did these great warriors learn the tactics of combat, melee, and the handling of weapons? One could not improvise or learn "on the job". Furthermore, it was no less laborious to create a "collective consciousness" about war, its values and benefits. To explain these two dimensions – proficiency and ideology – we turn to Mexica schooling.

MILITARY SCHOOLS IN MEXICAN SOCIETY

Governments that glorify war are particularly keen to inculcate military values from childhood on. In order to achieve this goal they indoctrinate young people in state schools that spread these ideals. The Mexica rulers were no exception. They quickly understood the importance of controlling education in transmitting the new imperial ideology that followed the 1428 Aztec victory over Azcapotzalco. This took place especially starting with the reign of Itzcóatl (1427-1440)⁵¹, the first tlatoani independent from Tepaneca yoke. Itzcóatl's reign marked a new stage in Aztec history; it embodied a new cycle and a new geopolitical order in the Valley of Mexico. It was time to rewrite history, delete information from old books, and build a new "official

49 Ibidem, pp. 671, 683.

50 I. Bueno, *Las guerras floridas*, "Revista de Historia Militar" CVI (2009), pp. 11-34; eadem, *Mesoamérica: territorio en guerra*, México 2015, pp. 95-116.

51 Throughout, we use regnal dates and not life dates.

history", according to which Itzcóatl had brought back, as it were, to new life and energy a courageous and proud people, whose ancestors had been the flower of the Valley.

We cannot say whether the burning of the codices was real, total, partial or metaphorical. Indeed, one also finds this fire in ancient books to represent temples burning; this is not only a symbol of defeat, but marks the abolition of an older order and the imposition of a new one. Such was the meaning of Itzcóatl's ascension to the throne: the end of the traditional forms of authority based in the *calpullis* and their surrender to a new political system in order to achieve social unification.

The ideologues of this reform were two brothers, nephews of Itzcóatl and sons of Huitzilihuitl (1396-1417), the second ruler of Tenochtitlan: Tlacaélel, a key political figure, who remained in power throughout three reigns, and Moctezuma Ilhuicamina. The latter, after his uncle Itzcóatl's death, assumed the throne and sanctioned obligatory education for all young Mexica.

In Tenochtitlan, education thus became the responsibility of the government⁵². To develop it, a school was built in each district or *calpulli* at least. The *calmecac* was for the nobles and *telpochcalli* for the commons⁵³. This is confirmed by the majority of classical sources as by modern authors. However, a closer reading of the documents reveals that both nobles and common could attend both schools, where they received different formation in addition to military training. The lessons were taught by priests and war veterans; they did not limit themselves to teaching the use of weapons, but emphasized the social doctrine of war that was central for the Mexica society. They imposed upon the young man that to be a respectable member, he had to develop virtues that could be achieved only through military success⁵⁴.

The need to engrave in the society the importance of the war was not conveyed only by state schools. From the moment a Mexica came to the world he was received by the midwife with very significant words. These have been recorded by the Franciscan Bernardino Sahagún⁵⁵: "Tu oficio y facultad es la guerra, tu oficio es dar a beber al sol con sangre de tus enemigos, y dar de comer a la tierra, que se llama Tlaltecútl, con los cuerpos de tus enemigos" (Your office and competence is war, your office is to give the sun to drink with your enemies' blood, and to give the earth, which is called *Tlaltecútl*, to eat with your enemies' bodies).

52 F. Hicks, *Flowery War in Aztec History*, "American Ethnologist" VI (1979), p. 89, 90.

53 J. Lameiras, *El encuentro...*, p. 77; Juan Bautista Pomar, *Relación de Texcoco*, ed. J. Vázquez, Madrid 1991, p. 55, n. 48.

54 R. Hassig, *War and Society...*, pp. 141-148; J. Lameiras, *Los déspotas armados...*, pp. 90-104; idem, *El encuentro...*, pp. 77-81; Alonso de Zorita, *Relación de los Señores...*, p. 99.

55 Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 551.

As said above, under government auspices there were at least two types of schools. First was the *calmecac*, a school intended mainly for the nobles. It seems to have been located within the ceremonial precinct of the Templo Mayor⁵⁶. Many of the classes were taught by priests; this guaranteed the state more control over what was taught. It is difficult to determine at which age children entered in the *calmecac*, given that the information varies from chronicler to chronicler. Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, for example, does not know exactly if they entered shortly after birth or at the age of five; Fray Bernardino de Sahagún writes that it was at about ten or twelve; the *Codex Mendoza* says categorically that fifteen years was the age of the schooling of young Mexica⁵⁷. Making a practical analysis of these data, one might propose the following hypothesis.

Nowadays children enter school at different ages, and whether they go to a college or another depends on the needs and social status of parents. It is by analogy thus likely that when the Franciscan Motolinía mentions that newborn kids just weaned were put in school, he must refer to the promise that parents had to make when a child was born, swearing to take him to school in due time, as was required by the State. The other ages mentioned in chronicles likely respond to the individual needs of male households. If the child was from a noble family, he could enter as a five year old; and if he did not belonged to the nobility, a reasonable age would have been, rather, ten or twelve years, because at that age he could have learned the family business and how to handle farming. The age that the *Codex Mendoza* proposes, around fifteen, may refer exclusively to the *telpochcalli*, the school specialized in the knowledge and handling of weapons, as well as in personal fighting, for which training it was necessary to be physically mature. It is at least clear that children entered the *calmecac* at an earlier age than the *telpochcalli*.

Even though sources simplify the educational issue by dichotomizing nobles and commoners, it seems that the *calmecac* could tend to both social strata; however, most of its students were children of nobles, given the nature of the subjects there taught, more fitted to future leaders and priests⁵⁸. Its regime was internship, in which pupils had an extremely hard life. We have to recall that according to Mexica ethics, privileged people, if they disrespected the law, should be punished more severely than other members of society. So it was logical that at the school they had to learn to live according to social rules.

⁵⁶ Toribio Motolinía, *Memoriales e historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, ed. F. de Lejarza, Madrid 1970, p. 133; Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 250.

⁵⁷ *Códice Mendoza*, Mexico 1979, fol. 61; Toribio Motolinía, *Memoriales e historia de los Indios...*, p. 133; Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 682.

⁵⁸ Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, pp. 300, 305-307, 580.

According to Bernardino de Sahagún the subjects taught shaped students holistically, both academically (with topics such as rhetoric, pictography, poetry, astrology, computation of time, courtesy and protocol rules) and militarily. The Franciscan further confirms – through information provided by the indigenous students he was educating at the College of Santa Cruz de Santiago in Tlatelolco (founded in 1536) – that from the *calmecac* flowed the highest ranks of the army. There young men had studied cartography, strategy, tactics and everything needed to command the imperial armies. This teaching was rounded up with the handling of weapons and combat techniques when the students entered the *telpochcalli*. Subjects that were only taught in the *calmecac* placed its students above and over the common run of the citizenry; through the knowledge of pictographic writing, astrology and calendar, they could control the lives of the community.

The main activity that the *telpochcalli* developed was related to war; according to the chroniclers, there was a school of this type in each *calpulli*⁵⁹. As we have argued, youths would enter it with fifteen years, to be trained in handling weapons and learn fighting techniques; indeed, at this age students would already have had enough strength to do so. The Mexican State's interest to have its men well prepared for its frequent wars is evident from the fact that attendance at the *telpochcalli* was compulsory. All Mexica men attended one, regardless of the social class to which they belonged. The bulk of the army was provided by the common or *macehuales* who were mostly students. It could be that the *telpochcalli* was divided into two sections, one in which the nobles received better treatment and another one for lower ranking soldiers.

In contrast to the *calmecac*, the *telpochcalli*'s educational regime was open to such an extent that if field work was required, students were allowed to go help their families; furthermore, although they slept in the *telpochcalli*, they used to eat at home. This made the youth's daily lives less harsh than in the *calmecac*. The young men's teachers were war veterans. The latter brought their pupils into battle under their tutelage, to implement acquired knowledge and skills; this lasted as long as the student was moving up in the military ranks⁶⁰.

Young men used to leave school at the age of twenty. This did not take place, however, before they had received from their instructor an exhortation, reminding them that they should live with honor. And indeed upon leaving the *telpochcalli* it was common to get married; thus one was obliged to keep up the family with dignity, to educate properly children, and in time of war to be brave. This was the condition for the gods to help them and give them prosperity. The Mexica male's fate depended largely on his behavior in battle,

59 Toribio Motolinía, *Memoriales e historia de los Indios...*, p. 136.

60 *Ibidem*, p. 136; Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, pp. 302-304.

because by means of combat outcomes he could materially improve his life and social status. This success was assessed by the number and quality of the captives taken, which might enable him to reach the maximum rank of *tlacatecatl* and *tlacochalcatl*. If however a male did not demonstrate military qualities, yet came from a wealthy family, he could live without social recognition but comfortably thanks to family wealth. However, such a male unsuccessful at war had to survive on his work, and was not allowed to dress with dignity⁶¹.

The *calmecac* and *telpochcalli* were the main Mexica state schools, but they did not monopolize completely the field. The new ideology developed under Itzcóatl based some of its power in the impact of the image. Therefore, there existed also important schools dedicated to singing and dancing, such as the *cuicacalli* and *mecatlán*, or conservatories where one learned to play musical instruments. To have skills in these respects was not as important as being a famous warrior, but certainly a political organization in which diplomatic relations and ceremonial had much relevance needed skilled musicians and dancers to amuse embassies and animate ritual ceremonies. These specialists were responsible for conveying the regime's message in big spectacles, representing myths of the past which subjugated and enflamed the masses⁶².

Thus was Tenochtitlan in its mature stage. But before becoming a military power, the city had fought under the command of the Tepanecs of Azcapotzalco. It was during this time that began the long conflict against Chalco; it perfectly illustrates what we have discussed in the preceding paragraphs. To it we now turn.

THE CONFLICT WITH CHALCO

The ideological framework that placed the warrior as an essential component of the preservation and prosperity of Mexica society was promoted by two important political figures, Tlacaelel and Moctezuma Ilhuicamina. The latter succeeded on the throne of Tenochtitlan to Itzcóatl; it was during this Moctezuma I's reign (1440-1469) that the conflict with the powerful Chalca confederation was resolved. It had lasted eighty-nine years.

⁶¹ I. Bueno, *El sacrificio gladiatorio y su vinculación con la guerra en la sociedad mexicana, "Gladius" XXIX* (2009), pp. 185-204; Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, p. 189; Bernardino Sahagún, *Historia General...*, p. 302. For gender and war, see C.D. Pennock, *Bonds of Blood: Gender, Lifecycle and Sacrifice in Aztec Culture*, Houndmills 2008.

⁶² I. Clendinnen (*Aztecs: An Interpretation*, Cambridge (UK) 1991) proposes an anthropological reading of Mexica aesthetics and violence; see also eadem, *The Cost of Courage in Aztec Society: Essays on Mesoamerican Society and Culture*, Cambridge (UK) 2010.

The first time the Aztecs had fought against Chalco, they had done it under the orders of Azcapotzalco, the city to which they were tributaries. Acamapichtli (1376-1396)⁶³ was the first Mexica tlatoani who took part in war against Chalco, under Tepanec leadership. This tlatoani was succeeded by his son Huitzilohuitl (1396-1417); during his reign the war hardened⁶⁴; the clashes were continuous, without a clear winner. Chalco was difficult to defeat because it was coalesced in the Chalco-Amecameca confederation⁶⁵ of Tlamanalco, Amaquemecan, Tenanco Texocpalco and Chimalhuacan. Although “none of the four largest entities had a tlatoani with authority over all”, they commonly united when war threatened⁶⁶. Thus although Azcapotzalco tried to conquer the Chalcas for decades, it did not managed to defeat them. One factor may have been the Mexica. Chalco was a priority target for the Aztecs, not only for its abundant resources and fertile lands (irrigated by the river Amecameca), but also for its privileged geographical location, if one wanted to open a trade route to the coveted luxury goods that were produced in the south and southwest. It enjoyed an extraordinary network of canals across the lake and roads that allowed the movement of people and products easily⁶⁷. Yet Mexica tlatoque prior to Montezuma I, although aware of this potential, had been unwilling to do so, in this first phase because the Aztecs were not independent. They did not want to win Chalco for their Tepanec overlords.

Thus by the time the Aztecs overthrew Tepanec yoke, the Chalcas had not been defeated yet. And after they freed themselves from Azcapotzalco, the Mexica had to focus on ensuring basic necessities for the population. The priority was subduing areas close to Tenochtitlan, before embarking on expansion. That goal was attained during the reign of Moctezuma I; this allowed him to expand his sight beyond the nuclear area. In the second decade of his reign (1450), famine struck Tenochtitlan for four years, and prompted by the need for fertile land the disputes with Chalco flared. Moctezuma Ilhuicamina set his sight on Chalco not only because it would serve as a granary for Tenochtitlan, but also because it would open the door to further expansion. The tlatoani was aware of the power of the Chalca confederation, so he planned the conflict in several campaigns (that not always were positive for the Mexica).

Moctezuma I had inaugurated his reign (1440-1469) with the construction of a new temple in honor of Huitzilopochtli. He had asked the Chalca for

63 The dates correspond to the years of reign and not those of birth and death.

64 Francisco Chimalpahin, *Relaciones Originales...*, pp. 83, 85.

65 P. Kirchhoff, *Composición étnica y organización política de Chalco según las relaciones de Chimalpáin*, “*Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*” XIV (1954-1955) 2, p. 279.

66 S. Schroeder, *Chimampahin y los reinos de Chalco*, Mexico 1994, p. 303.

67 *Ibidem*, p. 31.

materials for the work but, as expected, their answer was negative⁶⁸. By means of this incident hostilities could begin without much need for Moctezuma I to work hard to convince his allies. All the more as in a previous confrontation Chalca had killed two sons of Nezahualcoyotl, tlatoani of Texcoco, and two sons of Axayacatl (the future tlatoani of Tenochtitlan at that time a high Mexica commander). All the more as details of the cruelties that the ruler of Chalca had inflicted upon them had reached the alliance leaders' ears: "les sirviesen de candeleros sus cuerpos en una sala donde de noche hacía sus saraos y convites, y los corazones de ellos con otros de los más famosos capitanes y gente ilustre que había muerto en el discurso de esta guerra, le sirvieron de collar y joyas a Toteotzintecuhtli [señor de Chalco]" (Their bodies served as chandeliers in a hall where they held by night their banquets and dances, and their hearts, along with those of other very famous war-captains and illustrious people who had died in the course of that war, served Toteotzintecuhtli [the lord of Chalco] as necklace and jewelry)⁶⁹.

The clash in 1450 was favorable to Chalco; however, in 1455 the result was contrary: "fue entonces la primera vez que los chalcas quedaron derrotados" (it was then the first time that the Chalcas were defeated)⁷⁰. In that year, after an interlude forced by the famine, and taking advantage of Chalco's being weakened by internal dissensions with the members of their Chalco-Amecameca confederation⁷¹, attacks began again. At that point, though, the major Chalca cities remained unconquered. Moctezuma wanted to end this conflict that had killed too many men (including some of his brothers) and in which he himself had been captured and imprisoned. However, he had to wait until 1465 to get the final victory. This came thanks to a betrayal of the Chalcas by three princes who defected to the Mexican side. The pro-Mexica sources say that having listened to the traitors, the Mexica refused their aid. Possibly they thought it could be a trap. It is also possible that they did accept the proposed information and help, but that they did not want it to be known, lest it diminish their glory for a victory that they had so long desired⁷².

68 Francisco Chimalpahin, *Relaciones Originales...*, p. 97; Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, p. 136.

69 Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, *Historia de la nación chichimeca*, p. 161.

70 Francisco Chimalpahin, *Relaciones Originales...*, p. 202.

71 The inter-dynastic marriages kept together the unity of the confederation, because they were made for political rather than economic reasons, see S. Schroeder, *The Noblewomen of Chalco*, "Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl" XXII (1992), p. 45. The confederation, also called *Chalcayotl* included the cities of Tlamanalco, Amaquemecan, Chimalhuacán, and Tenango Tepopollan.

72 Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias...*, p. 148; Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, cap. 28.

Due to the harshness of the war and the resistance offered by the Chalca confederation, the punishment imposed by the Mexica was exemplary: an increase of tribute; land distribution among components of the Triple Alliance; the imposition of a Mexica military government that lasted until the reign of Ahuitzotl (1486-1502)⁷³; and the forced exile of Chalca leaders and their wives in Huexotzinco⁷⁴. This punishment lasted during the twenty-two years of Aztec rule over the region of Chalco, though the victors reintegrated gradually the Chalca legitimate rulers into governance. In 1484, Tizoc, tlatoani of Tenochtitlan (1481-1486), restored some Chalcas to positions of authority. Yet although these men belonged to the Chalca nobility, they were not in the first line of succession. Tizoc's intention was thus probably to make them less problematic to Tenochtitlan and more manageable⁷⁵. Ultimately, Ahuitzotl restored to the government the Chalca tlatoque, but the situation never returned to something like what it had been before the defeat. Though the Chalcas could elect their leaders, these had to be sanctioned by the Mexica rulers⁷⁶.

The victory against Chalco was so important that it was registered as an Aztec-only conquest even though, if we trust Mary Hodge⁷⁷, it had been obtained thanks to the joint efforts of the Triple Alliance. Frederic Hicks disagrees with this position, and maintains that the war with Chalco was so difficult to win precisely because the Aztecs fought it without allies. It is for this reason that they imposed a government of regents for twenty-two years, instead of leaving in place the native rulers⁷⁸.

After having defeated the Confederation of Chalco Amecama, the Mexica army returned in triumph to Tenochtitlan. After a few days for relaxing, "the honors and funerals for all those who died in war" were ordered. Chimalpahin confirms that after the victory, Moctezuma lived only "cuatro años más" (four more years)⁷⁹, but this was sufficient. With Chalco conquered, the South now lay wide open. The Aztecs were thus able to pursue successfully their imperialist and commercial policy. Chalco's defeat had unlocked the Mexicas' expansion and made it unstoppable.

73 Francisco Chimalpahin, *Relaciones Originales...*, pp. 218, 223.

74 S. Schroeder, *Chimampahin y los reinos...*, p. 73.

75 F. Hicks, *Alliance and Intervention in Aztec Imperial Expansion*, in: *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, eds. E.M. Brumfield, J.W. Fox, Cambridge (UK) 1994, p. 115; S. Schroeder, *Chimampahin y los reinos...*, pp. 125-126.

76 S. Schroeder, *Chimampahin y los reinos...*, pp. 126, 136, 266.

77 M. Hodge, *Political Organization of the Central Provinces*, in: *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, p. 37.

78 F. Hicks, *Alliance and Intervention...*, p. 115.

79 Francisco Chimalpahin, *Relaciones Originales...*, p. 205.

FINAL THOUGHTS

War provided results that satisfied all groups in Mexica society. For the upper strata, it allowed the maintenance of status; for the rest it gave the opportunity to move up in the social hierarchy or to improve one's standard of living in some respect.

Everything about Mexica war was perfectly regulated. The rank to which an individual warrior belonged was defined through clothing and badges, whose abuse was punishable by death. Promotions were achieved according to the number of prisoners made in battle; whether the warrior had taken captives in close, hand-to-hand combat (more prestigious) or in the general din of battle (less prestigious); the status of these captives, etc.

Given these circumstances, warriors climbed to various positions in the military career. Yet several discriminating factors have to be kept in mind. A nobleman and a commoner would not have received the same practical training, and they did not wield similar weapons or possess identical defensive equipment. Of course! We are not dealing with egalitarian societies. Thus it goes without saying that a noble had all the cards in hand to perpetuate his status. As for the ordinary Mexica, although certainly social mobility through war was a possibility, its achievement was very remote. Notwithstanding it, it was an incentive to go into battle. Therefore, ranking in the army affected society, luring people to get involved in military life. Both weapons and insignia accentuated this differentiation, and although according to state ideology a warrior might demonstrate enormous value in battle, in practice he would never reach the highest rank if he did not belong to an ancient lineage.

The Aztecs fought many battles and the powerful lords of Anahuac (the lake area) obtained many victories. We can say that during the period of Aztec hegemony, almost all wars fought showed a positive balance. Yet undoubtedly among all of them, two became emblematic and were remembered and immortalized in art: the Tepaneca war of 1428, which gained the Aztecs their political independence, and the Tlatelolcan war of 1473, where Tenochtitlan conquered the monopoly over commerce in luxury items, up until then in the hand of its twin city Tlateolco. With these riches, the Mexica could fly unimpeded toward the expansion of their empire.

Next to these two wars, the conquest of Chalco had an enormous impact on the economic and expansionist policy of the Triple Alliance, because it made possible to reach a key aim. Indeed, the Alliance's three cities were now located at the crossroads of major trade routes, to the South and Southeast, which connected the Plateau with the desired products from the Mixtecs, from the Gulf and from Guatemala. Thus the defeat of Chalco was literally

a real treasure for the Mexica political elites. Chalco was the “lugar de jade o piedra preciosa verde” (place of jade or green gemstone)⁸⁰.

What was true of the Mexica and of the wider Aztec group, was also true of societies around them: The military sphere was hugely present in Mesoamerican societies. As we noted, this was structural: Primarily due to the fact that city-states developed very close to each other, and that the population density increased rapidly since all streamed to the same ecological niches, and wanted to have political and economic power. This desire kept weapons always at the ready, making Mesoamerica an authentic war territory.

ABSTRACT

The first time the Aztecs had fought against Chalco, they had done it under the orders of Azcapotzalco, the city to which they were tributaries. Acamapichtli was the first Mexica tlatoani who took part in war against Chalco, under Tepanec leadership. This tlatoani was succeeded by his son Huitzilihuitl; during his reign the war hardened; the clashes were continuous, without a clear winner. Chalco was difficult to defeat because it was coalesced in the Chalco-Amecameca confederation. Thus although Azcapotzalco tried to conquer the Chalcas for decades, it did not managed to defeat them. One factor may have been the Mexica. Chalco was a priority target for the Aztecs, not only for its abundant resources and fertile lands, but also for its privileged geographical location, if one wanted to open a trade route to the coveted luxury goods that were produced in the south and southwest. It enjoyed an extraordinary network of canals across the lake and roads that allowed the movement of people and products easily. Yet Mexica tlatoque prior to Montezuma I, although aware of this potential, had been unwilling to do so, in this first phase because the Aztecs were not independent.

These pages focus on war and military institution insofar as they constitute a key element for the understanding of the socio-political organization of the Tenochcas or Mexica (the core group among the so-called Aztecs) political community. The latest research on the wider Mesoamerican cultures' power structures shows how these societies grew by relying on armed force and developed a complex system of domination over the peoples around them. They were not, as earlier historiography has sometimes supposed, peaceful theocracies. Since the scope of this article does not allow us to take in all the groups present before the Spanish Conquest in today's Mexico, we will focus on the Mexica. They provide indeed the best example to illustrate war in Mesoamerica, because Mexico-Tenochtitlan grew up on the basis of a long inherited tradition; because it reached an unprecedented scale; and finally because (owing to the Spanish Conquest) it constitutes the last representative of this fascinating world, and as such left behind more abundant data than other societies. Much in the Mexica system was based on what in modern terms is called military deterrence. This *dissuasion* was not the result of spontaneous or occasional violent reactions. It entailed, rather, the requirement that basic institutions such as education and religious and social values granted the military a key role. War also constituted a factor for promotion in this hierarchical society.

80 S. Schroeder, *The Noblewomen of Chalco*, p. 45.

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IS IT ALLOWED TO FIGHT THE RULER?

A COMPARISON OF SELECTED ISLAMIC AND CHRISTIAN POSITIONS*



The present contribution addresses one principal issue: Is it allowed to fight the ruler? This involves in turn several related questions: 1. The agents in this resistance, that is, who is fighting the ruler? 2. The forms and means of the resistance, that is, how is the ruler fought? 3. The reasons for resistance, that is, why is the ruler fought? One must also bring in the reasons that make opposition to the ruler a matter of duty: Is it necessary to fight the ruler? In a broader sense, this question raises a number of fundamental issues, for example, the legitimacy and illegitimacy of an accession to power; the just and unjust exercise of power; religiously and legally coded systems of rule and the dangers inherent in their violation; and lastly the conception and meaning of violence and other forms of resistance both within a culture and across cultures. Some of these questions can only be addressed implicitly. Instructive, particularly with regard to the Arabic sources, is the issue that Martin Kintzinger and Jörg Rogge have recently raised, noticing the bipolarity of the ruler's violence: "How do violence against the ruler and violence by the ruler [...] relate to each other?"¹. Or, relatedly, in what way do the ruler's violence and violence against the ruler correlate and depend on, encourage or

* This is an English translation of my German article *Darf man den Herrscher bekämpfen? Islamische und christliche Positionen im Vergleich*, in: M. Kintzinger, F. Rexroth, J. Rogge, *Gewalt und Widerstand in der politischen Kultur des späten Mittelalters*, Ostfildern 2015, pp. 183-209. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Philippe Buc (Vienna) for the chance to publish this article in English and especially for his stimulating, critical and instructive comments.

1 M. Kintzinger, J. Rogge, *Einleitung*, in: *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige. Macht und Mord im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, eds. M. Kintzinger, J. Rogge, "Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung", Supplement XXXIII, Berlin 2004, p. 2.

foster each other?² The question “Is it allowed to fight the ruler?” interlocks with two further interrogations, that is, “How does the ruler fight protesters?”, and “Are there criteria for, and limits to the use of force that also apply to the ruler?”. These counter-questions are particularly called for by the specifics of the Islamic sources used here. The regulations and recommendations for the treatment of, for example, rebels and usurpers by the ruler thus need to be examined for their approval or rejection of fighting against rulers.

The interconnection of these questions allows for an examination of the “cultures of violence” proper to different societies, and to observe them in different historical phases. I use the term “culture of violence” to address not only the use of force by the antagonists but also, and importantly, the intellectual history of the native scholars’ discourse on violence, that is, their legitimization or delegitimization of resistance, their assessment of the means of resistance, the regulations theoretically governing the ruler’s behavior towards rebels, as well as what mandates his fighting against them.

The following discussion focuses primarily on the Arabic-Islamic cultural region. To begin with, it needs to be noted that as far as chronology is concerned, a periodization according to Early, High, and Late Middle Ages is not easily possible for the world of Islam. Some chronological adjustments will be necessary, especially to allow for comparative perspectives with late medieval Europe, which we shall undertake as a postface to this contribution. The focus on the Islamic cultural region is grounded on a simple fact: While medievalists and legal historians have devoted detailed studies to strategies of justification and reasons legitimizing opposition to rule in Christendom³, the equivalent question of whether “Is it allowed to fight the Islamic caliph?”

2 Or, as an Arabic mirror for princes from the 12th century states: “The extent of the people’s indignation during a rebellion corresponds to the violent oppression of the masses” (J.A. Kechichian, R. Hrair Dekmejian, *The Just Prince. A Manual of Leadership. Including an Authoritative English Translation of the Sulwān al-Muṭā‘ ‘fi ‘Udwān al-Atbā‘* [Consolation for the Ruler during the Hostility of Subjects by Muhammad ibn Zafar al-Ṣiqillī], London 2003, p. 244).

3 Cf. *Resistance, Representation and Community*, ed. P. Blickle, Oxford-New York 1997; D. Böttcher, *Ungehorsam oder Widerstand? Zum Fortleben des mittelalterlichen Widerstandsrechtes in der Reformationszeit (1529-1530)*, Historische Forschungen, XLVI, Berlin 1991; M. Kintzinger, *Maleficium et veneficium. Gewalt und Gefahr für den Fürsten im französischen Spätmittelalter*, in: *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige...*, pp. 71-100; J. Miethke, *Der Tyrannenmord im späteren Mittelalter. Theorien über das Widerstandsrecht gegen ungerechte Herrschaft in der Scholastik*, in: *Friedensethik im Spätmittelalter. Theologie im Ringen um die gottgegebene Ordnung*, eds. G. Beestermöller, H.-G. Justenhoven, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1999, pp. 24-48; F. Rexroth, *Tyrannen und Taugenichtse. Beobachtungen zur Ritualität europäischer Königsabsetzungen im späten Mittelalter*, “Historische Zeitschrift” CCLXXVIII (2004), pp. 27-53; J. Rogge, *Attentate und Schlachten. Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Königtum und Gewalt im deutschen Reich während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige...*, pp. 7-50; J. Spörl, *Gedanken um Widerstandsrecht und Tyrannenmord im Mittelalter*, in: *Widerstandsrecht*, eds. A. Kaufmann, L.E. Backmann, Wege der Forschung, CLXXIII, Darmstadt 1972, pp. 87-113.

has been until recently only answered in the negative or even with prejudice. Fights within the early Islamic community, it used to be said, had led Muslim legal scholars to insist on the unwavering duty to obey the caliph regardless of whether his rule was just or unjust⁴. While initially various schools of law had formulated concepts of violent and nonviolent resistance, the instability of the Islamic empires ended up resulting in a quietistic attitude among Muslim legal scholars⁵. An Islamic code of rebellion, it was argued, had not existed⁶; neither Shiite nor Sunnite legal scholars had discussed the question of resistance in detail⁷.

Recently, however, this position has been subject to a fundamental revision. The historian of law Khaled Abou El Fadl discovered a sophisticated and complex legal discourse among the Islamic legal schools on the twinned questions of violence against rulers and violence by rulers. His pioneering findings will be fundamental for the considerations that follow⁸.

They will be organized in seven parts. First, we shall address how the foundational phase of Islamic rule generated historical precedents for both violence against the ruler's power as well as violence perpetrated by the ruler. Second, the reflections on rebellion against rulership in the legal discourse of Islamic schools of jurisprudence need to be discussed according to the different definitions of the rebels' positions, the ruler's treatment of the rebels, the divergences between the schools of law, and also consider the transformation and historical contextualization of the conceptions of legality. Third, in this context the long-term historical concepts of the Shia about questions of resistance and rebellion need to be addressed. Fourth, the positions of Sunni legal scholars should be laid out. Fifth, it is necessary to make a jump in time, first to the period after 1258, that is, to a phase in which the discourse on resistance and rebellion was confronted with the fundamental shock brought about by the Mongol overthrow of the Abbasid caliphate, and then to a period around 1500 in which the Mongol rulers had since long been Islamized. Here, a document from the environment of the court of the Mongol Khan 'Ubaid Allāh needs to be discussed; temporally and spatially far from the legal scholars active in the early period of Islam, it

4 H.A.R. Gibb, *Constitutional Organization*, in: *Origin and Development of Islamic Law*, eds. M. Khadduri, H.J. Liebesny, Washington 1955, p. 15.

5 B. Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East*, Chicago 1993, p. 314.

6 F. Rahman, *The Law of Rebellion in Islam*, in: *Islam in the Modern World*, ed. J. Raitt, Columbia 1983, pp. 1-10.

7 A.K.S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam. An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists*, Oxford 1981, pp. 261-263.

8 K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law*, Cambridge 2001. See also the literature review, pp. 8-23.

is again concerned with the problem of rebellion from a Sunni perspective. Then, sixth, the question of a “culture of violence” with regard to the scholarly treatment of the problem of resistance in Islam requires a brief examination⁹. Finally, seventh, we shall conclude with a demonstration of the possibilities of a transcultural comparison.

I. FIGHTS AGAINST THE CALIPH. EXAMPLARY STORIES FROM THE EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM

Like the Bible¹⁰, the Qurʿān contains fundamental religious statements which, as the history of Islam shows, require an explanation and which have therefore yielded a multiplicity of interpretations and applications¹¹. Moreover, the early period of Islam saw constellations of conflict which became part of the Muslim collective memory and of Muslim understanding of law. For centuries they were repeatedly invoked, interpreted and even used as precedents in debates about the fighting against rulers. This particularly applies to the inner-Islamic controversy about the fourth caliph Ali following the murder of his predecessor Uṭmān by rebels, as well as to ʿAlī’s treatment of those Muslim rebels who, after his election to caliph, fought against him. This discussion became exemplary for a ruler’s treatment of rebels. A mirror for princes written in the middle of the 15th century uses succinct and direct words that make it clear that Ali is to be regarded as a model with respect to the fight against rebels¹². Legal scholars and their schools’ achievement was to bring together both components, the religious-textual and the historic-exemplary,

9 Both in the Islamic as well as in the Christian context, reflections on the standards of just rule, on what makes a ruler an unjust ruler and on what thus produces the original inclination for rebellion are part of the genre of the mirror for princes. Using these texts complementary to the legal texts would yield further insights.

10 On the one hand, the Letter to the Romans, chapter 13, propounds obedience to the divinely ordained order “for the sake of punishment” and “conscience” (Rom 13,5) and explicitly rejects resistance. On the other hand, the Acts of the Apostles place duty to God over political obedience (“We ought to obey God rather than men”, Act. 5,29). Comparatively, the Qurʿānic suras do not explicitly mention the question of the resistance against rulership.

11 Sura 4,59; 13,5; 49,9; 5,48. The Qurʿānic statements were open to interpretation. Among the Umayyad and Abbasid rulers, however, who had themselves come to power with the help of oppositional movements, sura 13,5 became the basis to demand strict obedience to their rule when it was challenged by various rebellions. Other suras such as 49,9 and 5,48, which were repeatedly consulted by legal scholars, deal with conflicts within the Muslim community but also leave some freedom of interpretation in order the struggles between ruler and subjects. Particularly the passages on those “who practice mischief on earth” play a role in the legal discussions on rebellion. See K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 48.

12 Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-ʿIṣfahāni, *Muslim Conduct of State Based upon the Sulūk al-Mulūk of Fadl-Ullāh bin Rūzbihan ʿIṣfahāni*, transl. M. Aslam, Islamabad 1974, p. 445.

in a discourse on rebels, which was then further developed. This emphasis on, and detailed discussion of how one should treat those fighting against rulers was absent from Latin Christian debates. This is due to two facts. First, that, in contrast to Christianity, historical memory was very early a constitutive component in Islamic power in its formative phase (even if this memory was often overwritten, selective and mystified), and, second, that this memory was from the beginnings connected to internal Islamic power-conflicts. Implicitly included in the debate on the treatment of rebels is the problem of the permissibility and legitimacy of their opposition to the ruler¹³.

The story of the fourth caliph 'Alī made the *de facto* presence of revolts against Muslim rule and of intra-Islamic violence present in Muslim collective memory. It could not be denied that the Umma was divided, that Muslim subjects had rebelled against Muslim authorities, and that the caliph had to come up with, and develop ways of dealing with insubordinate brothers in the faith. In the period that followed, rebellions against the Umayyad caliphs became an almost daily affair¹⁴. The Umayyads themselves were eventually overthrown in the year 749/750 by the Abbasids, who had risen through a "revolutionary popular movement" and who had been supported by a "massive religious propaganda"¹⁵. But even under the Abbasids, resistance against caliphal authority continued, as Shiites and 'Alīds opposed it as illegitimate. A major challenge, finally, was the 909 establishment of the Shiite-Isma'ili counter-caliphate in North Africa. Its Fatimid rulers intended to remove the Baghdad caliph, who, from an Isma'ili perspective, was illegitimate. They wanted to become themselves guardians of the sacred sites of Mecca and Medina and thus leaders of the faithful.

13 Ca. 30 years after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, his third successor, caliph Uṭmān, was murdered in his house by a man belonging to an armed delegation of disaffected, rebellious supplicants that consisted of six hundred men coming from each Basra, Kufa, and Egypt. They accused him of misappropriation of government funds and of nepotism. In retrospect, their leader's view took hold: caliph Uṭmān had been a law-breaker, guilty of the crime of preventing the succession of Ali to the Prophet, so that "only the removal of this tyrant [...] was able to restore the validity of Islamic law" (T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam. Geschichte der politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen der Muslime*, I, Zürich-München 1981, p. 108).

14 See e.g. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair's rebellion in Mecca, or the Shiite rebellion in Kufa against the caliph's governor in the year 685, or Said Ibn 'Alī's rebellion against the Umayyads in Kufa in 740. On the problem of resistance and rebellion in the early Islamic era, see A. Marsham, *Those Who Make War on God and His Messenger': Some Implications of Recent Scholarship on Rebellion, Banditry and State Formation in Early Islam*, "Al-'Usur al-Wusta. The Bulletin of the Middle East Medievalists" XVII (2005), 2, pp. 29-31; K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 72.

15 W. Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad. Legitimationsstrategien frühmittelalterlicher Herrscherdynastien im transkulturellen Vergleich*, Berlin 2009, p. 106.

II. ISLAMIC SCHOOLS OF LAW'S DISCOURSES ON RESISTANCE AND THE TREATMENT OF REBELS

The question "Is it allowed to fight the ruler?" calls for a normative answer; yet the historical facts also demanded an answer that went beyond the issues of the day, because the Islamic empire was rapidly growing beyond the Arabic core region and was difficult to rule and to govern. Overall, the caliphate was an unstable entity: It had large cities with the potential for mass unrest and mass movements; it was inhabited by conflicting Islamic religious orientations, religious movements of a non-Sunni orientation, and different variants of Shiism that harbored the potential for revolts instigated by fanatic and charismatic leaders; it was controlled inadequately the power of provincial administrators or governors with a tendency to usurpation; it included other religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism; the empire also encompassed various ethnicities within itself, and faced groups either pressing against it from the outside or infiltrating the military¹⁶. Effectively, the ruler faced opposition from all of these volatile religious, social, political and ethnic forces. And, if he was powerful enough, the ruler likewise responded by force of arms, with punishments, banishments or dispossessions. But, to return to our guiding question: Was it allowed to fight him? Who was to decide on this, and how was this to be done; who had the authority to evaluate this question?

Guidelines in the Qurʾān and the example of the Prophet and his successors defined the ruler's religious leadership profile. According to the later definition of the caliphate by the legal scholar al-Māwardī, it was the ruler's duty to preserve the divinely ordained order as well as to administer worldly affairs. Despite varying procedures (election or designation by predecessors) and with different justifications, he had to possess the legitimacy of a ruler who had rightfully come to power. This did not necessarily correspond with his quality as a just ruler. Already in Umayyad times, the first consolidation of the religious fundamentals of Islam, which came with the stabilization of the Prophet's statements in Hadiths and Sunna, had resulted in some expertise in these issues. Due to their knowledge, their methodical procedure, their rhetoric, and their corporative demeanor, religious and legal scholars had achieved a certain prerogative in interpretation that was independent of the ruler. Under their leadership, towards the end of the 8th century, the Qurʾān and the Sunna had become solidified as the decisive religious basis of Islamic order. For our topic, it is important to note that this order is effective

¹⁶ Cf. H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, London-New York 1997, pp. 200-202.

“independent of the respective existing power apparatus”¹⁷. Its trustees are “not the rulers but the scholars alone”¹⁸. They are experts with professional knowledge and the power of interpretation, but they lack in the ability to enforce. In contrast, the ruler has no jurisdiction over the directives and regulations of the Islamic community’s divinely ordained order, despite being the guarantor of its safety. For the Sunni community, such a splitting of competencies has profound consequences: The scholars have magisterial authority over the regulations bearing on the believers’ everyday communal life, while the Sunni ruler is put at a distance. His regimen is hardly able to influence that other dimension of Sunni existence. This results in a loss of connection with the population and, in the case of a powerful ruler, even in “despotism and violence”¹⁹ when he considers as inappropriate cooperation with the scholars and their rules. These tensions are defining for the problem of resistance and rebellion in Sunni Islam²⁰.

At a general level, we should underline the fundamental axiom that within an absolute and monarchical system, theoretical deliberations and practice-oriented regulations in the Islamic community developed into an intellectual culture of methodically formalized, religiously and academically grounded scholarly containment of violence and rebellion.

Until the middle of the 8th century, the boundary between rebels and criminals was indistinct; one reported rebellions but without any basic legal debates. Since the 9th century, the problem of fighting against the ruler was systematized, most importantly in the writings of al-Šāfi‘ī (d. 819/820), the founder of the Šāfi‘ī school of law, who collected the frequently quoted precedents and compiled the various legal opinions²¹.

The various schools’ legal scholars agreed on one thing: People have to show unfailing obedience to a legitimate and just ruler. There was, however, disagreement as to whether it was allowed or even required to fight the

17 T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, p. 304.

18 Ibidem, p. 305.

19 Ibidem, p. 181.

20 Evidence of the search for means of negotiation to actively influence the ruler and his use of power and violence through advice or education can be found in the substantial literature of the Islamic mirrors for princes. Whether the experts’ decisions and regulations had an indirect and long-term political impact on the ruler’s use of power and violence, will, however, not be discussed here.

21 See K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 147. For Šāfi‘ī, rebels were (groups of) persons who opposed a just ruler (*al-imam al-‘adil*), although Šāfi‘ī did not specify what he understood by just rule or whether he was thereby referring to a legitimate or a just ruler (ibidem, p. 148). The legal scholar was less concerned with the question of the legitimacy of the opposition against just or unjust rule but rather with a specification of the distinction between rebels and criminals, and thus with a classification of the rebels into a n o w n group.

ruler if he was unjust or gave unjust orders. Particularly Shiites and the Mu‘tazila movement²² emphasized the necessity of violent resistance against unjust rule; most Sunni, however, showed restraint. Yet, since the middle of the 10th century, a period in which the Abbasid caliphate was continually losing authority, the legal scholars’ positions from the several religious orientations converged. They all agreed on refusing to grant Muslims the right to participate in illegitimate rule²³. The problem of justifying the fight against an unjust ruler was, then, solved pragmatically and on a case-by-case basis. The result was a balancing of interests between the sacrifices incurred in the struggle and the attainable gains. Resistance against an unjust ruler was thus only legitimate if there existed a real chance of removing him and establishing a more just rule²⁴. Discussing the crucial question of how to ultimately deal with an unjust ruler, the legal historian Khaled Abou El Fadl claims that those past Islamic scholars would have answered with a complex but clear: “It depends”²⁵. Both the Sunni as well as the Shiite legal discourse ultimately was less about issues of just or unjust rule but rather about how the ruler should deal with rebels²⁶. Given their great complexity, two different positions that still have an impact today need to be broadly delineated: First, we shall discuss Shiite positions, especially the Ismaili’s handling of resistance and rebellion²⁷. For the Sunni, we shall consider al-Māwardī and Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan Iṣfahānī as two representatives of the Ṣāfi‘ī school of law, and Ibn Taimīyya as a representative of the Hanbali school.

22 On the Mu‘tazila school and its teachings see: *A Common Rationality. Mu‘tazilism in Islam and Judaism*, eds. D.E. Sklare, C. Adang, D. Schmidtke, Würzburg 2007; J. Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*, Berlin-New York 1997.

23 A frequently quoted example was the story that a military commander had ordered some of his troops to jump into a fire. The troops refused to obey the command. When the Prophet heard of this incident, he told the troops that they had done the right thing, because had they obeyed the order God would have punished them with the fire of hell.

24 K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion*, in: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur‘ān*, IV, ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe et al., Leiden 2004, p. 365.

25 K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 331.

26 K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion*, in: *Encyclopaedia...*, p. 365.

27 The main source for this position is the law and ritual book of the Shiite Ismaili legal scholar Qādī al-Nu‘mān from the middle of the 10th century, which was to become a cornerstone of Ismaili legal conceptions for centuries and is still considered valid by the Ismailis until the present (see Qādī al-Nu‘mān, *Abū Muḥammad: Da‘āim al-islām wa dhikr al-ḥalāl wa’l ḥarām wa’l qadāya wa’l aḥkām*, I-II, Cairo 1951-1960).

III. SUBJECTS THAT HELD LONG-LASTING RESERVATIONS AGAINST ILLEGITIMATE RULE: SHIITE POSITIONS

The “Shiite religious tradition provides numerous patterns and models of suffering, insurrection and sacrifice”, which, in various historical constellations, could be exploited for “social protest, political resistance”, and even revolutions, and still are so exploited today²⁸. From the killing of Husayn, the son of ‘Alī, in the Battle of Kerbala to the period around 1500, Shiites were constantly in more or less active opposition to the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, whom they considered to be illegitimate. Since the middle of the 9th century, however, they generally became less inclined to rebel. After the twelfth imam descended from ‘Alī’s disappeared into the Occultation in 873, and the line of succession of the imams came to an end, legal scholars took over the interpretation and application of the rules provided by the Qur’ān and the Sunna dealing with the Islamic community’s social life and with how to behave *vis-à-vis* the established authority – until the return of the Mahdī in the far future at the end of times. Having confident faith that the Last Days would ultimately come, they ceased their direct resistance against unjust rule²⁹. Over the long term, they further developed this interim position into an attitude of behavior also that conditioned attitude and behavior towards the Seljuk and Mongol invaders (in the 11th and the 13th century), respectively. Finally, in the 16th century, in Muslim Iran, the positions of the Twelver Shia and the Shiite scholars were incorporated in the governance of the new Safavid dynasty.

The question “Is it allowed to fight against the ruler?” obviously needs to be answered differently from either the perspective of the initial, pre-9th century opposition to the Sunni Caliphate or of the interim position of quiescence initiated with the Occultation. Even though the different Shiite beliefs had divergent views on individual aspects, we can arrive at a general conclusion valid for the *longue durée*. On the one hand, the Shiite discussion of resistance took place within the framework of a generalized political powerlessness and submission to contemporary Sunni rule, which the Shiites considered to be illegitimate. On the other hand, this discussion was crucial for the constant expectation of the appearance of a rightly guided Shiite imam who would reveal himself at the end of times as a just world-ruler and eliminate all illegitimate governance.

These two political and theological specificities of the Shia formed the starting point for any discussion of resistance and the treatment of rebels,

28 H. Halm, *Die Schiiten*, München 2005, p. 121.

29 Cf. G. Endreß, *Der Islam. Eine Einführung in seine Geschichte*, München 1997, pp. 54f.

which was unambiguously different from its Sunni counterparts. While like the latter Shiite scholars argued with recourse to the past, referring to the normative examples of ‘Alī and the early period of Islam, their deliberations on obedience to the imam, however, were basically hypothetical and future-oriented³⁰. From the perspective of the theology of authority, resistance becomes an intrinsic problem only if the Muslims are ruled by a Shiite imam-caliph; in the interim, they live under illegitimate rule anyway. Strictly speaking, the issue thus differentiated itself: a) with regard to the not presently existing yet expected future Shiite rule, and b) with regard to the present Sunni rule. Otherwise put, for the Shiites, the question bifurcated. On the one hand, it was future-oriented: “Will it allowed to fight against the infallible imam-caliph once he has appeared?” On the other hand it was a presentist one: “How should rebels be treated by Sunni rulers before the appearance of the Mahdī?”.

The Shiite positions illustrate particularly well the difference between the struggles against the ruler conducted respectively by usurpers and by rebels. The overthrow of the Sunni caliphates was the Shia’s stated long-term aim, also in phases in which they were politically powerlessness. Especially the Shiite Ismailia did not want any arrangements with contemporary powers, but insisted on their overthrow. According to the seven pillars of their belief, Ismailis were committed to this fight³¹.

In spite of the Ismailis and the Twelver Shiites’ diverging opinions on this issue, Shiite scholars of various beliefs largely agreed on the question of rebellion. As said, in the first three centuries of Islam, they had initially responded much more aggressively to the question of how to deal with an unjust ruler. Later, however, they ultimately aligned themselves in the main with Sunni positions: Even though, for them, the ruling caliph belonged to the wrong faith, they obeyed him to and had to support him in the implementation of the sharia. When it came to insurgents, however, who could claim to act for good reasons or owing to differences in belief, the possibility existed to treat them as rebels. With his lenient treatment of insurgents, according to their belief ‘Alī had already acted with foresight; he had suspected that his followers, the future Shiites, would be in the role of the long-term opposition; he had therefore provided a model for the treatment of rebels in order to achieve a more favorable treatment of his own followers in the future. Already here, the future-oriented dimension of the Shiite style of argumentation finds its first expression.

30 Cf. K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 296.

31 Qādī al-Nu‘mān, *Abū Muḥammad...* (*Kitāb al-ḡihād*); T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, p. 230.

In the case of caliphal rule by a real Shiite, however, the argument on rebellion was a very different one. New rules applied: Not only were Shiite caliphs to be unconditionally obeyed, but, in the legal scholars' view, there were also no reasons or justifications for rebellions. In contrast to the Sunni teachings, no rebel status could be granted. The case of the Ismailis can be used to see what happens when Shiite rule comes to be actualized in the present: Here the argument lost its future dimension. This coming-into-the-present took place with the appearance of the Ismaili Mahdī in the year 909, which led to the establishment of a Fatimid Shiite-Ismaili caliphate that lasted over two hundred years. From an Ismaili perspective, the now governing imam-caliph was infallible and sacred and, moreover, was considered to be the sole source of justice next to the Qur'ān and the Sunna. He embodied "the divine will on earth"³².

The obedience that he, as true imam, could demand, "is therefore also more than mere compliance in specific instances. It is submission"³³. In his seminal legal and ritual book *The Pillars of Islam (Da'aim al-Islām)* from around the year 950, the important Ismaili scholar and superior judge Qādī al-Nu'mān was therefore not concerned with restricting the use of violence by the imam-caliphs through rules for the treatment of rebels³⁴. To the contrary: Because the imam is infallible, he can even disregard the examples of 'Alī; they are merely useful as guidelines for the Sunni treatment of Shiites but not as a model for clemency towards rebels against the imam-caliph.

IV. AL-MĀWARDĪ'S "RULES OF POWER" ON USURPATION AND RESISTANCE IN A TIME OF CRISIS FOR THE ABBASID CALIPHATE

The Abbasid caliphate also owed its existence to a revolution. When the legal scholar and diplomat al-Māwardī wrote his *Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*³⁵, the caliphate was in dangerous crisis; usurpations and rebellions against the politically powerless Abbasid caliph were the order of the day³⁶. *Aḥkām*

32 T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, p. 248.

33 Ibidem, p. 239.

34 K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 229.

35 Al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb: Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya wa al-Wilāyāt al-Dīniyya*, ed. H.A. al-Alami, Beirut 1990. In other works, al-Māwardī also comments on the question of rebellion, see in particular the *Kitāb Qitāl Ahl al-Bağī min Ḥawā al-Kabīr*, ed. I. Ibn Alī Sandaḡī, Cairo 1987.

36 The Shiite Buyid emirs had occupied Iraq for already a hundred years (since 945) and had progressively contested the caliph's supremacy in political practice as well as in symbolic forms of representation. In 909, the Fatimids proclaimed a Shiite-Ismaili counter-caliphate; in 1055, the Seljuk sultan Toril Bek seized power in Baghdad and let himself be installed by the caliph as "sultan of the west and the east".

al-sulṭāniyya is considered to be the first Sunni theory of the caliphate that had a comprehensive and long-term impact. In the context of the Buyid and later Seljuk pressure on the caliphate, the work insisted on the obedience to the ruler demanded by the Qurʾān. All subjects owed loyalty to the caliph who was legitimately elected or appointed by his predecessor³⁷; they had to comply with his commands³⁸. From the moment that the caliph assumed government affairs, he was to be obeyed “without any violence or opposition”³⁹.

In the face of very real challenges, al-Māwardī does not focus on the legitimization of the fight against the ruler but on other questions⁴⁰: Is the ruler allowed to fight against rebels? What are the conditions under which he can do so and what are the regulations for doing so? The emphasis is therefore on the ruler’s legitimization for his fight against rebels and not on the justification of a right to fight the ruler. This aimed at stabilizing authority in order to uphold the divine order and to protect the Islamic community. The greatest attention is thus paid to the rebels.

The Abbasid caliph was faced with two different lines of opposition against him: He had to fight against usurpers as well as rebels. Al-Māwardī chose two fundamentally different legal strategies for coping with these two forms. Each is dealt with in separate chapters: The fight against usurpers is included in a chapter dealing with the appointment of emirs⁴¹, that is within the context of the appointment to offices; and the fight against rebels in a chapter sequence on apostates, rebels and criminals⁴², that is within the context of the means of fight and punishment.

According to the religious tradition and the precedents of the first caliphs, rebels require a special treatment by the ruler. This resulted in the

37 Al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī...*, p. 33.

38 Ibidem, p. 35.

39 Ibidem, p. 50.

40 For al-Māwardī, a ruler’s justice or injustice is not directly relevant for the question of whether a ruler can be fought or not. Yet, he concedes that a ruler’s justness facilitates his subjects’ obedience. As repeatedly discussed in Islamic mirrors of princes, he emphasizes, however, that justice protects rule from attempts at usurpation: Violence by the ruler would lead to injustice on the part of the ruled. Yet, just rulers can demand utmost obedience, as every ruler is guardian and guarantor of the divine order. Even a corrupt ruler is better than anarchy. If the ruler is, however, not able to protect the community from innovation, disobedience, insubordination and treason, the Islamic community is threatened by fragmentation and disintegration (T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, pp. 382f). Whether or how resistance against unjust or illegitimate rule could be legitimized in such a case is inconsistently answered even by Šāfiʿī legal scholars. Already the founder of this legal school, al-Šāfiʿī, did not make a clear statement as to the difference between a ruler’s justice and injustice. Even though a just ruler could demand absolute obedience, al-Šāfiʿī (like al-Māwardī) does not explain the precise difference between a just and an unjust ruler.

41 Al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī...*, pp. 77f.

42 Ibidem, pp. 118-124.

development of sometimes very concrete rules for the use of sovereign power and violence against insurgents and potential fighters. This does not evade the question of resistance but shifts it to the regulations that govern the ruler's dealings with the status of the rebels. In comparison to criminals and apostates, rebels have a special legal status with regard to the means of the ruler's fight against them⁴³. Legal scholars therefore attach great importance to their definition⁴⁴.

Following al-Šāfi'ī al-Māwardī initially differentiates between apostates, criminals and rebels. While apostates need to be fought and killed, criminals need to be severely and physically punished by the ruler. Rebels, however, are distinguished from both groups. They are not automatically executed or tortured, and their property cannot simply be confiscated⁴⁵. This differentiation is not new but more precise than had been previously customary. It goes back to al-Šāfi'ī and other early legal scholars. The significant aspect is al-Māwardī's inclusion of the special treatment of rebels into the theory of the caliphate. In his chapter on rebels, he explains with reference to the Qur'ānic verse 49,9 and to the examples of 'Alī, that insurgents cannot just be some individuals; they need to be a powerful movement involving masses. The rebels also need to occupy a territory spatially apart from the rest of the population. Finally, they also need to have a plausible reason for the revocation of their duty to obey, a reason which needs to be based on an interpretation or innovation that is different from the official one. The fulfillment and examination of these conditions not only determined the recognition of rebel status but also the ruler's license to begin the fight⁴⁶. Before the start of the combat, the caliph had to follow the example of 'Alī and reflect on the rebels' alternative opinions, had to explain their mistakes and errors to them, and had to ask for their repentance⁴⁷. According to al-Māwardī, the use of violence against Muslim insurgents is explicitly only a measure of last resort. Only if the rebels themselves commit violent acts, as 'Alī experienced in the case of the Kharijites, must they be fought with the use of violence, especially if they not only refuse the proper obedience but also to pay their taxes, or if they collect money themselves.

43 See on this also J.L. Kraemer, *Apostates, Rebels and Brigands*, "Israel Oriental Studies" X (1980), pp. 34-73.

44 They are, to quote the legal book *Muslim Conduct of State Based upon the Sulūk al-Mulūk of Fadl-Ullah bin Ruzbihan Isfahani* by Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahānis from ca. 1500, the ones who left obedience against a just ruler far behind themselves, who opposed him, who revoked their duty to obey and who revolted against his authority.

45 Al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan 'Alī...*, p. 121.

46 For various opinions on this issue, see Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni, *Muslim Conduct...*

47 Al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan 'Alī...*, p. 120.

After having resolved the problem of the legitimacy of the fight from the ruler's perspective, al-Māwardī turns to his treatment of the rebels he is fighting against. This treatment has to follow the law, that is it has to follow the relevant rules of conduct and modalities legally derived from tradition. In his fight against rebels, the caliph has to adhere to eight rules. In order to provide insight into the detailed nature of these provisions, they will be briefly described in the following⁴⁸. Contrary to apostates, rebels are, first, not to be killed; second, they are not to be pursued if they are retreating. Third, wounded rebels and, fourth, their prisoners, are not to be killed. As opposed to non-Muslims and renegades, it is, fifth, not allowed to confiscate their property and to enslave their wives and children. Sixth, it is prohibited to accept the help of non-Muslims in the fight against rebels; and seventh, one must not buy peace treaties with rebels with money. Eighth, the houses of rebels are not to be burned, and their date trees are not to be cut down, except for self-defense. Weapons such as catapults are also not to be used against them because they still are considered Muslims even though they have rebelled against Muslim rule.

Still according to al-Māwardī the ruler's fight against usurpers is based on different preconditions⁴⁹. That he felt the need to include them in his treatise and assign them a place "in the divine order of offices" is indicative of the threat they posed to the caliphate and the Islamic community. A chronicle from the 12th century notes for the year 936: "Thus the world has today fallen into the hands of the usurpers"⁵⁰. This sentence could have applied to al-Māwardī's time. He proposes the integration of usurpers into the caliphate in order to defuse their dangerously explosive power. The caliph should effect this in an act of retroactive investiture, which installs the usurper and thereby subjects him to the regulations of the sharia. This retrospective appointment is necessary in order to protect the ruler's prerogatives and the Islamic community's interests. These include the principles of the sharia, the acknowledgment of the caliph as the Prophet's successor and leader of the believers, obedience to the caliph instead of unlawful rebellion, and the assurance of Muslim solidarity against enemies. This also involves validating, that is, making lawful, the usurper's appointment to offices as well as his legal pronouncements, his ordinances, and so on. If these requirements are met, the former usurper, in accordance with the divinely ordained order, has acquired the legitimacy to hold the office granted to him retroactively

48 Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 121f.

49 *Ibidem*, pp. 77f.

50 *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wal-ḥadāʾiq fī Akhbār al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, IV (256/870-350/961), ed. ʿU. Saidi, Damascus 1972, p. 298; see also T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, IV, p. 470.

by the caliph. However, as al-Māwardī explains, the “emirate of usurpation” necessarily aims at attaining power; the caliph only recognizes the usurper as head of the administration or of government, after he has already taken violent possession of a country or a territory⁵¹. Retroactive authorization makes the usurper the sole head of the administration and the political leadership, while the caliph, with the consent of the former usurper, “enforces the requirements of the divine order so that this order may be transformed from depravity to rightness and from the forbidden to the permitted”⁵². The preeminence of the caliph is thus recognized. The religiously established exceptionality of his rule in the genealogical succession of the Prophet cannot be contested by any usurper, no matter how powerful. On the contrary, his incommensurability highlights the lack of legitimacy of usurper-rulers; it can only be remedied by an authorization of their rule by the caliph. Only the caliph can transform “depravity into rightness” and “the forbidden into the permitted”. Already at the time of its writing, Al-Māwardī’s theory of retroactive legitimization⁵³ was increasingly practiced, as a necessary act enabling the integration of dangerous rulers into the caliphate’s order of delegation. By this means, the caliphate’s supremacy remained guaranteed⁵⁴. Even though, effectively, power was already in the hands of the appointee, he nevertheless inserted himself into the framework of the caliph’s universal rule and thereby affirmed its uninterrupted validity.

V. POST-ABBASID DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1258, WITH AN EXAMINATION OF AN EXAMPLE FROM AROUND 1500

In Muslim history, the 12th and 13th centuries were not simply yet another sustained period of crisis: According to the historian al-Aḫīr (d. 1232), it was

51 T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, p. 367; al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī...*, p. 77.

52 T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, p. 369; al-Māwardī, *Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī...*, p. 78.

53 An example is the case of the Shiite Buyid ruler Adud ad-Daula, who was established in office by the Abbasid caliph al-Ta’i’. On the religious and political significance of this investiture and its ceremonial procedure, see J. Oesterle, *Eine Investitur durch den Kalifen von Bagdad nach Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi’s Zeremonienbuch. Zur Rolle von Religion, Ehre und Rangordnungen in der Herrschaftsrepräsentation*, in: *Investitur- und Krönungsrituale. Herrschaftseinsetzungen im kulturellen Vergleich*, eds. M. Steinicke, S. Weinfurter, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2005, pp. 305-320.

54 “With his doctrine of the emirate of usurpation and its retroactive legitimation”, al-Māwardī reinterpreted the violently “usurped plenitude of power [...] as a power to rule belonging to the framework of the divinely ordained order” of the caliphate and thus legitimized in theory the practice that in practice had already been forced upon the caliph (T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, I, p. 367).

a succession of “disasters” that “no community of nations before them” had had to face⁵⁵. Crusaders, Mongols and civil wars posed a threat to the Islamic community and brought it to the brink of collapse. “The whole 7th/13th century was a time of horror for the Islamic world”⁵⁶. Already in 1074, the Cairo Fatimid caliphate, which had aspired towards universal rule since its proclamation, had begun to crumble; in 1171, it was abolished with Saladin’s proclamation of the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt, who in 1175 received the sultanate of Palestine, Syria and Egypt from the Sunni caliph. In 1258, the Abbasid caliphate itself ultimately succumbed to the Mongol onslaught, and the caliph was killed.

The fundamental disruption of the Islamic world owed to the collapse of the Baghdad caliphate also affected the legal discourse on rebels and resistance. It needed to be re-connected to the new situation and the period’s upheavals. The caliphate’s destruction had rendered invalid not only the unity and universality of Islamic rule but also the institutional framework that had enabled al-Māwardī to construct the retroactive legitimization of usurpers. In the long term, the sultanate became the dominant form of rule; it, however, remained restricted to specific regions. Yet, how did law assess rule by military conquerors? Was it legitimate? Under the new type of rulers, who needed to be accepted for other reasons, was it possible to maintain the established relationship between scholars and rulers, along with the latter’s acceptance of the jurists’ sovereignty over interpretational and rules? Could, in particular, the overthrow of the caliphate by the Mongols be legally justified? Were these foreign rulers who had only recently converted to Islam to be considered usurpers in conformity with the positions of the schools of law, or were they rather to be categorized as criminals, as some legal scholars argued? The Hanbalite legal scholar Ibn Mufliḥ (1361), for instance, took the view that the Mongols’ cruel form of warfare and their massacres proved them to be bandits and criminals; for this reason, they were not entitled to the special treatment normatively afforded to rebels when they fled from the battlefield, were wounded, or were captured⁵⁷.

The caliphate may have ended, but for the scholars, it far from meant the end. On the contrary: After the demise of universal, supra-local rule and the disappearance of a leader in charge of all Muslims, the scholars remained the sole authority able to speak for the whole Islamic community and thus

55 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tarīḥ*, XII, ed. C.J. Tornberg, Leiden 1853, repr. Beirut 1966, p. 358; T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam. Geschichte der politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen der Muslime*, II, Zürich-München 1981, p. 109.

56 T. Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft...*, II, p. 110.

57 Cf. Ibn Mufliḥ, *Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī al-šāliḥī: Kitāb al-Furūʿ*, VI, Beirut 1985, p. 162f; see also K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 249.

transcend the Islamic world's regionalization into individual territories. Due to their authority over interpretation and their independence, the scholars were able to maintain Islamic life's universal cohesion, while the new military rulers, the sultans, remained regionally restricted to their specific areas of power. Yet, even prior to the catastrophe brought on by the Mongols it had become apparent that the sultans' position of power based on military would become the norm. With the loss of the caliphate as a framework it was no longer important whether a ruler had acceded to power legitimately; what mattered was whether his power was able to guarantee stable and orderly conditions. The scholars also increasingly stressed this importance of stable rule, and therefore demanded strict obedience. This resulted in an intensified restrictive position towards rebels and resistance on the part of the various legal schools; these, after the 11th century, had overcome their differences as to the treatment of resistance, obedience and rebels anyway. Strict obedience to the ruler was considered to be pragmatic and expedient even among the Shiites, in whose understanding submission was only to be provisional.

Still, after the end of the caliphate, the scholarly legal opinion on rebellion and rebels remained in the following centuries characterized by great complexity and sophistication. Some jurists argued in support of the ruler without any reservations but retained the regulations on the treatment of rebels in their received form; others emphasized obedience toward the ruler, but at the same time broadened the legal grounds for the justification of rebellion. Some legal scholars chose to argue for neither the rulers nor the rebels; still others expressly supported rebellions against unjust rule⁵⁸. The legal historian Khaled Abu El Fadl has distinguished two directions with respect to the development in the late Middle Ages and Early Modernity: a traditionalist tendency which did not change the fundamental legal positions, and a revisionist one which revised substantial parts of the discourse⁵⁹. The following will present a representative for each tendency, the revisionist and the traditionalist; both were Sunni scholars.

The jurist Ibn Taimiyya belonged to the Hanbalite legal school; contemporary scholars regard him as either a revisionist⁶⁰ or a traditionalist orthodox⁶¹. He did not spend his life in the middle of the 14th century (1327-1381) in scholarly isolation, but was himself actively involved in the struggles against Mongols and Ismailis. Thus his work is greatly influenced on the one hand by the external threat that the Mongols represented, and on the other hand by the inner conflicts that imperiled Islam's unity. His legacy

58 Cf. K. Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence...*, p. 237.

59 Ibidem, pp. 237-239.

60 Ibidem, p. 271.

61 G. Endreß, *Der Islam...*, p. 219.

is comparable in magnitude with al-Māwardī's; it was greatly influence in the late Middle Ages and early modern era, and is still important today⁶². Especially his new theory legitimizing rulership after the demise of its justification through the caliphate was to be decisive. It stated that it is no longer important how the ruler comes to power but whether he rules according to the Qur'ān and the Sunna. According to Ibn Taimiyya, the ruler is subject to the laws of the divinely ordained Islamic order, but he is not their personification. He has to ensure the maintenance of this order. If a sultan fulfills this duty, then his rule is legitimate. It is justified by a *de facto* exercise of power that conforms to the Islamic order. Ultimately, then, it does not require a legitimating caliph anymore. Those who do not follow Islamic rules, however, need to be punished: Those who fight the rules as rebels have to face holy war until they abandon their resistance. Ibn Taimiyya is a sharp critic of rebellions, and decidedly a supporter of stability and order. Yet all the same he does not endorse blind obedience⁶³: According to him, unjust rulers need to be primarily treated with patience, while sinful orders should not be obeyed⁶⁴. Most importantly, violent conflicts between Muslims should be generally avoided; they are even prohibited.

With the Shafi legal scholar Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni, the perspective shifts geographically from the Near East to Central Asia, and historically to the middle of the Muslim millennium. Around 1500, at the time that he wrote his *Sulūk al-mulūk*⁶⁵ at the court of the Siberian Mongol khan Ubaid Allah in Bukhara, the Sunni Ottoman sultanate in the west and the Sunni Uzbek kingdom in Central Asia were engaged in a bitter conflict in the Mesopotamian-Iranian area with the Shiite Safavid dynasty⁶⁶. The intensification of the inner-Islamic conflict between Shia and Sunna led to a renewed need for a scholarly clarification of questions bearing on the *ḡihād* and on the status and the treatment of rebels⁶⁷.

Thanks to his visits to several courts, including the Mamluk court of the Cairene sultan Qayt Bay, the courts of Tabriz, Khurasan, and finally Bukhara,

62 H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī-d-Dīn Ahmad b. Taimīya*, Le Caire 1939; G. Makdisi, *Ibn Taimīya. A Sufi of the Qadiriya Order*, "American Journal of Arabic Studies" I (1973), pp. 118-129; idem, *The Hanbali School and Sufism*, "Humaniora Islamica" II (1974), pp. 61-72.

63 Ibn Taimiyya, *Maḡmū' al-Fatāwā*, ed. M. Ibn 'Abd al-Raḡmān ibn Qāsim, IV, Riad n.y., p. 442f.

64 Ibidem.

65 Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni, *Muslim Conduct...*, pp. 444-451.

66 Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni wrote an anti-Shiite treatise in this context.

67 Cf. A.K.S. Lambton, *Changing Concepts of Authority in the Late 9th/15th Century and Early 10th/16th Centuries*, in: *Islam and Power*, eds. A.S. Cudsi, A.E. Hilal Dessouki, London 1981, pp. 49-71, esp. p. 50.

Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni had manifold empirical insight into the problems of rulership in the post-Abbasid period. His law book *Sulūk al-mulūk*, which shares traits with mirrors of princes, is in the tradition of the caliphate theory of al-Māwardī. Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni transfers al-Māwardī's system of office-delegation to the actual ruler in place, be he imam or sultan. He does this with the view to safeguard the legality of the offices through the ruler who stands at the top of the hierarchy. In contrast with al-Māwardī, and typically for the post-Abbasid, late medieval problem faced by rulership, the usurper – whose authority in al-Māwardī could be legitimized retroactively by the caliph – is now himself at the top as sultan. The subjects have the duty to be obedient to him whether his rule is just or unjust, unless it contradicts the sharia⁶⁸. The ruler's duty, however, consists in the protection of the sharia; if he fails in this performance, he becomes a sinner⁶⁹. Significantly, despite the fundamental change in form of rule from caliphate to sultanate, with Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni the balance in authority between ruler and scholars remains the same; the latter's authority and competence of interpretation was still unchallenged.

Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan al-Iṣfahāni's law book *Sulūk al-mulūk* includes not only chapters on religious law, rituals of Islam and on the *ḡihād*, but also a separate chapter on rebels. Despite the fundamental transformations in the system of rulership, this chapter proves the continuing importance, and demonstrates the diversification of legal positions concerning the definition of rebels and their treatment circa 1500, on the threshold from the end of the late Middle Ages to the beginning of the early modern era. It is subdivided into two discussions defining the status of rebels and the treatment of rebels by the ruler. For both issues, the author discusses the positions of the Hanafi and the Shafi schools of law. Fadl Ullāh himself needs to be counted among the latter; his interpretations of Shafi provisions and rules are correspondingly lengthy.

It starts with a definition of the rebel, following to the literal meaning of *baḡī*, as one who transgresses boundaries. Rebellion is defined in the religious sense as the subjects' revolt against the authority of the imam of the peace-loving Muslims and as the violation of the rules he has set. There follows a report of Hanafi legal doctrines; it deals with several issues related to: the beginning of battle, the ruler's treatment before battle of rebels ready to fight, the leaderless loyal subjects who remain at home and pray during battle, the duty to support the rightful ruler. Furthermore, it discusses the treatment of: wounded rebels (who are not to be killed), fugitive rebels (not

68 Cf. A.K.S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam...*, p. 181.

69 Cf. A.K.S. Lambton, *Changing Concepts...*, p. 58.

to be pursued), child rebels (not to be taken captive), and rebel property (not to be distributed). It also approaches how one should deal with taxes levied by rebels, with murderers, with rebels' property and inheritance; and finally it deals with the use, purchase, and sale of weapons. In this first section, the clarification of the status of rebels and the rules for their treatment merge with each other; so that the second section, on the treatment of rebels only mentions, and this briefly, two different legal Hanafi conceptions on the beginning of armed conflict with rebels. The first opinion states that the battle should not be started before the rebels do so, while the second permits the fight even before the rebels have assembled an army to revolt against the imam.

The next part is an explanation of Shafi legal concepts. A more systematic approach is taken as to the conditions for identifying rebel status. Primarily, it needs to be examined according to two preconditions: First, divergent interpretations might be a reason for the rebellion. Rebel status cannot be granted if a group, on the basis of its interpretation, persuades others to refuse obedience to the ruler, obstructs the infliction of legal punishments, and prevents compliance with the laws and the payment of taxes.

It is particularly important to find out whether the divergent interpretation has been arrived at due to doubts. This touches upon the issue of the status of apostates and sects like the Kharijites. The latter can be tolerated as long as they do not oppose the ruler's authority; if they do, they need to be punished. Apostates, however, are rebels against whom one is duty-bound to fight. If they are powerful and strong, they are to be regarded as infidels, but there are six exceptions *vis-à-vis* the rules bearing normally on infidels: They are not to be granted a peace treaty; their lives cannot be redeemed; they are not to be enslaved; their children and women are not to be taken captive; they are not to be buried in a graveyard of infidels or Muslims; and their property is not to be regarded as booty.

Second, a group's divergent interpretation can result in the application of the rebel status if these people make up a numerous and strong group of subjects which is difficult for the ruler to conquer; or if they occupy a fortress at a major route and have conquered the surrounding area; or if they have left their community and fight against the majority. As a general rule, rebels need to have a leader. Independent of what sort of rebels they may be, however, they are always sinners.

According to the Shafi understanding, the fight against rebels is equivalent to the fight against Arab tribes. This means that the fight cannot just be started without further ado. Before the commencement of combat, individual negotiation steps need to be abided with. In this context of communication and clarification, the issue of oppression by the ruler as a reason for the rebellion also needs to be addressed. Thus the ruler needs to send an able and trustworthy representative to the rebels who is to enquire about the

reasons for their insurgency. Should it emerge that the reason for the revolt is oppression, it needs to be immediately removed. In the next step, the rebels need to be persuaded to abandon their revolt. If they do not comply, war must be declared against them. If they ask for delay, the ruler is to consult with his advisers and do what they consider to be appropriate. It is not allowed to kill the rebels immediately after the start of combat. Next are rules on the treatment of women, children and property as well as on the use of arms and on banned weapons such as firearms, bullets and stones. Further rules address support by non-Muslims, be it on the loyalist side or the rebel side. In the second case, the dissenters lose their status as dhimmi if they are aware that the rebels are in the wrong; if they consider the rebels' actions to be justified, however, they keep their dhimmi status but are treated like rebels. Subsequent regulations address the ruler's behavior in cases in which rebel groups fight against one another. The end of the chapter states the duty incumbent on every loyal subject to fight against rebels, adding individual regulations for the case of a rebel who is killed after the conclusion of the peace agreement.

VI. ON THE PROBLEM OF AN INNER-ISLAMIC "CULTURE OF VIOLENCE"

The detailed discussion of Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan's work intended to give a backward-looking example for the great sophistication and diversity of the Islamic legal opinions, schools, and developments dealing with resistance. It served as a preliminary to what we shall attempt now (even though simplifying greatly, proceeding through examples, and only referring to the Shafi position): To connect the discussion of resistance with the question of violence that Islamic scholars have explored until the late Middle Ages.

Despite different historical contexts and a temporal gap of circa five hundred years, there are continuities in the nuanced and changing scholarly discussions concerning rebels, their status, resistance and the legally appropriate behavior of the ruler. This is true in general; this is as well true in particular of the caliphate theory of al-Māwardī and the law book of Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan Iṣfahāni: Both Shafi scholars deny the right to resistance, just like the Hanbalite jurist Ibn Taimiyya. After the demise of the caliphate too, obedience to the ruler remained the basis of, and precondition for orderly and stable conditions of rule. Indeed, the demand for obedience became stricter during that time, and was also accepted by the Shiites. As one reason for justified resistance, Fadl Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihan names oppression. By discussing in detail the question of the treatment of rebels, however, the scholars take into account the historic fact of the use of violence both within the Islamic community and between ruler and subjects. At least among the

Šafi‘ī, the ruler’s treatment of rebels aims at the minimization of the level of violence. Sophisticated regulations serve this purpose; they include conditions for the employment of violence as well as limits on brute and open violence against other Muslims. They even demand communication between rebels and the ruler concerning the sedition’s reasons, and thus also on possible justifications for it.

One should also note that the experts determined the legitimacy of the ruler’s fight against rebels. This was evidently necessary, as the Prophet’s and his successors’ first reaction to challenges against the ruler’s authority had already not included violent combat. According to these examples, the ruler did not have the privilege of first strike⁷⁰, to the contrary. The legal regulations aim at the deferral and, if possible the avoidance of, or at least the reduction in the use of violence⁷¹. By providing guidelines for legitimate action they attempted to regulate the ruler’s use of violence. They set legal limits to the exercise of immediate tyrannical and violent power. Even though the “lawmakers” – the legal scholars – did not have the power to enforce these limits, the regulations theoretically restricting violence were able to contribute to this limitation, since as the other side – the rebels without right of resistance – could also accept these regulations and – theoretically – rely on them. To this extent their reintegration into the Muslim community was still possible. For both sides, loyalists as well as rebels, these regulations reflect on, and put into legal rules not only the circumstances and conditions at the onset of the violent conflict but also the possibilities to quit, end and pacify the conflict during each individual phase of the hostilities. The rules accordingly mandate that rebels, as distinguished from criminals, can claim impunity, the restitution of their property after the conflict’s end, and the assurance that they shall not be retroactively held responsible for any damage and destruction perpetrated during the fighting. These rules aim at compromise, restitution, damage control, and the protection from crime, and thus at the long-term establishment of peace within the Muslim community. Implicitly, the community’s harmony appears to be a greater good than reconciliation with the ruler or his peace with the rebels. This includes the provision that rebels killed in action are to be granted the normal ritual ablutions and prayers. In all phases of the conflict, the rebels’ reintegration into the Muslim community is thus generally made possible.

⁷⁰ Fadh al-Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihān al-İṣfahānī reports the opposite position of a Hanafī scholar: It is allowed to begin fighting rebels even before they assemble an army and gather for their fight against the ruler (Cf. Fadh al-Ullāh Ibn Rūzbihān al-İṣfahānī, *Muslim Conduct...*, p. 449).

⁷¹ As a Šafi‘ī jurist, the scholar is in the tradition of a legal school which was particularly supportive of the ruler’s violence-tempering position towards Muslim opponents.

VII. PERSPECTIVES FOR A CHRISTIAN-ISLAMIC COMPARISON

In his postdoctoral thesis *The Carolingians and the Abbasids of Baghdad*⁷², published in 2009, Wolfram Drews engaged in a transcultural comparison bearing on the legitimization strategies of two ruling dynasties that both came to power through usurpation in the middle of the 8th century. His thesis, which has garnered high regard both for its methodology and content, aims at uncovering “the specifics of the cultural preconditions and circumstances that framed the two changes in dynasty”⁷³. The starting point for his juxtaposition are two comparable historical constellations (that is change in rule due to usurpation), which are connected because of synchronicity but not because of potential processes of cultural transfer and exchange⁷⁴. As opposed to the events of the “double usurpation”⁷⁵ that Drew focused on, the question posed here – is it allowed to fight the ruler? – does not draw directly from a specific historical constellation. It is conceived more openly, which enables a broadening of the temporal range to include comparable but non-synchronous contexts during which the issue of resistance was particularly pronounced or conceptually sophisticated.

For the Latin-Christian context, Johannes Spörl has shown that to meet pressing historical crises and challenges, the debates as to whether violence against rulership was justified became particularly intense⁷⁶. The same took place with the caliphates, as was shown in these pages through the example of al-Māwardī. In particular the early fragmentation of the religious community, which already in the 1st century after Muḥammad resulted in a schism, became decisive for the development of the intellectual debates on inner-Islamic violence and resistance; this moment remained a point of reference in the following centuries. There are, maybe besides the Donatist schism, no comparable examples from Christianity’s early period, during which Christians might have revolted against Christian rule and which might have been addressed in the Latin Middle Ages. Yet, examples of

72 W. Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden...*

73 Ibidem, p. 437.

74 The question of the legitimacy of the opposition against rulers and the legitimacy of violence perpetrated by the ruler might be discussed with reference to intercultural contacts and cultural transfers. Issues would be, for example, how the right to or the duty of resistance against rulers was negotiated in intercultural contact, and whether rebellions against rulers belonging to another religion were legitimized differently.

75 W. Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden...*, p. 438.

76 To name three such moments: The first Christian centuries, the Investiture Controversy, and (intensively so) the Council of Constance, see J. Spörl, *Widerstandsrecht und Tyrannenmord im Mittelalter...*, pp. 87-113.

tyrannical rule from, for example, the Old Testament (Nimrod, King Eglon of Moab) or from the time of the persecutions against Christians (Nero, Domitian or Diocletian) were constantly remembered in the Middle Ages. For a transcultural comparison, the question might be: Why was tyranny (especially as an accusation against a ruler that can legitimize violence) intensively discussed in the writings of Latin-Christian intellectuals, while Islamic legal scholars primarily put emphasis on the definition of rebels (and the treatment of rebels by the ruler)? It is likely that, among other reasons, this is due to the religious-historical narratives transmitting role models and experiences of both religions in their early phases.

In the course of the Latin Middle Ages, the definition of tyrannical rule was continuously being refined. As Jürgen Miethke has shown, the concept of “tyranny” became more theoretically grounded and argumentatively sophisticated “from the transition to the late Middle Ages on, owing to the rediscovery and renewed utilization of the writings of Aristotle in the Latin West”⁷⁷. Whether Aristotle’s statements on tyranny had already been received in the Islamic cultural area before they impacted the West would constitute a new field for research. Philologically, however, it can be noted that the Arabic term for “violence by the ruler” – *Tuġiān* – refers to the Greek and is used nine times in the Qur’ān⁷⁸.

Next to the refinement of the concept of tyranny owed to Latin Europe’s reception of Aristotle, Miethke identifies a second impetus for this increased sophistication in the university’s scholastic debates: The definition of tyranny and the right of resistance were becoming more academic; this turned a “polemic battle cry into a tool of precise analysis”⁷⁹. Key to this debate were scholars, usually churchmen with an educational background in the religious writings of the Old and New Testament as well as in the Church Fathers, most of them experts in ecclesiastical law and in the emerging political theory. In the Islamic cultural sphere too, a class of experts began to emerge which methodically discussed and intellectualized the issue of the fight against the ruler with full knowledge of the Qur’ān, the Sunna, the early history of Islam and the writings of other important legal scholars. Taking into account the respective religious guidelines and the historical context in which the intellectuals of both cultures found themselves, the two groups’ opinions varied in similar ways: They ranged from quietist suffering of unjust rule to the ruler’s removal. In the course the discourse’s scholastic academization,

⁷⁷ Cf. J. Miethke, *Der Tyrannenmord...*, pp. 24-48, esp. p. 32.

⁷⁸ N. Abu Zayd, *Oppression*, in: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, III, ed. J. Dammen McAuliffe et al., Leiden 2003, pp. 583f, espec. p. 583.

⁷⁹ J. Miethke, *Der Tyrannenmord...*, p. 36.

new considerations were introduced, for instance with Thomas Aquinas the distinction between unjust and unlawful, that is illegitimate, rule in Christianity⁸⁰. The distinction between the *tyrannus ex defectu tituli* (tyrant due to his lacking in a legitimate claim to power) and the *tyrannus ex parte exercitii* (tyrant due to his wrongful exercise of power) obtained a special dynamic early on in a religion, Islam, that makes genealogical purity a principal condition for legitimate rule. According to the Islamic conception, the only legitimate caliph is the one who can trace his genealogy without interruption to the Prophet Muḥammad. Usurpers ruling next to a legitimate successor of the Prophet are illegitimate yet not necessarily unjust, and are even able to be retrospectively put in office, that is legitimized. We shall recall how al-Māwardī's caliphate theory permitted and regulated this.

In his conclusion to *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige*⁸¹, a volume edited by Martin Kintzinger and Jörg Rogge, Gerd Melville defined rule and sovereign violence as transcultural phenomena which, at the same time, are part of the "identifying elements of a culture"⁸². In spite of the methodological risks that a transcultural comparison entails, a juxtaposition of the subjects, motivations, and forms of violence against and by the ruler enables one to call attention to the differences. This fosters awareness of what is specific to the self and to the other. In particular a comparative approach throws into sharp relief the characteristics of Islamic and Christian culture – for example how much violence each culture "tolerates and under which conditions; what the threshold for the legitimate use of violence is; and, last but not least, the level of violence that a culture has incorporated as a constitutive element for itself"⁸³.

In the introduction to *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige*, the editors formulated basic questions and thoughts, some of which will be discussed here by way of conclusion, so as to broaden the perspective of the Christian-Islamic comparison. They pondered: "How did violence against rule affect the monarchy in light of its increasing juridification?" and "How was violence as a constituent of rule affected in this process?"⁸⁴. For the Islamic cultural sphere, this needs to be discussed by differentiating phases: In the formative phase of Islam, under the first four rightly-guided caliphs, there were hardly any explicitly legal regulations. What counted were the religious guidelines of the Qur'ān as well as the statements and exemplary actions

80 Ibidem, p. 35.

81 *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige...*

82 G. Melville, *Ein Exkurs über die Präsenz der Gewalt im Mittelalter. Zugleich eine Zusammenfassung*, in: *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt gegen Könige...*, pp. 119-134.

83 Ibidem, p. 121.

84 M. Kintzinger, J. Rogge, *Einleitung*, p. 4.

of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions. The earliest instances of an incipient juridification can be found with the Umayyad period when a “class” of scholars developed. In contrast to this, the Umayyad rulers put emphasis on the obedience religiously ordained by the Qurʾān. This scholarly juridification, produced by the several schools of law, while increasingly refined, did not, however, fundamentally bear on the ruler, but on the Islamic religious community. All the same, it still had far reaching effects on the ruler as it isolated and segregated him from his subjects: All issues pertaining to the people’s daily life, be they marriage, inheritance or punishment, were not in the purview of the ruler, but were dependent on the religious and legal experts’ decisions. Thus the issue of resistance is not primarily seen from the perspective of rulership; rather, for the scholars, it is primarily something that affects the Islamic community and therefore also its rulers. This is why the issue is approached with a discussion of the rightful treatment of rebels, and not starting from the legitimacy or justice of the ruler and rulership.

Kintzinger and Rogge mention political, social, dynastic and personal “collisions of interest” that provoked resistance against rule. For the Islamic cultural sphere, one needs to add religious collisions from the early period on. Because of the precocious separation into different religious orientations, the fight against the ruler was an especially contentious issue. In these conflicts, the claims to political and religious dominance became intertwined with the conflicts over the legitimacy of the caliph. The issue of whether a ruler from a different religious orientation can demand obedience, or when and under what conditions one is allowed to fight him, or should or need fight him, only became relevant for Latin Christianity at the dawn of the early modern period⁸⁵. The religious community found itself in an intestine conflict situation complicated by the several confessions’ power-political aspirations. Do Protestants owe obedience to the Catholic emperor or not? Whether Protestants are allowed to fight the Catholic emperor did not only occupy Martin Luther in his 1539 *Circular Disputation on the Right of Resistance Against the Emperor*⁸⁶, but led to a broad debate within Protestantism⁸⁷.

The “political process [...] to control, to normalize, and to restrict violence as an instrument of authority”⁸⁸, described by Kintzinger and Rogge for late Medieval Europe, cannot (or can only with reservations) be

85 However, one might consider that the problem arose with the Donatist schism and maybe also during the Hussite movement.

86 Zirkulardisputation über das Recht des Widerstands gegen den Kaiser (Matth. 19,21) 1939, in: *Martin Luthers Werke*, Weimarer Gesamtausgabe (WA) Bd. 39/II, pp. 34-92.

87 Cf. D. Böttcher, *Ungehorsam oder Widerstand? ...*, p. 40f; Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, II: The Age of Reformation*, Cambridge 1978.

88 M. Kintzinger, J. Rogge, *Einleitung*, p. 5.

observed in the same way in the Islamic cultural sphere. A form of division of responsibilities emerged here very early on which, however, cannot be regarded as a separation of powers or mutual control by powers. This remains a peculiarity of Muslim governance to the present. For political control of the ruler's violence, the Islamic cultural sphere lacked in adequate institutions. Yet, the legal scholars initiated a submission of all to legal norms and they restricted power through regulations. These men, however, did not have authoritative power. Drawing on Melville, one may therefore regard this as a domestication of violence – while this culture did not envisage this as “progress”. *Potestas*, power, was not restricted as such; rather, the use of *violentia* by the ruler on the one hand and by the rebels on the other hand was subjected to particular rules of interaction that were supposed to restrain violence, to temper and to civilize.

ABSTRACT

The article addresses the question if and under which conditions it is allowed to fight against an Islamic ruler from the perspective of Islamic legal scholars in the Middle Ages. It focusses on the agents of resistance, the forms and reasons of resistance. These problems are linked to number of fundamental issues, for example, the legitimacy and illegitimacy of an accession to power; the just and unjust exercise of power; religiously and legally coded systems of rule and the dangers inherent in their violation; and lastly the conception and meaning of violence and other forms of resistance both within a culture and across cultures. The article is divided into seven subchapters: it begins to explain how the foundational phase of Islamic rule generated historical precedents for both violence against the ruler's power as well as violence perpetrated by the ruler. Second, the reflections on rebellion against rulership in the legal discourse of Islamic schools of jurisprudence will be discussed according to the different definitions of the rebels' positions, the ruler's treatment of the rebels, the divergences between the schools of law, and also consider the transformation and historical contextualization of the conceptions of legality. Third, in this context the long-term historical concepts of the Shia about questions of resistance and rebellion are going to be addressed. Fourth, the positions of Sunni legal scholars will be laid out. Fifth, it is necessary to make a jump in time, first to the period after 1258, that is, to a phase in which the discourse on resistance and rebellion was confronted with the fundamental shock brought about by the Mongol overthrow of the Abbasid caliphate, and then to a period around 1500 in which the Mongol rulers had since long been Islamized. Then, sixth, the question of a “culture of violence” with regard to the scholarly treatment of the problem of resistance in Islam requires a brief examination. And finally, seventh, the article concludes with a demonstration of the possibilities of a transcultural comparison.

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CRUSADE AND APOCALYPSE: HISTORY AND THE LAST DAYS



The apocalyptic approach to crusade history began with the first sentence of one of the first crusade chronicles ever written. The anonymous compiler of the *Deeds of the Franks* opens his laconic narrative of the First Crusade (1096-1099) with these words:

When the appointed day [*terminus*] had now drawn near, which the Lord Jesus daily indicates to his followers, especially in the gospel passage where he says, "If anyone will come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me", a great stirring occurred throughout all the lands of Gaul, so that if anyone fervently wished to follow God with a pure heart and mind, he did not hesitate to seize the road to the Holy Sepulcher¹.

The biblical passage that the compiler cites is Matthew 16:24, where Christ has just revealed to his apostles that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer death. When Peter begs him not to do so, Christ says, "Get behind me, Satan!". Then he explains that not only must he die, but that all of his Apostles must be willing to make the same sacrifice.

¹ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, London 1962, p. 1: *Cum iam appropinquasset ille terminus quem dominus Iesus cotidie suis demonstrat fidelibus, specialiter in euangelio dicens: "Si quis uult post me uenire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me", facta est igitur motio ualida per uniuersas Galliarum regiones, ut si aliquis Deum studiose puroque corde et mente sequi desideraret, atque post ipsum crucem fideliter baiulare uellet, non pigritaretur Sancti Sepulchri uiam celerius arripere.* Hill translates *terminus* as "time". Unless otherwise noted, the translations in this article are my own. The *Gesta Francorum* is usually viewed as the ur-Chronicle of the First Crusade. I have laid out my reasons for questioning this assumption and for viewing the text as the work of a compiler rather than a single author in J. Rubenstein, *What is the Gesta Francorum and Who Was Peter Tudebode?*, "Revue Mabillon" XVI (2005), pp. 179-204.

With a stark literalism, crusaders who had vowed to march to Jerusalem had crosses sewn onto the shoulders of their cloaks, literally taking up a cross and following in the Lord's footsteps. This needlework ceremony first occurred when Urban II proclaimed the crusade on 27 November 1095, at an ecclesiastical council held in the French city of Clermont. Baldric of Bourgueil, who attended this council and later wrote a history of the First Crusade, could not fully vouch for what the pope had said, but he did vividly remember his actions. "I saw it", he says, in reference to the moment when Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy approached the pope and asked permission to go to Jerusalem. Hundreds more in the audience quickly followed Adhémar's example, and all of them, with the help of what must have been a small army of seamstresses, had crosses sewn onto their garments². The connection between the use of the phrase "take up the cross" in the *Deeds of the Franks* and the beginning of the crusade movement is thus clear.

Less apparent is what the compiler meant by the earlier phrase: "When the appointed day had now drawn near, which the Lord Jesus daily indicates to his followers". The Latin word that I have translated as "appointed day" is *terminus*. In both medieval and classical Latin, *terminus* usually means a boundary marker, but it can also refer to a fixed day, a time limit, or the conclusion of a trial – which only goes halfway toward explaining the passage. To understand fully what the compiler intended by the use of *terminus*, one must read the final two verses of Matthew 16:

For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels:
and then will he render to every man according to his works. Amen
I say to you, there are some that stand here, that shall not taste death,
till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom³.

The *terminus* that was drawing near in 1095 was the Last Judgment. The first thing the compiler of the *Deeds of the Franks* wanted his readers understand was that in talking about the crusade, he was talking about the apocalypse. Other 12th-century narratives lead to a similar conclusion. Apocalyptic language pervades them. The purpose of this essay is twofold: First, to examine why neither crusade historians nor historians of apocalyptic thought have paid much attention to the eschatological emphases of our sources, and second, to discuss how these perspectives shaped both the historical reaction to the crusade and the practice of historiography in the Middle Ages more generally.

² Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. S. Biddlecombe, Woodbridge 2014, p. 10: *nobis uidentibus*. In this context Baldric cites Luke 14:27, a parallel verse to Matthew 16:24: *Si qui baiulat crucem suam et venit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus*.

³ Matthew 16:27-28: *Filius enim hominis venturus est in gloria Patris sui cum angelis suis: et tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera ejus. Amen dico vobis, sunt quidam de hic stantibus, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant Filium hominis venientem in regno suo*.

THE APOCALYPSE AND MODERN HISTORIANS OF THE CRUSADE

The most important reason why modern historians of the crusades have given relatively little attention to apocalypticism is perhaps the most straightforward. Apocalypticism is, on the face of it, a wholly irrational belief system. Why would soldiers whose survival depended on ability to make calculated, level-headed decisions about strategy and logistics, commit to a military endeavor requiring enormous sacrifice if they believed that the world was going to end anyway? Even as medievalists in other fields have grown comfortable recognizing the importance of the irrational and supernatural for understanding various medieval phenomena⁴, students of holy war have stuck close to military history and to aspects of medieval piety which would seem, at least to a modern observer steeped in the habits of contemporary Christian piety, conventional. These practices include, most notably, a perceived need to perform penance for sin and a desire to undertake pilgrimages to holy sites. Mainstream Christians – Protestant or Catholic – still accept sin and repentance as the defining features of their religious lives, though they would obviously disagree on how to approach these problems. In a similar fashion, pilgrimage exerts a powerful influence on the Christian imagination. Cutting across confessional lines (and even embracing atheist and agnostic tourists), the urge to experience sacred geography survives, perhaps felt more keenly by historians than by others. These modern impulses are not as powerful as their medieval incarnations, the perceived spiritual benefits not as great. But for historians – especially those whose outlook is colored by modern spirituality – a piety focused on love, penance, and pilgrimage inspires empathy. Apocalypticism, by contrast, connotes paranoia, ignorance, cultural misanthropy, bigotry, terrorism, and the *Left Behind* novels⁵.

Apocalyptic fervor – a belief in the imminence of the end of time – has thus become the First Mrs. Rochester of crusading historiography, locked away in the attic lest her madness spoil an otherwise respectable facade.

4 See P. Freedman, G. Spiegel, *Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies*, "American Historical Review" CIII (1998), pp. 677-704.

5 Similar prejudices and their dulling effects on the study of apocalypticism in American history are noted by P. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*, Cambridge (MA) 1992, pp. 13-17; in the context of the Reformation, see the introductory comments to H. von Kerssenbrock, *Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness: The Overthrow of Münster, the Famous Metropolis of Westphalia*, I, transl. Ch.S. Mackay, Leiden 2007, p. 2. In a medieval context, on the topic of the year 1000, S. Gouguenheim (*Les fausses terreurs de l'an mil: Attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi*, Paris 1999, pp. 39-40) observes that modern church historians, skeptical of the existence of apocalyptic fears around the millennium, have been motivated by a desire to defend the reputation of Catholicism and notes with no small irony: "Rationalisme et défense des intérêts de l'Église se retrouvaient donc pour une fois en accord".

This policy of confinement, however, is ill-advised. One does not need to be a medievalist to appreciate the influence of apocalyptic beliefs on history. To take a point of comparison as far removed as imaginable, apocalyptic dreams helped shape the campaign to end slavery in the years preceding the American Civil War. Northern evangelicals welcomed combat with the South, since it provided the opportunity to cleanse America of the sin of slavery and recreate it in the image of New Jerusalem⁶. Not a fatalistic or despairing doctrine, apocalypticism acted as a prod toward social reform.

In terms of outlook, these 19th-century American evangelicals were not so different from countless other actors in Christian history – or as Philippe Buc has recently demonstrated, in Western history more generally – all of whom felt the imminence of the Last Days to be a call to remake the world, often with extreme violence⁷. 15th-century Florentine humanists, the historical epitome of creativity and self-confidence, readily embraced the apocalyptic visions of Savonarola (d. 1498), whose program of bonfire and reform aimed to remake Florence into the New Jerusalem prophesied Revelation, the final book of the Bible⁸. At the same time apocalyptic thought was burning fiery narrative lines throughout the various events of the Reformation. Decades before Savonarola, followers of Jan Hus called “the Taborites” sought to prepare for Christ’s return by building New Jerusalem in hills south of Prague⁹. Taborite ideas in turn informed the thought of Thomas Müntzer, Luther’s more radical Protestant adversary who was executed for his role in the 1525 Peasant Wars¹⁰. Just a decade later, in 1534, Anabaptists sought to turn Münster into New Jerusalem¹¹. And

6 J.H. Moorhead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860-1869*, New Haven 1978; D.W. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, Oxford 2009, pp. 285-292.

7 Ph. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West*, Philadelphia 2015. See also N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, London 1957; R. Landes, *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience*, Oxford 2011.

8 D. Weinstein, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet*, New Haven 2011, pp. 132-147. Prophesied in Revelation 21:2: *Et ego Ioannes uidi sanctam ciuitatem Ierusalem nouam descendentem de caelo a Deo, paratam sicut sponsam ornate uiro suo.*

9 C.D. Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius*, University Park (PA) 2009, pp. 103-129, who draws heavily on H. Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, Berkeley 1967, pp. 336-360.

10 R. Schwarz compares the two thoughts systems in *Die apokalyptische Theologie Thomas Müntzers und der Taboriten*, Tübingen 1977, pp. 78-86. See also N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium...*, pp. 234-251, and with slightly different emphases, H.-J. Goertz, *Thomas Müntzer: Apocalyptic Mystic and Revolutionary*, transl. J. Jaquierey, ed. P. Matheson, Edinburgh 1993, pp. 195-205.

11 H. von Kerssenbrock, *Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness...*, I, pp. 15-23; A. Arthur, *The Tailor-King: The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster*, New York 1999; N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium...*, pp. 256-280.

in England a century later, radical Protestants known as the Fifth Monarchy Men attempted to turn England into a new Israel, a nation fit to welcome King Christ back into the world. Their preparations involved many practical steps – what in another time might have been described as enlightened economic policy on behalf of the poor¹².

Apocalyptic thought systems proved equally appealing to Counter-Reformation Catholics. In 16th-century France, Catholics imagined themselves at war with a Huguenot Antichrist, Paris not a New Jerusalem at peace but a Jerusalem under siege as the Israelites' city had been in 70 CE – for it is a fundamental pattern of Christian historical-apocalyptic thought that each new Chosen People relive the patterns of Jewish history, only in a more perfect form¹³. Even as the Wars of Religion began in France, Franciscans in the New World framed their missionary work as part of the same story. Conversion of the indigenous populations (who, they believed, might very well have been descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel) would meet the final precondition necessary to jumpstart the Last Days¹⁴. Perhaps not coincidentally, as part of the Christianization process, the same missionaries taught the native Americans to perform a dramatic play in which the Spanish conquered Jerusalem from Muslims¹⁵.

In short, one finds apocalyptic ideas animating a variety of historical moments. These programs, often instituted through warfare, aimed at creating the Christian New Jerusalem as a bulwark against Antichrist. One of the few places where historians have resisted this reading of events, though, is in connection with the crusades – that is, wars fought against an anti-Christian enemy aimed directly at the creation of a Christian kingdom of Jerusalem on earth. It would be astonishing if medieval crusaders did not view their work as being invested with some degree of apocalyptic meaning. To make this suggestion on the basis instinct, of course, is necessarily inconclusive. But ultimately, the argument against an apocalyptic crusade rests on a similar turn to gut instinct. Jonathan Riley-Smith, for example, justifies his doubt about

12 P.G. Rogers, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, Oxford 1966, esp. pp. 35-37, where Rogers discusses the work of the Barebones Parliament, an attempt by Cromwell to create a government of saints: "The members proved, in fact, to be earnest, hard-working, and in many cases practical men; and some of the reforms which they made, or tried to make, reflected an enlightened spirit in advance of the age" (p. 35). Read in Marxist terms in C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*, London 1972.

13 D. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525-vers 1610)*, I-II, Paris 1990, esp. I, pp. 163-222; II, pp. 380-385.

14 J.L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd edn., Berkeley 1970, esp. pp. 69-77, 103-110.

15 Described by B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (MA) 2009, pp. 228-229.

the importance of apocalypticism in the crusades for the following reason: "It is difficult to believe, however, that hysteria affected more than a minority of crusaders"¹⁶. Riley-Smith here, as Philippe Buc has demonstrated, indulges in a post-Enlightenment habit of Western thought whereby acts of religious zealotry are dismissed as expressions of psychosis rather than studied as coherent ideologies of genuine consequence¹⁷.

Recent scholarship on medieval apocalyptic thought, however, has begun to wrestle its way of this rational, self-imposed straightjacket. Scholars such as Brett Edward Whalen, Matthew Gabriele, and Anne A. Latowsky remind us that apocalyptic thinkers were not part of some fringe group within the mainstream of medieval history, but rather were crucial voices within normal political and theological discourse¹⁸. They were, moreover, creative and constructive voices, not anarchical and destructive ones¹⁹. A belief in the imminent onset of the Last Days does not necessarily lead, in modern parlance, to a bunker mentality²⁰. With a slight revision in terminology, an opposite but equally valid interpretation suggests itself: Vigorous cultural, intellectual, or military achievement is a byproduct of apocalyptic thought. In the context of the 11th and 12th centuries, the crusade movement marked a moment when Christian intellectuals and warriors learned to see themselves not as witnesses to the divine plan, but as agents in its fulfillment. In this sense, the apocalyptic crusade marked not only a moment when it seemed that history might end, but also one when a new kind of historical outlook was born – when the actions and intentions of humanity became integral to a grand narrative of salvation history, one whose climax depended on the fate of Jerusalem.

The school of thought whose revision I am here proposing was itself, originally, an exercise in historical revisionism – an attempt to demonstrate,

16 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, Philadelphia 1986, p. 35.

17 Ph. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom and Terror...*, p. 140, 112-151 more generally.

18 B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God...*, pp. 42-71; M. Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade*, Oxford 2011; A.A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800-1229*, Ithaca (NY) 2013.

19 Historians of eschatology have usually accepted apocalypticism as an energizing force only in cases of explicit millenarianism, to be discussed below. On this topic, see R.E. Lerner, *Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought*, "Traditio" XXXII (1976), pp. 97-144.

20 A belief that apocalypticism necessarily leads to paralyzing fear rather than vigorous activity underlies, for example, the arguments of P. Riché, *Les Grandeurs de l'an Mille*, Paris 1999. After a brief attack against "Les prétendues 'terreurs'" of the year 1000 in the book's introduction, Riché argues enthusiastically on behalf of the vigorous culture of 10th-century Europe – as if the two movements were necessarily in opposition. A counter-argument is R. Landes, *Heaven on Earth...*

among other things, that economic motives alone could not explain the call to crusade. In place of base greed, most recent crusade scholarship, following Riley-Smith's footsteps, focuses on a simpler motivation: piety²¹. A warrior's profession, according to this argument, required him to commit regular acts of violence, but even in the case of a justifiable war endorsed by a pope, such violent acts were sinful²². So great were the number of penances a churchman could impose on soldiers that a warrior could not hope to complete them in a lifetime. With purgatory, a middle place between heaven and hell, still hazily defined, soldiers needed something akin to a miracle to save their souls, and the crusade was that miracle. Not only did it allow them to continue to practice their craft as warriors, but it actually made their habitual violence into acts of virtue. The "level of submission to penitential discipline" characteristic of the 11th-century aristocracy by itself might explain the appeal of Urban II's crusade indulgence²³.

The crusade as a penitential act seemed especially compelling because of its goal: Jerusalem, the most important pilgrimage destination in the Christian world. On the eve of the First Crusade, pilgrimage to saints' shrines had become the most prevalent and honorable expression of lay piety. Like penance, it was a part of a warrior's fundamental spiritual psychology, one of "the habitual and commonplace behavioral routines of pious arms-bearers"²⁴. Jerusalem, as the most desired holy site of them all, made the idea of a mass armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem a powerfully attractive one. To understand the crusade, therefore, one need not look to the fantastic but focus instead on the quotidian. "To this extent, it is unnecessary to hunt for grand themes or movements to explain the crusade, extraordinary as it was"²⁵.

21 See esp. J. Riley Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, Cambridge (UK) 1997; M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130*, Oxford 1993; idem, *The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade*, "History" LXXVIII (1993), pp. 353-372.

22 F. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (UK) 1975, esp. pp. 16-26, 40-54.

23 M. Bull, *Knightly Piety...*, p. 179, and more generally, pp. 166-191; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders...*, pp. 48-52, 69-72.

24 M. Bull, *Knightly Piety...*, p. 249; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders...*, pp. 24-39. On the crusade as a revolutionary fusion of the penitential pilgrimage and holy war, see C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, transl. M.W. Baldwin, W. Goffart, Princeton 1977. Erdmann interprets the crusade as an outgrowth of the policies of the 11th-century reform papacy and as a response to military crises in the East: "Urban II, whose interest in pilgrimages as such surely was as slight as his interest in the city of Jerusalem, sought to give political utility to the idea of pilgrimage and to transform it into an instrument of Christian expansion" (p. 316). On the 11th century as the beginning of "the great age of pilgrimage", see J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, Totowa (NJ) 1975, pp. 114-136.

25 M. Bull, *Knightly Piety...*, p. 20.

This argument is especially attractive for at least one other reason. It relies primarily on the evidence of charters, usually issued in the name of crusaders before their departure for Jerusalem²⁶. Such evidence, of course, is not entirely transparent. Charters were written in Latin and according to established formulae, points which cause Riley-Smith to wonder “whether the ideas expressed in them were fair reflections of the minds of the crusaders themselves”. Riley-Smith answers his own question, however, with surprising confidence. “In fact, they probably were”²⁷. The confidence seems misplaced. Charters can certainly help us to identify probable crusaders, and Riley-Smith has increased our database of likely pilgrims substantially. On the question of motives, however, such as whether a warrior was inspired to join the crusade because of deep-seated guilt and a perceived need for penance, we must be more circumspect. Charters were legal records of financial and tenurial arrangements. Like modern contracts, they are formulaic, written according to expectation and habit. For this reason in particular, in the assessment of motive or psychology, charter evidence is at best problematic. Indeed, if one accepts charter evidence as literal and reliable, and if one reads beyond charters directly connected to the crusade, then we must conclude that every time a lord chose to donate property to a monastery, regardless of circumstance, he did so out of profound fear for his own salvation²⁸ – sometimes not just for his soul, but “for the redemption of my soul and my wife’s soul and all our ancestors’ souls and all faithful Christians’ souls”²⁹. This language taken from a charter from 1055, is not in any way different from charters issued forty years later by men determined to fight in the crusade. The language is part and parcel of the monastic mindset, developed long before the First

²⁶ The earliest statement on the potential value of charter evidence for crusading history is G. Constable, *Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades*, in: *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. P.W. Edbury, Bristol 1985, pp. 73-89.

²⁷ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders...*, pp. 53-80. See also Bull’s comments on charter evidence, *Knighthly Piety...*, pp. 155-166.

²⁸ In the words of S.D. White, *Custom Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France 1050-1150*, Chapel Hill 1988, pp. 28-29: “According to the formulaic records produced by monastic scribes, monastic benefactors made these gifts of property and of power over people for the sake of their own souls and the souls of their relatives and friends. According to monastic charters, donors were motivated by conventional sentiments inspired by Christian teachings. They were supposedly weighed down with remorse for their sins. They feared both the approach of death and the prospect of posthumous punishment”. The formulae for charters are described in detail by O. Guyotjeannin, J. Pycke, B.-M. Tock, *Diplomatique Médiévale*, Turnhout 1993, pp. 76-84.

²⁹ *Cartulaire du Prieuré de Saint-Mont (ordre de Cluny)*, ed. J. de Jaurgain, Archives historiques de la Gascogne, II.7, Paris 1904, § 66, p. 91: *pro redemptione anime mee et anime conjugis mee, et omnium popinorum nostrorum sive seniorum nostrorum et omnium fidelium christianorum*.

Crusade began and continuing after it had ended. If fear of damnation and desire for penance can explain every single cooperative action between a warrior and a religious community, one should wonder whether they can in fact adequately explain any one particular thing – especially a thing as particular and unprecedented as the First Crusade.

The more revealing moments in charters are almost certainly those that break away from accepted formulae. The “ferocious knight called Amanieiu of Loubens”, for example, “was moved by love of the Holy Spirit so that he gave up his inheritance to fight for Jerusalem and to kill the enemies of the Christian religion – nay, rather to purify that place where Lord Jesus Christ deigned to die for the redemption of humankind”³⁰.

For a knight like Amanieiu, the campaign for Jerusalem transcended the simple opportunity to cleanse his soul of sin. It was a chance to act as an agent in the implementation of God’s plan for history. Warriors were, effectively, becoming part of the grandest campaign of all: The war for salvation, a war whose last great act was the Incarnation of Christ and whose next turning point would be the Second Coming. In other words, Amanieiu was stepping out of the course of ordinary events and into the stream of apocalyptic time.

Only a few crusade historians have attempted to connect these ideas. Most recently and most prolifically, Jean Flori has written a series of monographs and articles challenging the evolving conventional wisdom about the crusade as a penitential endeavor. The crusade, as Flori interprets it, fits into a larger medieval Christian worldview that associated Muhammad and Islam with Antichrist and Armageddon³¹. In drawing these connections, Flori revives a venerable tradition in French historiography – one that began with Jules Michelet in the 18th century and continued in the work of Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront in the 20th³². From their perspectives, the crusade

30 *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de le Réole*, ed. C. Grellet-Balguerrie, Archives historiques du Département de la Gironde, V, Paris 1863, §93, pp. 140-141: *quidam miles accerimus nomine Aimanerius de Villa, que dicitur Lupensis, Sancti-Spiritus amore admonitus, quatenus relictis hereditatibus suis Iherosolimita fieret ad expugnandum ad interficiendumque christiane religioni contrarios, immo ad emundandum locum, in quo dominus Jesus Christus mortem pro reparatione generationis humani subire dignatus est*. M. Bull discusses the particulars of this donation at *Knightly Piety...* (pp. 269-271), noting that many of Amanieiu’s kinsmen made donations at the same time. See also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders...*, p. 62. The passage references Matthew 16:24, the same verse placed at the beginning of *Gesta Francorum*.

31 J. Flori, *L’Islam et la Fin des Temps: L’interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale*, Paris 2007; idem, *Pierre l’Ermite et la Première Croisade*, Paris 1999; also G. Lobrichon, 1099: *Jérusalem conquise*, Paris 1998, pp. 25-35, 121-122.

32 Jules Michelet in the best Romantic tradition, was swept up by the populism of Peter’s movement, whose participants could not wait for the princes to arm themselves and who had not eight horses among them (the latter point now recognized as gross understatement); see: J. Michelet, *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu’à la fin du XV^e siècle*, Bruxelles 1840,

looks less like a papal military endeavor and more like popular movement driven by social unrest and by the preaching of the shadowy figure Peter the Hermit. For Norman Cohn the crusade was the first example of a popular apocalyptic uprising in medieval Europe³³. I myself have a stake in these debates, too, having argued in my book *Armies of Heaven* for the significance of apocalyptic thought in shaping various aspects of crusader piety and even military decision-making³⁴. But among specialists in crusade history, the apocalypse as a motivating factor continues to be viewed with suspicion.

HISTORIANS OF APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT AND THE CRUSADES

Perhaps more surprisingly, the idea of an apocalyptic crusade has also not caught fire with historians of eschatology either. The reason likely is simple enough. The first seven crusades do not fit neatly into the master narrative of apocalyptic historiography. Instead, they fall between the traditional great dates of millennial anxiety, 1000 and 1260.

The so-called “terrors of the year 1000” are a well known, if controversial, historical topic. According to the most venerable historiographic model employed by medieval writers, all earthly history falls into six ages, parallel with the six days of creation, and the ages together would total six thousand years³⁵. At the end of the year 6000, Christ would imprison Satan, symbolized in Revelation by a dragon, and would rule earth for one thousand years, aided by a council of saintly judges. This last belief derives from twentieth chapter of the book of Revelation – one of the most difficult passages in what is probably Christianity’s most difficult book.

I saw thrones on which were seated those who had been given authority to judge. And I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded because of their testimony about Jesus and because of the word of God. They had not worshipped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their hands. They came to life and reigned with Christ a thousand years. The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended. This is the first resurrection³⁶.

pp. 234-235; P. Alphan  ry, A. Dupront, *La chr  tient   et l’id  e de croisade*, I-IV, Paris 1954-1959, repr. 1995.

³³ N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium...*, pp. 21-32.

³⁴ J. Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse*, New York 2011.

³⁵ A. Luneau, *L’histoire du salut chez les P  res de l’Eglise: La doctrine des   ges du monde*, Paris 1964.

³⁶ Revelation 20:4-5: *Et vidi, sedes, et sederunt super eas et iudicium datum est illis: et animas decollatorum propter testimonium Iesu, et propter verbum Dei, et qui non adoraverunt bestiam, neque imaginem eius, nec acceperunt characterem eius in frontibus, aut in manibus suis, et vixerunt, et*

After this period of peace, for reasons unclear, God will release the dragon from his prison, and so will begin the final confrontation between the people of Christ and the tribes of Gog and Magog preceding the Last Judgment.

The most obvious interpretation of this passage is the literal one, which is at the base of millenarian beliefs. Christ himself will return to earth to rule as a literal king for one thousand years. But the literal interpretation in the Middle Ages was not the accepted one. Prominent church fathers – Jerome and Augustine among them – argued against it³⁷. Jerome, in his commentary on Daniel, stated bluntly that the saints would not rule on earth and called for an end to “the superstition of a thousand years”³⁸. Augustine similarly noted near the end of *The City of God* that the two-fold resurrection described in the Apocalypse had inspired certain “laughable superstitions”, namely, that God had promised a thousand-year period of rest, a *vacatio*, from all labors. Not too proud to admit his mistakes, Augustine acknowledges that he too had once subscribed to this reading³⁹. But since that time he had learned to interpret the passage allegorically. The numeral one thousand breaks down easily into ten, which represents perfection, and one hundred, which represents completion or fullness. The promised millennium, therefore, stands for the fullness of time, which is to say all of history from Creation to Judgment. Or it could refer more explicitly the symbolic millennium of Christian history, the age of Christ and the martyrs – not a physical, secular government, but a spiritual one in which the power of the dragon has already ceded place to the rule of God⁴⁰.

This argument would become the standard interpretation of Revelation 20 for the remainder of the Middle Ages⁴¹. Augustine, if one accepts his rhetorical

regnauerunt cum Christo mille annis. Caeteri mortuorum non vexierunt, donec consummentur mille anni. Haec est resurrectio prima.

37 See the introductory comments in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. R.K. Emmerson, B. McGinn, Ithaca (NY) 1992, pp. 17-18. In the same volume: P. Fredriksen, *Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse*, pp. 20-37; E.A. Matter, *The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis*, pp. 38-50; G. Lobrichon, *Stalking the Signs: The Apocalyptic Commentaries*, in: *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Changes, 950-1050*, eds. A. Gow, R. Landes, D.C. van Meter, Oxford 2003, pp. 67-68, 73.

38 Jerome, *Commentariorum in Daniele, Libri III*, ed. F. Glorie, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (henceforth: CCSL), LXXVa, Turnhout 1964, 2.7.18a, p. 848: *mille annorum fabula*.

39 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, eds. B. Dombart, A. Kalb, CCSL, XLVIII, Turnhout 1955, II, 20.7, p. 709: *quasdam ridiculas fabulas*. Also, G. Folliet, *La typologie du sabbat chez saint Augustin: Son interprétation millénariste entre 389 et 400*, “Revue des études augustinienes” II (1956), pp. 371-390.

40 Augustine sets out this argument in *De civitate Dei*, II, 20.7, esp. p. 710. He names his adversaries as “Chiliasmists”, which he then translates into “millenarians”.

41 H.D. Rauh, *Eschatologie und Geschichte im 12. Jahrhundert: Antichrist-Typologie als Medium der Gegenwartskritik*, in: *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, eds. W.D. Verhelst, A. Welkenhupen, Leuven 1988, pp. 333-358, esp. p. 341-342.

effectiveness, suppressed both speculation about a millenarian kingdom of Christ and attempts to predict the date of the Second Coming. Still, certain scattered pieces of evidence do survive for the persistence of millenarianism during the early Middle Ages, as well as for an ongoing belief that the year 6000 would be the end of time. The possible conjunction between the year 800 CE and 6000 *anno mundi*, for example, has led some to interpret Charlemagne's coronation as Roman Emperor in an apocalyptic light⁴². More famously, Richard Landes has drawn attention to the signs of apocalyptic anxiety around the year 1000, the millennial anniversary of Christ's birth, and 1033, the millennium of his crucifixion⁴³. Landes's arguments have drawn fierce, and not always convincing, opposition from what he terms the "antiterrors" school of history⁴⁴. Regardless of whether one accepts his evidence as (in his own conceptual vocabulary) the tip of an iceberg or else as insignificant flotsam atop the waters of history, the First Crusade began more than sixty years after this era of millenarian enthusiasm had faded, making it difficult to draw any direct connection between them.

Likewise, the crusade began well before the next (or, according to some, the first) great efflorescence of millenarian enthusiasm. Toward the end of the 12th century, contemporary with the Third Crusade (1189-1192), Joachim of Fiore, the Middle Ages' most influential prophetic thinker, reinvented traditional models of history and eschatology⁴⁵. Most crucially, Joachim divided humanity's time on earth into three great, parallel, overlapping ages, each corresponding to one of the persons of the Trinity. With some simplification, the Old Testament was the age of the Father; the New Testament

42 J. Heil, "Nos Nescientes de Hoc Velle Manere" – "We Wish to Remain Ignorant about This": *Timeless End, or: Approaches to Reconceptualizing Eschatology after A.D. 800 (A.M. 6000)*, "Traditio" LV (2000), pp. 73-103; W. Brandes, "Tempora periculosa sunt": *Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Großen*, in: *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794. Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur: Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, ed. R. Berndt, Mainz 1997, pp. 49-79.

43 Stated most succinctly in R. Landes, *The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern*, "Speculum" LXXV (2000), pp. 97-145. Developed at greater length in idem, *Heaven on Earth...*, pp. 37-88. See also J. Fried, *Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" XLV (1989), pp. 385-473.

44 S. Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs...*, pp. 56-63; D. Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, transl. G.R. Edwards, Ithaca (NY) 2009, pp. 245-259, 284-300. On the other hand, R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, New York 2002, pp. 64-87, embraces Landes's thesis.

45 G.L. Potestà, *Il tempo dell'Apocalisse: Vita di Gioacchino da Fiore*, Bari 2004; also E.R. Daniel, *Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades*, "Traditio" XXV (1969), pp. 127-154.

and the years that followed, the age of the Son; and mankind would soon be redeemed in the age of the Holy Ghost – a time of renewal on earth which itself marked a revival of belief in the millennial kingdom of Christ. Joachim's life directly intersected with the crusade movement when, in 1190, Richard the Lionheart sought the visionary's advice on his way to the Holy Land⁴⁶. We cannot be sure what Joachim told Richard, but we do know that in his developed system of prophetic history, Saladin was the sixth of seven great persecutors – a type of Antichrist but not the actual Antichrist⁴⁷. The last of the seven persecutors would be the fully realized Son of Perdition, whose final showdown with Christians, according to many of Joachim's immediate followers, would occur in the year 1260⁴⁸. Too late to be a product of the millennial passions of the year 1000, too early to be part of the apocalyptic wave created by Joachim of Fiore, the crusades have become something of an apocalypse without a home.

On a more fundamental level, skeptics of an apocalyptic crusade might simply ask: Why 1099? The question, however, reflects modern intellectual biases. We are accustomed to associating apocalyptic expectations with the excitement created by particular calendrical moments. The years 1096-1099 have no obvious resonances. But most medieval apocalyptic thinkers, unlike their modern counterparts, were not date counters. They were, rather, fig watchers – a designation I shall explain below. They knew well the injunction of Christ about the Last Days. "Of the day and hour no one knows, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone"⁴⁹. Christ could not have been clearer. The date of the onset of the Last Days is unknown and unknowable.

In the same Gospel passage, however, Christ said something else about the end times, which left open the possibility for prophetic speculation.

And from the fig tree learn a parable: When the branch thereof is now tender, and the leaves come forth, you know that summer is nigh. So also, when you shall see all these things, you will know that [the end] is nigh, even at the doors⁵⁰.

In other words, a series of signs as clear as budding leaves on a fig tree will precede the Last Days. Informed observers might not be able to predict an

46 J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, New Haven 1999, pp. 138-139; G.L. Potestà, *Il tempo dell'Apocalisse*, pp. 241-243.

47 M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, Oxford 1969, pp. 304-305; B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God...*, pp. 116-118.

48 M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy...*, pp. 53-56, 306-308; B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God...*, pp. 170-175.

49 Matthew 24:36: *De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli caelorum nisi solus Pater.*

50 Matthew 24:32-33: *Ab arbore auti fici discite parabolam: cum iam ramus eius tener fuerit, et folia nata, scitis quia prope est aestas: ita et vos cum videritis haec omnia, scitote quia prope est in ianuis.*

accurate date, but if they know what to look for, they can recognize when the process has begun. The specific litany of signs is familiar: false prophets, war, rumors of war, religious persecution, abominations in holy places, eclipses of the sun and moon, and stars falling from the sky.

Fig watchers have a lot of material to work with. From the Bible they can read Revelation, the prophecies of Daniel, the Little Apocalypse from the Gospel⁵¹, and 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12, where Paul discusses the advent of the “lawless one”, usually assumed to be Antichrist. In the 11th and 12th centuries, a series of other, more recent prophecies circulated, too, all of them embracing the legend of a Last World Emperor, sometimes called the King of the Greeks and Romans⁵². This figure was a ruler expected to appear after the Roman Empire had fallen into quiescence. Then, unexpectedly, a powerful and charismatic leader would restore Rome to its former glory, reuniting the Eastern and Western Empires before finally leading his armies to Jerusalem. After reestablishing there the Throne of David, he would set aside his crown (either before a cross at the Holy Sepulcher or else on the Mount of Olives just outside Jerusalem’s walls), thus bringing the Roman Empire to an end and inaugurating the reign of Antichrist.

The Last World Emperor story, with its prediction of Christian wars to be fought in and around Jerusalem, probably entered Christian tradition through a pamphlet usually titled the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*. Pretending to be the Church Father Methodius of Olympos (d. 311), its anonymous author actually wrote around the year 690, at a time when the rapid expansion of Islam seemed to portend the destruction of the Byzantine Empire. Originally in Syriac, the pamphlet was quickly translated in Greek and then into a very primitive Latin⁵³. Later copyists, when reading this text originally intended to explain political and military circumstances particular to the 7th century, felt no compunction about updating its prophetic and historical passages to account for recent events⁵⁴. Despite its frequently horrific imagery, Pseudo-Methodius’s message was optimistic. In the words of his most recent editor,

The invasion of the Ishmaelites may disturb but cannot demolish the dominion of the Roman Empire, the kingdom of the Christians, and even when all lawful power and authority are removed from the earth

51 Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21.

52 G.L. Potestà, *L’ultimo messia: Profezia e sovranità nel Medioevo*, Bologna 2014.

53 The Greek and Latin editions have been recently published, with accompanying English translation, as *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. and transl. B. Garstad, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, XIV, Cambridge (MA) 2012.

54 M. Laureys, D. Verhelst, *Pseudo-Methodius, Revelationes: Textgeschichte und kritische Edition: Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungsprojekt*, in: *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology...*, pp. 112-136, which discusses the complexities of Pseudo-Methodius’s manuscript tradition.

and the Antichrist reigns, the order of the world will be redeemed by Christ's triumphal return⁵⁵.

This apocalypse, therefore, was not a defeatist text but rather a call to arms for warriors who could expect victory against an unbelieving enemy.

A much later text written by Adso of Montier-en-Der, a courtier of Louis IV, builds upon the ideas of Pseudo-Methodius. At the request of Gerberga, sister of Otto I (the future emperor of Germany) and wife of Louis IV (the Frankish king and descendant of Charlemagne), Adso wrote a biography of Antichrist⁵⁶. Gerberga apparently wished to learn as much as possible about the Last Days. Antichrist, Adso explained to her, would not appear as long as the Roman Empire survived, and Rome continued, albeit in a degraded form, through Gerberga's husband Louis IV. By virtue of his connection to Charlemagne, King Louis's authority carried with it a modicum of imperial dignity. The time of Antichrist, therefore,

has not yet arrived because, although Roman power has been mostly destroyed, nevertheless, as long as the kings of the Franks endure (and they ought to hold Roman authority), the dignity of the Roman kingdom will not altogether die. It survives with those kings⁵⁷.

Eventually, when the power of the Frankish kings seems at its weakest, the Last World Emperor, King of the Greeks and Romans, will unite the Christian world and, again, will inflict a devastating defeat on Islam. He will then lay aside his crown on the Mount of Olives and thus bring Roman rule to an end.

Historians have generally assumed that Gerberga made her request to Adso out of anxiety, perhaps brought on by the approach of the year 1000. According to this interpretation, Adso's letter would be an exercise in consolation. Just as Pseudo-Methodius wished to reassure Byzantine Christians that they would eventually turn back the expansion of Islam, so too did Adso wish to comfort the Frankish Queen, telling her that despite

⁵⁵ *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius*, p. XIII.

⁵⁶ Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (henceforth: CCCM), XLV, Turnhout 1976. On the original circumstances of the text's composition, see S. MacLean, *Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France: Adso's "Letter of the Origin and Time of the Antichrist" Reconsidered*, "Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire" LXXXVI (2008), pp. 645-675. MacLean sees the text as a product of Gerberga's interest in monastic reform and patronage and downplays any sense of apocalyptic immediacy – though, like most of the text's readers, he assumes that any apocalyptic interest must have necessarily been a product of fear rather than hope or anticipation.

⁵⁷ Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, p. 26: *nondum uenit, quia, licet uideamus Romanum imperium ex maxima parte destructum, tamen, quandiu reges Francorum durauerint, qui Romanum imperium tenere debent, Romani regni dignitas ex toto non peribit, quia in regibus suis stabit.*

ongoing political instability and sinister portents occurring all around her, Rome was surviving and Louis IV, Gerberga's husband, was, through his very existence, keeping the apocalypse at bay.

But if Adso's mission was consolatory, it surely failed. His message, like the story of the Last Emperor, grew out of a combination of chapter two of Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians and of the second chapter of Daniel. In the former passage, Paul says the Son of Perdition will not appear until there occurs a "falling away"⁵⁸. This "falling away", as Adso understood it, would be the collapse of the last of the four world empires as described in the book of Daniel, where Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, famously dreamt of a statue composed of four metals: gold, silver, bronze, and iron, and with feet partly of clay and partly of iron. The four metals referred to four great empires. Iron symbolized Rome. Just as iron endures and breaks all other things into pieces, so Rome would destroy all rival empires and long outlive them. But Rome, too, would grow weak, as symbolized by the feet of clay mixed with iron. That is to say, the formerly indestructible iron empire shall become "intermingled with the seed of man"⁵⁹ and shall no longer cohere as it had once done. Gerberga, the Saxon princess who had married a Frankish king, whose husband and brother actively disputed the rightful claim to the imperial legacy of Charlemagne, stood at the fulcrum of the collapsing Roman Empire, her household an embodiment of clay mixed with iron. A careful reading of Adso's text (or even a lackadaisical one) would suggest that the apocalypse lay not in the distant future, but rather that it was one crisis removed from the present.

One cannot extrapolate an entire worldview from the writings of a single author, though this book was, by medieval standards, a bestseller. Adso's most recent editor was able to draw on roughly one hundred seventy manuscripts when assembling his edition. About Adso's writing, one could certainly echo the words of Benjamin Garstad, the editor of Pseudo-Methodius, who described the impact of that earlier text as "so profound that it might be said to have been sublimated into the thought of the Middle Ages and the societies to which they gave birth"⁶⁰. And about Adso we can say further that he wrote not so much in fear of an impending apocalypse but in anticipation of one. For all the talk of "the terrors of the year 1000", the Last Days did not necessarily inspire fear⁶¹. Nervous excitement is a better description of the outlook that

⁵⁸ 2 Thessalonians 2:3. The key Latin expressions in the Vulgate are *filius perditionis* and *discessio*.

⁵⁹ Daniel 2:43: *commiscebuntur quidem humano semine*.

⁶⁰ *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius*, p. XXXV.

⁶¹ See the distinctions drawn between "active and passive apocalyptic scenarios" in R. Landes, *Heaven on Earth...*, pp. 33-36.

Adso sought to express to Gerberga. The observation is important. For Adso and his audience, the apocalypse was not a source of paralysis but rather of energy – an invitation to live at history’s climax and to participate in the transformation and transfiguration of humanity.

The other frequently copied version of the Last Emperor prophecy, the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, in its original form would have had nothing to do with Islam and probably nothing to do with the Last World Emperor. Dating from the 4th century, it was instead intended to speak to Rome’s wars against the Goths⁶². By the time of the First Crusade, however, Latin scribes had incorporated both the rise of Islam and the legend of the Last World Emperor into the text, and they continued to update it periodically to better suit current events⁶³. All of these texts went into heavy circulation around the time of the crusade, causing no less a figure than Carl Erdmann to note the curious coincidence of intense prophetic speculation about Jerusalem sweeping through monastic scriptoria at approximately the same time as the call to liberate Jerusalem through the First Crusade⁶⁴.

We can make at least one other important observation about these three widely circulated and widely discussed texts. The apocalypse foretold at the time of the crusade was not to be one in which the poor would be raised up, to reign alongside Christ in a thousand-year-long era of peace. Rather, the Last Days would be inaugurated by acts of heroism and war. It would be a soldier’s apocalypse. The key battles would occur in and around Jerusalem, and they would be fought against Muslims. Put another way, Armageddon would be a crusade.

OF FIG TREES AND CRUSADERS

Evidence for the rough equivalence between the crusading and apocalyptic mindsets appear in nearly all of the crusade chronicles, including our earliest eyewitness accounts. To take a second example from the *Deeds of the Franks*, in a passage that appears on first glance no more than a bit of authorial whimsy, the compiler makes direct reference to prophetic texts about the crusade. He tells how the mother of the Muslim general Kerbogah warned her son not to

⁶² Latin text in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. E. Sackur, Halle 1898, pp. 177-187. On the dating, see Sackur’s comments on pp. 125-126 and B. McGinn’s analysis in *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York 1979, pp. 43-45, with accompanying translation, pp. 45-50.

⁶³ A similar tendency among copyists of the *Cedar of Lebanon* by R. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment*, Ithaca (NY) 2008, pp. 60-61, 69-73.

⁶⁴ C. Erdmann, *Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert*, “Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte” LI (1932), pp. 384-414.

make war on the Franks, because the Franks' victory was preordained. When Kerbogah asked her how she could be certain, she replied, "Dearest son, more than a hundred years ago these things were discovered in our own writings and in the books of the Gentiles, that a Christian people would come against us and conquer us and rule over the pagans"⁶⁵. The Islamic writings to which Kerbogah's mother referred were almost certainly products of Latin fantasy. The "books of the Gentiles", on the other hand, probably refer to a specific text: the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, whose fiction is that it presents a pre-Christian, non-Jewish (hence, "Gentile") dream interpretation recorded in pre-Imperial Rome, one that foretells a Frankish victory over Muslims in Jerusalem.

The other early eyewitness account, the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers, is the most explicitly apocalyptic of all 12th-century chronicles, its action dictated by relics, miracles, and the ghostly apparitions of saints and mysterious riders on white horses⁶⁶. In one densely visionary sequence, a soldier named Evrard described how, while in Tripoli, he had met a Syrian man who told him, among other things, about a passage from an apocryphal Gospel, directly relevant to the crusade: "Understand that it is written in the Gospel of Blessed Peter that a Christian people, who will capture Jerusalem, will first be stuck in Antioch, and not able to leave from there until they find the Holy Lance"⁶⁷. Later, Raymond reports, local Syrian Christians used the same Gospel of Peter when advising the Franks on the best route to Jerusalem. A fragmentary Gospel of Peter does survive. The 4th-century historian Eusebius mentions – and condemns – one as well⁶⁸. Whatever the text is to which Raymond refers, his use of it casts light onto a prophetic sensibility shared by at least some members of the army. As they marched through Syria and Palestine, they felt themselves not only moving through sacred geography, but through the pages of Scripture, apocryphal or otherwise.

65 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 55: *Fili karissime, ecce sunt plus quam centum annorum tempora, de quibus inuentum est in nostra pagina et in gentilium uoluminibus, quoniam gens Christiana super nos foret uentura, et nos ubique uictura, ac super paganos regnatura.*

66 I have argued for a millenarian reading of Raymond of Aguilers' text in J. Rubenstein, *Godfrey of Bouillon versus Raymond of Saint-Gilles: How Carolingian Kingship Trumped Millenarianism at the End of the First Crusade*, in: *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, eds. M. Gabriele, J. Stuckey, New York 2008, pp. 59-75. A very different interpretation of Peter's visions is offered in J. France, *Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew*, "Crusades" V (2006), pp. 1-20.

67 Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, eds. J.J. Hill, L.L. Hill, Paris 1969, p. 118: *Intellige, in euangelio Beati Petri est scriptum, quod gens christianorum que capiet Iherusalem infra Antiochiam clausa erit, nec inde exire poterit, nisi prius lanceam Domini reppererit.*

68 The text with commentary appears in *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations*, eds. B.D. Ehrman, Z. Pleše, Oxford 2011, pp. 371-387. See also J. Flori, *L'Islam et la Fin des Temps...*, pp. 268-269.

Fulcher of Chartres, perhaps the least eschatologically-inclined of the eyewitness chroniclers, nonetheless concludes his account of the battle of Ascalon, in August 1099, with a description of how the victorious Franks plundered from the Egyptian camps the twelve jewels of heaven, as described in Revelation 21. The Franks

entered their tents then and found in them many treasures: gold, silver, fine cloths, garments, and precious stones of twelve kinds: jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, onyx, sardius, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprase, jacinth, and amethyst⁶⁹.

When Fulcher concluded perhaps the first draft of his chronicle in 1106, he did so by describing elaborate celestial phenomena foretold in the Apocalypse. Two new stars appeared in the sky on opposite sides of the sun. Around them a grand rainbow began to take the shape. The whole apparition was roughly the size of a city. Fulcher's language is reminiscent of Revelation 21, when an angel carried John away in spirit and showed him "the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God, having the glory of God. And the light thereof was like a precious stone, as jasper or even as crystal"⁷⁰. The lights in the skies appeared to prefigure future events, but Fulcher concludes, "Since I do not presume to foretell anything about it, I entrust what it means entirely to the Lord"⁷¹. In 1106 it seemed very possible that the Last Days had begun, but a cautious observer like Fulcher was reluctant to commit to the idea.

It is not surprising that the participants in the crusade might have looked for prophetic or apocalyptic significance in their actions. As we have seen, eschatological language was (and is) fundamental to Christian spirituality. Prophecies about Antichrist and the Last Days circulated widely in 11th-century Europe, all based on the idea that Latin armies would implant a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem, the birthplace of their religion. What is surprising is that, in the aftermath of the crusade, as more refined theologians took up the task of retelling the crusade saga, they did not abandon the belief that the apocalypse had happened. Jonathan Riley-Smith came close to grasping the import of this point when he wrote of the "theological refinement" that

⁶⁹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, 1.31.10, pp. 316-317: *tunc ingressi sunt tabernacula eorum et invenerunt in eis gazas multas, aurum, argentum, pallia, induvias, lapides pretiosos, qui duodecim sic nominantur: iaspis, sapphirus, chalcedonius, smaragdus, sardonix, sardius, chrysolithus, beryllus, topazius, chrysoprasus, hyacinthus, amethystus*. Compare to Revelation 21:19-20.

⁷⁰ Revelation 21:10-11: *civitatem sanctam Hierusalem descendentem de caelo a Deo habentem claritatem Dei lumen eius simile lapidi pretioso tamquam lapidi iaspidis sicut cristallum*. Compare to Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 2.35.4, pp. 508-509.

⁷¹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 2.35.2, p. 507: *sed quia de eo nil augurari praesumpsimus, quod signabat totum Domino commisimus*.

characterized second-generation crusade histories⁷². An active discussion about eschatology formed a key component of this process, though the end result was not greater uniformity of opinion among contemporary historians, but rather an ongoing debate about whether the Last Days had begun, as we can see in the works of at least three of these writers: Baldric of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent, and above all, Ekkehard of Aura.

The first of them, Baldric of Bourgueil, included in his 1108 history of the crusade a highly-charged apocalyptic sermon allegedly given by an unnamed preacher on the eve of the final battle for Jerusalem, painting the conflict as one between Christians and demons, with heaven itself in the balance⁷³. Did Baldric think that the Last Days had begun? He never says so specifically. But he does say, like Fulcher, that with several years of hindsight, he was still uncertain. He admits his hesitations when discussing a widely reported meteor shower that occurred on the eve of the crusade in 1095. It was such a great movement of stars that it looked like hail.

Some thought – Baldric continues – that stars had fallen; I have not presumed to say anything too boldly about their descent. For I know, as the Truth says, whenever “stars will fall from heaven”. If anyone has any doubts about [the stars’] movements or about how they shone, let him either trust me or at least accept the information he might find recorded in our historical annals. What this violent movement especially portended, again, I have not interpreted with finality: especially since it is not yet given to us “to know the secrets of God”. But through parables and certain analogies people were comparing the movements of Christendom to the motions of the stars⁷⁴.

72 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 135-152, esp. p. 143, where he observes: “It has been suggested recently that eschatological writing of this kind is so rare that millenarianism cannot have been a major element in the crusade, but the ideas were certainly in the air, as we have seen”. J. Riley-Smith cites Guibert of Nogent, Albert of Aachen, and the vernacular *Chanson d’Antioche* as examples of eschatological thought, but unfortunately does not identify who has posited a scarcity of eschatological sources. See also J. Flori, *L’Islam et la Fin des Temps*, pp. 259-260, 274-275.

73 Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 107-109. I have described this sermon and its apocalyptic overtones in J. Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven...*, pp. 284-285. See also J. Flori, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: Introduction critique aux sources de la première croisade*, Genève 2010, pp. 107-123.

74 Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 11: *Opinabantur etiam quidam eas cecidisse; nos tamen de earum occubitu nihil temere praesumimus affirmare. Nouimus tamen, ueritate testante, quia quandoque stelle cadent de celo. De discursu autem uel earum coruscationibus, si quis hesitat, uel nobis credat uel annalibus nostris, in quibus id notatum reperiet, saltem adquiescat. Quid autem concursus iste precipue portenderit, minime diffinimus, presertim cum nobis nondum datus sit nosse misterium Dei. Sed per parabolas et quasdam competentias motui stellarum Christianitatis motum comparabant.*

The passage is difficult to follow, in no small part because its key point is contained in a sentence fragment: “Whenever stars will fall from heaven”, words that come, again, from the Little Apocalypse, where Christ tells his apostles how to recognize the Last Days.

Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun will be darkened, the moon will not give forth its light, and the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken; and then the sign of the son of man will appear in heaven: and then all the tribes of the earth shall weep, and they will see the son of man coming in the clouds in the sky with much power and majesty⁷⁵.

The reason why Baldric hesitated to attribute precise meaning to the falling stars is because they seemed to pronounce so clearly the onset of the Last Days. As modern readers, we are so accustomed to the metaphor “falling stars” that it is easy to miss the literalness, and the genuine foreboding, coloring Baldric’s opening statement: “Some thought stars had fallen”. Baldric was ultimately willing only to acknowledge that stars had moved, albeit more violently than usual. Perhaps they had truly fallen, but it is not yet given to him to know. If, however, the stars had fallen as foretold, then the crusade was indeed the long awaited opening act of the Apocalypse.

One of Baldric’s contemporaries, Guibert of Nogent, described in greater detail his own apocalyptic fervor in 1099 and also his subsequent disappointment. As is well known, Guibert is the only Latin historian to frame Urban II’s sermon at Clermont in 1095 in explicitly eschatological terms. It is clear, Guibert’s Urban II proclaims, that Antichrist’s appearance on earth is imminent. “The times of nations are at hand”, Urban says, in yet another reference to the Little Apocalypse⁷⁶. But in order for Antichrist to do battle with Christians in the Holy Land, there must first actually be Christians in the Holy Land. According to the prophet Daniel, Antichrist will murder the Christian kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia – something he could not do, since pagans ruled those lands⁷⁷. Indeed, it may never be possible to fulfill the prophecy to the letter, but if the Franks could somehow strike a blow against Islam (as Guibert, writing in 1107/1108, knew that the crusaders had already done), then it might be possible to bring the Last Days about.

⁷⁵ Matthew 24:29-30: *Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur et luna non dabit lumen suum et stellae cadent de caelo et virtutes caelorum commovebuntur. Et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo et tunc plangent omnes tribus terrae et videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nubibus caeli cum virtute multa et maiestate.* The passage in Baldric also references Luke 8:10.

⁷⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM, CXXVII A, Turnhout 1996, 2.4, p. 115; Matthew 24:14.

⁷⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, 2.4, p. 114, with reference to Daniel 11:42-43.

Guibert reiterates his belief in this model after his description of the fall of Jerusalem. In a long exegetical passage on the Old Testament prophet Zechariah, Guibert writes, now in his own voice, that the Franks, by capturing Jerusalem, have fulfilled “the times of nations”, as foretold in the Little Apocalypse⁷⁸. Elsewhere in his description of the battle, he dips more deeply into the Last Emperor prophecy, saying that the kingdom of Jerusalem should, and someday will, rule the world:

This city, often made plunder to kings,
Had known complete and utter destruction;
O, city, by this blessed conquest,
You deservedly ought to rule.
You should draw to you Christian kingdoms,
And you will see the glories of this world come here
And give thanks to you, as their mother⁷⁹.

By 1108, Guibert surely realized that this fantasy was not going to happen. The rulers of the world were not journeying to Jerusalem to pay their respects to its king. It was a serious eschatological problem, but one for which Guibert had an answer. The Frankish kings actually were ruling Jerusalem in a glorious fashion, but their patriarchs had failed them. The kings’ reputations “would have proceeded apace, I say, if the choice of a bishop, nay, rather, the bishopric itself, had not hobbled them”⁸⁰. Thus even as Guibert wrote his crusade narrative, he was on the knife-edge of disillusionment⁸¹. The First Crusade had set the table for the Apocalypse, but the foolishness and venality of Jerusalem’s patriarchs had delayed the final banquet.

Perhaps the best example of a crusade historian wavering between apocalyptic ecstasy and disappointment was Ekkehard of Aura. Ekkehard was himself a pilgrim to Jerusalem in 1101, where he discovered a “little book” about the expedition, one that would later inspire him to write his own brief history, initially in the first version of his *Chronicon*, then, about ten years later, in the so-called *Hierosolymita*⁸². Ekkehard may have also been partly

78 Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, 7.21, p. 302.

79 Ibidem, 7.14, pp. 289-290: *Urbs ista, sepe preda facta regibus, / pessum dabatur obruenda funditus; / hac o beata captione civitas, / hinc promerens ut imperare debeas / ad te regna christiana contrahas, / videbis orbis huc venire glorias / tibi que matris exhibere gratias.*

80 Ibidem, 7.13, p. 288: *quorum gloria eque, fateor, incessisset, si non pontificii electio, immo et ipsum pontificium claudicasset.*

81 I have written about Guibert’s disillusionment with the crusade on the basis of his exegesis in J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind*, New York 2002, pp. 108-110.

82 Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita: De oppresione, liberatione ac restauratione Jerosolymitanae Ecclesiae*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux, V, Paris 1895, I, p. 11. The *Chronicon* is an earlier universal history, a project that he inherited from Frutolf of Michelsberg.

inspired by his experience of apocalyptic phenomena before and during the crusade. With his own eyes, probably in 1096, he had seen a comet whose tail looked like a sword. Three years later, he saw a star in the East leap back and forth, changing position constantly. Clouds the color of blood appeared in both east and west and then seemed to clash together in the center of the sky, as though joining battle. Another priest named Siggerius saw a more literal enactment of this sign, as two celestial horsemen charged at one another and did battle. One of the warriors carried an enormous cross, with which he beat his opponent to death. Another priest, who later joined Ekkehard's monastery, while walking in the woods with two companions, saw a sword of wondrous length raised into the air by an unknown hand until it disappeared into the heavens. Others still, as they cared for horses, reportedly saw the shape of a city in the air, with diverse crowds of people from various regions, on horseback and on foot, striving to attain it⁸³.

It is a random list of miracles, to be sure, but for Ekkehard, the German pilgrim, it was a crucial element in the discussion of a serious historical problem: Why did so many of his people, so many Germans, go to Jerusalem? Or, in Ekkehard's terms, how did "Teutonic frenzy" acquire the necessary information to want to travel there in the first place?⁸⁴ It is easy enough to explain why the French left. Not only was their homeland wracked with plague, famine, and civil war, but Urban II had preached to them directly. In Germany, by contrast, the Investiture Contest, the longstanding schism between "priesthood and kingdom", had ensured that "we envied and hated the Romans and they us"⁸⁵. The only explanation for German enthusiasm, apparently, was the signs: the falling stars, the ghostly riders, the heavenly cities. Only this barrage of celestial input could explain why so many had

Stages have been edited as *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, eds. and transl. F.-J. Schmale, I. Schmale-Ott, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XV, Darmstadt 1972, pp. 125-162. Ekkehard's work on the chronicle can be dated to 1106, and the *Hierosolymita*, to between 1113 and 1117; F.-J. Schmale, *Überlieferungskritik und Editionsprinzipien der Chronik Ekkehards von Aura*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" XXVII (1971), pp. 110-134. On Ekkehard's apocalyptic perspective, Ph. Buc, *Martyrdom in the West: Vengeance, Purge, Salvation and History*, in: *Resonances: Historical Essays on Continuity and Change*, eds. N.H. Petersen, A. Bücker, E. Oestrem, Turnhout 2011, pp. 47-52.

83 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, in: *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken*, pp. 140-142, taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 10, p. 19, and more generally, pp. 18-19. The best discussions of these pre-crusading signs is P. Alphanthéry, A. Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, pp. 61-73; J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite*, pp. 230-244.

84 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 140: *furor Theutonicus*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 9, p. 18.

85 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 140: *tam nos Romanis, quam Romanos nobis invisos et infestos*; taken up in the *Hierosolymita*, 9, p. 17. Also on p. 17 he describes the various motives of the French.

embraced the “new ceremony” of combining the pilgrim’s staff with the warrior’s sword⁸⁶. The idea was so important to Ekkehard that it is the first thing he tells us about the crusade: it was “in our time not so much humanly as divinely arranged”⁸⁷.

But Ekkehard was not an uncritical observer. For in the midst of all this supernatural activity the devil, too, was to be found, always ready to sow tares amidst the good seeds of Christianity⁸⁸. The ancient enemy had raised up a group of “pseudo-prophets” who acted as “false brothers” to the crusading host, as well as certain women who moved “under the guise of religion” and led astray the good sheep of Christ. Their number included false witnesses who had proclaimed Charlemagne returned from the dead, perhaps in connection to the Last World Emperor prophecy. Among this group was Emicho of Flonheim, an aristocrat who led pogroms against Rhineland Jews and who apparently presented himself as a possible Last World Emperor⁸⁹. Paraphrasing the Gospel, Ekkehard writes, “even the elect were led into error”⁹⁰. The fact that these apocalyptic prophets told lies does not diminish their potential importance in salvation history. Indeed, their activity represents an eschatological catch-22. If they truthfully prophesied the end times, then the Last Days were at hand. If their prophecies were false – well, false prophets were a sign of the apocalypse, too; so, once again, the Last Days were at hand.

As one of the 1101 pilgrims to Jerusalem, Ekkehard was no stranger to this sort of prophetic rush. He had witnessed it at the 1102 Battle of Ramla. As Ekkehard sets the scene, the priest, former patriarch of Jerusalem and veteran of the First Crusade Arnulf of Choques, delivered a sermon marked by the most fervent apocalyptic rhetoric imaginable. Arnulf first reminded the Franks just who they were – a people chosen by God who had abandoned everything they owned and who had now come into his inheritance.

You have handed your bodies over to torments on behalf of Christ.
You clearly have fought for him. And Christ – because of the blood

⁸⁶ *novo ritu gladios cum fustibus et capsellis*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 10, p. 19.

⁸⁷ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 130: *temporibus nostris non tam humanitus quam divinitus ordinata est*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 1, p. 11.

⁸⁸ The following miracles all appear in Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, pp. 142-144; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 11, p. 19 with reference to Matthew 13:24-30.

⁸⁹ M. Gabriele, *Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade*, in: *Christian Attitudes towards the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook*, ed. M. Frassetto, New York 2007, pp. 84-111. Also, J. Riley Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 34-35.

⁹⁰ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 144: *pseudoprophetas [...] falsos fratres [...] sub specie religionis etiam electi in errorem ducerentur*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 11, p. 19. The passage draws heavily on Matthew 7:15-20 and 24:24.

you willingly shed for him and because of the precious deaths of your brothers and fellow soldiers – has deemed it worthwhile to purify this place where he was glorified. Through your devoted service, he has wished to set free Jerusalem, the city of his repose, from the interminable chains of so foul a people⁹¹.

Through martyrs' blood Jerusalem had been cleansed of pagan filth, and to preserve her liberation, more martyrs would have to die. For the stakes at Ramla were huge. Letters had been intercepted, or so Arnulf proclaimed, revealing that the Egyptians intended nothing less than the complete destruction of Jerusalem. Worse still, they planned to break apart the slab from the Holy Sepulcher upon which Christ's body had rested, to carry the bits of stone on camels' backs far away to the sea, and to hurl them into the depths, so that Christians might never again recover that sacred rock. These words were not so much boasts or threats as they were "demonic prophecies" aimed at sealing Jerusalem's doom. And when the Muslims entered battle, they did so confident in victory, trusting the "answers of their idols"⁹². In response to this news the Franks proclaimed with one voice determination to resist this "pagan audacity, so profane, so blasphemous"⁹³. It was as if the apocalyptic First Crusade had never ended, or indeed as if it never would end.

What Ekkehard mostly remembered about the battle of Ramla, however, was the hand of God at work, visibly determining its outcome. Especially impressive was the power of the cross.

The venerable Abbot Gerhard, who kept himself close by the True Cross, told me that he had never seen such a thick downpour of arrows and spears as what fell upon the king. It was like snow or hail. But afterwards, at the sight of that precious wood, none of the enemies trusted spears or weapons, but only the safety of flight⁹⁴.

Such an experience – of having lived directly in the shadow of holy war – infused Ekkehard's sense of the whole First Crusade, and no doubt

91 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 174: *Vos corpora pro Christo ad supplicia tradidistis, vos pugnasse videmini, sed Christus, vestro voluntarie sibi sacrificio sanguine, vestrorumque fratrum commilitonum pretiosa morte, locum sanctificationis suae dignatus est mundare; civitatem requiei suae Jeherusalem voluit post tam annosa spurcissimae gentis vincula per vestram devotam servitatem expedire*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 29, p. 34.

92 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 176: *vaticinata [...] daemonia and idolorum responsis de victoria certificati*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 29, p. 34; 30, p. 35.

93 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 174: *tam prophanam tam blasphemam pagnaorum audaciam*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 29, p. 34.

94 Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 176: *Referebat mihi venerabilis abbas Gerhardus, qui tunc Crucem Dominicam semper lateri regis contiguus praeferebat, numquam se tantam nivis vel pluviae, quantam tunc telorum contra regem volare densitatem vidisse; at post ligni pretiosi intuitum, nullum ex hostibus telis se vel armis, sed universos fugae praesidio se commississae*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 30, p. 35.

encouraged him to put onto parchment his memories of the signs that had preceded the campaign. It also established the central problem for his book: Did the capture of Jerusalem inaugurate the Last Days? Ekkehard found himself still wrestling with this question after he had returned from his own pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1101, when he was putting the finishing touches on his narrative. He began it with a meditation on the Little Apocalypse. In the first version of his chronicle, ca. 1102/1103, he had described the flowering of the Latin Church in Jerusalem, and noted with wonder how “thus mystical prophecies turned into visible histories”⁹⁵. Allegorical words from the Bible had transformed themselves into current events, paralleling the later language of Guibert of Nogent who, after the fall of Jerusalem, reinterpreted Old Testament prophecies not as allegory, but as history newly enacted⁹⁶.

But Ekkehard was, perhaps, not completely satisfied with this formulation. In the *Hierosolymita*, he returns to theme of prophecy and apocalypse one last time, at the end of his slight rewrite, completed around 1115⁹⁷. And once more he asks himself and his readers just what all these strange goings-on had actually meant. His new answer is similar to the first one, if more cautious. He now melds together several biblical passages that appeared to forecast crusaders’ capture of Jerusalem – prophecies which had once seemed irrelevant but that now resounded in every heart and voice:

Behold, [the prophets] say, the Lord in our times (in which the fulfillment of the ages will come) has looked towards Sion, and he will be seen there in his glory. He has shown mercy to Jerusalem, the city of his sanctuary. Rejoice with joy, all you who were weeping over her, etc.⁹⁸

The similarities between the prophecies and his own age appeared obvious. But how to interpret them? Was the world – still reverberating with the false prophecies and the memory of fiery swords and falling stars – now hurtling towards the final battle foretold by Christ in the Gospel? “Through anagogy”, Ekkehard observes, using the technical exegetical term for scriptural readings that pointed toward the Last Days, these passages pertain to our mother

⁹⁵ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, recensio prima, p. 160: *versis in historias visibiles eatenus mysticis prophetiis*; taken up in idem, *Hierosolymita*, 20, p. 26. He then cites Isaiah 60:1 and paraphrases 66:10. I am indebted to the translation and discussion of this passage in Ph. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror...*, p. 283.

⁹⁶ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, 7.21, p. 302.

⁹⁷ See n. 82 above.

⁹⁸ Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, 34, p. 38: *Ecce, inquiunt, nostris, in quos fines saeculorum devenerunt, temporibus respexit Dominus Syon, et videbitur ibi in gloria sua. Misertus est civitati sanctificationis suae Hierusalem, civitati requiei suae. Gaudete gaudio omnes qui lugebatis super eam, et reliqua*. The subject for the verb *inquiunt*, “they said”, is *vaticinia*, “prophecies”. The verses cited here are 1 Corinthians 10:11; Psalm 101:17-18, Ecclesiasticus 36:15; and Isaiah 66:10.

Jerusalem, which is above us. But literally, or “historically”, they refer to journeys that Christians were now making or else had already made to the earthly Jerusalem⁹⁹. This division is more precise than what Ekkehard had earlier acknowledged. The crusade was “a literal” recreation of the prophecies, but it was not the prophecies’ fulfillment. Rather, the crusade was another pre-enactment of events foretold but still yet to arrive. The anagogical Jerusalem – heaven – remained tantalizingly beyond man’s reach.

Still, Ekkehard was not willing to relinquish the idea that something extraordinary, something possibly apocalyptic, had occurred during his own life¹⁰⁰. For the very last fact about the First Crusade he relates in his little book is that he himself, Ekkehard of Aura, has held in his own hands a copy of a letter sent by the Archangel Gabriel, on behalf of Christ, to the church of Jerusalem, and through that church to all churches, offering threats to the wicked and mercy to Christian converts. In 1115, the hand of God was still active in the affairs of men, especially in Jerusalem, a place greater than the original earthly paradise because Christ had consecrated it with His life¹⁰¹.

CONCLUSION

Apocalyptic language thus permeates the crusade chronicles, both those written in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade and those written with a few years hindsight. And the eschatological toolkit would remain a useful resource for later crusaders, many of whom saw themselves as finishing up the apocalyptic business begun in 1099. On the eve of the Second Crusade (1146-1149), Louis VII presented himself as a possible candidate for the title of Last World Emperor¹⁰². As noted above, Saladin’s conquest of Jerusalem led contemporary thinkers, most notably Joachim of Fiore, to begin pairing up recent events in the Middle East alongside forecasts for the end of time. No less a figure than Pope Innocent III would turn to the same Abbot Joachim for prophetic inspiration, when he sought explanation for how the Fourth Crusade had ended in 1204 with the unexpected conquest of Constantinople¹⁰³. Later, in calling the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221), Innocent would draw inspiration from the apocalyptic number 666. As Islam entered

99 Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, 34, p. 38: *Per anagogen [...] historialiter*.

100 At this point, I depart somewhat from the similar arguments of G. Lobrichon, *Jérusalem conquise*, esp. pp. 131-132, who finds a similar apocalyptic message in the chronicle tradition, but posits an earlier (around 1105) rupture in the chroniclers’ interpretative models between heavenly and earthly Jerusalems.

101 Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, 36, p. 40. On letters from heaven and their apocalyptic significance, R. Landes, *The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000*, p. 108, n. 43, 44.

102 A.A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World...*, pp. 141-147.

103 B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God...*, pp. 135-137.

its 6th century, he reasoned, it was finally a propitious time for Christians to retake the Holy Land. The papal representatives on the battle fields of Egypt, moreover, regularly consulted prophetic texts when making strategic decisions¹⁰⁴. Finally, the greatest crusade leader of them all, St Louis IX (1214-1270), was a king particularly conscious of his potential role in eschatological history¹⁰⁵. To turn on its head the earlier observation of Jonathan Riley-Smith, it is difficult to believe that “this hysteria” did not in fact affect a large number of the crusaders.

But as should now be obvious, apocalypticism is not synonymous with hysteria. It is instead – and as historians, we ought to learn instinctively to read it as such – an exhilarating and energizing doctrine. Founded on a belief that the climactic days of history are at hand, its adherents embrace the notion that they themselves have a role to play in bringing humanity’s tale to its conclusion. This “sanguine apocalypticism”, as it were, is not necessarily millenarian. That is to say, for an apocalyptic movement to be constructive rather than self-destructive, it does need to have as its goal the creation of a thousand-year kingdom of Christ on earth. It simply needs (as apocalypticism almost inevitably does) to invest people with the belief that their activity matters in the grandest of grand schemes.

This analysis leads to one other important observation. Whether connected specifically with the crusades, apocalyptic movements are always, at least potentially, violent in ways that challenge accepted norms of war and combat. The prophecies of Revelation in their original context spoke to resistance against Roman authority and led to the widespread embrace of martyrdom. It was the genius of Pseudo-Methodius to reinvent the Apocalypse as a pronouncement about the rise of Islam and the inevitability of war between Muslims and Christians. As Joachimite thinkers in the later Middle Ages and their heirs during the Reformation would demonstrate, Antichrist might just as easily be a pope in Rome as a caliph in Baghdad. In the more recent past, the Soviet Union proved to be a perfectly serviceable Antichrist for American Christians, and the widespread prophetic associations between the Cold War and Revelation likely made nuclear holocaust more – if not palatable then at least – thinkable to evangelical Christians¹⁰⁶. The ongoing

104 J.M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213-1221*, Philadelphia 1986, pp. 18, 178-179. My views on the role of the prophecy in these later crusades has been fundamentally shaped by the work of Jessalynn Bird, particularly her paper, “Prophecy and the Crusade(s) of Frederick II (1213-1229)”, which she kindly shared with me as I prepared this article.

105 J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, Paris 1996, pp. 148-149, 566-570, though Le Goff is reluctant to say that Louis saw himself as an agent whose activity was bringing about the Last Days.

106 P. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More...*, pp. 115-151. The best introduction to this mindset is to immerse oneself in H. Lindsey, *The 1980's: Countdown to Armageddon*, King of Prussia (PA) 1980.

association of apocalyptic scenarios with Jerusalem and the concomitant, if strange, alliances between Orthodox Jews and fundamentalist Christians which it has inspired barely requires mention¹⁰⁷. Apocalyptic thought by itself does not create or cause mass violence. The writings of Pseudo-Methodius, Adso of Montier-en-Der and the *Tiburtine Sibyl* did not cause the crusade. But they did help sanction it and provide context for the massive sacrifice and (from an 11th-century European perspective) unprecedented violence that this conflict entailed.

Perhaps the most enduring historical legacy of the apocalyptic First Crusade concerns the art of history itself. The Latin intellectual class in 11th-century Europe had inherited a worldview from Late Antiquity, and more particularly from St Augustine, that was both conservative and pessimistic. The great event in the Sixth Age, the resurrection, had already happened. History would continue for a while longer, but as a discontinuous series of events. Mankind could not know the end, and mankind would play no role in bringing that end about. Rome could fall, but Rome itself was just another incarnation of Augustine's transient City of Man. Such a worldview shapes the chronicles of the early Middle Ages, which typically comprise non-linear records of events: lists of rulers, catalogs of unusual astronomical phenomena, strange weather occurrences, and the deaths of great men. But the First Crusade was something different. It was a lived narrative, a quest story with a clear beginning (the preaching of the crusade by Urban II or Peter the Hermit) and a clear end (the conquest of Jerusalem and the immediate follow-up victory of the Franks at Ascalon). It was a coherent campaign that seemed to have inaugurated the Last Days. And most crucially, human beings through their own action had set in motion the processes necessary to jumpstart the Apocalypse, the climax of history. Shattering an old-fashioned Augustinian passivity, the crusade engendered a sense of optimism and possibility that would long outlive the memory of the apocalypse originally at the heart of it, making this perceived end of time also the beginning of a new era in history.

ABSTRACT

With few exceptions, historians have argued that apocalyptic thought did not exert a meaningful influence on the crusade movement. Specialists in crusade history have preferred instead explanations based on the twin themes of penance and pilgrimage to explain its appeal. They have also tended to equate apocalypticism with hysteria and as such incapable of explaining a movement as successful as the First Crusade. Specialists in apocalyptic thought have focused mainly on chronology (particularly the years 800 and 1000) when looking for evidence of

¹⁰⁷ G. Gorenberg, *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount*, Oxford 2000, pp. 30-54.

eschatological expectation in the early Middle Ages, models ill-suited to the narrative of crusade history. But crusade chronicles are in fact infused with apocalyptic ideas and images, drawn both from biblical and extra-biblical sources, among the latter the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius and the biography of Antichrist by Adso of Montier-en-Der. The capture of Jerusalem inspired a new conceptualization of the historical model inherited from Late Antiquity. Humanity now took an active part in the fulfillment of the divine plan. Such a reading of the sources provides an explanation for the enduring appeal of the crusade and also reflects broader research on the power of apocalyptic ideas to inspire mass movements.

II. LITURGY

(THE SECTION EDITED BY ERIC PALAZZO)*

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LITURGY AND THE PROPAGATION OF FAITH IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL WEST



Liturgy was a serious matter in the early Middle Ages. Numerous guides – commonly known as *ordines missae* – were composed in order to instruct the clergy how it should be celebrated¹; prestigious scholars made an effort to explain how it should be interpreted²; and self-assured and talented ecclesiastics were busy composing prayers, re-editing old liturgical compositions, and adapting new ones for their own use³. This proliferation of liturgical activity

* Eric Palazzo has also edited section „Medieval Liturgy” in 20th volume of „Quaestiones” (2015).

1 On the *ordines* see *Les “Ordines romani” du haut Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Andrieu, I-V, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, XI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, Louvain 1931-1961. See also: A.-G. Martimort, *Les “ordines”, les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, LVI, Turnhout 1991; C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, transl. and rev. W.G. Storey, N.K. Rasmussen, Washington (DC) 1981, pp. 135-224; É. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, transl. M. Beaumont, Collegeville 1998, pp. 173-185; Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society, *Subsidia*, III, London 2001, pp. 62-64.

2 See, for example: Walafrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, ed. A.L. Harting-Corrêa, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, XIX, Leiden 1996; Amalarius of Metz, *On the Liturgy (“Liber officialis”)*, ed. and transl. E. Knibbs, I-II, Cambridge (MA) 2014.

3 See: C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy...*; É. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books...*; Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, AD 481-751*, Leiden 1995, pp. 43-60; idem, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy...*; Ph. Bernard, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien (VI^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Paris

is outstanding, and it cannot be explained simply as an inherent need of the Christian rite. Liturgy, I would argue, was perceived as an effective medium for the propagation of beliefs, ideals and norms, and consequently it became the focus of both ecclesiastical attention and political propaganda, which, in the early Middle Ages, more often than not, went hand in hand. In what follows, I should like to point at a few of the fundamental qualities of early medieval liturgy that facilitated its pivotal role in the propagation of faith and Christian ideology.

PREACHING THE WORD OF GOD

The simple mandate given to the Apostles at the end of the Gospel according to Matthew, was clear and straightforward: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you"⁴. It also set the tone for the future history of Christianity. Although missionary activity was not a prominent feature of ancient religions, and in the Roman Empire it was found only sporadically among both Jews and pagans⁵, Christianity, it appears, adopted a distinguished missionary routine from a fairly early stage⁶. The Acts of the Apostles relate how Jesus' disciples and followers gradually assumed the missionary vocation, and the history of Christianity from then onwards is, to a larger extent, the history of mission and evangelisation (even though in some periods evangelisation has been relatively insignificant)⁷.

When analysing the strategy and tactics of late antique and early medieval missionary activity, scholars have realised the central role of preaching. Our sources clearly stress the missionaries' duty to preach, and hence we read that Martin of Tours (d. 397) preached to the villagers of Gaul⁸, Eligius of Noyons (d. 659) preached to the pagans in his diocese⁹, Wilfrid (d. ca. 709)

1996; M. Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée: La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'Occident non romain*, Paris 2003.

4 Matthew 28:19-20.

5 See, for example, M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1994.

6 See E.J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, I-II, Leicester 2004.

7 See the various papers in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, eds. H. Frohnes et al., I-II, Münster 1974-1978.

8 See Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. and transl. J. Fontaine, I-III, Sources Chrétiennes, CXXXIII-CXXXV, Paris 1967-1969.

9 See *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis*, ed. B. Krusch, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (henceforth: MGH SRM), IV, Hannoverae 1902, pp. 663-741.

“preached the word of God daily to the people” of Frisia¹⁰, Willibrord (d. 739), according to Alcuin, was a “devoted preacher of the Word of God”¹¹, and Boniface (d. 754), “traversed the whole of Frisia, destroying pagan worship and turning away the people from their pagan error by his preaching of the Gospel”¹². No doubt, preaching was one of the most important duties of a missionary, and for contemporary authors and ecclesiastics it epitomised the very essence of what the missionary work was all about¹³.

Yet, preaching was by no means unique to the missionary scene. It gradually entered the liturgical sphere, and became a pronounced duty of those who celebrated the Christian rite¹⁴. As clearly pointed out by the Merovingian bishops who convened at Vaison (529), the priests should preach at each mass, and if they were unable to do so, then “the homilies of the holy fathers should be read by the deacons”¹⁵. Consequently, written homilies by prominent Church fathers, such as John Chrysostom (d. 407), Jerome (d. 420), Augustine (d. 430), or Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), were recorded and circulated throughout Christendom, and talented preachers were busy composing new homilies, recycling old ones, and compiling a repertoire of sermons for various occasions¹⁶.

10 Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfris*, ed. and transl. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1927, chap. 26, pp. 52-53: [...] *verbum Dei gentibus cotidie praedicavit*.

11 Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi archiepiscopi Traiectensis*, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM, VII, Hannoverae 1920, chap. 10, p. 124: [...] *pius verbi Dei praedicator*.

12 Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. W. Levison, in: *Vitae sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, LVII, Hannoverae 1905, chap. 8, p. 46: *Per omnem igitur Fresiam pergens, verbum Domini paganico repulso ritu et erraneo gentilitates more destructo, instanter praedicabat* [...]. I cite the English translation by C.H. Talbot, reprinted in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. T.F.X. Noble, T. Head, Philadelphia 1995, p. 134.

13 See, for example: L.E. von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung: Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1995; I.N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050*, London-New York 2001.

14 See: G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, London 1945, pp. 40-41; J.A. Jungemann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, transl. F.A. Brunner, I-II, Westminster (MD) 1986, I, pp. 456-461.

15 *Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (VI^e-VII^e siècles)*, eds. J. Gaudemet, B. Basdevant, I-II, Sources Chrétiennes, CCCLIII-CCCLIV, Paris 1989, I, pp. 190-191: [...] *sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur*. On this council, see O. Pontal, *Histoire des concils mérovingiens*, Paris 1989, pp. 82-84.

16 See, for example, L.K. Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul*, Notre Dame 2010. See also the various papers in *Sermo doctorum: Compilers, Preachers, and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen, M. Pollheimer, Turnhout 2013. On the homiliaries of the early Middle Ages, see: C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy...*, pp. 363-365; R. Grégoire, *Les Homéliers du Moyen Âge: Inventaire et analyse des manuscrits*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*, IV, Rome 1996; idem, *Homéliers liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse de manuscrits*, *Biblioteca degli Studi Mediaevali*, XII, Spoleto 1980.

Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) was such a keen preacher, who wrote down his sermons, and was eager to give a copy of them to anyone who showed the slightest of interests in preaching¹⁷. More than two hundred fifty sermons composed by Caesarius, or adapted by him from earlier compilations, survived¹⁸, and their influence on many a generation of early medieval preachers was enormous¹⁹. These sermons were not necessarily catechetical expositions, scriptural explanations, or theological reflections. Some of them touched upon various social issues and very mundane topics, in an attempt to create a better Christian and moral society, whose salvation is ensured. An interesting case in point is a series of sermons dedicated by Caesarius of Arles to pagan practices and superstitions²⁰, and their recycled version in the Homiliary of Burchard of Würzburg (d. 754)²¹.

“ALL THE WORLD’S A STAGE...”

The sermon that was delivered as part of the liturgical rite to an already christianised audience was, no doubt, the most obvious medium for the propagation of the Christian creed and for the inculcation of certain ideals and social norms. But there was more to liturgy than that. The entire liturgical scene, with its dramatic qualities and cathartic undertones, rendered the Christian message more effective, and hence also had a crucial role in transmitting the Christian faith to a captivated audience.

The idea that the Christian rite was a form of theatrical performance goes back at least to the 9th-century controversial scholar Amalarius of Metz (d. 850), who was the first to interpret the liturgy as “drama”²². In the preface to his treatise *On the Liturgy*, he writes that:

17 *Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM, III, Hannoverae 1896, pp. 457-501, at pp. 479-480. On Caesarius and his preaching, see W.E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge 1994. See also: A. Ferreiro, “*Frequenter legere*”: *The Propagation of Literacy, Education, and Divine Wisdom in Caesarius of Arles*, “*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*” XLIII (1992) 1, pp. 5-15; K. Brunner, *Publikumskonstruktionen in der Predigten des Caesarius von Arles*, in: *Sermo doctorum...*, pp. 99-126.

18 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, I-II, Maredsous 1937-1942, repr. in: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, CIII-CIV, Turnhout 1953.

19 See, for example, G. Morin, *The Homilies of Caesarius of Arles, Their Influence on the Christian Civilization of Europe*, “*Orate Fratres*” XIV (1940), pp. 481-486.

20 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, nos. 50-53, pp. 224-235.

21 See: Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 162-167; idem, *The Content and Aims of the So-Called Homiliary of Burchard of Würzburg*, in: *Sermo doctorum...*, pp. 127-152. On the problematics of references to pagan practices and superstitions in early medieval sources, see idem, *The Early Medieval West*, in: *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. D.J. Collins, Cambridge 2015, pp. 183-206.

22 On Amalarius, see W. Steck, *Der Liturgiker Amalarius: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zu Leben und Werk eines Theologen der Karolingerzeit*, München 2000. See also the introduction to

The sacraments should in some way resemble those things of which they are sacraments. Let the priest therefore resemble Christ, just as the bread and drink resemble Christ's body. And so the priest's sacrifice on the altar, to some extent, resembles Christ's sacrifice on the Cross²³.

Modern scholars followed suit, and in 1965 Osborne Hardison had argued that during the Carolingian age the mass was perceived as a "play", dubbing the Christian Eucharistic rite as "the drama of the Middle Ages"²⁴. This is not the place to rehearse the various observations made by scholars throughout the years on either the interrelationship between liturgy and drama in the Middle Ages²⁵, or the emergence of liturgical drama²⁶. Nor is it the place to consider how controversial and marginal Amalarius' views were in Carolingian Francia²⁷. Nevertheless, the dramatic qualities of the early medieval rite should not be underestimated, or simply ignored.

The congregation, which normally stood, filling up the church, was captivated by the ritual that went on. Their role was not passive, as one may assume, but a very active one. They had to respond to the celebrant and the clergy several times, they had to sing several hymns and antiphons, and at the end of the celebration they had to proceed to the altar in order to receive the sacrament²⁸. All the senses were stimulated²⁹, and hence enhanced the didactic

Ch.A. Jones, *A Lost Work by Amalarius of Metz*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia, II, London 2001.

23 See, for example, Amalarius of Metz, *On the Liturgy...*, I, premissum 7, pp. 6-7: *Sacramenta debent habere similitudinem aliquam earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt. Quapropter similis sit sacerdos Christo, sicut panis et liquor similia sunt corpore Christi. Sic est immolatio sacerdotis in altari quodammodo ut Christi immolatio in cruce.* On this passage, see Ch.C. Schnusenberg, *The Relationship between the Church and the Theatre*, New York 1988, esp. pp. 163-169.

24 O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore 1965, pp. 37-78.

25 For a general survey, see: F. Rainer, *Drama and Ritual*, "Themes in Drama" V (1983), pp. 159-223; H. Reifenberg, *Gottesdienst und das dramatischen Perspektiven zum Verhältnis Liturgie – Darstellungskunst – Theater*, in: *Liturgie und Dichtung: Ein interdisziplinäres Kompendium*, eds. H. Becker, R. Kaczynski, I-II, St Ottilien 1983, II, pp. 227-255.

26 The starting point on this issue is K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, I-II, Oxford 1933. For a superb survey of the emergence of early medieval liturgical drama, see S. Rankin, *Liturgical Drama*, in: *The New Oxford History of Music*, II: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, eds. R. Crocker, D. Hiley, Oxford 1990, pp. 310-356.

27 On the ways in which Amalarius of Metz is perceived by modern scholars, see my review of Ch.A. Jones' book, in "Early Medieval Europe" XI (2003), pp. 401-402.

28 See Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 67-75.

29 See: É. Palazzo, *Art, Liturgy and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages*, "Viator" XLI (2010) 1, pp. 25-56; idem, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2014.

message that was embodied in the biblical readings and the sermons³⁰. The entire scene generated a certain cathartic effect that offered the believers some psychological relief³¹, and paved the way for the adoption of the Christian message.

No wonder, then, missionaries had exploited the dramatic power of the liturgical rite for their own use³². Public liturgical ceremonies, like spectacular processions accompanied by prayers and the singing of psalms, were used by missionaries in order to attract the attention of the pagan inhabitants of the region in which they operated. An illuminating example is to be found in Bede's description of Augustine's processional entry into Canterbury in 597:

It is related that as they approached the city in accordance with their custom carrying the holy cross and the image of our great King and Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this litany in unison: "We beseech Thy, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia"³³.

Although this passage can hardly be regarded as an accurate historical description³⁴, the fact that Bede (d. 735) chose to describe Augustine's entrance into Canterbury in this way clearly indicates that he understood liturgical processions to be an appropriate missionary behaviour. These ceremonies were both solemn and non-threatening, and they were powerful enough to grab the attention and raise the interest of the people who saw them for the first time³⁵. It was only after these attention-grabbing ceremonies were

³⁰ On the so-called Gallican reading system, see: *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil*, ed. P. Salmon, *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, VII, Rome 1944, pp. XXXVII-XCII; C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy...*, pp. 299-304, esp. pp. 303-304; E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books...*, pp. 83-105.

³¹ See Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 80-81.

³² See Y. Hen, *Missionaries and Liturgy*, in: *Bonifatius: Leben und Nachwirken: Die Gestaltung des christlichen Europa im Frühmittelalter*, eds. F.J. Felten, J. Jarnut, L.E. von Padberg, *Quellen und Anhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte*, CXXI, Mainz 2007, pp. 341-352.

³³ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. and transl. B. Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, repr. 2007, I.25, pp. 74-76: *Fertur autem quia adpropinquantes civitate more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetantiam consona voce modularentur: "Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia"*. I cite the English translation by J. McClure, R. Collins, Oxford 1994, p. 40.

³⁴ See D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age*, in: *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal, Washington (DC) 1983, pp. 1-69, at p. 6, n. 14 (reprinted in: idem, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester 1991, pp. 161-240, at p. 209, n. 15). See also J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary*, Oxford 1988, p. 36.

³⁵ For example, when Adalbert of Prague and his companions arrived in Prussia, they were immediately identified as strangers "from another world, dressed in obscure clothed and

performed and a large enough audience was gathered, that the preaching of the Word could begin.

Apart from attracting the attention of potential converts, these rituals were also a clear public statements that were made by the missionaries, marking them as coming from a different religion. According to Bede, for instance, this is exactly how the pagan inhabitants of Saxony interpreted the unusual behaviour of White Hewald and Black Hewald (d. 695):

When the barbarians saw them continually engaged in psalms and prayers and daily offering up the sacrifice of the saving Victim of God – for they had sacred vessels with them and a consecrated board instead of an altar – they realised that these men were of a different religion³⁶.

Moreover, with these ceremonies the missionaries not only declared openly their new religion, they also drew in broad lines the purpose of their mission. This is precisely what Augustine and his companions did on their way to meet King Æthelberht of Kent (d. 616):

[...] they were ... bearing as their standard a silver cross and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a panel. They chanted litanies and uttered prayers to the Lord for their own eternal salvation and the salvation for those for whom and to whom they had come³⁷.

Similar ceremonial declarations of the new faith were often followed by ceremonies of possession, through which the missionaries announced their control over land and buildings that were, in one way or another, associated with local pagan cults. It is enough to mention Gregory the Great's letter to Mellitus (d. 624), to appreciate how these things were done – holy water was sprinkled in the pagan shrines, altars were built there, and relics were placed in them. "For if the shrines are well built – wrote Gregory – it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the service of the

practicing unheard-of rituals". Bruno of Querfurt, *Passio sancti Adalberti episcopi*, ed. G.H. Perz, MGH, *Scriptores*, IV, Hannoverae 1841, chap. 24, pp. 596-612, at p. 608: *Ex alio orbe, ignoto habitu et inaudito cultu*.

³⁶ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, V.10, p. 482: *Qui cum cogniti essent a barbaris, quod essent alterius religionis (nam et psalmis semper atque orationibus vacabant, et quotidie sacrificum Deo victimae salutaris offerebant, habentes secum vascula sacra et tabulam altaris vice dedicatam), suspecti sunt habiti [...]* (transl. J. McClure, R. Collins, p. 250).

³⁷ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, I.25, p. 74: *[...] crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, laetantiasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos venerant, salute aeterna Domino supplicabant* (transl. J. McClure, R. Collins, pp. 39-40).

true God"³⁸. And this could only be done in a symbolic public ritual, which at times took a spectacular violent turn³⁹.

Further on in his letter to Mellitus Pope Gregory (d. 604) gave another, arguably more practical, reason for using liturgy. Liturgical celebrations were meant to replace the old pagan rituals:

And because they are in the habit of slaughtering much cattle as sacrifices to devils, some solemnity ought to be given them in exchange for this. So on the day of the dedication or the festivals of the holy martyrs, whose relics are deposited there, let them make themselves huts from the branches of trees around the churches which have been converted out of shrines, and let them celebrate the solemnity with religious feasts⁴⁰.

The Christian rituals should have been, according to Gregory, solemn and impressive enough in order to give both potential converts and newly converted Christians an appropriate substitution for the *pompa diaboli* they were used to. Hence, liturgy was perceived as an exciting engagement, whose long lasting effect on the audience – pagan or Christian, aristocratic or peasant – was undeniable.

LITURGY AND SOCIETY

Early medieval Europe was, by and large, an agrarian society that lived according to the seasonal cycle even after the introduction of Christianity. Nevertheless, the Christian liturgical cycle became an important factor in everyday life, and local churches throughout Europe strove to create an essentially Christian rhythm that was to replace the pagan sequence of festivals⁴¹. The agrarian cycle, one should stress, was never obliterated. It

³⁸ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, I.30, p. 106: *Quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari [...]* (transl. J. McClure, R. Collins, p. 57).

³⁹ See Y. Hen, *La repressione dei pagani nell'agiografia merovingia*, in: *Agiografia e culture popolari: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Verona (28-30 ottobre 2010)*, ed. P. Golinelli, Verona 2012, pp. 193-206.

⁴⁰ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, I.30, pp. 106-108: *Et quia boves solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua sollemnitas inmutari: ut die dedicationis vel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religionis conviviis sollemnitatem celebrent [...]* (transl. J. McClure, R. Collins, p. 57). Of the extensive literature on Gregory's letter and open-minded attitude, I need only cite here P. MEYVAERT, *Diversity within Unity: A Gregorian Theme*, "Heythrop Journal" IV (1963), pp. 141-162 (repr. in IDEM, *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others*, London 1977, chap. 6); R. MEENS, *A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England*, "Anglo-Saxon England" XXIII (1974), pp. 5-17.

⁴¹ See: Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 61-153; É. Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2000.

continued to punctuate the life of the people, with some points of connection with the Christian calendar, such as Easter, which often coincided with the spring harvest. But, as soon as a Christian rhythm was established, the pace of life, even in the most remote agrarian societies of Christendom, was clearly given a Christian beat, and liturgy orchestrated it.

In a series of sermons delivered to the Christian community of 5th-century Rome, Pope Leo the Great (d. 461) made a noteworthy attempt to shape the lives of Rome's inhabitants by public liturgical worship⁴². As pointed out by Robert Markus, Leo's preaching reveals a clear effort to draw his congregation into the rhythm of the Church's public worship. "Time and again he is trying to awaken in his audience a sense of the moment in the sacred time-scheme whose deep rhythms he wishes to reverberate in the hearts and the minds of his hearers"⁴³. Similar concerns were shown by Caesarius of Arles, who hurried after those who left church in the middle of mass, admonishing them for refusing to hear his sermon⁴⁴.

One of Leo's most influential followers, Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604), was the first to set up a papal scheme to christianise time. After encouraging a ruthless confrontational process in the conversion of pagans, Gregory realised that a lenient flexible approach, which is fully developed in his above cited letter to Mellitus, may be much more effective⁴⁵. According to Gregory's new approach, the christianisation of time was a crucial prerequisite for the success of any mission, and accordingly both missionaries and clergymen made a constant effort to formulate a Christian calendar for their communities. This was done by the introduction of the so-called Christian temporal cycle⁴⁶, and more so by the introduction of various sanctoral cycles.

⁴² See: S. Wessel, *Leo the Great and the Spiritual Rebuilding of a Universal Rome*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*, XCIII, Leiden-Boston 2008; M.R. Salzman, *Leo's Liturgical Topography: Contestations for Space in Fifth-Century Rome*, "Journal of Roman Studies" CIII (2013), pp. 208-232.

⁴³ R.A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 125-135, the citation at p. 127.

⁴⁴ *Vita Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis*, I,27, pp. 466-467.

⁴⁵ On Gregory the Great's approach, see: R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and a Papal Missionary Strategy*, in: *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History, VI, London 1970, pp. 29-38 (repr. in: idem, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*, London 1982, chap. 11); idem, *Gregory the Great and his World*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 177-187; A. de Vogüé, *Les vues de Grégoire le Grand sur l'action missionnaire en Angleterre*, in: *L'Église et la mission au VI^e siècle: La mission d'Augustin de Canterbury et les Églises de Gaule sous l'impulsion de Grégoire le Grand: Actes de Colloque d'Arles de 1988*, ed. Ch. de Dreuille, Paris 2000, pp. 55-64.

⁴⁶ On the temporal cycle and the celebration of the mass, see Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 61-81, see there for further bibliography.

Whereas the temporal cycle of liturgy was rather fixed, with hardly any flexibility, the sanctoral cycle offered each and every Christian community an opportunity to shape its own liturgical pace⁴⁷. Let us take, for example, the sanctoral cycle of Arles in southern Gaul. Very few saints were venerated in Arles in the late 5th century, and only one of them can be identified as a local saint (i.e. Honoratus, d. 429). This situation changed dramatically under Bishop Caesarius and his successor Aurelianus (d. 551), who built churches, collected relics, instituted new saints' feasts, and constantly preached the Christian faith to the inhabitants of city and its environs. During their episcopacy, the number of saints venerated in Arles continuously multiplied, and by the mid-6th century the sanctoral cycle of Arles was composed of feasts in honour of more than twenty-five saints, several of which were bishops, clerics, abbots and monks in the region⁴⁸. Even if not all these saints were commemorated with a pompous celebration, still the annual-cycle of Arles was distinctively punctuated by various local liturgical feasts.

Moreover, the sanctoral cycle of Arles shows some clear signs of careful planning. A cluster of feasts in honour of local saints was assigned in Arles to the end of August, and thus created a festive period of local liturgical celebrations that must have harnessed local patriotic feelings and identity. This tendency was by no means unique to Arles, as can be deduced from other examples, such as the sanctoral cycle of Auxerre in Burgundy, which turned the month of May into a prolonged period of liturgical celebrations in the city⁴⁹. This is exactly what Gregory the Great had in mind when he wrote to Mellitus, and this is exactly why missionaries were equipped with long lists of potential saints' feasts⁵⁰. At any given moment a Christian feast could be found in order to replace a pagan celebration, or a celebration thought to be pagan by the Church and its representatives.

⁴⁷ On the sanctoral cycle of liturgy, see Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 82-120. See also E. Rose, *Hagiography as a Liturgical Act: Liturgical and Hagiographic Commemoration of the Saints in the Early Middle Ages*, in: *A Cloud of Witnesses: Saints and Role Models in Christian Liturgy*, eds. M. Barnard, P. Post, E. Rose, Louvain 2005, pp. 161-183.

⁴⁸ On the sanctoral cycle of Arles, see Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 89-92.

⁴⁹ On the liturgical cycle of Auxerre, see: J.-Ch. Picard, *Espace urbain et sépultures épiscopales à Auxerre*, "Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France" CLXVIII (1976), pp. 205-222 (repr. in: *La christianisation des pays entre Loire et Rhin (IV^e-VII^e siècle)*, ed. P. Riché, Paris 1993, pp. 205-222, with an updated bibliography on pp. 264-265); Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 97-100.

⁵⁰ An excellent example is St Willibrord's calendar (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10837, fols. 34v-40r), which lists more than a hundred saints feasts. See *The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. H.A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, LV, London 1918. On Willibrord's calendar, see: Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 102-107; F. Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827*, Notre Dame 2006, pp. 37-41.

To complete the picture, the personal cycle of liturgy painted all the personal events that punctuated the life of the individual with a clear Christian tint⁵¹. Be it birth, coming of age, marriage or death, the Church was there with its liturgy, ready to take over all the crucial junctions in the human life cycle, and to provide them with a Christian religious context, if not a proper Christian meaning. Early medieval sacramentaries contains numerous prayers not only for the major events in the individual's life, but also prayers and benedictions for the cure of medical problems, for various domestic affairs, for the control of meteorological calamities, or for the well-being and safe return of travellers. Combing through the various liturgical sources, one cannot fail to realise that throughout the early Middle Ages the individual life experience witnessed a dramatic Christian makeover through the intervention of liturgy⁵².

LITURGY AND POLITICS

Liturgy, as we have just seen, became part and parcel of early medieval society, not only because it was practised by Christians, but also because it helped shaping their social and cultural world, and because it disseminated ideals and values, that later became the most eloquent witnesses to the christianisation of society. Kings and early medieval policy makers did not fail to notice that, and subsequently made a compelling effort to deploy liturgy as an effective machinery for royal propaganda.

At the beginning of the 7th century, after heaping on Saint-Denis a huge amount of treasure and landed property, King Dagober I (d. 639) made an attempt to institute at the abbey the singing of psalms in shifts (*per turmas*)⁵³, following the model of Saint-Maurice of Agaune⁵⁴. By instituting and enforcing religious practices – in this case the so-called *laus perennis* – Dagobert exercised control over the monks of Saint-Denis, securing their prayers, and consequently increasing his chances for salvation. No doubt, the fact that he

51 On the personal cycle of liturgy, see Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 121-153. See also É. Palazzo, *Liturgie et société...*

52 See, for example, the various prayers in the third part of the so-called Old Gelasian Sacramentary, in *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, eds. L.C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer, P. Siffrin, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior*, IV, Rome 1960, III, pp. 176-248.

53 On Dagobert and his patronage of liturgy, see Y. Hen, *Flirtant avec la liturgie: Rois et liturgie en Gaule franque*, "Cahiers de civilisation médiévale" L (2007), pp. 33-42.

54 B. Rosenwein, *Perennial Prayer at Agaune*, in: *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society: Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, eds. S. Farmer, B. Rosenwein, Ithaca-London 2000, pp. 37-56.

was planning to entrust his bones to the abbey of Saint-Denis had something to do with it.

Although unsuccessful in the long term, Dagobert's endeavour to institute a perpetual chant in Saint-Denis is an important turning point in the history of the royal patronage of liturgy in early medieval West⁵⁵. Dagobert, it seems, realised the power embedded in liturgy, and for the first time in western history, we hear of a king who clearly linked the endowment of riches to ecclesiastical institutions with prayers. Subsequently, in Merovingian and Carolingian Francia, acts of liturgical patronage became an instrument by which heavenly protection could be sought for the benefit of the kingdom and its ruler⁵⁶.

Against this background, it should come as no surprise that many of the liturgical books from the early medieval West contain prayers *pro rege, pro regibus*, or *in pace*⁵⁷. Let us take, for example, the *missa pro regibus* incorporated into the Old Gelasian Sacramentary (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 316 + Paris BnF lat. 7193), which was copied at the mid-8th century in either Chelles or Jouarre⁵⁸:

A MASS FOR THE KINGS

O God, protector of all the kingdoms and of the greatest Roman empire, let your servants N., our kings, adorn the triumph of your virtue skilfully, so that they, who are *principes* by your command, may always be powerful in their duty.

O God, in whose hand lay the hearts of the kingdoms, lend the ears of your compassion to our humble prayers and give the guidance of your wisdom to our *principes*, your servants, so that drinking from your fountain for their assemblies they may please you and may rise above all the kingdoms.

SECRET: Accept, O Lord, the supplicant prayers and sacrifice of your Church for the safety of N., your servant, and work the old miracles of your arm for the protection of the faith of the people, so that after

⁵⁵ See, for example, E. Ewig, *La prière pour le roi et le royaume dans les privilèges épiscopaux de l'époque mérovingienne*, in: *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier*, Toulouse 1979, pp. 255-267.

⁵⁶ Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy...*, passim.

⁵⁷ Some of these masses were analysed by M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 344-347; Y. Hen, *The Uses of the Bible and the Perception of Kingship in Merovingian Gaul, "Early Medieval Europe" VII* (1998), pp. 277-289; idem, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy...*, passim; M. Garrison, *The missa pro principe in the Bobbio Missal*, in: *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, eds. Y. Hen, R. Meens, Cambridge 2004, pp. 187-205.

⁵⁸ On the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, see: C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy...*, pp. 64-70; Y. Hen, *Culture and Religion...*, pp. 44-45; M. Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée...*, pp. 126-145.

the enemies of peace are surpassed, the secure Roman freedom may serve you.

DURING THE ACT: Thus, O Lord, accept this oblation of your servant N., which we offer you by the ministry of the sacerdotal office, just as you regarded it worthy to bestow upon him the power of ruling, gracious and generous [as you are] receive [him under your protection]; and implored grant our entreaty, so that confident in the protection of your majesty, he may be blessed with age and kingdom.

AFTER COMMUNION: O God, who prepared the eternal Roman empire by evangelical predicting, present the celestial arms to your servants N., our *princeps*, so that the peace of the churches may not be troubled by the storm of wars⁵⁹.

It begins with an appeal for triumph, after which God is asked to give his guidance to the ruler and to protect him, and it concludes with a wish for peace⁶⁰. Not only were these prayers an emotional appeal, asking God to protect the kingdom's peace, to secure its stability, and to grant victory to the ruler, they also disseminate what appears to be an utterly Christian political ideology, a forerunner of the formula *rex Dei gratia*.

The Merovingians had harnessed a newly christianised concept of kingship and anchored it in a complex network of patronage, endowments and liturgical practices⁶¹. Through the prayers on behalf of the king and

59 *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*, III.62.1505-1509, pp. 217-218:

ITEM MISSA PRO REGIBUS

Deus, regnorum omnium et romani maximae protector imperii, da servis tuis regibus nostris illis triumphum virtutis tuae scienter excolere, ut cuius constitutione sunt principes, eius semper munere sint potentes. Per.

Deus, in cuius manu corda sunt regum, inclina ad praeces humilitas (sic) nostrae aures misericordiae tuae ut principibus nostris famulis tuis illis regimen tuae adpone sapientiae, ut austis de tuo fonte consiliis et tibi placeant et super omnia regna praecellant. Per.

SECRETA: *Suscipe, domine, praeces et hostias ecclesiae tuae pro salute famuli tui illius subplicantis et protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachi (sic) tui operare miracula, et superatis pacis inimicis securo tibi seruiat romana libertas. Per.*

INFRA ACTIONEM: *Hanc igitur oblationem, domine, famuli tui illius, quam tibi ministerio officii sacerdotalis offerimus, pro eo quod in ipsum potestatem imperii conferre dignatus es, propicius et benignus adsume; et exoratus nostra obsecratione concede, ut maiestatis tuae protectione confidens et euo augeatur et regno. Per.*

POST COMMUNIONEM: *Deus, qui praedicando aeterni regni evangelio romanum imperium praeparasti, praetende famulis tuis illis principibus nostris arma caelestia, et pax aecclaeiarum nullo turbetur tempestate bellorum. Per dominum.*

60 On the image of peaceful rulership in the early medieval West, see P.J.E. Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power, and Early Medieval Political Imagination*, Oxford 2011.

61 On the christianisation of kingship in Frankish Gaul, see: Y. Hen, *The Uses of the Bible...*; idem, *The Christianisation of Kingship*, in: *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, eds. J. Jarnut, M. Becher, Münster 2004, pp. 163-177.

the kingdom the Frankish kings also disseminated messages of consensus, solidarity, peace and victory to their subjects, and through these prayers the king made his presence felt throughout the kingdom. Moreover, the prayers for the king and the kingdom in times of crisis made each and every subject personally involved and responsible for the welfare of the ruler and of the kingdom as a whole. In other words, the prayers *pro regibus* reflect a reality of consensus politics, and ideas of peace and solidarity within the kingdom that were to become the prevailing characteristics of the Carolingian political ideology under Pippin III (d. 751), Charlemagne (d. 814), and their successors⁶². It will suffice to mention here the immense effort taken by the Carolingians to organise coronations, large scale liturgical processions in times of crisis, lavish acts of patronage, and, of course, the *laudes regiae*⁶³, to demonstrate how the Carolingians adopted and endorsed the Merovingian practice of patronising liturgy for political purposes.

CONCLUSION

In his thought-provoking study of religion as a cultural system, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz had noted that “it is, primarily at least, out of the context of concrete acts of religious observance that religious conviction emerges on the human plane”⁶⁴. Early medieval churchmen clearly understood that in order to turn their preaching effective, they had to support it with concrete acts. That was offered in the form of liturgical ceremonies. Priests and bishops throughout Christendom realised the potential power within such ceremonies, and therefore invested much time and effort in organising public rituals that were both imposing and engaging spectacles. The special

⁶² See, for example: J.L. Nelson, *Kingship, Law and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Rheims*, “English Historical Review” XCII (1977), pp. 241-279 (repr. in: eadem, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, London 1986, pp. 133-171); eadem, *Legislation and Consensus in the Reign of Charles the Bald*, in: *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill*, eds. P. Wormald et al., Oxford 1983, pp. 202-227 (repr. in: eadem, *Politics and Ritual...*, pp. 91-116); K.F. Morrison, *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West*, Princeton 1982, pp. 136-161; idem, “Unum ex multis”: *Hincmar of Rheims’ Medical and Aesthetic Rationales of Unification*, in: *Nascita dell’Europa ed Europa Carolingia: Un’equazione da verificare*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, XXVII, Spoleto 1981, pp. 583-712.

⁶³ On all these, see Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy...*, pp. 42-130. See also I.H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)*, Leiden-Boston 2008.

⁶⁴ C. Geertz, *Religion as a Cultural System*, in: idem, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York 1973, pp. 87-125, at pp. 112-113 (originally published in: *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. M. Banton, London 1966, pp. 1-46).

clothes of the clergy⁶⁵, the various gestures made by the celebrant, the singing of psalms and antiphons, the reading passages from the Bible, and the orchestration of the entire event created an irresistible dramatic atmosphere which controlled the human mind throughout. It generated the feeling of holiness, solemnity and sublimity, and if one adds to it the texts that were recited and their religious meaning, one cannot escape from defining these liturgical ceremonies as a highly sensual and immensely impressive events, which confirmed, consolidated, and enhanced the Christian message preached by the celebrant. It was only in the context of liturgical rituals, as part of the celebration of the mass, that the Word of God was preached to the vast majority of the Christian population and to potential converts. Given liturgy's unique qualities and effectiveness, it is not at all surprising that kings and their advisors also used it whenever they wanted to express their authority or stress their privileged position within Christian society.

ABSTRACT

From a fairly early stage the Christian rite was perceived as an effective medium for the propagation of Christian ideology and beliefs. This paper explores the various ways in which the liturgy of the early medieval Gaul was used by clergymen and rulers as an efficient machinery of Christian propaganda. By looking at the dramatic atmosphere generated by the Christian liturgy, as well as the various components of the liturgical rite itself, a clearer picture of the efficacy and value of the liturgy begins to emerge.

⁶⁵ See M.C. Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800-1200*, Ithaca 2014.

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SPANISH-MOZARABIC FUNERAL RITUALS: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE RITE



1. THEOLOGICAL SOURCES OF SPANISH-MOZARABIC EXEQUIES: THE ROLE OF SPANISH FATHERS

A specific characteristic of the Spanish euchologia is their pastoral reference: They became the best medium for the Christian system and were preferred to theological treatises, being the focus of attention of the shepherds of the Church on the Iberian Peninsula. For this reason a number of bishops from the late-Roman and Visigoth period had a significant influence on writing liturgical texts of the Spanish Rite. Among them were the following: Gregory of Elvira (4th c.), Just of Urgell (4th c.), Leander of Seville (6th c.), John of Saragossa (7th c.), Eugene of Toledo (7th c.), Julian of Toledo (7th c.), and Salvo, Abbot of Albelda (10th c.). The reminiscences of liturgical orations, which testify to their knowledge and popularity, are conveyed by numerous sources. A meaningful example is the description of the death of one of bishops of Seville. The author of the account, a Redemptus, puts in the mouth of this bishop a prayer with a clear liturgical reference (cf. PL 81,31). Also the letters, in which their authors, such as St Braulio of Saragossa, extending their condolences because of the deaths of those close to the recipients, seem to refer to prayers existing at that time, quoting verbatim the liturgical formulas (e.g. *vita in melius mutari*)¹.

Those phrases, highly memorable for the participants of the liturgy, built, as they were quoted outside a direct liturgical context, first of all, a common eschatological vision. It is proven by its literary structure (with a clear division

¹ J. Llopis, *Influencia de los Padres Hispánicos en la liturgia de difuntos del antiguo rito autóctono*, in: *Mysterium et Ministerium: Miscelánea en honor del profesor I. Oñatibia Audela en su 75º cumpleaños*, ed. I. Oñatibia, Vitoria 1993, p. 292.

into *orantes, precantes*), showing liturgical “us” of the community, close and at the same time exceptional already in its terminology, which is signified by a typically Spanish usage of *refrigerium* (in the Ambrosian Rite: *proptuarium*)². This idea was already used by Tertulian (in ancient Rome it was meals on graves), referring to the “bosom of Abraham” and to what awaits a man after his death and before the Last Judgement. Also the phrases *consueta pietate* have liturgical connotations – all this shows not so much relationships, as noticed by the experts on the matter (Joan Llopis, José Janini), but the same intellectual and spiritual milieu. And it is not only about the content, but also the form and expression.

In Spanish liturgical prayers one can notice a widely used practice of applying terms, a predilection for using contrasts, and among the suggested epiphonemas or benedictions which formed funeral ceremonies Augustine’s ideas are detectable. Already during the first reading, noticeable are typically Spanish phrases *cum sanctis et electis* (*Liber Ordinum*, henceforth: LO³ 407), *Domine misericors et miserator* (LO 115), *receptus inter agmina beatorum, loca nesciat inferorum* (LO 396), which form the rhythm of the celebration and meticulously draw the attention of those saying prayers to the double perspective: worldly and eternal.

On the other hand, Álvaro of Córdoba in his *Memorialis sanctorum* emphasises the popularity among the Mozarabs of funeral songs such as the antiphon “*Aperiat tibi Dominus, paradosi ianuam, ut ad illam patriam revertar, ubi mors non est, ubi dulce gaudium perseverat*”, which was chanted by e.g. St Columba before her martyrdom (according to the account of Eulogius of Cordoba, quoted by Ferotino, LO 123). Yet there is one more hint hidden here, regarding connections between the cult of saints (martyrs) and the funeral liturgy, and perhaps even their identity. In the rubric at *oratio post nomina offerentium dicenda in quacumque missa* there is a mention that Archbishop Julian of Toledo had ordered to use it in order to avoid misuses which had been warned against by the 17th Council of Toledo (694), which in one of its canons states: “*de his qui missam defunctorum pro vivis audent malevole celebrare*” (LO 331). Some used this form for the living enemies, contravening the theological sense of this prayer, thus the reminder which appears in *Liber Ordinum*.

2 For instance in *Missa generalis defunctorum*.

3 Unless otherwise stated, references to *Liber Ordinum* (quoted below as LO) regard the edition *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* (vol. V) of 1969, the numbers given are the numbers of columns.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF SPANISH FUNERAL RITUALS

A typical example of the exequies of the Spanish-Mozarabic Rite is a five-part structure *ordo in finem hominis diei*, which is included in *Liber Ordinum*⁴. The name of this *ordo* derives from its first part devoted to the moment when a Christian dies (1), then the body is placed in a coffin and a cross is put next to it (2), the coffin is carried into a church (3), next the body is transferred to a cemetery (4) and the blessing of the grave takes place (5). Let us have a more detailed look at specific parts of the funeral rituals, focusing in particular on euchological texts, which uncover their theological sense⁵. One should also remember that, depending on the dead person, whether it was a child, bishop, presbyter or a consecrated virgin, the rituals varied according to the circumstances.

2.1. THE RITE OF VALEDICTION: THE VIGIL OVER THE DYING PERSON AND THE VALEDICTION OF THE DECEASED

Mozarabic Liturgy, shaped in the old tradition of the Church, which valued accompanying a dying Christian in his departure to eternity, starts its exequies with rituals that take place when earthly life comes slowly to an end, thus their name: *ordo in finem hominis diei*. In all probability the rituals described in *Liber Ordinum* concern more numerous monastic communities. They were able to perform them because they were large enough to provide, among other things, a long-lasting vigil by their brother in his death throes or engage a big number of persons in performing rituals.

In the rite of valediction one can identify two parts whose dividing line is the moment of death of a Christian. Before it happens, the community gathers around the ill person, bells toll (another suggestion that it might concern the superior of the community or a bishop), and a priest gives him the Holy Communion. In the Roman Rite it is called the *viaticum* (sustenance for the road), while the books of the Spanish Rite do not provide for a special ritual for this Holy Communion and do not apply any particular terminology to it. After it is taken, the persons present in the house of the dying man give him the kiss of peace, named *valefactio*, being the sign of reconciliation with God and his brothers, this time performed (as it is an integral part of the

4 On the origin of *Liber Ordinum* (*ex patrum ordine collectum*, as says the title of the version preserved in the Archive of Silos), and in particular on the divisions into *maior* (bishops) and *minor* – cf. J. Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, Barcelona 1998, pp. 255-256.

5 Cf. F.X. Pares, *Las exequias cristianas*, Barcelona 1998. The characteristic of rituals below is based mainly on descriptions by F.X. Pares and J. Llopis, being the deciphering of marginal notes in *Liber Ordinum* in their diverse editions.

liturgy, though in the Spanish Rite it occurs after the homily and before the preparation of an offering) in the context of the final parting with the community which the dying person had joined through baptism (perhaps also through monastic vows)⁶. As Francisco Xavier Pares remarks, this gesture of conveying the kiss of peace epitomises the “ecclesiastical dimension of death”, or the conviction that the dead person moves from the Church of the pilgrimage to the Church of the redeemed in Heaven. The same idea is expressed by other ceremonious texts, e.g. one of antiphons, *Fac quaesumus*, based on the words from Psalm 118 which, applying opposite expressions typical of Spanish Liturgy: *penis-votis, vicem-veritatem, hic-illic, turmis-choris*, emphasises in this way this dimension of moving from one Church to the other, which subsequently would pervade Roman Liturgy. As one can notice, the application of this specific literary convention, i.e. alternation, remains at the service of conveying profound theological truth.

At this stage it has to be added that not only *Liber Ordinum* but also numerous non-liturgical sources from the Visigoth period also confirm this tradition. Joan Llopis in his study enumerates in this context particularly *Vitae Patrum Emeritensium* or *Liber Vitas sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium*, where there are descriptions of these liturgical valedictions. After this meaningful gesture *valefactio*, the community buries itself in saying psalms and watches over the dying person until his departure. Spanish liturgical books mention thirty-seven psalms which should be said in these circumstances (quoting their *incipit* only), starting from Psalm 3 to Psalm 54. It should be remarked that applying psalms in Visigoth funeral rituals – being one of characteristic features of exequial rites in all Christian liturgies – included an important message concerning the Christian interpretation of death⁷. It is not meaningless that psalms, recited by believers in Christ on the days of joy and triumph (cf. James 5:13), are chanted during the valediction of the dead person instead of the “cry” of pagans, which articulated despair in the face of inevitability of death. The practice of chanting psalms during exequies is widely mentioned by synods, e.g. the one held in Braga in 561 forbids suicides to be taken after their death to the altar *cum psalmis* and to apply *psallendi officium* to those who

6 As Ferotin remarks in his notes on *Liber Ordinum*, that “*valefactio* supreme salutationis” as valediction or greeting was unknown to classical Latin. It is mentioned in the letter written by Bishop Italius of Barcelona to St Julian of Toledo in the 6th century. He also notices that such an inscription was found on the grave from the 5th century in Spain (“IN XPI NOMINE / MAXIME / AVE VALE”). In the 3rd century in Rome a Christian inscription read: “Ave dulcis anima bene valeas cum tuis in pace” (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, eds. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, I, Paris 1900, no. 2872). Cf. also M. Pérez González, *El latín de las inscripciones mozárabes*, in: *Wisigothica: After M.C. Díaz y Díaz*, ed. C. Codoñer Merino, Firenze 2014, pp. 341-386.

7 Cf. J. Mattoso, *Os rituais de morte na liturgia hispânica: Séculos VI a XI*, in: idem, *O Reino dos mortos na Idade Média peninsular*, Lisboa 1996, pp. 55-74.

had died before being baptised. The meaning of psalms was mentioned by Julian of Toledo in his *Prognosticon* (PL 96,473). He emphasized that they offer the dying brother protection (against Evil). In the structure of Spanish funeral rituals the chanting of psalms took place at four moments: in the hour of death throes, during the night vigil by the body of the deceased, during the burial into the grave (then the whole Psalm 37 is chanted and the burial ground is blessed) and, of course, in the votive *officio divino*.

When the death of a Christian takes place, the presbyter initiates, after the word of introduction, the saying of the responsory, which is termed in *Liber Ordinum laudes* and possesses its musical notation (also Spanish, only subsequently replaced with the French notation)⁸, and then he moves to the oration and blessing. This first prayer after the death, according to the style of the Spanish euchologia, underlines the dynamism of intervention: The intercession for the deceased manifests itself through an accumulation of verbs: *suscipe, agnosce, aperi, letifica, clarifica, veste*, and this is all to happen so that the person clad in blue (the robe from the parable, cf. Matthew 22:1-14) and washed by the holy spring of eternal life could rejoice with all estates of the saved who are listed in the prayer for a long time, from the prophets to the Elders from the Revelation⁹.

Next calls (*clamor*) take place in which God's mercy to the dead person is begged for with these words said three times: "Kyrie eleison, indulgentiam, Deus miserere, Kyrie eleison" (LO 111). Then *requiem aeternam* and the final prayer are said. It is only then that the preparation of the body for the funeral begins. It is dressed in proper clothes (when the deceased was a clergyman). One of the rubrics in *Ordo observandus in functione episcopi* (referring directly to the decisions taken at many Spanish councils, among others in Valencia in 546 or at the ninth in Toledo in 655) specifies that *capellum* should be put on the head, *sudarium* on the face, and the rest of the body should be clad in a tunic, short "trousers" (*femoralia*), an alb and a stole (*orarium*), shoes (*pedules*), while the ampulla (*ampulla*), the sign of the bishop's power of consecration (this is also a reference to the exclusive power to consecrate churches) are put in the hand. The hands and legs were tied up, and a white chasuble was put on at the end.

The "funeral toilet" is part of the ceremony in all cultures. Apart from its hygienic dimension it also reminds of the value of a human body, which is the shrine of the Holy Spirit. Spanish rules specify a great number of

8 Cf. C. Gutiérrez González, *Avatares de un repertorio marginal: Las preces de la liturgia hispánica*, "Revista de musicología" XXXV (2012) 2, pp. 11-41.

9 LO 110: [...] *ut inter gaudentes gaudeat, inter sapientes sapiat, inter martires coronatus sedeat, inter patriarchas et prophetas proficiat, inter apostolos Christum sequi gaudeat, inter arcangelos claritatem Dei provideat, inter paradisi rutilos lapides gaudeat, et notitiam Dei misteriorum agnoscat...*

actions connected with it, starting from washing the body and finishing with putting a distinguishing emphasis on the right attire of the deceased. Another characteristic of the rite is also a suggestion that the right liturgical book, in accordance with their holy orders, should be put on their chest: In the case of a deacon *Evangelium librum* was mentioned, a priest – *librum Manualem*, while a dead bishop was provided with *Evangelium plenarium*. Joan Llopis identifies the first of the books with *liber commicus*, the book containing evangelical periscopes read during a liturgy (the equivalent of the lectionary), while in the case of a bishop it would be the Bible itself. It was all done to emphasise that the grace of eternal life is connected with faithful performing of one's duties and it is this "faithfulness" that has the power to let one enter a new life with Christ.

2.2 PRAYERS AT THE DOORSTEP OF THE CHURCH: *ADDUCTIO ANTE FORES ECCLESIAE*

Next the body of the deceased is put in a coffin, and by its head a cross is always placed. It will accompany the departing faithful until his body is laid in the grave, as in a sense in its "shadow" one's worldly life took place and thanks to the cross a new life with Christ opens up. The bells toll and all the rituals are transferred to the entrance to the church, but without crossing its doorstep. This is where subsequent prayers are said, the deacon burns incense at the dead body and the assembled company say imploring calls (probably on the basis of the repeated *Kyrie* or other suitable epiphonemas). After greeting the faithful, the priest initiates chanting two responsories, focusing one's attention to the transient nature of life (*Dies mei transierunt...*), which is followed by the Lord's Prayer and blessing.

The meaning of this prayer can only be read as a reminder that through death a Christian enters eternity, thus becoming a member of the Church of the redeemed in Heaven. These rites emanate the outcries of request for mercy on the weaknesses of the deceased, clamour (*clamores*) for his purification before he enters the community of the redeemed, but combined with the chanting in adoration of God, expressed in the epiphonema *Gloria*.

2.3. ENTERING THE CHURCH AND THE EUCHARIST: *PERDUCTIO AD ECCLESIAM FORIS*

The third part of funeral rituals described in *Liber Ordinum* concerns bringing the body of the deceased in the church, *cancello posito*, namely to the place where the nave joins the chancel and the sanctuary, in the three-part structure of Visigoth temples¹⁰. Usually *cancellae* were built of stone, but they were also

¹⁰ R. Puertas Tricas, *Iglesias hispánicas (siglos IV al VIII): Testimonios literarios*, Madrid 1975. We can receive significant information concerning Spanish Liturgy and the ceremonious

wooden, decorated with ceramics. This bringing in the church takes place in the atmosphere of three or four series of prayers said (chanted) by priests. One of the first ones, included in *Liber Ordinum*, has a peculiar structure, as each verse begins with a consecutive letter in the alphabet (LO 114) and comes from the Psalter or hymns (the so called *abecedario*). This was not only the mnemonic technique, known already in antiquity, which was used in the composition of, among others, Psalm 118 or the Lamentation of Jeremiah in the Bible, but it also referred to the idea of the “origin” and the “end”, which resonances in the funeral liturgy.

There is no doubt that the Eucharist was celebrated for the dead person, which is proven by numerous mass forms contained in *Liber Ordinum* or *Missale Mixtum*, and the suitable readings to these masses are included in the Spanish *Liber commicus* (or *Comes*). We can identify the following variants of the mass for the dead in *Liber Ordinum*: *Missa in finem hominis diei* (LO 392), *de uno defuncto* (in a few versions: LO 395, LO 397 together with the Liturgy of the Hours), *de sacerdote defuncto* (LO 407), *de presbitero defuncto* (LO 410), *de parvulo defuncto* (LO 413), *de defunctis sacerdotibus* (LO 415, LO 423), *missa generalis defunctorum* (LO 417), *de defunctis* (LO 427, LO 429). Moreover, the following information can be found in the rubrics of LO: *celebrata iterum missa in ecclesia illa ubi sepeliendus est* (LO 142). The euchology in the forms of the funeral masses of the Spanish Rite raises the subject of the Resurrection of Christ as the reason for the rising from the dead of the believers.

What perfectly illustrates the logic of the expression of faith in resurrection is the prayer *Post Sanctus* in the general mass for the dead (LO 421). It starts with the invocation of God, who is always described with two names: *autor et conditor, redditor et indultor, dispensator et largitor*, who decided that the end of one life (worldly) is the beginning of a new one (eternal). For this reason the *finis* of one is the *principium* of another. Death appears in this dialectic as the waking from a dream and in reality we face the transformation of life, not its annihilation (*mutatur vita, non tollitur*). In another part of the prayer a litany appears which focuses on numerous situations in the surrounding nature, where life can be lost, yet it does not mean the end but the abandoning of the “old” and donning something “new”.

2.4. THE PROCESSION TO THE CEMETERY: *QUANDO CORPUS DICITUR AD TUMULUM*

After the end of the Eucharist the body is transferred in procession to the burial place, which is accompanied by the chanting of two characteristic

structure of temples from the miniatures decorating *Beatos*, the commentary to the Revelation by the monk Beato of Liebana – cf. F. Iñiguez, *La liturgia en las miniaturas Mozárabes*, “Archivos Leoneses” XV (1961), pp. 49-76.

antiphons, which will reintroduce the penitential dimension of the celebration. One of them resembles those sung on Good Friday, when the faithful ask for forgiveness (*indulgentia*) in the face of Christ's redemptive deed. In the case of the Spanish exequies, this purposeful recalling of the Good Friday elements of the liturgy, which are the most emotional, is the theological reference of the death of a Christian to the death of Christ himself. Yet at the same time it is worth emphasising that this reference is not a simple intellectual association, but it has, as one can say, the nature of a ritual.

Christian cemeteries of the Visigoth period are unique (in their reference to Germanic traditions) and they were the subject of archaeological investigations, which showed their noticeable transformations together with the conversion of the Arian Visigoths into Catholicism¹¹. Ferotin quotes in his footnotes to *Liber Ordinum* the extant tombstone inscriptions in Spain, depending on the status of the deceased, e.g. the one belonging to a certain bishop, discovered in Alcalá del Rio in Andalusia: "In hoc tumulo / iacet famulus Dei / Gregorius que ui / xit annos plus minus / LX. Recessit in pace die II nonas Febr / era DLXXXII [644]"¹². The issue of the burial place thereby brings the question of the so called *habitation sepulcri*, special burial chambers located in Visigoth temples. They served as the "anti-apse" and it is difficult to be precise in defining their function: They may have been intended for the needs of both the exequial liturgy and the penitential one. A similar function – also in the Spanish funeral liturgy – may have been played by sacristies. Those *habitation sepulcri* are mentioned by St Ildefonsus of Toledo. He indicated Bishop Eugenius of Toledo as the person who had such a burial place in the temple¹³. Moreover, in the case of the funeral of a bishop, the rubrics of *Liber Ordinum* mention sealing the grave with the mixture of wax and marble (which seems to be suggested by the formula *cera marmorare sepulcrum* in LO 145). As suggested by Ferotin, this may be the reference to the sealed grave of Christ or the protection of the grave from possible profanation. At this stage it should be emphasised that Christian gravestones (plaques, epitaphs) of the Visigoth period were topped with the cross, where characteristic inscriptions evoking the redemptive meaning of the cross of Christ were found¹⁴.

The situation of Christian cemeteries in the later, Mozarabic period, when the necessity of coexistence with Islam appeared, was different. Numerous

11 A. Ribera Lacomba, R. Soriano, *Los cementerios de época visigoda*, "Saitabi" XLVI (1996), pp. 195-230.

12 Cf. LO 134-136, where Ferotin gives examples of twelve inscriptions from epitaphs.

13 I.G. Bango Torviso, *La vieja liturgia hispana y la interpretación funcional del templo prerománico*, in: *VII Semana de Estudios Medievales: Nájera, 29 de julio al 2 de agosto de 1996*, ed. J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte, Logroño 1997, pp. 77-79.

14 LO 117, n. 3.

sources mention tensions which occurred during funeral liturgies in Al-Andalus, even because of having to cross areas of the cemeteries belonging to different religions¹⁵.

2.5 THE BLESSING OF THE GRAVE AND THE CONVEYING OF THE BODY:

ORDO AD CONSECRANDUM NOVUM SEPULCRUM

The final part of the Spanish exequies begins in a moment of the arrival at the burial site. It is initiated by the priest who greets the attendees and chants the antiphon *Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius* together with the whole Psalm 67, which prepares the faithful for comprehending a special rite, i.e. spilling salt in the grave. This action was accompanied by the prayer (LO 118) which explains the meaning of this symbolic gesture: Salt (and also incense smoke at least in the case of the burial of a bishop) exorcisms the burial site of a Christian. The Spanish-Mozarabic mentality ascribes a spiritual power of deterring all diabolic influence to salt so that the body could rest in peace until its ultimate resurrection¹⁶. Both salt and incense are for this liturgy the signs of God's power, which is just mentioned in Psalm 67, defeating its all enemies and fully revealing itself in the victory of Christ over death. Through blessing and spilling salt the grave of a Christian becomes a holy territory, but the essence of the sacred character of the grave lies in the dignity of the body of the Christian, which was the temple of the Holy Spirit and is designated for resurrection. The prayer of blessing – preceded by a series of antiphons, prayers, and also epiphonemas (*Kyrie*) – draws yet another parallel which reveals the sources of the Christian hope: The graves of Christians are sacred, first of all, by the power of the burial of Christ Himself, who had consented to be laid in the grave before his resurrection.

After the blessing of the grave performed in the name of the Trinity, the coffin is placed on the left side of the grave (LO 120) and a series of prayers, antiphons and epiphonemas are continued to be said, which orient the attendees to experience the greatness of God, who does not forget his servants (which is articulated in Psalms 24 and 102). These prayers also reminisce about the resurrection of Christ, who brings the faithful to the "bosom of

¹⁵ On burials in Andalusia in different periods of the dominance of Islam and social rituals accompanying them cf. M. Fierro, *El espacio de los muertos: Fetus andalusíes sobre tumbas y cementerios*, in: *Urbanisme musulman*, eds. P. Cressier, M. Fierro, P. van Staevel, Madrid 2000, pp. 153-189.

¹⁶ This is expressed as such by *oratio* from the analyzed *ordo* (LO 119): *quatenus curavimus per adspersionem salis ad receptaculum functe carnis, respect tue benignissime pietatis intuendo sanctifices, incursus ab eo omnium aerium potestatum dissociet et tentamenta hostis calidi propitatus elonges.*

Abraham". Next incense is burnt at the coffin and grave, which is followed by putting the body in the grave while five antiphons with prayers ascribed to them are sung. They express faith in the omnipresence of God: "when I go to Heaven You are there, when I go to Limbo...". All of them explain the meaning of the maternal gesture of the Church of transferring its son or daughter to earth in the hope that they will rise from ashes in order to live in the glory of Heaven. The priest who presides over the rituals holds the cross and *canulas* in his hand, it is probably a book of funeral songs. This atmosphere of transferring the body, as if purposefully prolonged with the plethora of prayers and chants, is intensified by the antiphon *Terra, terra, audi verbum Domini*, whose message is to remind everybody that there is no "title" of intercession for another man before God and for this reason the Church can only lay, humbly and trustingly, the body of the dead brother in the grave. The body was laid in the grave while singing this particular antiphon, which is directly mentioned in the rubrics of *Liber Ordinum*.

Just before the moment of laying the body in the grave one gesture is made which consists in pouring chrism onto the mouth of the dead bishop. It is described by one rubric in *Liber Ordinum*¹⁷, referring – just like in the case of the book of Gospel put on the chest of the deceased – to the mission which the dead shepherd of the Church had undertaken while taking his bishop's holy orders. Pouring the sacred chrism onto the mouth of the dead bishop also means a certain tribute to this mouth which, thanks to the consecration had become a tool of the Holy Spirit in the service of the preached Gospel¹⁸. The same mouth which opened up to preach the word of God, sing "a new song" in Heaven. This double perspective, referred to in many prayers of funeral rituals, is perfectly recapitulated in the words said at the end of the funeral of a bishop: "percipiat gratiam premii pro gratia sacramenti" (LO 145,10). Moreover, *Liber Ordinum* quotes different versions of antiphons and prayers during the funeral rituals of e.g. children, virgins and priests.

The closing of the grave, covering it with soil and stones, are accompanied by the chanting of another antiphon *Haec requies mea*, which is followed by the priest's prayer over the already sealed grave (*oratio post sepulcrum clausum*) and the triple *Kyrie*. After that, the final prayer and blessing are said. The deacon says good bye to the attendees and the ceremony comes to an end.

¹⁷ LO 143: *Sicque, iterum oblato incenso super corpore ipso, accedit episcopus qui ad eum humandum venerit, et aperiens ei os, mittit crisman in ore, dicens ei ita: Hoc pietatis sacramentum sit tibi in participatione omnium beatorum.*

¹⁸ J. Llopis, *Ritos peculiares de las exequias hispánicas*, "Phase" XI (1971), p. 207.

3. CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS OF RITUALS AND THEIR EUCHOLOGIA

Having learnt the organization of the celebrations connected with the funeral of a dead Christian one should focus on some characteristic elements of the rite and the fundamental doctrinal message which they convey.

3.1. RESPECT FOR THE BODY: *COMMENDATIO CORPORIS*

A number of already mentioned features of the celebration, candles, bells, the almost continuous chanting of antiphons and psalms, all this makes us aware that the funeral of a Christian is for Spanish Liturgy not so much the choir of lamentations but the festive (which is suggested by the plethora of rituals) celebration, though serious in its meaning, of transfer from the mortal to the eternal life. This is experiencing of a new birth, that *dies natalis*, which is often invoked when martyrs are recollected, and for this reason prayers said over the grave ready to receive the dead body become particularly meaningful. The Spanish Rite uses the term *commendatio* to name the laying of the body in the grave: *ordo ad commendandum corpus defuncti*. We will not find in the Spanish Rite the terms which could suggest the spiritual interpretation as it happens in other liturgies and periods. The rite focusing on the body of the deceased in this way emphasizes the truth about the resurrection of the body and, as Joan Llopis remarks, thus “combines popular realism with the theological depth”¹⁹.

This is not the spiritual anthropology: Spanish Liturgy explicitly fights against the exaggeration of presentations from the perspective of Platonism, suggesting deep rooting in the mystery of Incarnation. This also seems to be proven by the references in the formulae, such as *immortalitas largitor* which, as José Janini remarks, appear in the euchologia of Christmas and in exequies²⁰. The dignity of the body arises from the Incarnation of the Son of God. Revived by the Spirit, it aspires to eternal glory. The body has a special position in the rite, becoming the subject of worship rather than fear or anxiety. The prayers included in funeral masses emphasize the fragility (*fragilitas*) of this body, thus revealing the power of grace. Such is the man for the Spanish euchologia: What is finite and infinite meet in him (“*hominem ex finito et infinito constare feceris*”)²¹. Yet another example can be *alia* from the funeral mass for a dead priest: “*corpus eius, quod nunc animale ignobilitate / corruptionis atque infirmitate peccati merito seminatum est, surgens in incorruptione glorie,*

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 206.

²⁰ J. Janini, “*Sacramentorum prefationes y liturgia visigótica*, “*Hispania Sacra*” XVII (1964), p. 17. Cf. also the prayer *post sanctus* from *Missa generalis defunctorum* (LO 421).

²¹ LO 420.

virtute anime letantis spiritale reddatur” (LO 408). Further down there is a request that the deceased, standing before the Tribunal of Christ, should be allowed to experience the meeting with not the strict judge but the merciful Father.

3.2. BENEDICTIONS (*BENEDICTIONES*) AND EPIPHONEMAS (*CLAMORES*)

Already the first encounter with liturgical texts of the Spanish Rite strikes with the abundance of forms and emotionalism expressed in the attempt not to repeat set phrases but to engage all the attendees through the liturgical dialogue and epiphonemas.

Benedictions (*benedictiones*), which often appear in Spanish funeral rituals, are oriented to the request for the liberating of not only the deceased but also the living from all evil. Their chief quality is the noteworthy double character: Even though mercy for the dead is requested, something is always asked for the living²². There is no doubt this confirms a pastoral nature of Spanish Liturgy, which was a means of the spiritual formation of the faithful²³.

Prayers in exequies are logically connected with antiphons and psalms, forming an organic entirety. It is impossible to understand them without discovering the leading theological motifs which euchologia draw from the Holy Bible. It was a characteristic “interpenetration”, which extracted – based on the principle of *ruminatio*, or continuous remaining within the orbit of certain images or biblical phrases, analyzed in different configurations – the essence of theological expression²⁴. All this influenced the internal characteristic of these prayers, which emphasised the meaning of the community, humility of those saying prayers and the intensity of the requests made to God.

3.3. LITURGY IMPREGNATED WITH THE BIBLE

In liturgy the Church embarks on the dialogue with the Lord: God speaks to his people and for this reason the Church adopts the stance of a listener and waits for the proclamation of the Word of God. Next, it responds with the same word or the word inspired by it. This is the essential right of liturgy: It is

²² LO 149: *Christus Dominus, qui pro nobis ómnibus iniuriam sustulit crucis, fámulo suo ianuam vite celestis clementer aperiat, et nostrorum vincula scelerum miseratus absolvat. Amen. Illum suscipiat celesti in patria, ubi dulce gaudium fruuntur omnes electi, ab omni corruptione mortalitatis exutum, nobisque cum eo concedat post transitum perfrui regnum sine fine mansurum. Amen.*

²³ Cf. J.-M. Ferrer Grenesche, *El legado de la liturgia hispano-mozárabe*, “Crónica Mozárabe” LXV (2006), pp. 1-17.

²⁴ F.M. Arocena, *La misa hispánica Si credimus: Un ejemplo de la ruminatio litúrgica de la Escritura*, “Scripta Theologica” II (2000), pp. 631-642.

the word of the Bible itself which serves as the language in which the articles of faith are expressed, the responses of the faithful to the experience of the death of their brother. For this reason, a wide presence of biblical motifs, in the form of fixed phrases, images or terms, and even numerous references to particular pericopes, is an essential characteristic of exequies.

From the historical point of view, in all probability the first biblical influence on Spanish funeral rites was connected with reciting psalms²⁵. Many times in the rubrics of *Liber Ordinum* appears the reminder that a specific activity is performed together with chanting psalms. A number of prayers (for instance LO 400) both draw from psalms particular phrases or terms and adopt their main theological thoughts: A perfect example are in this case especially Psalms 118 and 124 (the prayer with this psalm often appears in Spanish Liturgy, which was later adopted by Roman Liturgy), or Psalm 142. The latter became the foundation of the prayer LO 400, emphasizing the importance of the "sign of baptism" and the power of a persistent prayer. Also what attracts one's attention is an uncharacteristic recitation of Psalm 22 ("the Lord is my shepherd"), where half of the antiphon is repeated after every verse, from *ubi mors* or *ubi dulce*, for example:

Ibi me conlocavit... ubi dulce...;
 Ibi me convertit... ubi dulce...;
 In domo Domini... ubi dulce...²⁶

In Spanish Liturgy three readings were read out during the Eucharist liturgy: from the books of the prophets in the Old Testament, from the letters of the Apostles (mainly by St Paul), and from the Gospel. Even preliminary research shows us that the Spanish exequies suggest relatively often the reading of Job 19:25-27 (especially when it concerns the funeral of a priest), Isaiah 58:10-11 (all the faithful), and in the second reading 1 Corinthians 15:51-57 is suggested (e.g. during the mass *de uno defuncto*), as well as Romans 14:7-11 (*pro uno sacerdote defunto*), and 1 Tessalonians 4:12-16 (*pro episcopo*). From among the pericopes of the Gospel, John 5:24 often appears, except for the mass for a bishop, when John 11:25-26 is read out. In the case of the mentioned reading from the book of Job, the liturgy wants to put in the mouth of the dead person the great hope that the Saviour would save him from evil, and manifest the hope, stronger than Job's, for future resurrection. The strength of this hope depends on the triumph of Christ over death, which is the authentic and the strongest consolation for a Christian in the face of evil. The Gospel of John is

²⁵ J. Llopis, *Influencia del salterio en la oración litúrgica: Testimonio de la liturgia funeraria del antiguo rito hispánico*, "Phase" III (1963), pp. 201-205.

²⁶ J. Llopis, *La Sagrada Escritura, fuente e inspiración de la liturgia de difuntos del antiguo rito hispánico*, "Hispania Sacra" XVII (1964), p. 370.

the proclamation of the authority of Christ, who has the power to judge and offer life for the faithful. All these writings exude optimism, they show Heaven as the kingdom of light and peace, emphasize the necessity of death in order to move to life, and the meaning of the reviving death of Christ.

4. THE THEOLOGICAL MEANING OF FUNERAL RITUALS IN THE SPANISH RITE

Death is for a Christian the last on earth expression of the worshipping of God: His prayer, when he approaches the transition to eternity joins, permeates, harmonizes with the prayer of the Church concerned about the eternal fate of his son and daughter in a way that they both become united. The Church acknowledges as its own the faithful's acceptance of adopting God's plan²⁷. The body becomes the object of visible care and emotion, and also veneration, as in it one can see the recollection of life. Noticing the approaching disintegration one seeks its "justification" in this fact so that the body could bloom in future. For this reason, Spanish funeral texts use the theology of death combined with the vision of life. It is optimistic yet constructed by all aspects of the liturgical year, thus systematically presenting its conception. Almost in all cases the Spanish texts avoid negative subjects: the pain of death, transition nature of life, and ruthlessness of the punishment in hell. Instead, they focus on forgiving sins, liberation, joy of Heaven, and the hope for resurrection. These are the texts which speak *in persona defunctis*, which is perfectly facilitated by the application of psalms but they also render a sense of community which in the valediction of the dead person expresses their faith and trust. For this reason the chanting of *Hallelujah* is not suspended (which occurs during Spanish penitential practices) but even intensifies the dynamism of worshipping God.

Placing itself in the position *petentes et orantes* (LO 132), the Spanish funeral liturgy's function is not only to comfort the living or to encourage them to say the prayer for the deceased, or to prepare the living for their death. It is also to build the awareness of a Christian – the liturgy is here an exceptional medium as it leans in everything towards Christ – the value of life and struggle. Spanish eschatology shows eternal life as "rest", peace, freedom, and also happiness and joy. Eternal goods are the continuity and complement of joy with God, which beginning is on earth. This is conditioned by the authentic cognition of God's truth in faith, which is the light brightening up darkness. Thus the concern about staying within Church and acceptance of grace which is active in Christians and leads to worshipping God²⁸.

²⁷ J.M. Sierra, *Los sacramentos en el rito hispano-mozárabe*, in: *Curso de liturgia hispano-mozárabe*, ed. J.M. Ferrer, Toledo 1995, pp. 73-76.

²⁸ More on this trait of Spanish euchologia in *Mystery in Hispanic-Mozarabic Rite: From Liturgical Epistemology to Ecclesiological Praxis*, "Cauriensia" IX (2014), pp. 461-474.

In Spanish Rites also a call is heard for the purification of the soul of the dead person: He is acknowledged to have been fragile. Yet this is not the final word of the liturgy. If the dead brother is brought to the Supreme Judge, God is also reminded what He had done for him: He had created him and redeemed, favoured him with the promise of eternity, poured faith in him and showed His grace through sacraments. He is also reminded that the deceased had received the gifts of God with faith and hope. Yet the Spanish sensitivity is full of realism of the situation which it faces: One can feel fear, Lord, that a man commends another man to Your care, a mortal entrusts another mortal, an ash – another ash²⁹. The salvation of the soul will not be possible without the body which is to be tucked in light (LO 134)³⁰ and for this reason a cry for mercy for the dead person concerns also the revival of his body.

This allows us to understand why a number of chants performed during the Spanish rituals “speak” in a way on behalf of the dead person, putting in his mouth the words of Job, full of drama, yet calling for trusting God: “release, Lord, my soul from prison so that I may give thanks to Your name; righteous people await me until you award me”³¹ or “I enter the road for everybody to go; I shall fall asleep with my parents and my life comes to an end. Remember me, Lord, from your Kingdom”³².

The Spanish funeral rite shows the vision of the death of a Christian as the crowning of sacramental life: “living in this world [the dead person] was marked by the sign of the Trinity”³³, and death becomes the transfer from the Church on earth to the Church in Heaven. For this reason it is as a matter of fact a “dream” (cf. LO 123, LO 421) which will end when a Christian wakes up in eternity.

4.1. PARADISE, HEAVEN, AND THE BOOK OF LIFE

The Spanish euchologia build the hope for eternity not on philosophical speculation but on the redemptive deed of Christ, who “through his death defeated death” (*qui mortem moriens superavit*) and opened to the faithful the gates of Heaven, which is for Visigoth Liturgy the synonym of everlasting glory (LO 119). It is not the return to paradise from the first pages of the

²⁹ LO 125: *Temeritatis quidem est, Domine, ut homo hominem, mortalis mortalem, cinis cinerem tibi Domino Deo nostro audeat commendare.*

³⁰ J. Pinell, *Teologia de la vida y de la muerte en el rito hispánico*, “Concilium” XXXII (1968), pp. 197-206.

³¹ LO 117: *Educ, Domine, de carcere animam meam, ad confitendum nomini tuo; me expectant iusti donec retribuas mihi.*

³² LO 110: *Ecce ego viam universae carnis ingressum sum, ut dormiam cum patribus meis, et amplius iam non ero. Memento mei, Domine, de regno tuo.*

³³ LO 400: [...] *qui dum hic adviveret signatus est signaculo Trinitatis.*

Bible that is at issue but the return to what that paradise had only heralded: everlasting happiness with Christ. Euchologia use this term so often that they actually forget its original, literal meaning. The “Paradise”, which the attendees at the funeral ask for the deceased, is described as a beautiful, sweet, delicate, and joyful place – the synonym of the Kingdom of Heaven. Based on this description are images and phrases from the Apocalypse of John, where two kinds of death are distinguished (of the body and eternal damnation) and two kinds of resurrection (directly after death and at the end of time, at the final rising from the dead). In euchologia one can identify references to the “Book of Life” and also the record of misdeeds which Christ through his Passion crosses out and tears for the benefit of the dead person (cf. Colossians 2:14 or Matthew 5:26)³⁴.

4.2. THE ROLE OF ANGELS IN THE TRANSITION TO ETERNITY

Another characteristic motif which occurs in the Spanish euchologia, is underscoring the role of angels, which they play for a dead Christian (cf. LO 116). It is their task to safely bring the soul to God and protect it from the attacks of evil spirits so that it could enter the road to eternal happiness (LO 110). The thread of the protection of the dying brother’s soul from the attacks of evil spirits is present particularly in calls for the prayer of the whole community for the person departing from his worldly life. It is especially noticeable in the prayers over the grave, when angels are asked for the protection of this site from the detrimental influence of evil spirits. On the other hand, Spanish Liturgy, as Joan Llopis remarks, is particularly modest as regards references to the devil, restricting itself to those prayers where requests are made for releasing from his power. He is the synonym of temptation which Christians are subjected to during their lifetime³⁵. However, what the dead await is their participation in the “peace of angels”.

4.3. THE MOTIF OF THE “BOSOM OF ABRAHAM”

It appears on the bases of references to the parable by Jesus (Luke 16:19-32) and in the Spanish euchologia offers two interpretations. On the one hand it is the synonym of eternal happiness, which consists in watching God face to face, in the company of angels and saints. One can say that this understanding of the “bosom of Abraham” is another expression of the Christian vision of Heaven. In the other case, a number of texts underscores in the term *in sinu*

³⁴ LO 117.

³⁵ J. Llopis, *La Sagrada Escritura...*, p. 375.

Abrahe the thread of awaiting the final resurrection (of the body), avoiding mentioning the eternal happiness and boiling down this concept to *limbo* of the righteous³⁶. One has to remember that Abraham is the father of all believers who receives those who turned out to be similar to him in their belief and experiencing faith as the confidence in God. On the other hand, the image of the “bosom” has associations with a place which is secluded, hidden, full of peace and far from danger, just like mother’s bosom, which is the synonym of tenderness and care. However, this symbolism also occurs in the images of a banquet where laying one’s head on the bosom of the father of the family is the symbol of trust and happiness³⁷. Yet Spanish Liturgy in principle prefers to associate the bosom of Abraham with Heaven, though there are the texts (also by Julian of Toledo) which leave a certain ambiguity in this regard³⁸. Nevertheless, the frequency of applying this term in euchologia makes it one of the characteristic traits of the Spanish Rite.

5. SUMMARY

The Spanish funeral rituals reveal the Christian attitude towards death understood as the transition to eternity. Liturgical texts often impersonate the voice of the dead person, becoming his interpreter and making the confession of faith on his behalf. They also ask for remembrance and intercession through prayers. It can be traced in numerous epiphonemas “Christ, Redeemer, forgive him [...], erase his sins, give him eternal life” (one of the prayers at the doorstep of the temple), which are said by the attendees a few times during the ritual. The rite is characterized by a wide application of psalms, which become the prayer for the deceased and simultaneously the form of instructing on the Christian meaning of death. This meaning is summarized by one of the prefaces to the mass for the dead, showing poetically what happens to the dead brother: “nobis sublati, in se translati, ad te prolati” (LO 420). This theological truth concerning life, which does not end but transforms itself, is deepened by a number of symbolic actions. The example is the application of blessed salt in the ritual of laying the body in the grave (*ordo depositionis*), which reflects great significance of penitential and paschal nature of the performed rituals. The remembrance of the dead was intentionally experienced by monastic communities in the Visigoth period on a Monday after the Sunday of the descent of the Holy Spirit.

³⁶ Cf. LO 422: [...] *in sinu Abrahe et in gremio Patriarcharum requiescentes, tempus resurrectionis diemque iudicii cum gaudio secuturæ immortalitatis expectent.*

³⁷ *Ibidem.*

³⁸ J. Llopis, *La Sagrada Escritura...*, pp. 381-383.

Eschatology does not underscore the alienation of a man but the appearance of what belongs to God in the life of a human, who travels across history. Its aim is to capture who a Christian is, his new awareness of life and the world. A language depends on its epoch but it is always important to be anchored in the biblical faith by the mediator whom the Spanish fathers were.

The above outlined historical background and the description of euchologia are only a preliminary approach to the subject. It would be fruitful to be able to put together the texts from the Spanish *officium divinum*, especially the hymns, and compare them with *Liber Ordinum*. Nevertheless, the presented rituals already facilitate discerning what characterized the liturgical mentality of the Spanish Rite in the Visigoth period³⁹.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

ABSTRACT

Funeral rituals of the Spanish Rite included in *Liber Ordinum* constitute the record of the oldest exequial ceremonies performed on the Iberian Peninsula, defined as *ordo in finem hominis diei*. In a five-part structure of the exequies one can identify firstly the wake over a dying brother (combined with the ritual *valefactio*, the kiss of peace of ecclesiological meaning), next, after performing a precisely defined funeral toilet, the placing of the body in a coffin and putting a cross next to it so as to, stopping “on the doorstep of the temple”, bring in the body and celebrate the Eucharist, and then transfer the body to the cemetery (crypt), and the blessing of the grave. Remarkable are the distinctive plethora of psalms, antiphons, epiphonemas (*clamores*), begging into full forgiveness (*indulgentia*) and benedictions (directed also at the living ones), as well as the literary style of Spanish euchologia, which express the faith of the deceased and as if on his behalf calls for God’s mercy. The prayers in the mass forms focus on the dignity of a human body, which was the temple of the Holy Spirit, evoking eschatological categories rooted in the Bible (“the bosom of Abraham”, “book of life”, “second death”). The rite consists of a few original ceremonies, for instance pouring the chrism onto the mouth of the deceased bishop, performing an exorcism with salt of the burial place where the body will be laid, or sealing the grave.

The Spanish-Mozarabic Rite belongs to the oldest among the liturgical families of Western Christianity⁴⁰. It accurately preserves the traces of ancient tradition of the early Church, which, thanks to the Mozarabs, survived a number of centuries, despite a complicated social and political situation on the Iberian Peninsula during the Arab domination⁴¹. It witnesses and

³⁹ I would like to express my great thanks to rev. prof. Felix Maria Arocena from the University of Navarra at Pamplona and rev. Juan-Miguel Ferrer Grenesche for all their remarks and comments on this article.

⁴⁰ More on the history of Spanish Liturgy and its euchologia in my work: P. Roszak, *Mozarabowie i ich liturgia: Chrystologia rytu hiszpańsko-mozarabskiego*, Toruń 2015.

⁴¹ Cf. R.J. Pedrajas, *Historia de los mozárabes en Al Ándalus: Mozárabes y musulmanes en Al Ándalus: ¿Relaciones de convivencia?, ¿o de antagonismo y lucha?*, Córdoba 2013; cf. also M. Randel, *The Old Hispanic Rite as Evidence for the Earliest Forms of the Western Christian Liturgies*, in: *Chant and Its Origin*, ed. T.F. Kelly, Farnham 2009, pp. 509-514.

guards many liturgical traditions – mainly eastern – which were assimilated by this rite, though it itself did not stop influencing other rites, especially the Roman⁴². For this reason, whenever one focuses on selected rituals or euchologia, this practice reveals a surprising plethora of forms and contents as well as theology lying in them. The same refers to funeral rituals. They bring back Christ as Alpha and Omega of Christian life, to Whom the deceased heads in the final way (as his whole life is, as a matter of fact, the orientation to Him). This is why the description of actions, chants or rites performed during exequies must allow for the nature of the liturgy, its communicative language and the background where it comes from. It is only then that the Spanish-Arabic traditions can speak with the whole richness of their meanings.

The analyses of rituals connected with the death of the man in Spanish Liturgy should consider two fundamental moments: Accompanying the dying man in the hour of his death (*ordo in finem hominis diei*) and the factual funeral (*ordo depositionis*), during which a Eucharistic liturgy was performed for the deceased and his body was laid in the grave⁴³. These stages will map the framework of our study, which will focus on liturgical themes – and more precisely euchological ones, coming from historical books of the Visigoth and Mozarabic (thus eliminating the thread of the revived liturgy) – only superficially referring to archaeological or artistic questions. Studies on this issue are rather scarce, because of modest descriptions of the tables. However, one should highlight the monograph by Gabriel Ramis⁴⁴, which fully concentrates on Spanish exequies, their structure, history and theological foundations, as well as the articles and studies by the authors who rendered great contribution to the research on the history of Spanish Liturgy, such as Jordi Pinell, José Janini, Joan Llopis. They thoroughly investigate individual aspects of rituals, and give attention to showing, first of all, their theological message.

42 J. Janini, “*Sacramentorum prefationes*”..., p. 157. J. Janini dates some of the prayers belonging to the Spanish funeral liturgy (from *Liber Ordinum*, among others *missa generalis defunctorum*) to the 6th and early 8th centuries.

43 In Visigoth manuscripts, as M. Ferotin stressed while publishing source texts at the beginning of the 20th century, the Visigoth funeral ceremony was identified as *ordo functionis et sepulturae*. Ferotin relies on the texts included in manuscripts B and M as well as A, containing interesting rubrics. It should be stressed that the 9th-century liturgical manuscript of Toledo Cathedral has been preserved, which is also a source of information on burials and the ways in which they were given (*Ordo ad comendandum corpora defunctorum*). J.M. Ferrer, *La Eucaristía en rito hispano-mozárabe: Gestualidad y ambiente para la celebración*, “Toletana” I (1999), pp. 59-88.

44 G. Ramis, *La liturgia exequial en el rito hispano-mozárabe*, Roma 1996.

CÉCILE VOYER
POITIERS

LES CINQ SENS ET LES IMAGES AU MOYEN ÂGE : VOIR ET REVOIR LES ŒUVRES VISUELLES MÉDIÉVALES



À l'aube du XXI^e siècle, certains médiévistes, spécialistes des images, ont proposé d'analyser les œuvres visuelles en considérant leur dimension sensorielle ou bien l'environnement sensoriel auquel elles prennent part. Jusqu'alors, les historiens de l'art avaient envisagé les cinq sens soit comme un thème iconographique – la personnification des cinq sens tels qu'ils sont décrits dans le poème d'Alain de Lille, l'*Anticlaudianus*¹ – ou bien comme un sujet allégorique lorsqu'ils étaient convoqués au sein d'une même œuvre². La notice consacrée aux sens, rédigée par Xenia Muratova, dans le *Dictionnaire critique d'iconographie occidentale* constitue en cela une photographie assez précise des recherches en ce domaine au début de ce siècle³.

Sans aborder la question de la sensorialité, d'éminents chercheurs ont proposé des réflexions qui l'effleuraient et qui, aujourd'hui, l'enrichissent notablement : ainsi les travaux sur la matérialité des images, autrement dit le *material turn*, amorcés depuis les trois dernières décennies⁴, ceux sur leur

1 C. Nordenfalk, *Les cinq sens dans l'art du Moyen Âge*, « Revue de l'art » XXXIV (1976), p. 17-28 ; *The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, « Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes » XLVIII (1985), p. 1-22.

2 É. Delahaye, *Les tapisseries de « La Dame à la licorne », allégories des sens*, dans : *Langage des sens*, « Communications » LXXXVI (2010), p. 54-64.

3 X. Muratova, *sens*, dans : *Dictionnaire critique d'iconographie occidentale*, Rennes 2003, col. 775-778. L'auteur appelle de ses vœux l'étude iconographique de la tradition visuelle, issue de la sentence mnémotechnique de Thomas de Cantimpré, assimilant chaque sens à un animal (comme par exemple, le médaillon du décor à fresque de la terrasse du monastère des Trois Fontaines à Rome, peint à la fin XIII^e siècle ou encore les allégories animalières des sens figurant dans les manuscrits enluminés du Bestiaire d'amour de Richard de Fournival, peints aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles – ex. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 412, f^o 228).

4 Voir sur ce point, H.L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, « Rethinking the Middle Ages – 1 », Peterburg 2004, p. 19-42.

efficacité⁵ ou leur performance, ou encore ceux consacrés aux effets qu'elles produisent⁶. Le développement de l'histoire des images depuis les années 1980 a également ouvert la voie aux études associant les œuvres visuelles et les sens⁷. Ces dernières ont été nourries en effet par l'ensemble de ces analyses qui interrogent non seulement les rapports entre les images et le spectateur/regardeur mais aussi l'activation de ses sens par le truchement de la représentation ou de l'objet, voire l'activation de l'image elle-même.

Appréhender le contexte sensoriel ou la manifestation des cinq sens dans et au travers de l'œuvre visuelle en renouvelait considérablement l'approche, en questionnant sous un nouvel angle les interactions entre l'image, le médium et le spectateur mais également l'efficacité de l'image dans le cadre d'une performance rituelle. Dans deux longues synthèses, Éric Palazzo a bien résumé les enjeux de ce tournant historiographique⁸. Les concepts associés aux sens, développés récemment par les médiévistes, notamment anglo-saxons, ont été expérimentés depuis les années 1980 par les spécialistes de l'art contemporain. Leur adoption par les historiens de l'art du Moyen Âge a nécessité, pour qu'ils soient opérants, de tenir compte non seulement de l'arrière-plan théologique, patristique et exégétique mais également des équations entre prototype, modèle, image, médium, spectateur, Dieu, propres au christianisme médiéval.

Toutefois, force est de constater qu'à ce jour, assez peu de chercheurs ont proposé une réflexion conceptuelle sur la notion de sensorialité et sur les méthodes pour analyser sous ce prisme-là les images médiévales. Seuls Éric Palazzo⁹ et le collectif dirigé par Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen, Henning Laugerud et Laura Katrine Skinnebach¹⁰, dans une autre perspective, ont, en préambule de leurs ouvrages, livré le cadre théorique de leurs enquêtes. Nous

5 B. Prevost, *Pouvoir ou efficacité symbolique des images*, « L'homme » CLXV(2003), p. 275-282.

6 J.-Cl. Bonne, *Entre l'image et la matière : la choséité du sacré en Occident*, dans : *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales : pour une histoire comparée, actes du colloque de Rome, 19-20 juin, 1998*, « Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome » LXIX (1999), p. 77-111.

7 Outre les travaux de J.-Cl. Schmitt, *Le corps des images, Essais sur la culture visuelle au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2002 ou ceux de J.-M. Sansterre sur les miracles d'images, notons aussi l'article de J. Wirth, Voir et entendre. Notes sur le problème des images de Saint Augustin à l'iconoclasme dans : *I cinque sensi*, « Micrologus » X (2002), p. 71-86.

8 É. Palazzo, *Art et liturgie au Moyen Âge. Nouvelles approches anthropologique et épistémologique*, « Anales de Historia del Arte » volumen extraordinario (2010), p. 31-74 ; *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge : état de la question et perspectives de recherche*, « Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale » LV (2012), p. 339-366. Une version augmentée et remaniée est parue dans *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2016, p. 11-57.

9 É. Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art du Moyen Âge*, Paris 2014.

10 H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, H. Laugerud, L.K. Skinnebach, *The Saturated Sensorium, Principles of Perception and Mediation in the Middle Ages*, Aarhus 2015.

y reviendrons. L'absence de ce cadre dans la grande majorité des travaux qui portent sur la dimension sensorielle des images ou sur le sensorium médiéval – sans qu'il ait été préalablement défini – explique la pluralité des approches et la déclinaison des propositions. À ce titre, les articles réunis par Éric Palazzo dans l'ouvrage qu'il a édité offrent un bel observatoire des pratiques des historiens de l'art¹¹.

Ainsi, dans une perspective que l'on pourrait qualifier d'anthropologique, certains chercheurs s'intéressent plutôt aux pratiques qui entourent les images et qui se manifestent à travers l'un ou l'autre sens comme la vue, le toucher par l'apposition de la main, l'effleurement, la caresse, le baiser ou encore le goût par le truchement de la nourriture spirituelle – de l'incorporation de l'hostie à la manducation spirituelle... Grâce à la ferveur de la prière, aux gestes qui l'accompagnent et au sens corporel sollicité qui éveille son corollaire spirituel, l'esprit de l'officiant, du fidèle ou du dévot peut alors s'élever jusqu'à la Connaissance. D'autres se concentrent sur des catégories d'objets comme les encensoirs, la page du parchemin¹², les cloches, les ivoires, les tapisseries ou les tissus¹³, concernant plus particulièrement l'un des sens. Parfois, les représentations qui ornent ces objets, notamment les *ornamenta* liturgiques, contribuent à créer les conditions nécessaires à la réalisation pleine et entière du Mystère.

Enfin, des historiens de l'art se sont interrogés sur les modalités de la mise en signe de l'un des cinq sens et de sa manifestation dans certaines images. Ainsi, les concepteurs des images des Psautiers ou de certains manuscrits liturgiques du premier Moyen Âge ont élaboré des œuvres visuelles en leur conférant une dimension sonore profondément spirituelle. Véritable exégèse visuelle, ces images relèvent de la volonté des peintres, des scribes de reformuler le Verbe divin afin de retrouver ou d'atteindre l'harmonie par le truchement des images. La première, Élisabeth Sears a, par exemple, souligné comment les concepteurs d'images ont réussi à traduire visuellement la dimension sonore présente, entre autres par le champ lexical, dans les poèmes des Psaumes. Le sens auditif mis en images construit un discours moral, fondé sur les commentaires psalmiques¹⁴. Sans que la sensorialité soit au cœur de

11 *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2016. Dix-huit articles ont été écrits par des historiens de l'art sur les vingt-neuf proposés.

12 M. Camille, *Sensations of the Page : Imaging Technologies and Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts*, dans : *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, Ann Arbor 1998, p. 33-54.

13 Voir par exemple, B. Baert, *Textile, Tactility, and the Senses. The 13th-century Embroidered Antependium of Wernigerode Revisited*, dans : *Clothing the Sacred : Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form and Metaphor*, Zürich 2015, p. 89-119.

14 E. Sears, *The Iconography of the Auditory Perception in the Early Middle Ages : On Psalm Illustration and Psalm Exegesis*, dans : *The Second Sense*, London 1991, p. 19-38.

son propos, Isabelle Marchesin a démontré que le son rationnel – noyau de la cosmologie chrétienne – « accessible aux sens, au cœur ou à l'esprit, est l'un des facteurs essentiels du lien spirituel [...] tel qu'il a été pensé à partir du VII^e siècle, lorsque les nombres viennent investir les pages insulaires pour y figurer la vitalité et la sonorité opératoire du Logos divin »¹⁵. À la période carolingienne, les peintres conçoivent dans les psautiers des images fondées sur l'harmonie des nombres afin de leur conférer un ordre divin et donc musical. La musique, art du nombre rendu audible, permet alors de restituer l'ordre de la Création. Ainsi composées, ces images opèrent une translation de la forme invisible sonore vers une forme arithmétique ou géométrique, résonnant ainsi d'une musique visuelle par le truchement du spirituel¹⁶.

L'exploration des cinq sens dans les images est clairement le propos de Barbara Baert. À partir de séries thématiques – les représentations de l'Annonciation¹⁷, du *Noli me tangere*¹⁸ ou encore de la Pentecôte¹⁹, elle a analysé la manière dont les différents sens sont mis en signes, créant une « synesthésie visuelle qui affecte le fond et la forme ». Ses réflexions sont entièrement articulées aux dialectiques « visible et invisible » et « présence/absence », mais également à la tension qui traverse tout le Moyen Âge occidental: le désir de voir, émanant de la « nostalgie de l'Incarnation »²⁰. Les images ouvrent alors le champ du visible. Elles révèlent, possèdent un « pouvoir ouvrant » tout en opposant à cette potentialité leur matérialité.

Selon une démarche différente, Chrystel Lupant propose d'observer « l'interrelation iconographique » des sens à travers des études de cas, puisées dans les *vitae* peintes. Les interactions qui se nouent entre le saint, ses interlocuteurs, voire autour du saint lui-même, lui permettent d'éclairer les différents sens qui, en interrelation, « structurent l'acte spirituel »²¹. L'auteur s'intéresse au final à la manière dont le concepteur des images a construit son

15 Nous devons ces formules synthétiques à Isabelle Marchesin dans le cadre de nos échanges sur le programme ANR Musiconis (2011-2015).

16 I. Marchesin, *L'image Organum, La représentation de la musique dans les psautiers médiévaux, 800-1200*, Turnhout 2001.

17 Voir par exemple, B. Baert, *The Annunciation Revisited. Essay on the Concept of Wind and the Senses in Late Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, « Critica d'arte » XLVII-XLVIII (2013), p. 57-68.

18 B. Baert, *An Odour. A Taste. A Touch. Impossible to Describe: Noli me tangere and the Senses*, dans : *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden 2013, p. 109-152.

19 B. Baert, *La Pentecôte dans le Codex Egberti (v. 980) et le Bénédictional de Robert de Jumièges (fin du 10^e siècle). Le médium visuel et les sens*, dans : *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2016, p. 521-544.

20 Formule empruntée à A. Boureau, *La mise en scène du divin*, dans : *L'événement sans fin. Récit et christianisme au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1993, p. 39.

21 Ch. Lupant, *Réflexions sur l'iconographie des cinq sens dans l'iconographie médiévale*, dans : *Langage des sens*, « Communications » LXXXVI (2010), p. 65-80 ; *Conception des images et réflexion*

discours et elle offre à l'étude de la narrativité dans les cycles hagiographiques un nouvel angle d'approche.

Parmi les nombreuses propositions, notons aussi les travaux qui associent des réflexions issues du cognitivisme à celles des « performance studies ». Ainsi, celles de l'intuitif Michaël Camille évoquant la « page active » qui, par les mots et l'image d'un codex, active les sens du lecteur/regardeur²². Ou encore celles de Pamela Sheingorn et de Robert Clark qui, en explorant les parcours visuels de certains manuscrits, ont défini le concept de « lecture performative ». Selon ces auteurs, la mise en page du folio, la composition des images, les rubriques, le rythme comme d'autres marqueurs engendrent une activation de la vue qui permet au lecteur/regardeur, en établissant des passerelles entre récit textuel et parcours visuel, de créer ou recréer le sens du récit²³.

Outre les concepts de performance, d'efficacité qui relèvent de l'anthropologie, la phénoménologie comme « théorie de l'apparaître » semble sous-tendre la plupart des approches des historiens de l'art anglo-saxons. Certains s'y réfèrent explicitement, d'autres l'ont manifestement assimilée sans pour autant la mentionner. Selon cette théorie, l'œuvre visuelle est « un mode d'accès à ce qui est, à savoir l'être du paraître au sens grec d'aïsthêsis »²⁴. La réception est donc au cœur de la phénoménologie. Si depuis les années 1990, la phénoménologie et l'esthétique nourrissent les travaux en histoire de l'art contemporain²⁵, les médiévistes, majoritairement anglo-saxons et nord-américains, se sont emparés plus récemment de ce mode d'enquête pour approcher les productions du Moyen Âge. S'ils ont adapté la théorie à notre compréhension actuelle du Moyen Âge, aucun d'eux n'a véritablement explicité les cadres méthodologiques ou défini les concepts qui ont présidé aux interprétations des œuvres, aussi stimulantes soient-elles. Maurice Merleau-Ponty est d'ailleurs le principal philosophe cité. Bien sûr, la phénoménologie merleau-pontienne s'articule mieux que celle d'Edmund

sensorielle. Approche exploratoire du ms. de la Vie de sainte Radegonde, dans : *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2016, p. 689-717.

22 M. Camille, *Sensations of the Page...*, p. 33-54.

23 P. Sheingorn, R. Clark, *Performative Reading : The Illustrated Manuscripts of Arnoul Gréban's Mystère de la Passion*, « *European Medieval Drama* » IV (2002), p. 129-154 ; P. Sheingorn, *Performing the Illustrated Manuscripts: Great Reckonings in Little Books*, dans : *Visualizing Medieval Performance. Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, Aldershot-Burlington 2008, p. 57-82.

24 Voir É. Escoubas, *Liminaire, Art et phénoménologie*, « La part de l'œil », numéro spécial VII (1991), p. 10.

25 Pour tous ces points, voir le volume, *Art et phénoménologie*, « La part de l'œil », numéro spécial, VII (1991). En 2006, la même revue livre un état de la question lié au renouvellement épistémologique des quinze années écoulées, *Esthétique et phénoménologie en mutation*, « La part de l'œil » XXI-XXII (2006).

Husserl²⁶ ou Martin Heidegger à l'arrière-plan théologique et exégétique inhérent à l'acte de création comme à la réception des œuvres visuelles au Moyen Âge. Le déplacement par Heidegger puis par Merleau-Ponty de la phénoménologie d'Husserl vers l'ontologie de l'œuvre d'art a permis de penser les images médiévales sous ce prisme. L'agrégation des conceptions platoniciennes de la contemplation par le courant heideggerien où l'œuvre d'art comme son expérience possèdent une dimension transcendante – la vérité étant en effet révélée par l'art – a rendu propice l'utilisation des concepts de la phénoménologie par les médiévistes. Depuis sa matérialité, l'œuvre favorise un transitus vers un horizon spirituel, voire céleste, autrement dit vers la Connaissance. Non seulement l'essence de l'œuvre doit être appréhendée mais, selon Heidegger, elle doit être comprise comme un lieu de manifestation privilégié de la vérité (l'Être)²⁷.

Contrairement à la pensée d'Heidegger qui rejette, de manière assez ambiguë, l'approche esthétique, Merleau-Ponty, quant à lui, fait de l'invisible le thème central de l'expérience esthétique, un au-delà du visible. Le philosophe français postule une tension entre la visibilité manifeste de l'œuvre et ce qu'elle a le pouvoir de rendre visible. La perception est au cœur de l'expérience phénoménologique qu'il a théorisée²⁸. Dans l'échange qui fonde l'expérience perceptive, le corps et les sens de l'homme entrent en effet dans une « communion » avec l'œuvre²⁹. Toutefois la pensée merleau-pontienne n'est pas théologique à la différence de certaines phénoménologies de la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle qui questionnaient notamment la frontière entre le visible et l'invisible, la présence et l'absence³⁰.

L'influence sans théorisation de la phénoménologie, en général merleau-pontienne, est indéniable dans un certain nombre d'études, notamment nord-américaines, consacrées à la perception des images et au sensorium médiéval. Toutefois il est rare d'y noter des références aux pères de cette philosophie ou à leurs successeurs. Ce constat s'explique vraisemblablement

26 Selon Edmund Husserl, l'opération phénoménologique est une forme de déréalisation de la matérialité de l'œuvre d'art plutôt qu'une élévation spirituelle. E. Husserl, *Idées directrices pour une phénoménologie*, I, trad. de l'allemand par P. Ricoeur, Paris 1950, plus particulièrement p. 370-375. Sur ce point, voir les analyses de F. Dastur, *Husserl et la neutralité de l'art*, *Art et phénoménologie*, « La part de l'œil », numéro spécial VII (1991), p. 42.

27 M. Heidegger, *L'origine de l'œuvre d'art*, dans : *Chemins qui ne mènent nulle part*, trad. de l'allemand par W. Brokmeier, Paris 1962, notamment p. 89-90.

28 À la perception est substituée la pensée de la perception dans la philosophie de Merleau-Ponty.

29 M. Merleau-Ponty, *Le visible et l'invisible* suivi de *Notes de travail*, Paris 1964, particulièrement p. 170-201, 247.

30 Voir par exemple M. Henry, *Incarnation. Une philosophie de la chair*, Paris 2000 ; E. Levinas, *En découvrant l'existence avec Husserl et Heidegger*, Paris 2001.

par le pragmatisme des universitaires américains à l'égard des textes ou plus exactement, selon les formules de François Cusset, par une « pragmatique des textes », autrement dit une « aptitude à l'usage, à l'opération »³¹. « Les concepts rebondissent d'un texte à l'autre » et deviennent un outillage théorique pleinement assimilé. Aux apports implicites de la phénoménologie s'ajoutent souvent ceux des sciences cognitivistes³². Ce bagage interprétatif a ensuite été articulé ou du moins pensé à la lumière de la théologie médiévale et plus particulièrement de celle d'Augustin³³.

L'image dévoile et révèle. Elle possède un « statut théophanique »³⁴ par sa capacité à permettre au sacré, à Dieu de faire irruption dans l'ouvert de sa présence. L'image est un agent qui, au cœur de l'expérience, ouvre au sacré autant que le sacré s'ouvre grâce au « pouvoir ouvrant » de l'œuvre. L'approche phénoménologique engendre également une réflexion sur le thème de la tension ou sur la dialectique entre l'œuvre/l'image et l'objet/le support. Au cours de l'expérience perceptive, la transcendance de l'œuvre/l'image tend à nier la réalité matérielle et sensible de l'objet/du support.

Les approches qui se sont développées au cours de ces dernières années ont obligé à un déplacement de la posture interprétative de l'historien de l'art du Moyen Âge. Plusieurs paramètres sont en effet à considérer : la signification intrinsèque de l'œuvre visuelle, les effets produits par sa matérialité, sa perception, les différentes temporalités de l'œuvre liées justement à l'expérience du regardeur.

Si, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, l'influence de la phénoménologie est prégnante dans les travaux des médiévistes nord-américains, aucun chercheur n'avait proposé jusqu'en 2010 une théorie reposant sur la combinaison des apports conceptuels de la phénoménologie, la théologie et l'exégèse médiévales. À la faveur d'un article consacré à l'art et à la liturgie, Éric Palazzo plaide pour « une approche *vivante* du Moyen Âge et de sa culture », et pose les jalons d'une enquête sur la dimension sensorielle de la liturgie au sein de laquelle les œuvres visuelles interagissent³⁵. L'image – quel que soit le support

31 F. Cusset, *French Theory, Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze et Cie et les mutations de la vie intellectuelle aux Etats-Unis*, Paris 2003, p. 21.

32 Voir à ce titre, le volume : *Rethinking the Medieval Senses : Heritage / Fascinations / Frames. Parallax : Re-visions of Culture and Society Series*, Baltimore 2008.

33 E. Vance, *Seeing God : Augustine, Sensation, and the Mind's Eye*, dans : *Rethinking the Medieval Senses : Heritage / Fascinations / Frames. Parallax : Re-visions of Culture and Society Series*, Baltimore 2008, pp. 13-29.

34 Pas ici d'après Heidegger qui accorde, selon une définition assez floue, aux seules œuvres du *grand art* un statut théophanique. Voir sur ce point, M. Heidegger, *L'origine de l'œuvre d'art* (première élaboration de la conférence de 1935), cité par J. Taminioux, *Art et événement, Spéculation et jugement des Grecs à Heidegger*, Paris 2005, p. 110.

35 É. Palazzo, *Art et liturgie au Moyen Âge...*, p. 33.

– a pour objet essentiel « d’être activée par les sens durant le déroulement du rituel afin de *produire* l’effet théologique requis par le cérémonial liturgique »³⁶. L’approche historico-théologique de Marie-Dominique Chenu a imprégné la démarche méthodologique de l’auteur³⁷. Tous les temps de l’Histoire se nouent au cours du rituel, lieu de rencontre de l’homme avec Dieu ; l’Histoire étant elle-même comprise comme « un lieu théologique »³⁸. Ainsi, non seulement la liturgie est une expérience sensorielle mais elle doit surtout être appréhendée à son tour comme un authentique « lieu théologique »³⁹. Or dans ces *locis theologicis* où s’opère la rencontre entre Dieu et les hommes, la perception du sensible est primordiale puisqu’elle concourt à la Connaissance. Si les thèses de Maurice Merleau-Ponty marquent le travail sur les cinq sens d’Éric Palazzo, ce dernier fonde aussi sa réflexion sur un courant de la phénoménologie défini aujourd’hui comme théologique qui s’est surtout développé en France à partir de 1960⁴⁰. Les travaux des liturgistes ou des théologiens de la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle qui observaient, pour un certain nombre, la démarche de l’historien ont été profondément influencés par cette philosophie. À ce titre, Jean-Yves Hameline, dont la pensée est déterminante dans les travaux d’Éric Palazzo, ne fait pas exception. Il définit en effet la liturgie comme « espace de sensibilité » où la synesthésie – « l’effet sensoriel produit par l’interaction des différents sens entre eux » – crée les conditions d’une manifestation de l’invisible contenu dans le visible grâce à l’expérience sensorielle inhérente à la performance liturgique⁴¹. L’approche très sensible des textes patristiques de François Cassingena-Trévedy a également constitué l’une des clés de voûte de la réflexion de l’historien de l’art. Il suffit pour s’en convaincre de lire entre autres le dernier chapitre du livre sur *Les Pères de l’Église et la liturgie* intitulé *L’expérience*⁴². Par l’observation de la mise en pratique de sa propre expérience comme célébrant, François Cassingena-Trévedy interroge de l’intérieur l’expérience de la liturgie vécue par les Pères. Son objet est de

36 É. Palazzo, *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge : état de la question et perspectives de recherche*, « Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale » LV (2012), p. 340.

37 M.D. Chenu, *Conscience de l’histoire et théologie*, dans : *La théologie au XII^e siècle*, Paris 1957, p. 62-89 ; eadem, *Anthropologie et liturgie*, dans : *La liturgie après Vatican II. Bilans, études, prospectives*, « Unam Sanctam » LXVI 1967, p. 159-177.

38 Sur l’origine de ce concept, voir M.-T. Desouche, *L’histoire comme lieu théologique*, « La nouvelle revue théologique » CXVI (1994) 3, p. 396-417.

39 Sur ces points, voir P. De Clerck, *La liturgie comme lieu théologique*, dans : *La liturgie. Lieu théologique*, Paris 1999, p. 125-142 ; idem, *L’intelligence de la liturgie*, Paris 1995.

40 Ce courant est représenté entre autres par E. Levinas, P. Ricoeur, M. Henry, J.-L. Marion

41 J.-Y. Hameline, *Une poétique du rituel*, Paris 1997, p. 91 et en particulier p. 93-123.

42 F. Cassingena-Trévedy, *Les Pères de l’Église et la liturgie, Un esprit, Une expérience, De Constantin à Justinien*, Paris 2009, notamment p. 243-331.

rendre compte de la liturgie vivante, à la fois comme expérience collective et individuelle au sein de l'Éclésià.

L'enquête menée par Éric Palazzo sur l'activation des images au cours du rituel repose sur ce substrat théologique et philosophique. S'y ajoute la compréhension de la dimension sensible des supports sur lesquels ces représentations s'inscrivent ; des représentations qui deviennent d'ailleurs des manifestations dans le cadre de la performance liturgique. La matérialité des objets est questionnée pour saisir l'intention théologique qui a présidé à leur conception. Cet angle d'approche avait déjà été expérimenté dans l'ouvrage du médiéviste sur les autels portatifs⁴³. En faisant sien le concept de « choséité » défini par Jean-Claude Bonne⁴⁴, Éric Palazzo s'intéresse non seulement aux effets produits par l'image mais également à la signification donnée par les théologiens médiévaux à la matière ou à la substance. La « choséité » éclaire la manière dont le sacré emprunte aux œuvres visuelles « quelque chose de leur substantivité pour présentifier la sienne »⁴⁵. Ainsi l'effet lié à la « choséité » de l'image participe-t-il de la réalisation du rituel en permettant la manifestation théologique du *signum*. L'image au Moyen Âge appartient au sacré ; l'œuvre possède dans sa matérialité même un caractère agissant.

Ces divers apports ont nourri la pensée de l'auteur et ont forgé le cadre théorique qu'il a mis à l'épreuve dans son livre *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art du Moyen Âge* où à partir du chapitre III, il décline les exemples – ornementa, manuscrits, objets, images peintes ou sculptées – visant à éclairer la manifestation de la mise en présence de l'invisible permise par la synesthésie dans ce « lieu théologique » qu'est la liturgie. Les différentes parties de l'ouvrage construisent une réflexion, étape par étape, sur l'édification : depuis la notion de faire corps, en passant par celle de faire l'Église, pour aboutir à celle de faire chair⁴⁶. La liturgie permet de souligner ce processus.

En 2015, dans un livre collectif, *The saturated sensorium, Principles of Perception and Mediation in the Middle Ages*, deux chapitres liminaires exposent les outils conceptuels théoriquement mis en œuvre dans les neuf études de cas qui composent la suite de l'ouvrage. La visée de ce projet scientifique énoncée à la fois dans l'introduction et le premier chapitre par Hans Henrik Lohfert

⁴³ É. Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré dans le christianisme. La liturgie et l'autel portatif dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*, Turnhout 2008, p. 153-180.

⁴⁴ J.-C. Bonne, *Entre l'image et la matière : la choséité du sacré en Occident*, « Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome » LXIX (1999), p. 77-111.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 86.

⁴⁶ Sur cette lecture, voir D. Russo, *Des sens au sens, L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens*, dans : *Des sens au sens, Les apports de l'œuvre d'Éric Palazzo*, journée d'études du 4 mars 2016, Université de Bourgogne, Dijon (http://tristan.u-bourgogne.fr/CGC/manifestations/15_16/16_03_04.html).

Jørgensen est différente de celle d'Éric Palazzo. Là où ce dernier observait dans un cadre précis, celui du rituel liturgique, la synesthésie ouvrant à la connaissance de Dieu, au cours du premier Moyen Âge notamment, le chercheur danois propose d'explorer le Moyen Âge comme la période exemplaire d'un « sensorium saturé ». Autrement dit, le chemin emprunté pour approcher la sensorialité médiévale prend ici d'autres détours. Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen s'appuie moins sur la philosophie que sur les thèses cognitivistes et plus particulièrement l'intermédialité ; un champ de recherche qui étudie les relations et les interactions à l'intérieur d'œuvres ou de pratiques multimédias, entre médias de nature différente, à l'intérieur de milieux socio-historiques que les médias contribuent à forger. Selon Jürgen E. Müller – figure de proue de l'école allemande d'intermédialité⁴⁷ –, le processus de production du sens lié aux interactions médiatiques peut se résumer à la formule suivante : « la communication culturelle a lieu aujourd'hui comme un entre-jeu complexe de médias »⁴⁸. En raison de son ouverture, cet énoncé peut nourrir de nombreuses approches aussi bien historiques que phénoménologiques, pragmatiques ou encore néoformalistes. C'est pourquoi ce concept d'intermédialité, fondé sur les notions d'intertextualité, d'interdiscursivité et d'interactions, s'est développé, au milieu des années 1990, au carrefour de plusieurs disciplines universitaires dont l'histoire de l'art. S'il concernait initialement les formes contemporaines de médias, les historiens de l'art des périodes anciennes et modernes s'en sont emparés⁴⁹.

Des interactions, des ruptures, des intrications liées à la multimédialité naît l'intermédialité qui ouvre la voie à l'expérience. Or les différents médias convoqués dans les processus étudiés possèdent des langages singuliers qui sont autant de signes à analyser. C'est d'ailleurs pourquoi la sémiologie est déterminante dans les travaux de Jürgen E. Müller. Enfin l'intermédialité implique de considérer les processus cognitifs d'information, de perception et de conscience afin de mesurer les effets sur le spectateur-regardeur. L'ouverture de l'histoire de l'art – majoritairement anglo-saxonne, germanique et nord-américaine – s'explique, entre autres, par l'influence de l'Esthétique sur cette discipline et plus particulièrement de la notion wagnérienne du *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Cette idée romantique qui repose sur une théorie de la réception vise à produire sur le spectateur l'effet esthétique le plus accompli et le plus puissant.

47 J.-M. Larrue, *Théâtre et intermédialité : Une rencontre tardive*, « Intermédialités : histoire et théorie des arts, des lettres et des techniques / Intermediality : History and Theory of the Arts, Literature and Technologies » 12 (2008), p. 14.

48 J.E. Müller, *Intermedialität*, Münster 1996.

49 Voir par exemple, *Multi-media Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*, Leuven 2004.

C'est l'expérience synesthésique, issue de la tradition tardo-antique de la saturation des sens au sein du christianisme oriental, étudiée magistralement par Bisseva Pentcheva⁵⁰, qui conduit Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen à évoquer un « sensorium saturé »⁵¹; une saturation due à l'intermédialité médiévale comprise « dans un *continuum* cohérent et complexe » que l'auteur définit comme un système multimodal de sensations et de médiations, un appareil sensoriel façonné par sa « multimodalité fonctionnelle »⁵². Ce sensorium intégré et saturé, partagé par les médiévaux, émane également de la théorie des médias dont l'essor remonte au milieu des années 1960 avec, par exemple, les travaux de Walter J. Ong. Dans son livre *The Presence of the Word*, le linguiste américain brosse l'historique de cette notion⁵³. Au cours des années 1990, l'anthropologie sensorielle a pénétré le champ de cette recherche en soulevant la dimension sociale et culturelle des sens. Les modes de présence de l'homme au monde, au sein d'une société donnée, ont donc fait l'objet d'une attention nouvelle⁵⁴. Il est à noter toutefois que l'anthropologie sensorielle est assez peu développée en France en sciences humaines et sociales⁵⁵. À juste titre, Jean-Pierre Albert appelle de ses vœux l'ouverture nécessaire aux sciences de la cognition si une inflexion de cet ordre était donnée aux travaux universitaires hexagonaux⁵⁶.

Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen a fait siens les apports du concept d'intermédialité et d'anthropologie sensorielle en se basant sur l'idée d'un

50 Voir par exemple, B. Pentcheva, *The Performative Icons*, « The Art Bulletin » LXXXVIII (2006), p. 631-655.

51 L'environnement sensoriel perçu par l'individu – sensation, perception, interprétation grâce aux sens, à la perception phénoménale et psychologique, aux sciences cognitives – constitue le sensorium.

52 H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, *Sensorium, A Model for Medieval Perception*, dans : *The Saturated Sensorium...*, p. 9-70.

53 W.J. Ong, *The Presence of the Word : Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History*, New Haven 1967. Il rappelle que les poètes symbolistes français s'étaient fortement intéressés aux phénomènes de transposition des sens et de synesthésie, attribuant des couleurs à des sons.

54 A. Corbin, *Histoire et anthropologie sensorielle*, « Anthropologie et Sociétés » XIV (1990) 2, p. 13-24. Voir par exemple la mise en pratique de cette approche : D. Howes, *Architecture of the Senses*, dans : *Sense of the City, An Alternate Approach to Urbanism*, Montreal 2005, p. 322-331.

55 En 2010, un colloque intitulé *Rencontres sensorielles : les sens et les sciences sociales* avait pour objectif, selon son promoteur Paul-Louis Colon, de donner une visibilité à la recherche francophone sur les sens et de créer un dialogue avec l'anthropologie sensorielle anglo-saxonne. Voir les actes, *Ethnographier les sens*, Paris 2013.

56 J.-P. Albert, *Parfum et mysticisme*, « Voir » XXVIII-XXIX (2004), p. 42-56. Voir également les travaux de D. Le Breton, *Anthropologie du corps et modernité*, Paris 1991 ; *La Saveur du monde. Une anthropologie des sens*, Paris 2006 ; C. Méchin, I. Bianquis-Gasser, *Anthropologie du sensoriel*, Paris 1998.

sensorium intégré, partagé par les chrétiens du Moyen Âge. Sa théorie repose en effet sur une anthropologie qu'il qualifie d'inter-sensorielle. Les informations perçues par le regardeur sont traitées de manière multi-sensorielle ou plus précisément de manière inter-sensorielle. Par le choix des termes utilisés, le chercheur revendique l'ancrage de sa théorie dans les sciences et neurosciences cognitives où l'inter-sensorialité est un objet d'étude en plein essor⁵⁷. Fort de ce cadre conceptuel, le modèle qu'il a construit a pour fondement la notion de médiation, principe fondamental de la perception médiévale, qui se situe au cœur du rituel chrétien.

Le sensorium chrétien est tendu vers le sacré autant qu'il est centré sur lui. Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen le définit comme profondément « hagiocentrique ». À partir de ce constat, l'auteur forge un nouveau concept « l'hagiosensorium », paradigme médiéval de la perception et modèle sensoriel. Il précise « This concept indicates a pervasive principle of historical sensation, which was [...] to be realised, practised, and negotiated at different levels and with varying success by members of the Christian society, assimilated by many, while opposed by others »⁵⁸.

L'expérience vivante du sujet hagiosensoriel anime, vitalise et soutient la vie de l'objet hagiosensoriel. Le sens de la perception du sacré donne vie au sacré qui manifeste alors sa présence en étant réel ou en devenant réel. Le chercheur danois entend construire un modèle général capable de décrire les expériences sensorielles du passé à la fois de l'extérieur (selon le constructivisme critique) et de l'intérieur (l'expérience dans une démarche phénoménologique), et de manière simultanée. Les neuf études de cas qui suivent cette proposition sont autant d'exemples convoqués pour éclairer ce modèle propre au Moyen Âge, « âge de l'intermédialité ». Toutefois, si elles légitiment le modèle novateur d'Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen, l'approche comme les conclusions des images analysées restent assez similaires à celles observées dans les recherches nord-américaines.

La sensorialité ou les cinq sens dans la culture médiévale est un champ d'investigation particulièrement stimulant qui ouvre de nouvelles perspectives à l'histoire de l'art. Les images qui appartiennent au sacré sont des agents : durant le rituel liturgique, elles participent à créer les conditions

⁵⁷ J. Candau, *Intersensorialité humaine et cognition sociale*, dans : *Langage des sens*, « Communications » LXXXVI (2010), p. 26. Voici la définition que Joël Candau livre de l'intersensorialité à la page 26 de ce même article : « On désigne ainsi les multiples processus d'interaction et d'intégration entre les différents sens (interactions intermodales) qui débordent les processus similaires internes à un sens particulier (ex : interactions intramodales consistant à unifier en une seule scène mentale la forme, la matière et la couleur d'un objet lors de sa perception visuelle) ».

⁵⁸ H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, *Sensorium, A model for Medieval Perception*, dans : *The Saturated Sensorium...*, p. 31.

de la synesthésie menant à la Connaissance. Afin que le sacré devienne une expérience authentique, la médiation sensorielle est nécessaire. La perception et l'expérience du sacré animent les images ou, selon la formule d'Éric Palazzo, les activent. Au cours de ce processus, les œuvres visuelles, les objets donnent à également vie au sacré en manifestant sa présence⁵⁹.

Dans cette perspective, nous avons repris à nouveaux frais l'analyse d'une image, objet d'une précédente étude⁶⁰ (ill. à la fin de l'article). À lueur des réflexions sur la sensorialité, il nous semble aujourd'hui que nous pouvons apporter à son étude un éclairage supplémentaire. L'enluminure qui ouvre l'office des morts figure la double intercession qui intervient au moment de la mort d'un moine, sans doute cistercien (f° 73v). Elle a été peinte dans psautier-livre d'heures, conservé à la bibliothèque municipale d'Avignon (ms 121)⁶¹. Cet ouvrage luxueux, soigneusement orné de trente-sept enluminures ou initiales historiées, est surprenant à plus d'un titre⁶². S'il a été enluminé entre 1330 et 1340 à Avignon⁶³, les textes qu'il contient sont septentrionaux. Leur écriture, les graphies indéniablement picardes, y compris pour les textes rédigés en langue française, désignent en effet la provenance du scribe⁶⁴. Au calendrier propre à l'Église d'Arras (f° 1) s'ajoutent les litanies (f° 206) mentionnant des saints honorés dans le nord de la France : Vedastus et Rietrudis⁶⁵. Patricia Stirnemann a observé que « les heures de la Vierge et l'office des morts s'alignent sur les modèles septentrionaux, sans pour autant indiquer un usage reconnu »⁶⁶.

En raison d'un langage formel caractéristique, les spécialistes s'accordent également sur l'origine méridionale et avignonnaise du peintre qui a réalisé le décor du manuscrit⁶⁷. Le milieu culturel varié, propre à Avignon au temps

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 35.

⁶⁰ C. Voyer, *Voir et entendre : des paroles dans l'image. À propos d'une enluminure du manuscrit 121 de la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Avignon*, dans : *La parole sacrée. Formes, fonctions, sens (XI^e-XV^e siècles)*, « Cahiers de Fanjeaux » XLVII (2013), p. 387-406. Nous ne reprenons ici que certains développements notamment une partie de la description-analytique.

⁶¹ f° 1 : calendrier en français ; f° 7 : Heures de la Vierge ; f° 35 : Heures du Saint Esprit ; f° 48 : Heures de la Passion ; f° 66 : Psaumes de la pénitence ; f° 74 : office des morts ; f° 95 : Psaumes de David ; f° 206 : litanies des saints.

⁶² L'image est mentionnée par V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers, manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. 1, Mâcon 1940-1941, p. 67.

⁶³ Voir à ce propos, F. Manzari, *La Miniatura ad Avignone al Tempo dei Papi (1310-1410)*, Modène 2006, p. 118-119.

⁶⁴ P. Stirnemann, *notice 16*, dans : *Les manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque municipale d'Avignon*, Avignon 1993, p. 60.

⁶⁵ H. Labande, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, I, Paris 1894, p. 67-68.

⁶⁶ P. Stirnemann, *notice 16*, p. 60.

⁶⁷ Les antennes projetées à partir des initiales font des boucles en se terminant par une tête humaine ou animale, le décor des fonds ornés de motifs géométriques ou végétaux

des papes, explique la réunion d'influences picturales diverses⁶⁸. L'artiste s'est en effet inspiré de modèles parisiens ou picards pour les thèmes figurés, les représentations marginales et les fonds en damier, mais aussi de motifs italiens pour les architectures à remparts crénelés, saillantes et fortement ombrées (f° 7, 95, 151v).

Les destinataires du manuscrit sont vraisemblablement le couple agenouillé en prière au folio 65v, face à l'image de la *Maiestas Domini* qui introduit les psaumes de la pénitence (f° 66). Le possesseur ultérieur du manuscrit a gratté leurs blasons qui étaient peints en haut du premier feuillet du psautier (f° 95). Il est sans doute possible par recoupements d'identifier les détenteurs originels du manuscrit. Selon une proposition de Patricia Stirnemann, une femme artésienne était peut-être la destinataire de ce livre de dévotion : « le désaccord entre les données textuelles et artistiques peut s'expliquer, comme dans des cas analogues, par un contexte nuptial qui réunit deux familles éloignées, et dans l'exemple présent, l'une méridionale et l'autre picarde, vers 1330 »⁶⁹. Il a été avancé que l'un des épousés soit issu de la famille Clermont de Nesle.

Jusqu'à notre article de 2011, les inscriptions en vers qui parcourent l'image n'avaient jamais fait l'objet d'une transcription et d'une étude complètes. En revanche, l'enluminure a été mentionnée à deux reprises par des chercheurs: rapidement, par Patricia Stirnemann dans une notice du catalogue d'exposition, *Les manuscrits à peinture de la bibliothèque municipale d'Avignon* et, plus longuement, par François Boespflug dans un article consacré à la représentation de la Trinité à l'heure de la mort⁷⁰.

Située en tête des prières pour les morts, cette enluminure est l'unique peinture en pleine page de ce manuscrit⁷¹. Le fond or, quadrillé de diagonales, à la matérialité prononcée, sert de « cloison-écran » à la représentation de la mort d'un moine. La construction de cette image, extrêmement soignée, est organisée en trois registres : le terrestre où figurent l'agonisant sur son lit mortuaire, la communauté religieuse et le diable ; la zone intermédiaire peuplée des envoyés célestes et où s'opère la médiation ; et le céleste occupé par la figure divine et le Crucifié. La verticalité de la construction est renforcée par l'ange qui, émergeant de la nuée divine, plonge vers l'agonisant.

différents, l'enroulement sinusoïdal des pans d'étoffes sont autant d'éléments qui caractérisent le langage méridional du peintre.

⁶⁸ Voir sur ce point le livre de F. Manzari, *La Miniatura...*

⁶⁹ P. Stirnemann, *notice 16*, p. 63.

⁷⁰ F. Boespflug, *La Trinité à l'heure de la mort. Sur les motifs trinitaires en contexte funéraire à la fin du Moyen Âge (m. XIV^e siècle - déb. XVI^e siècle)*, dans : *La protection spirituelle au Moyen Âge*, « Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes » VIII (2001), p. 94-95.

⁷¹ Sur ce thème, voir la synthèse de D. Alexandre-Bidon, *La mort dans les livres d'heures*, dans : *À réveiller les morts, La mort au quotidien dans l'Occident médiéval*, Lyon 1993, p. 81-94.

Chaque protagoniste de la scène reste strictement associé au registre qui est le sien, sauf l'âme qui contemple le Christ et deux moines, liés visuellement à la croix de procession et qui lèvent leurs yeux vers l'ange qui émane de la nuée divine. La parole échangée, figurée par huit banderoles, relie les protagonistes des différents niveaux et articule les trois registres. Sur chaque banderole figurent des inscriptions en picard, en vers et en rimes croisées. Les mots de quatre des huit banderoles sont écrits à l'encre noire, les autres à l'encre rouge. Le déroulement chronologique de l'échange est précisé grâce à une formule encore inédite : la numérotation des banderoles sur des cartouches à fond bleu ou rouge.

Ainsi, cette numérotation introduit non seulement un sens de lecture mais surtout une temporalité, une chronologie dans l'image. Les différentes étapes de la médiation sont imposées par le jeu des numéros : à la supplique de l'agonisant (I) répondent les revendications diaboliques (II). Un ange délivre un message apaisant pour tempérer les récriminations du démon (III). La Vierge intervient ensuite auprès de son Fils (III) qui, dans un second temps, s'adresse au Père (V). Ce dernier accède à sa requête (VI) tandis qu'un émissaire divin, directement au contact de Dieu, sort des nuées pour divulguer la sentence divine (VII). Enfin, le défunt est associé aux paroles qui résument le drame et en livrent la conclusion (VIII). Les banderoles dictent non seulement l'organisation spatiale de l'image, mais elles lui confèrent aussi des temporalités marquées. La composition de cette image évoque en effet la *Scala Salutatis*⁷². L'intercession successive de la Vierge puis du Fils pour atteindre le Père sont autant de marches à grimper pour l'âme du mourant. Il est très probable que le concepteur de cette représentation ait été marqué par le *Libellus de laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis* écrit au milieu du XII^e siècle par Arnaud de Chartres, abbé de Bonneval, et longtemps attribué à saint Bernard⁷³. Cette référence au saint abbé permet d'identifier les moines figurés comme appartenant à l'ordre de Cîteaux.

72 D. Jugan nous a fait l'amitié de nous communiquer le texte de l'une de ses conférences consacrée aux images de « La bonne mort. Iconographie du Jugement particulier du XV^e au XVII^e siècle » où il précise que « le thème est connu dans les pays germaniques sous le vocable *Heilstreppe*. Voir le texte de saint Bernard : *Exaudiet utique Matrem Filium et exaudiet Filium Patrem. Filiolo, haec peccatorum scala* (Comme le Fils entendra sa Mère, le Père entendra son Fils. Par le Fils c'est [avec] cette échelle que les pécheurs [monteront au ciel]) ».

73 Arnaud de Bonneval : *Securum accessum iam habet homo ad Deum, ubi mediatorem causae suae Filium habet ante Patrem et ante Filium Matrem. Christus, nudato latere, Patri ostendit latus et vulnera ; Maria Christo pectus et ubera ; nec potest ullo modo esse repulsa, ubi concurrunt et orant omni lingua disertius haec clementiae monumenta et charitatis insignia [...] Maria Christo se spiritu immolat et pro mundi salute obsecrat. Filius impetrat, Pater condonat.* « Homme, tu possèdes un accès assuré à Dieu, là où comme médiateur de sa cause le Fils se tient devant le Père et la Mère est devant le Fils. Le Christ au torse dénudé, montre au Père son flanc et ses blessures,

Pour ouvrir la lecture de l'Office des morts, le peintre a donc mis en image la cérémonie ritualisée du dernier voyage. La prière va, en effet, être prononcée sur la dépouille d'un religieux. En procession, ses frères, exerçant leur fonction cléricale, se dirigent vers le lit mortuaire pour orchestrer la messe d'adieu. Ils portent des objets liturgiques : un religieux, revêtu d'une coule blanche tient un livre, un autre une croix de procession et les suivants, vêtus d'une aube brodée, un cierge allumé. Les chants et les prières – matérialisés entre autres par le livre – entourent donc le défunt.

Le groupe serré, composé de l'abbé et de neuf frères, est visuellement lié au corps du mourant, exprimant ainsi son appartenance à la famille spirituelle réunie autour de lui. Associé aux *ultima verba* qu'il prononce, l'agonisant remet son âme à Dieu. Le religieux tonsuré a déjà les yeux clos et expire en priant la Vierge : « J'ai mis en vos mains mon espérance, Vierge Marie de Dieu mère / Déliez mon âme de l'affliction et de l'enfer où la mort est amère ».

La communauté est figurée strictement sous le corps marial selon l'axe vertical qui définit le rapport d'autorité et de hiérarchie. La Vierge est présentée non seulement comme la sainte patronne de la communauté, la Mère spirituelle, mais également comme la médiatrice par excellence. Conformément au système de protection spirituelle élaboré au Moyen Âge, elle figure dans un registre intermédiaire, « un espace de sécurité entre ciel et terre, entre ici-bas et au-delà où elle occupe une fonction majeure »⁷⁴. Marie échange non seulement un regard mais également un sourire avec l'ange qui apparaît pour signifier que l'attitude humble du pécheur entraîne le pardon : « qui meurt avec tous ses péchés, tenté par le charnel [...] ; Dressé vers Dieu, demandant pardon dévotement ». Le mourant n'a donc pas à craindre le Diable qui, en embuscade derrière lui, guette sa mort pour s'emparer de son âme : « J'exige d'avoir de mon côté, Par justice et selon le droit, l'âme qui quitte ce corps, Qui est toute pleine de souillure ». Malgré sa stature imposante, le Malin est, en effet, symboliquement écrasé par l'envoyé céleste et vaincu par la puissance de l'intercession mariale. Bien que sa silhouette brune s'étire jusqu'au registre médian, l'ange déchu est profondément enraciné dans l'ici-bas où il est actif pour le malheur des hommes. La défaite du Mal est également soulignée par la transgression de sa représentation, de ses paroles

Marie montre au Christ sa poitrine et ses seins ; aucune demande ne peut être repoussée là où se manifeste tant de sublime charité. Marie se sacrifie spirituellement à son Fils et le supplie pour le salut du monde, le Fils obtient satisfaction, le Père accepte sans réserve » (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne [suivante PL], CLXXXIX, col. 1726-1727 ; références et traduction fournies par D. Jugan que nous remercions).

⁷⁴ S. Barnay, *Une apparition pour protéger, le manteau de la Vierge au XIII^e siècle*, dans : *La protection spirituelle au Moyen Âge*, « Cahiers de recherches médiévales ethumanistes » VIII (2001), p. 13.

du champ de l'image et par la disposition plongeant de sa banderole. Le démon est exclu des circuits de la grâce.

Les paroles du défunt qui accompagnent la petite âme s'échappant de sa bouche sont dirigées vers la Vierge: « J'ai mis en vos mains mon espérance, Vierge Marie de Dieu mère ». Pour cette âme pure, figurée sous la forme d'un corps nu, le sens de la banderole et les paroles destinées à la Vierge semblent être une sorte de voie d'accès vers la représentation du Crucifié. Portée par les mots prononcés, l'âme est, en effet, tendue en direction du Verbe, principe de Vie. Le dernier souffle est ici une supplique, une prière afin d'obtenir la Rédemption. Or, dans l'image, les mots, fruits d'une ultime exhalaison, soutiennent réellement l'âme dans sa course vers le Salut. Ils ont ici pour reprendre l'expression de Patrick Henriet « une existence physique »⁷⁵.

La Rédemption s'opère grâce à la médiation de la Vierge qui a réconcilié la créature et son Créateur. Véhicule de l'Incarnation, elle a, en effet, restauré le chemin et rétabli la communication entre l'homme et Dieu. Elle est la charnière entre l'ici-bas et l'au-delà, le point d'articulation par lequel la voix du mourant peut transiter et atteindre le divin. Alors que depuis la Chute, l'homme a perdu sa capacité de contempler Dieu, Marie est le miroir qui permet aux yeux de l'Esprit, ici l'âme, d'accéder au Verbe⁷⁶.

La Vierge désigne la bouche de l'agonisant tandis que son doigt se superpose à la lettre *a* du mot *amere*. Tournée vers le défunt, elle présente son sein, imprimant ainsi dans son corps les paroles qu'elle prononce : « Je t'ai nourri (élevé), mon fils, avec tendresse, et c'est ainsi que tu revêtis l'humanité ; En moi je te prie doucement que tu aies pitié de cet homme »⁷⁷. Elle prie le Fils en tant que Mère, soulignant la dimension humaine de celui qui a souffert dans sa chair pour le rachat des péchés de l'humanité. Toutefois, la composition confère à cette représentation une dimension supplémentaire : le geste de la Vierge semble surtout être dirigé vers la communauté religieuse. La Mère de Dieu accorde aux religieux, ses enfants, une protection toute maternelle en les nourrissant de son sein. Ses paroles qui viennent toucher le corps du Sauveur et son sein dénudé expriment à la fois la filiation divine et la maternité spirituelle de Marie, allégorie de l'*Ecclesia*.

Le peintre a défini visuellement les liens qui unissent cette communauté à la Vierge, mère spirituelle. Selon un axe vertical, la dialectique entre parenté

⁷⁵ P. Henriet, *La parole et la prière au Moyen Âge, Le Verbe efficace dans l'hagiographie monastique des XI^e et XII^e siècles*, Bruxelles 2000, p. 306.

⁷⁶ S. Barnay, *Le ciel sur la terre. Les apparitions de la Vierge au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1999, p. 25-35.

⁷⁷ La combinaison de son geste, de la superposition à la lettre « a » du mot amer et la présentation de son sein sont-elles une opposition entre la douceur du lait spirituel et l'amertume du péché ?

divine et parenté spirituelle est clairement signifiée : Marie qui nourrit les chrétiens, fils de Dieu et frères du Christ, entretient une relation privilégiée avec les religieux qui ont renoncé à la parenté charnelle.

Les paroles d'intercession de la Vierge s'envolent et viennent toucher le corps du Crucifié. La banderole qui les contient est en effet la seule dans l'image à présenter une ondulation. Les mots de Marie traversent le corps sacrifié dont les plaies saignent abondamment. Le processus de rachat, de *mutatio*, passe à travers le corps souffrant, par le sacrifice du Sauveur. Ainsi la voix médiatrice de la Vierge, mère de Dieu, permet d'obtenir la purification de l'âme du pécheur et sa rédemption grâce au sacrifice du Fils.

Le supplicé, en mourant, s'adresse à la Majesté divine⁷⁸, entourée de nuées, pour lui transmettre la prière maternelle : « Beau sire (cher Seigneur) Dieu qui es mon père, examine la mort que je souffre, Au nom de la prière de ma mère qui reçut cette chair à garder ». Le Père regarde son Fils pour lui accorder sa requête. Le geste de la parole et de bénédiction redouble les mots inscrits sur la banderole: « Reçois justice, et que ta requête soit exaucée pleinement. L'amour m'y incite, qui est honnête : je ne peux absolument pas te la refuser ». Les paroles de Dieu partent de son nimbe pour se juxtaposer au bras de la Croix, associant la main du Christ au verbe « pouvoir ». Visuellement, il est indiqué que le Fils sauve l'âme du religieux en raison de son sacrifice sur la croix. Un envoyé céleste sort des nuées et pique vers les hommes pour délivrer la sentence divine: « [Celui qui] possède le bien tout entier t'a pardonné tous tes péchés. [Place donc] ta foi dans celle par qui le bien est donné à tous ». Le défunt est sauvé après la double intercession de la Mère et du Fils⁷⁹.

Enfin, tout en regardant le Malin et la petite âme, l'abbé désigne le texte associé au corps allongé du défunt qui clôt le processus de médiation et entérine la défaite du Mal. Les mots du diable finissent d'ailleurs par se perdre dans la conclusion positive. L'âme souillée du défunt (*de grant ordure*) – lorgnée par le diable – est purifiée par le pardon qui lui a été accordé. Le mourant est alors associé aux paroles qui résument le déroulement et le processus de la médiation, comme l'équivalent de « la morale » du drame (VIII) : « La mère de Dieu rappelle ce mort à son fils, priant pour ses péchés, Et le fils rappelle à son père les plaies dont il fut blessé. Et ainsi, tu vois vraiment que tu es (revenu) à Dieu, Toi qui étais si horriblement (éloigné) de lui par tes péchés ». Ces paroles sont mises en signe sur une pancarte. Elles procèdent d'un temps autre que celui de l'action. La forme qui les isole semble en effet posée sur l'image et leur confère un statut singulier, un statut particulier souligné par

⁷⁸ Le peintre a représenté le pouvoir universel de Dieu en figurant l'orbe qui lui sert de suppedaneum.

⁷⁹ François Boespflug note qu'il s'agit d'une variante précoce des images de la Double Intercession. Voir, F. Boespflug, *La Trinité à l'heure de la mort...*, p. 94.

la disposition frontale et horizontale du quatrain. Ces paroles n'appartiennent pas au temps du procès, mais à un temps figé, celui de l'éternité.

Au processus mis en images de la *Scala Salutatis* s'est superposée une réflexion assez profonde sur le rôle des clercs en miroir avec le sacrifice du Christ. À la croix du supplice répond en effet la croix de procession, à la blancheur du périzonium répond la coule immaculée du religieux et à la figure du Crucifié répond le Livre, autre manifestation de la visibilité du Verbe. Par le jeu des correspondances, il est suggéré que la transformation, la *mutatio*, s'inscrit dans une dialectique verticale. La parole du Christ permettant la transformation opère en effet quotidiennement lors du rituel eucharistique⁸⁰. Or, comme depuis Cassiodore, la *commutatio* est considérée dans une optique sacramentelle, les clercs, véritables *commutati*, sont alors les agents sur terre de l'efficacité sacramentelle de la parole christique⁸¹.

Pourtant, les paroles de prières prononcées par les Cisterciens ne sont pas figurées dans l'image. Seuls la présence communautaire et les objets liturgiques les signifient. L'idée du rituel et sa représentation suffisent puisque les mots de la prière sont connus par cœur, imprimés dans le corps, autrement dit incorporés. La performance rituelle de la communauté est incarnée par les religieux eux-mêmes.

Si la forme invisible et sonore de leur prière n'est pas traduite par une forme visuelle, son objet comme son efficacité est en revanche matérialisé par la représentation de la double nature de Dieu dans la partie supérieure de l'image, une vision dont bénéficie la petite âme qui s'envole. La supplication de l'agonisant à la Vierge est soutenue – presque littéralement – par la prière et les gestes des religieux qui sont réunis à son chevet. Auditeur de la liturgie communautaire, le mourant peut expirer en paix tandis que son âme s'envole grâce aux mots, non visibles dans cette image, des prières monastiques⁸².

La Vierge, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, occupe une position intermédiaire. Son corps et ses paroles ménagent une jonction entre l'espace

⁸⁰ Après avoir évoqué le rôle du Verbe divin dans la création du monde, Ambroise écrit : « Si donc il y a dans la parole du Seigneur Jésus une si grande force que ce qui n'existait pas commence à exister, combien est-elle plus efficace pour faire que ce qui était existe et soit transformé en autre chose » (Ambroise, *De sacramentis*, éd. B. Botte, Sources Chrétiennes, XXV^{bis}, Paris 2007, p. 110-111 ; cité par I. Rosé, *Commutation. Le vocabulaire de l'échange chrétien au haut Moyen Âge*, dans : *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, Turnhout 2011, p. 132).

⁸¹ Selon Cassiodore, „la droiture du Très-Haut est le seigneur Christ, par lequel nous avons été transformés de telle sorte que depuis notre condition servile, nous méritons d'être appelés ses fils". Les exégètes articulent ensuite les interprétations de Cassiodore aux rites liturgiques (Cassiodore, *Expositio in psalterius*, PL, vol. 70, col. 550 A-B, cité par I. Rosé, *Commutation....*, p. 135).

⁸² Sur ces mécanismes décrits dans les *vitae*, voir P. Henriët, *La parole et la prière au Moyen Âge....*, p. 301-314.

d'action des religieux, opérateurs des commutations ici-bas, et l'espace serein où se réalise la promesse (l'au-delà). Grâce à la liturgie communautaire et à Marie, les religieux, membres de la *fraternitas*, participent de l'Incarné. Le processus de Rédemption s'effectue en effet par et dans le corps sacrifié à la faveur du rituel au cours duquel se réalise la commutation eucharistique. Ici, la prière des hommes rejoint les paroles d'intercession de la Mère de Dieu qui traversent le corps du Fils pour toucher le Père. La purification de l'âme, sa transformation, est indissociable de la parole sacramentelle.

La représentation de la *Mater Ecclesia* comme celle du Crucifié appelle une autre remarque. Aucun élément – des nuées par exemple – ne sépare visuellement la Vierge des moines qui manipulent la croix ou les cierges. Dans une sorte d'ambivalence assumée, la figure virginale pourrait ici être assimilée à une effigie mariale portée en procession ou bien ornant le lieu où se meurt le moine. Un détail confère également à la représentation du Christ sur la croix une coloration particulière : l'instrument de supplice est fiché sur un petit mont, le Golgotha. La dimension historique de l'événement a donc été discrètement soulignée. La rédemption du moine étant indissociable du sacrifice du Verbe, ainsi que le rappelle la supplique du Fils à l'adresse du Père, la représentation du Crucifié était bien sûr incontournable dans cette image. Toutefois en évoquant la réalité historique de la mort du Sauveur, il est affirmé sa réitération dans le cadre du rituel funéraire afin de sauver l'âme du défunt. Le Christ souffre et meurt à nouveau : son sacrifice est commémoré mais également rejoué à l'instant précis où expire l'agonisant.

Une fois de plus, l'ambivalence dans la figuration de cette crucifixion autorise une interprétation supplémentaire. La petite âme, les mains jointes, est entièrement tendue vers le Christ en croix. Elle voit le Fils dans la réalité du sacrifice, dans la réalité historique du supplice. Au moment de son dernier soupir, le Cistercien voit avec les yeux du cœur le Crucifié et il perçoit alors pleinement son salut. Cette vision est certes permise par les prières du rituel funéraire, mais, peut-être aussi, grâce aux œuvres visuelles qui entourent le mourant : le crucifix, image de dévotion par excellence et la statue de la Vierge⁸³. L'environnement sensoriel du mourant – les prières, les chants, les images – lui permet d'activer ses sens spirituels – la vue, l'ouïe et le goût, ce sens étant évoqué par le biais du lait spirituel offert par la *Mater Ecclesia* – qui le conduisent progressivement à connaître Dieu. La médiation sensorielle est alors le *transitus* qui mène à la Sagesse. Dans le cadre du rituel, par le truchement des images, la Vierge et le Crucifié sont présents ou perçus

⁸³ Notons que les moines, la Vierge et le Christ ont tous été peints du côté droit de la composition, formant, selon un axe vertical, le pendant du côté gauche où figurent le diable, les anges et Dieu le Père. Le peintre a bien distingué les deux parties de l'image.

véritablement par l'agonisant. L'expérience vécue par le Cistercien au moment de sa mort – la rencontre de Dieu – est littéralement mise en images. Il nous semble en effet que le peintre a mis en signe le processus sensoriel et le résultat de l'expérience accomplie.

Le concepteur de l'enluminure a représenté l'efficiencia de la prière au moment du dernier soupir en figurant une oraison victorieuse. L'efficacité du rituel est au cœur de sa réflexion : grâce à la médiation sensorielle, l'homme au moment de sa mort peut enfin connaître Dieu. Si l'image du folio 73v est un support de méditation, les inscriptions sur les banderoles intègrent le regardeur à la scène et l'incitent à réfléchir sur le sens de l'image et la profondeur du drame qui se joue⁸⁴. L'échange de paroles entraîne le spectateur dans l'action, une action découpée par la numérotation sur les cartouches. Dans cette image, les paroles des protagonistes de la scène suscitent une participation active du dévot et l'impliquent dans l'événement représenté. Il perçoit alors pleinement le processus dont il fera l'expérience au terme de sa vie.

Les travaux sur la sensorialité et la réception des œuvres visuelles ont renouvelé notre compréhension des images médiévales. Ils nourrissent la réflexion et invitent à poser ou à reposer des questions qui semblent pourtant élémentaires : pourquoi l'image est-elle efficace ? Si l'efficacité des images n'est plus à démontrer, la notion même d'efficacité n'a fait l'objet d'aucune théorisation. Cette théorie que nous appelons de nos vœux fournirait pourtant une grille d'analyse complémentaire aux enquêtes menées sur la sensorialité, et ce dans le cadre d'une anthropologie de la croyance. La réflexion sur l'œuvre visuelle comme médium entre l'individu (commanditaire et/ou regardeur) et le principe divin est aussi à approfondir⁸⁵. À ce titre, les études menées actuellement sur l'ontologie du christianisme sont essentielles afin d'approcher un peu plus le « pourquoi » de l'image matérielle⁸⁶. Au final, les réflexions et les interrogations suscitées par la sensorialité, la perception et les images permettent de garder notre discipline, l'histoire de l'art médiéval, vivante!

⁸⁴ Ch. Denoël, *Texte et image dans les Vies de saints à l'époque romane : le rôle des tituli et des légendes descriptives*, dans : *Qu'est-ce que nommer. L'image légendée entre monde monastique et pensée scolastique, Actes du colloque du RILMA, IUF, Paris, INHA, 17-18 octobre 2008*, éd. C. Heck, Turnhout, 2010, p. 111-123, ici 122. Voir également, É. Palazzo, *Tituli et enluminures dans le haut Moyen Âge (IX^e-XI^e siècles) : fonctions liturgiques et spirituelles*, dans : *Épigraphie et iconographie, Actes du colloque de Poitiers (5-8 octobre 1995)*, Poitiers, 1996, p. 167-191.

⁸⁵ Voir à ce titre les travaux de Jean-Marie Sansterre sur les miracles d'images.

⁸⁶ Voir les travaux en cours dirigés par I. Marchesin : <http://blogs.getty.edu/iris/improving-access-to-medieval-christian-images/>.

ABSTRACT

Depuis bientôt deux décennies, les historiens de l'art ont proposé d'observer la dimension sensorielle intrinsèque aux œuvres visuelles médiévales ou bien l'environnement sensoriel dans lequel elles s'inscrivent. Ces démarches procèdent soit de l'assimilation des concepts issus de la phénoménologie comme, entre autres, « la théorie de l'apparaître » ou celle de la réception, soit des thèses cognitivistes et plus particulièrement de l'intermédialité. Ces dernières années, des chercheurs ont tenté d'élaborer des outils conceptuels pour étudier les œuvres visuelles du Moyen Âge, ainsi le « lieu théologique » et la sensorialité ou « le sensorium saturé ». Résolument historiographique dans un premier temps, ce présent article s'appuie ensuite sur une étude de cas afin de questionner les différents concepts précédemment exposés. Les travaux sur la sensorialité et la réception des œuvres visuelles ont en effet renouvelé considérablement notre compréhension des images médiévales. Ils nourrissent la réflexion et invitent à poser ou à reposer des questions qui semblent pourtant élémentaires : pourquoi l'image est-elle efficace ?



II. 1. Avignon, BM, ms. 121, f° 73v (cl. IRHT).

III. XITH CENTURY

(THE SECTION EDITED BY KRZYSZTOF SKWIERCZYŃSKI)

FRANCESCO RENZI
PORTO

CLUNY IN MEDIEVAL GALICIA: THE *DAMNATIO MEMORIAE* AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN MARTÍN DE XUVIA (10TH-13TH CENTURIES)*



The study of the presence of Cluny in medieval Spain has a long and consolidated tradition. The spiritual, political and economic policy of the Burgundian abbey and its monks has been considered one of the most important factors reshaping the northern Iberian Peninsula during the High Middle Ages, along with the emergence of the pilgrimage route to Santiago and the introduction of the Roman Rite at the end of the 11th century¹. Yet there remain few studies

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1 A. Linage Conde, *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*, I-III, León 1973. For a general introduction to these themes see C.J. Bishko, *Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny*, "Cuadernos de Historia de España" XLVII-XLVIII (1968), pp. 31-135; XLIX-L (1969), pp. 30-116; E. Portela Silva, *Reyes, obispos y burgueses*, in: *Historia de la ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, ed. E. Portela Silva, Santiago de Compostela 2003; G.M. Cantarella, *Pasquale II e il suo tempo*, Napoli 1997; L.K. Pick, *Rethinking Cluny in Spain*, "Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies" V (2013) 1, pp. 1-17. On the political connections between Cluny and the Galician rulers see the recent works of J. D'Emilio, *The Paradox of Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, in: *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. and transl. J. D'Emilio, Leiden 2015, pp. 3-125; E. Portela

on the local Iberian relationship between Cluniacs and the other forms of monastic life and in particular with the Cistercians. Looking at the current state of monastic studies devoted to the Cluniac congregation in Spain, one may acquire the impression that Cluny lost interest, or prominence, after the Cistercians arrived south of Pyrenees during the 12th century. This historiographical trend is particularly evident in the case of medieval Galicia. In this area, the Cluniac experience was almost forgotten during many years by modern historians, who since the 1980s were more interested in other forms of monasticism and religious life, considering the trajectory of the monks of Cluny as completely declining in particular after the first quarter of the 12th century and the death of the most important promoters of the Cluniacs, King Alfonso VI of León-Castile (d. 1109) and his daughter Queen Urraca (d. 1126)².

In this historiographical perspective, Galicia appears to constitute a sort of rare exception to the successful experience of the Cluniacs in Spain between the 11th and the 12th centuries. The Cluniac monastery of San Martín de Xuvia, in particular, has been the victim of a curious monastic *damnatio memoriae* by contemporary scholars. There are very few works dedicated to this monastic community. On the one hand, there is the edition of the cartulary of Xuvia itself, prepared by Santiago Montero Díaz in 1935. This work contains a significant number of documents from the 10th century to 1199, although it does not include other charters from Xuvia preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid³. In terms of secondary studies, there are just few works specifically dedicated to San Martín de Xuvia⁴, as well as a very useful book by Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, focused on the presence of Cluny

Silva, *The Making of Galicia of Feudal Spain (1065-1157)*, ibidem, pp. 367-398; F.J. Pérez Rodríguez, *The Kingdom of Galicia and the Monarchy of Castile-León in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century*, ibidem, pp. 429-462. About the introduction of the Roman liturgy in the Iberian Peninsula see the third part of the excellent book of T. Deswarte, *Une chrétienté romaine sans pape: L'Espagne et Rome (586-1085)*, Paris 2010.

² E. Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense en Galicia (1142-1250)*, Santiago de Compostela 1981, pp. 58-60. For a general panoramic see the excellent work of C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Un género historiográfico: El estudio de dominios monásticos en la Corona de Castilla*, in: *Monasterios, espacio y sociedad en la España medieval: XX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera 3-7 agosto 2009*, ed. J.I. de la Iglesia Duarte, Logroño 2010, pp. 33-75.

³ S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Juvia (977-1199)*, Madrid 1935. The original cartulary is in Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid (henceforth: AHN), Codices, L. 1047. AHN, Codices, L. 63, contains also document of Juvia of the 15th century.

⁴ C.J. Bishko, *The Cluniac Priors of Galicia and Portugal: Their Acquisition and Administration 1075 - ca. 1230*, "Studia Monastica" VII (1965) 2, pp. 305-356; M.L. Ríos Rodríguez, *Las "ecclesiae" dependientes de los monasterios de Juvia, Caaveiro y Monfero (s. XI a XIII)*, "Adaxe" V (1989), pp. 105-123; R. Yzquierdo Perrín, *San Vicente de Pombeiro y San Martín de Xuvia: Dos monasterios benedictinos pertenecientes a Cluny*, "Anuario Brigantino" XXXV (2012), pp. 321-348.

in Spain, published in 2008, and the very recent article published in 2015 by José Miguel Andrade Cernadas on the introduction of Cluny in Galicia⁵. It seems evident that the monastery of San Martín de Xuvia, and more in general the Cluniac presence in Galicia, has a littler space in the Iberian monastic historiography, especially if one compares the number of studies dedicated to Cluny with the significant number of historiographical works focused on the Cistercians since the end of the 1970s⁶.

The arrival of the white monks in Galicia in 1142, when the monastery of Sobrado was (re)founded in the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela, has been considered by many historians as a reflection of the failure of the Cluniacs in the north-western Iberian Peninsula and as a clear sign of the deep spiritual renewal occurred in that area during the first decades of the 12th century⁷. In 1981, in his important monograph dedicated to the Cistercian experience in Galicia, Ermelindo Portela Silva affirmed that the white monks offered more effective support to the kings of León and Castile⁸ in controlling Galicia, a politically turbulent region, than any other monastic Order or local bishop⁹. Concretely, he claims, the Cistercians provided Alfonso VII of León-Castile (d. 1157) and his successors with the capacity to organize and modify rural space¹⁰ thanks to both their economic strength and their freedom from the episcopal authority granted by the papal exemption¹¹. From the half of

5 C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España: Los prioratos de la Provincia y sus redes sociales (1073 - ca. 1270)*, León 2008; J.M. Andrade Cernadas, *La introducción de Cluny en Galicia: Ritmos y resistencias*, "Studia Monastica" LVII (2015) 1, pp. 91-111.

6 For an update bibliography see, F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia: Le reti cistercensi (1142-1250)*, Trieste 2014, pp. 294-313.

7 E. Portela Silva, *La explicación sociopolítica del éxito cisterciense en Galicia*, "La España medieval" III (1982), pp. 319-330. On the monastery of Sobrado see: M. Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado: Un ejemplo del protagonismo monástico en la Galicia medieval*, La Coruña 1979; A. Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega en la Alta Edad Media*, Madrid 1992; M. Pallares Méndez, E. Portela Silva, *Proyección territorial e influencia social de una institución monástica en la Edad Media: La abadía de Sobrado (952-1300)*, in: *Entre nós: Estudos de arte xeografía e historia en homenaxe ó profesor Xosé Manuel Pose Antelo*, eds. X. Balboa López, H. Pernas Oroza, Santiago de Compostela 2001, pp. 209-242; idem, *Santa Maria de Sobrado tiempos y espacios de un monasterio cisterciense 1142-1250*, in: *Actas del I Congreso internacional sobre san Bernardo e o Cister en Galicia e Portugal, 17-20 outubro 1991*, Oseira 1991, pp. 42-65; idem, *Sobrado dos monxes*, in: *Monastición cisterciense gallego*, I-II, ed. D. Yáñez Neira, Vigo 2000, II, pp. 9-38.

8 The Kingdom of León-Castile was divided at the death of King Alfonso VII (1157). Sancho obtained Castile, Fernando the Kingdom of León (including Galicia and Asturias).

9 E. Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense...*, pp. 58-60.

10 M. Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado...*, pp. 119-122, 124, 128-129, 132, 135-142, 184-189, 236-240.

11 E. Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense...*, p. 63. See also F. Renzi, *The Bone of the Contention: Cistercians, Bishops and Papal Exemption: The Case of the Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (1150-1250)*, "Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies" V (2013) 1, pp. 47-68.

the 12th century, runs this line of argument, the white monks successfully replaced the monks of Cluny as a political and patrimonial point of reference for both the kings of León-Castile and León, and the most important Galician aristocratic group, the Traba family founders of the monastery of Sobrado¹², which had quickly become the most important promoters of the Cistercians in Galicia¹³. This contraposition between the white and the black monks is clearly represented by the linguistic choices used by Ermelindo Portela Silva to describe the trajectories of the two monastic experiences in that region: The *éxito* (success) of the Cistercians is contrasted starkly with the *fracaso* (failure) of the Cluniacs¹⁴. But did the Cluniacs really fade away or disappear, after the arrival of the Cistercians in Galicia? For that matter, were the two monastic experiences entirely separated, or might there perhaps have been points of contact and exchange during the 12th and the 13th centuries? A comparative study of the sources of the monastery of San Martín de Xuvia and of the most important Cistercian monastery in Galicia, Sobrado, reveals a richer historiographical perspective.

The monastery of San Martín de Xuvia was situated in the diocese of Mondoñedo, in the extreme north-east of Galicia, a few kilometres from the Atlantic coast¹⁵. The monastic community had not been Cluniac since its foundation. This Galician monastery is known to have existed since the 10th century, even if the precise date and the promoters of its foundation are unknown. The first mention of the monastery in the Galician sources is dated 977. On 15 February, a woman called Visclavara Vistrariz and her husband Tello gave to the monastery of Xuvia the localities of Ardán and Xuvia¹⁶. The donation provides a clearer idea of the geographical position of the monastery, situated between the rivers Trasancos and Xuvia, a decisive element for the relationship between the monastery of Xuvia and the abbey of Sobrado, as I will show later. It also contains several important pieces of information about the political context of Galicia in the first decades of the monastery's life. In the opinion of Santiago Montero Díaz, the woman mentioned in the document, Visclavara Vistrariz, was the daughter of Elvira (niece of the King Ramiro I of Asturias, r. 842/843-850) and her husband Vistrario, from who derived Vistrariz, the patronymic attributed to Visclavara in the source. The

12 E. Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense...*, pp. 62-63.

13 R. Alonso Álvarez, *Los promotores de la Orden del Cister en los reinos de Castilla y León: Familias aristocráticas y damas nobles*, "Anuarios de estudios medievales" XXXVII (2007) 2, pp. 653-710.

14 E. Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense...*, p. 63; idem, *La explicación sociopolítica del éxito cisterciense en Galicia*, pp. 319-330. See also J.M. Andrade Cernadas, *La introducción de Cluny...*, p. 105.

15 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, pp. 9-10.

16 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 1.

document asserts that “Post cuius excessu successit in loco illo et aula nepta et ancilla eius Geloirra confessa quis sic onesta et sanctissima et cum multa anima sancta et vir suus Vistrarius”¹⁷. This passage seems to confirm Montero Díaz’s hypothesis, associating the monastery of Xuvia with the Asturian royal family, even if the relative chronological distance between the Kingdom of Ramiro I and Visclavara’s donation suggests the need for prudence.

In the same source there is also a specific reference to King Ramiro I (see n. 19) and to the authority of a bishop named *Argimirus* to the vicinity of Xuvia. In his monumental work on the See of Santiago de Compostela, Antonio López Ferreiro identified this *Argimirus* with the homonymous bishop of Lamego, not far from Viseu in northern Portugal, who retired to the monastery of Xuvia during the last years of his life¹⁸. Between 876 and 893-910, two men called Argemiro were indeed bishops of Lamego, but there is no source connecting them to the monastery of Xuvia; moreover, their pontificates were both later than the rule of King Ramiro I of Asturias. So, who was the bishop mentioned in the document of 977?¹⁹ Among the episcopal chronotaxis of Iria-Compostela, Lugo, Astorga, Oviedo, Burgos, León, Orense, Tui, Mondoñedo and Zamora, we have no mention of the existence of a Bishop Argemiro in the 9th century. In his *Series episcoporum*, Pius Bonifacius Gams registered a bishop named Argimundus/Argimirus in the important episcopal See of Braga (in northern Portugal) between 811 and the second half of the 9th century²⁰. Argimundus/Argimirus, if the information given by Gams is correct, might be one of the last bishops of Braga before the transfer of episcopal authority to the See of Lugo (Galicia) in the year 885²¹. Despite the temporal distance between the document of the cartulary of Xuvia and the reference to Ramiro and Argemiro, an alliance between king and bishop may be plausible. First, in the 9th century the ecclesiastical province of Braga included Galicia and

17 Ibidem.

18 A. López Ferreiro, *Historia de la A.M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, II, Santiago de Compostela 1899, p. 179. See also the chronology of H. Florez, *España Sagrada: Theatro geográfico-histórico de la Iglesia de España*, XIX, Madrid 1792, p. 94.

19 According to the document datation, the king mentioned could not be Ramiro II, because he was king from 931 to 951.

20 P.B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, Graz 1957 (reprint), pp. 7, 16, 26, 40, 46, 51-52, 58, 83-84, 91.

21 Ibidem, p. 94. On the bishopric of Braga (restored in 1070-1071) see: P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford 1993, p. 111; J.M. Soto Rábanos, *¿Se puede hablar de un entremado político-religioso en el proceso de independencia de Portugal?*, “Hispania: Revista Española de Historia” LXVII (2008) 227, pp. 798-826. See also L.C. Amaral, *Organização eclesiástica entre Douro e Minho: O caso da diocese de Braga (sécs. IX-XII)*, in: *Del Cantábrico al Duero: Trece estudios sobre organización social del espacio en los siglos VIII al XIII*, eds. J.Á. García de Cortázar y Ruíz de Aguirre, Santander 1999, pp. 313-350.

the area of Mondoñedo; secondly King Ramiro I may have been interested in the monastery of Xuvia and in a collaboration with the bishop of Braga to control the Atlantic coast, attacked on several occasions by the Normans²².

The only other 10th-century source relating to the monastery of Xuvia is a charter of 997 – a donation made in favor of the monastery by a certain Lidegundia Froilaz²³ – while the first very interesting document of the 11th century is dated 1 August 1069. The document concerns a controversy between the abbot of Xuvia and two people named Antino and Liuva. Antino and Liuva, unable to find a solution to their land dispute, decided to seek lordly arbitration, “domino nostro et iudex Froila Vermudez”²⁴. Who was this man? Froila Vermúdez is the first member of the Traba family who is mentioned in the Galician medieval sources. Although a long historiographical tradition considers the Traba one of the most important Iberian aristocratic groups of this period, the origins of this family (and particularly of its first male members) are still unknown²⁵. In 1984 in his monograph focused on the pontificate of the Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez, Richard Alexander Fletcher defined the Traba as “new men”, a family with obscure and uncertain origins, who were able within few years to join the highest spheres of the Iberian aristocracy thanks to the military and the political support offered to King Alfonso VII of León-Castile and their proximity to Archbishop Diego Gelmírez²⁶. Furthermore, the Traba organized a strong policy of hypergamous marriages, rapidly reinforcing the patrimony and the political networks of the descendants of Froila Vermúdez in the northern

22 J. Uría Rúa, *Los normandos en las costas del reino de Asturias en el reinado de Ramiro I (844)*, “Boletín del Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos” XXVI (1955), pp. 356-381.

23 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Juvia...*, doc. no. 2.

24 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 8. The document of 1069 has also been analyzed by J.A. Bowman, *From Galicia to the Rhône: Legal Practice in Northern Spain around the Year 1000*, in: *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia...*, p. 352.

25 S. Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 2-3, notes at pp. 5-8; M. Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, *Las relaciones fronterizas entre Portugal y León en tiempos de Alfonso VII*, “Revista da faculdade de Letras” XV (1998) 1, pp. 302-313; I. Calderón Medina, *Cum magnatibus regni mei: La nobleza y la monarquía leonesas durante los reinados de Fernando II y Alfonso IX (1157-1230)*, Madrid 2011, pp. 114-117. On the family structure, see M. Pallares Méndez, E. Portela Silva, *Aristocracia y sistema de parentesco en la Galicia de los siglos centrales de la Edad media: El grupo de los Traba*, “Hispania: Revista Española de Historia” LIII (1993) 185, pp. 823-840. As explained by M. Pallares Méndez and E. Portela, it would not be correct to call this group *Traba*, but I use it (as argued also by C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España...*, p. 257), as a “convention” to identify the descendants of Count of Galicia Pedro Froilaz. See also, S.R. Doubleday, *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain*, Harvard 2001, esp. pp. 189, 207-215. On Froila Vermúdez, see A. Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega en la alta Edad Media*, Madrid 1992, p. 249, n. 27.

26 R.A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, Oxford 1984, pp. 34-36.

Iberian Peninsula²⁷. This first mention of Froila is very important, because it shows that in the second half of the 11th century, the first members of the family were controlling some lands in the north-east of the region in the bishopric of Mondoñedo, near the monastery of Xuvia. The charter reveals a structural feature of many Galician aristocratic families in the period before the 13th century, also demonstrated by the case of the Andrade family²⁸. Groups often of unknown origins, these families found their first important allies in the local Galician monasteries, which were fundamental in controlling the territory, as well as in terms of their spiritual care and their value in increasing the prestige of the family through the burial in the monastic cemetery²⁹. These dynamics are particularly significant in the relationships between the Traba family and the monks of Xuvia³⁰. After 1069, it is possible to record a significant number of donations by the Galician aristocratic group in favor of the monastic community. For example, in 1083 one of the daughters of Froila Vermúdez, Ermesenda, gave to the monks of Xuvia a land in the area of Perlío (a locality situated near the town of Pontevedra)³¹ and six years later, in 1089, Froila Vermúdez was buried in the monastery of Xuvia at the presence of the bishop of Mondoñedo³². In 1088, there is the first mention of the most important descendant of Froila: His son Pedro Froilaz (d. 1128), who donated to Xuvia some lands situated in Xunqueiras, near the town of Pontedueme³³. Pedro was one of the most important Iberian aristocrats of the early 12th century, becoming count of Galicia in the years after the death of Count Raymond of Burgundy, and one of the most loyal allies of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez (in spite of their numerous conflicts). He also became tutor of the young Alfonso Raimúndez, future Alfonso VII, and supported Queen Urraca during the war against her second husband Alfonso I of Aragon “El Batallador”³⁴. The importance of Count Pedro is recorded by the same *Historia Compostellana*, in which he is defined as one of the *principes*, that is, one of the leading aristocrats of Galicia in the first half of the 12th century³⁵.

27 F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*, pp. 43-47.

28 C. Castro Álvarez, J.L. López Sangil, *La genealogía de los Andrade*, “Cátedra Revista Eumes de Estudios” VII (2000), pp. 189-216.

29 F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*, pp. 74-88.

30 A. Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega...*, pp. 250ff.

31 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 7.

32 AHN, Clero, Codices, L. 1047, fol. 2r. See also S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, p. 14, n. 56.

33 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 11.

34 B.F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca: 1109-1126*, Princeton 1982, pp. 45-118; idem, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII: 1126-1157*, Philadelphia 1998, pp. 15-52.

35 *Historia Compostellana*, ed. E. Falque Rey, in: *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis*, LXXI, Turnhout 1988, pp. 56-57.

Count Pedro Froílaz played a decisive role in the history of Xuvia. In 1113, he donated the monastery of Xuvia to the Abbot of Cluny Ponce of Melgueil³⁶. Why did he choose Cluny? Might he, perhaps, have had a direct connection with the abbot of Cluny? In 1965, Charles Julian Bishko underscored his seemingly curious decision; before 1113, he pointed out, the count had not had any relationships with the Cluniacs or Abbot Ponce of Melgueil. In the opinion of Bishko, this decision was the result of the political bargaining between Count Pedro Froilaz, Bishop Diego Gelmírez and Queen Urraca of León-Castile in the wider context of both the clashes of the daughter of King Alfonso VI (who in 1109 had donated San Vicente de Pombeiro, in the diocese of Lugo, to Cluny³⁷) against King of Aragón Alfonso I “El Batallador” and the dynastic problem represented by the son of Urraca and her first husband Count Raymond of Burgundy (d. 1107), Alfonso Raimúndez³⁸. The argument, however, might be partially enriched. The document of 1113 does affirm that Count Pedro donated the monastery after consultation with Diego Gelmírez, bishop (he became archbishop in 1120) of Santiago de Compostela and Munio, bishop of Mondoñedo, who approved the birth of a Cluniac priory in his diocese. Yet there is no reference to the participation or authority of Queen Urraca. In contrast, among the *confirmantes* of the document features the Archbishop of Toledo Bernard, who might play, in the opinion of Reglero de la Fuente the role of mediator between the Bishops of Compostela and Mondoñedo. The two bishops, in fact, were in conflict for some lands in the area of Xuvia³⁹. In my view, Count Pedro and Diego Gelmírez might also have other potential targets. On the one hand Count of Galicia Pedro may have glimpsed the opportunity to increase his personal prestige and his political networks through contact with Cluny and Abbot Ponce. He was in turn the ideal interlocutor for Cluny, as the most important aristocrat of the area, and the best promoter for the Cluniacs in Galicia. Equally, Diego Gelmírez may have been closely involved, using Xuvia as a special channel to get more and more in touch with abbot Ponce de Melgueil, in order to reinforce and

³⁶ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bruel, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Première série, Histoire politique, V, Paris 1894, doc. no. 3906. J.M. Andrade noticed that the first sources in which Xuvia is clearly a Cistercian monastery is dated 1120, see *La introducción de Cluny...*, p. 110.

³⁷ Cf. also M. Lucas Álvarez, P. Lucas Domínguez, *El priorato benedictino de San Vincenzo de Pombeiro y su colección diplomática en la Edad Media*, A Coruña 1996, doc. no. 5.

³⁸ C.J. Bishko, *The Cluniac Priories...*, pp. 315-320. E. Portela Silva, *La colonización...*, p. 40.

³⁹ A. Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, V, doc. no. 3906. On Diego Gelmírez's elevation as archbishop see J.M. Soto Rábanos, *La práctica de la pastoral en la Península Ibérica (siglos X-XII)*, in: *La pastorale della Chiesa in Occidente dall'età ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV: Atti della quindicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 27-31 agosto 2001*, Milano 2004, p. 286; C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España...*, p. 329.

increase his own international networks. For him, the strategy would have been a decisive element in legitimizing and giving shape to his aspirations to become archbishop and to free the See of Santiago de Compostela from the competition of the See of Braga and its archbishop, Maurice "Bourdin". Maurice of Braga, in fact, was both in conflict with Bernardo of Toledo for the bishopric of León and he was Diego Gelmírez's greatest rival in the area in particular during the years 1112-1115⁴⁰. The question nonetheless remains open; it might be stimulating to undertake new research on the political strategies of both Diego Gelmírez and Maurice Bourdin in the first quarter of the 12th century, as argued by Glauco Maria Cantarella in 2013 and 2014⁴¹.

What is certain is that after 1113 the relationships between the Traba family and Xuvia were even tighter than in the 11th century⁴². In December 1113, Guntrude Rodríguez, second wife of Pedro Froilaz de Traba, donated to the Cluniacs of Xuvia some lands in the area of Trasancos in northern Galicia⁴³. The following year, the Galician aristocratic family made other three important donations in favor of Xuvia⁴⁴. On 5 January 1114, Munia Froilaz, sister of Count Pedro, granted her properties in the localities of Perlío and Narón⁴⁵. On 11 August of the same year, Visclavara, another sister of Pedro Froilaz de Traba, donated to the Cluniacs other lands situated in northern Galicia between the rivers Ferrol and Arès⁴⁶. Finally, one of the brothers of Count Pedro, Rodrigo Froilaz, the lord of Trasancos, donated additional lands in the same area of his sister Visclavara⁴⁷. In 1125, Count Pedro Froilaz de Traba donated a significant number of lands in northern Galicia between the bishoprics of Compostela, Lugo and Mondoñedo. The lands were distributed in the localities of Céltigos (Ortigueira, in the modern province of A Coruña), Nendos (in what is now the province of Lugo), Prucios (near the town of Villamayor, near Pontedeume), Trasancos and Bisauquis (the area included between the rivers Eume and Xuvia)⁴⁸. From 1126 it is possible to record the

40 On this aspect see the works of C. Erdmann, *Maurício Burdino (Gregório VIII)*, Coimbra 1940, pp. 14ff; P. David, *L'énigme de Maurice Bourdin*, in: idem, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Paris-Lisbon 1947, pp. 459ff.

41 C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España...*, pp. 255-257.

42 G.M. Cantarella, *I normanni e la chiesa di Roma: Aspetti e momenti*, in: *Chiese locali e Chiese regionali nell'Alto Medioevo: Atti della LXI Settimana di Spoleto (Spoleto 4-9 aprile 2013)*, Spoleto 2014, pp. 377-406; idem, "Come in uno specchio"? *Di nuovo su Ponzio di Cluny (1109-1122/26)*, "Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo" CXVI (2014), pp. 61-92.

43 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 19.

44 See A. Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega en la Alta Eda Media*, Madrid 1992, pp. 200, 250, 253.

45 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 21.

46 Ibidem, doc. no. 23.

47 Ibidem, doc. no. 32.

48 Ibidem, doc. no. 30.

donations of the descendants of Count Pedro Froilaz, and in particular of Count Fernando Pérez de Traba – the most important Galician aristocrat of the second quarter of the 12th century⁴⁹ – and his brother Vermudo Pérez⁵⁰. Donations *pro anima* and for the prayers of the Cluniacs were still common in the second half of the 12th century, as is demonstrated by the donation of Count Gonzalo Fernández, son of Fernando Pérez, to Xuvia in 1159⁵¹. The Cluniacs of Xuvia were also a spiritual reference for the branch of the family led by Rodrigo Froilaz and his nephew Suero Menéndez nicknamed “Zapata”; the members of this branch had relationships with the monks of Xuvia until the third quarter of the 12th century⁵².

It is very essential to observe how the Traba remained among the most important promoters of the monastery of Xuvia during the 11th and 12th centuries, even after the arrival of the Cistercians at Sobrado promoted by Fernando and Vermudo Pérez de Traba in 1142⁵³. This is the demonstration of the complex strategy of this group, which was by no means focused on only one monastic order⁵⁴. It is worth asking whether the close contacts of the Galician family with the white monks of Sobrado affected their relationships with the Cluniac monks of Xuvia in any way. Among the unpublished sources of Xuvia preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid, there is a papal bull addressed by Pope Paschalis II to the monastery of Cluny in 1100. In this document, the Pope confirmed all the priories dependents from Cluny; among the priories situated in the northern Iberian Peninsula there is one named “Sancti Martini de Luvia”⁵⁵. How it is possible to explain this apparent reference to Xuvia as a Cluniac priory, as early as 1100? In the opinion of Santiago Montero Díaz, who did not know the donation given by Count of Galicia Pedro Froilaz de Traba in favor of Ponce de Cluny in 1113 edited by Alexandre Bruel, the papal bull reflects the influence of Cluny

49 J.L. López Sangil, *La nobleza altomedieval gallega: La familia Froilaz-Traba*, Noya 2002, pp. 55, 99.

50 Ibidem, pp. 43-48; S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. nos. 33, 34, 35, 46.

51 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 55.

52 Ibidem, doc. nos. 39, 51, 58, 61. See also *Donaciones, sepulturas y entrada en monasterio en Galicia en los siglos XII y XIII: El caso de la abadía cisterciense de Sobrado*, in: *Faire son Salut: Œuvrer pour le salut en Péninsule Ibérique (VI-XV siècles)*, eds. F. Gallon, N. Pluchot, A. de las Heras, Paris 2017 (forthcoming).

53 M. Pallares Méndez, E. Portela Silva, *Santa Maria de Sobrado tiempos y espacios...*, esp. pp. 42-51.

54 F. Renzi, *Da Clairvaux alla Galizia: I cisterciensi nel nord della Spagna tra XII e XIII secolo, “Quaderni del Mediae Aetatis Sodalitium” XIV (2011)*, p. 151.

55 AHN, Clero, Secular-Regular, A Coruña, Jubia, Carpeta 495, no. 21. On this papal bull see also: R. Yzquierdo Perrín, *San Vicente...*, p. 337; F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi...*, pp. 117-118.

in Galicia at the end of the 11th century, associated with the close relationship of the monastery with King Alfonso VI of León-Castile. The problem is that papal bull of 1100 preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional is contradicted by another document of Xuvia. A document of February 1121, a donation in favor of Abbot Munio of Xuvia, states that "Comes dominus Petrus Froilat, cuius monasterio Sancto Petro Cluniacensi tradidit cum consensu suis fratribus"⁵⁶.

This document seems to confirm the starring role played by the Traba family and Count Pedro Froilaz in the reform of Xuvia as a Cluniac priory. Moreover, an analysis of the bull of 1100, preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid, reveals several problems concerning its authenticity. To begin with, the document refers only to the year and not the month and the day of the bull. In my opinion this diploma should correspond to the bull edited by Jacques Paul Migne and dated 15 November 1100. In this last document there is no reference to the monastery of San Martín de Xuvia, a mention probably added in the copy produced by the *scriptorium* of the Cluniac Galician monastery⁵⁷. Secondly, the writing of the document of Xuvia is not characteristic of the late 11th century papal chancellery; the unpublished charter of the Archivo Histórico Nacional was probably written in the late 12th century or early 13th century; the writing, in fact, is very similar to that used in the false papal privilege attributed to Pope Celestine III contained in

⁵⁶ S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, pp. 14-15; *ibidem*, doc. no. 26.

⁵⁷ JL 5845 (Anagni 15 novembre 1100) = *Paschalis II Romani pontificis epistolae et privilegia*, ed. J.P. Migne, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, CLXIII, Parisii 1854, no. XXXI, cols. 57-58: *S. Maria de Charitate de Martigniaco, S. Petrus de Munsiaco, S. Petrus de Leniciis, S. Paulus de Pergamo, S. Isidorus de Hispania, S. Odylus de Scarrione, S. Marcellus de Salsimonicus, S. Marcellus de Cabilone, Carus locus, Paredus Romanum monasterium, S. Victor de Gebenna, Paterniacus, S. Saturninus de Provincia, S. Eutropius, S. Martinus de Axia, monasterium de Caceriis, S. Maria de Tolosa, Boort, Tiernus, S. Martinus de Campis, Sylviniacus, Virgenus, Ginniacus, Nantuacus, S. Pancratius de Anglica, S. Lecerius de Nazara, S. Jacobus de Potino, S. Gabriel de Cremona, S. Salvator et S. Stephanus de Niverno*. The unpublished charter of Xuvia preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid (AHN, Clero, Secular-Regular, A Coruña, Jubia, Carpeta 495, no. 21): *S. Maria de Caritate de Martiniaco, S. Petrus de Consiaco, S. Petrus de Leniciis, S. Paulus de Pergamo, S. Isidor de Hispania, S. Zoylus de Carrione, S. Marcellus de Salsimonicus, S. Marcellus de Cabilone, Carus locus Paredus romanum monasterium, S. Victor de Gebenna, Paterniacus, S. Saturninus de Provincia, S. Eytropius, S. Martinus de Luvia, monasterium de Cacerris, S. Maria de Tolosa, Boort, Tiernus, S. Martinus de Campis, Silvoiniacus Salfinangie, Heingentum Crispeiacus Virgenus, Ginniacus, Nantuancus, S. Pancratius de Anglica, S. Lecerius de Bigorra, S. Orencius Auxiensis, S. Maria de Nazara, S. Jacobus de Pontino, S. Gabriel de Cremona, S. Salvator et S. Stephanus de Niverno*. On the problem of the identification of some of the monasteries indicated in the list see: F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*, pp. 116-117; C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España*, pp. 81-83; *idem*, *El Monasterio de San Isidro de Dueñas en la Edad Media: Un priorato cluniacense hispano (911-1478): Estudio y colección documental*, León 2005, p. 95.

the documentation of the monastery of Sobrado⁵⁸. What are the reasons behind this choice? A first hypothesis might be the claim for the primacy of Xuvia as the first Cluniac priory in Galicia, against the monastery of San Vicente de Pombeiro (in diocese of Lugo), which had been donated to Cluny by Queen Urraca in 1109. However, there are no references to conflicts between the two monasteries during the period considered in the sources of either Pombeiro or Xuvia. Backdating the passage of Xuvia into the Cluniac congregation to 1100, would have undercut the significance of the donation by Count Pedro Froilaz in 1113 which is not even inserted in the monastic cartulary, as notice by Andrade Cernadas⁵⁹. By producing the document attributed to Pope Paschalis II, then, were the monks of Xuvia writing another history of the monastery without the Traba family? Was this decision connected to the foundation and the support given by the descendants of Count Pedro Froilaz to the Cistercians of Sobrado?

The analysis of the patrimonial development of both monasteries reveals a strong competition between Cluniacs and Cistercians for the control of the same areas. Between the 11th and 12th centuries, the monks of Xuvia accumulated an important patrimony near the Atlantic coast in the territories of Ferrol (where the port is already mentioned in the 10th-century sources⁶⁰), Pontedueme⁶¹, Trasancos⁶², Bisauquis⁶³, Nendos⁶⁴, Villamil⁶⁵, Ortigueira⁶⁶, Betanzos⁶⁷, Brión⁶⁸, Narón⁶⁹ and Leboeiro⁷⁰. The documentation of Xuvia in this period is constituted by donations accorded by the Traba family and by the local landowners of northern Galicia, who appear in the sources as *heredes*⁷¹. The documents of the monastery clearly show how the monks of

58 F. Renzi, *The Bone of the Contention...*, pp. 57-59.

59 See C.J. Bishko, *The Cluniac Priors...*, pp. 310ff; J.M. Andrade Cernadas, *La introducción de Cluny...*, pp. 109-110.

60 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. nos. 10, 35, 44, 55, 97, 100, 104, 107-108, 117.

61 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 7, 21, 24, 137, 138-139, 140.

62 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 9, 19, 23, 27, 29-30, 40, 43, 52-53, 59, 62, 65, 68, 73-75, 85, 105, 119-121, 126-127.

63 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 6, 12, 23, 30, 36-37, 45, 48, 64, 72, 78, 87, 118, 122.

64 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 9, 30.

65 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 44.

66 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 39, 49, 52, 55, 58, 65, 70, 109.

67 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 96.

68 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 16, 23, 89, 95, 102, 120-121.

69 *Ibidem*, doc. nos. 17, 21, 57, 84, 118.

70 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 1. On the patrimony of Xuvia, see M.L. Ríos Rodríguez, "*Las 'ecclesiae'*"..., pp. 107-113.

71 R. Pastor, *Poder monástico y grupos domésticos foreros*, in: *Poder monástico y grupos domésticos en la Galicia Foral (siglos XIII-XV): La casa: La comunidad*, eds. R. Pastor, I. Alfonso Antón, A. Rodríguez López, P. Sánchez-León, Madrid 1990, pp. 29-31.

Xuvia built a vassallic network, distributed in the area of the bishopric of Mondoñedo. In 1190, for example, two local *heredes* declared themselves as the *vasallos et defensores* of the monastery, in a donation to Xuvia, in exchange of prayers for their soul by the Cluniac monks and the right of burial in the monastery⁷². This network was organized and supported also by King Fernando II of León, son of King Alfonso VII, who in 1169 granted the prior of Xuvia the prerogative to forbid the marriages of the *ancillae* of the monastery if their matrimonial agreements could damage the patrimonial interests of the monastic community⁷³. The important patrimonial position obtained by the Cluniacs of Xuvia was seriously threatened by the Cistercians of Sobrado, who accumulated between 1142 and 1170 a vast number of lands in the northern Galicia in the bishopric of Compostela, Lugo and Mondoñedo thanks to donations from both the local population and members of the Traba family, who thus stimulated the competition between Xuvia and Sobrado for the control of these areas. The Cistercians of Sobrado built an important part of their patrimony in the areas of Trasancos, Brión, the area of the Xuvia river, Ferrol, the Burgo de Faro and later, in the first quarter of the 13th century, in Betanzos and A Coruña⁷⁴. In other words, the Cistercians quickly colonized the same areas in north or north-eastern Galicia, near and along the Atlantic coast, in which the Cluniacs had concentrated their patrimony. Competition was almost inevitable. A detailed study of Cistercian sources shows how the monks were able to build their social and patrimonial networks against the Cluniac interests. The Cistercians entered agreements with vassals or local landowners in contact with Xuvia, by helping them during the period of economic crisis.

72 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 107: *Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego Gondisalvuus Johannes et Nunus Iohannes in diebus priori A [...] facimus scriptum testamenti monasterio sancti Martini, et pactum de vita et post portem nostran ut stabile maneat et firmum videlicet ut dum vassalli et defensores res eius ad obitum quisque nostram mandamus corporis nostris cum nostris helemosinis, et offerimus Deo et beati Martini porcionem nostram integram sancti Petri de Lexa [...] Nos ii monachi sancti Martini cum consensu nostri prioris A [...] recepimus ista oblationem et concedimus vobis pro vestra portione hereditate nostra in cauto de Serantes [...] in villa [...] Donega.*

73 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 81: *Ego dominus Fernandus Dei gratia Hyspaniarum rex [...] concedo Deo et monasterio sancti Martini de Iuuvia, vobis Constantino eiusdem loci priori [...] Mando itaque ut ab hodierno et deinceps nullus nobilium sive ignobilium, militum, satellitum vel rusticorum presumat ancillas vestras sine consensu vestro uxores ducere vel hereditates vestras usurpare.* The original are preserved in AHN, Clero, Secular-Regular, A Coruña, Jubia, Carpeta 495, nos. 22-23. This is one of the first royal concessions of this type in the 12th century Galicia; for example in the case of the Cistercians, the first royal intervention to regulate the relationship between local knights and monks is dated only 1226. See L. Sánchez Belda, *Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes a Galicia*, Madrid 1953, doc. nos. 625, 660-661, 690.

74 F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*, pp. 56-63.

In the sources from the end of the 12th century there are recorded two episodes of famine⁷⁵. In the first case, a man named Gonzalo Pérez de Baloni (Baloni was a locality near Ferrol) sold all the properties situated in Brión owned by his wife “mortua in tempore famis”; in change Gonzalo received a little amount of money “pro medietate unius bovis cum quo viveret ipse et filii sui”⁷⁶. A famine of this type, was not an isolated episode in the medieval north-western peninsula⁷⁷. The document of Sobrado notes that the donation was made when the *magister grangiae* (granger) of Brión was the lay-brother Arias, accompanied by another lay-brother called Ponce⁷⁸ who in 1192 appears in the sources of Sobrado as the successor of Arias⁷⁹. This means that the donation of Gonzalo Pérez de Baloni was made in the last two decades of the 12th century. This episode has a number of parallels with another case recorded in the documents of Sobrado. A man called Pedro Menéndez, *magister grangiae* of Reparada (lands donated to Sobrado by King Fernando II of León in 1158)⁸⁰, received a donation from a local landowner called Vermudo Cervatu de Piñeiro (near A Coruña) to thank the help received from the Cistercians during the “anno malo”⁸¹. Pedro Menéndez was *magister grangiae* of Reparada from March 1192⁸² to July 1201⁸³. Both documents indicate a very difficult economic situation. In this period, the Cluniacs of Xuvia also experienced economic troubles. In 1190, the Bishop of Mondoñedo Rabinatus gave financial support to the monks of Xuvia and to the prior Bartholomew to rebuild a part of the monastery⁸⁴. In the source there is no explanation for

75 See on these episodes M. Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado...*, pp. 156, 292-294.

76 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, I-II, Madrid 1976, II, doc. no. 417. On the cartulary of Sobrado see A. Suárez González, *Cistercian Scriptoria in the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries: A Starting Point*, in: *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia...*, pp. 785-804.

77 See for example the episode related in the *Chronicon Lusitanum sive Gothorum Chronica*, ed. E. Florez, in: *España Sagrada*, XIV, Madrid 1796, p. 420.

78 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, II, doc. no. 417: *Et fratris Pontii obstararii eius*.

79 *Ibidem*, I, doc. no. 350.

80 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 489: *Ego Fernandus Dei Gratia rex Legionum et Gallecie vobis reverendo abbati de Superaddo Egidio monibusque monachis tam presentibus quam futuris ibidem Deo servientibus do et dono quicquid ad ius spectat regium in monte de Priorio et in Reparaditam in mari quam in terra, et cauto vobis supradictis grangiam vestram de Reparadi et predictum montem de Priorio, et portum maris de Sartaginis*.

81 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 611. See on these aspects the work of M. Pallares Méndez, *El Monasterio de Sobrado...*, pp. 229-230.

82 *Ibidem*, doc. no. 534.

83 AHN, Clero, A Coruña, Sobrado, Carpeta 534, no. 13.

84 S. Montero Díaz, *La colección diplomática de san Martín de Jubia...*, doc. no. 106: *Rabinatus Dei gratia menduniensis episcopus ecclesie: Dilectis filiis universis Christi fidelibus per menduniensis*

the donation made by Bishop Rabinatus, but it is striking that during the very years of the famine, a monastery in the same area appears to have had problems sufficiently serious to require the support of the local bishop. In the donation made by Vermudo Cervatu, the donor immediately declares himself as a vassal of the Cistercians of Sobrado, specifying that the prior of Xuvia could not have any authority on him even if Vermudo joined agreements and had patrimonial contacts with the Cluniacs in the previous years⁸⁵. This document strongly suggests that the Cistercians were taking advantage of the difficulties of the monks of Xuvia to change the local balance of power and to impose their authority.

The relationship between Xuvia and Sobrado cannot be characterized purely by competition. In 1163, the prior of Xuvia appears among the *confirmantes* of a donation in favor of the white monks of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela⁸⁶. Indeed, the interests of the two monastic communities sometimes led to direct territorial agreements. In 1192, Thomas, abbot of Sobrado, and Bartholomew, prior of Xuvia, entered an agreement for the control of a vineyard⁸⁷, while in the same period the *magister grangiae* of Brión and the Cluniac monk Durando also exchanged some lands in northern Galicia⁸⁸. However, the expansion of the Cistercians in the same areas controlled by the Cluniacs generated considerable tensions between the two monasteries. In the cartulary of Sobrado there is one especially interesting source on the conflicts between Cistercians and Cluniacs as noticed by María Pallares Méndez⁸⁹. In the documents of Xuvia there is no

*diocesim constituutis, salutem et benedictionem. Cum districtu et extremum venturus sit dominus quia tamen sub hac vita mitissimum se prebet ac facilem oportet nos dum operandi tempus habemus districcio diem misericordie operibus prevenire, nec enim cuique de est possibilitas Dei regnum comparandi cuius precium nullius excedit facultatem, operemur ergo bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad illos qui oracionis domum construere intendunt in qua qui digna conversatione communionem accipiunt regni celestis participes efficiuntur. Ecce prior Bartholomeus presbiter et monachus ecclesiam sancti Martini de Nedda reedificare aggreditur ad quod utique opus auxilium caritatis vestre non magis seu necessarium est recipere qua nobis credimus expediens conferre. Idcirco universitatem vestram monemus et exortamus in domino adque in remissionem peccatorum vestrum nobis iniungimus quod ad tam sanctum et laudabilem propositum accedatis scilicet in vigilia sancti Martini et in VI feria in qua cantatur dominica de Lazaro et in octavis Pentecoste scilicet iii feria; si quis vestrum totam diem laboraverit vel auxiliimus porrexerit auctoritate pontificali que fungimur ei XI dies de indulgentia seu legitime penitentiam relaxamus. The monastery of Xuvia had already have problems of this kind in the previous decades, see F. Renzi, *Donaciones, sepulturas y entrada en monasterio en Galicia...**

⁸⁵ P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, I, doc. no. 611; F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*, pp. 121-125.

⁸⁶ P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, I, doc. no. 555.

⁸⁷ AHN, Clero, A Coruña, Sobrado, Carpeta 535, no. 2.

⁸⁸ AHN, Clero, A Coruña, Sobrado, Carpeta 540, no. 3.

⁸⁹ On the conflict between Sobrado and Xuvia, see the fundamental work of M. Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado...*, pp. 156, 292-294.

reference to this clash, an aspect which suggests the need for caution; the Cistercian point of view is (unfortunately) the only available. The document reveals the conflict between the Cistercians and the Cluniac monks for the control of the lands of Brión, an area of considerable importance by virtue of its economic activities (agriculture and animal husbandry) and strategic location providing access to the Atlantic coast⁹⁰. The conflict specifically concerned possession of an *estivada* (a land deforested to be cultivated or used for animal husbandry⁹¹), which was controlled by the Cistercians lay-brothers. The Cluniacs considered this situation as an illegitimate occupation of their patrimony. Unable to reach agreement, the two parties sought the arbitration of Rodrigo Gómez, one of the last important member of the Traba family⁹². Rodrigo lived between the end of the 12th century and 1261⁹³, a first element which allows to set the conflict between Xuvia and Sobrado in the 13th century. The source also mentions a Cistercian monk named Sancho Rodríguez, who appears in the documentation between 1225 and 1232⁹⁴, thus providing us with a more specific chronological frame for the document. According to our source, Rodrigo Gómez de Traba selected some local clergymen as *boni homines* to establish the boundaries between the patrimonies of Sobrado and

90 Ibidem, p. 177. From the sources of Sobrado, it is possible to understand the importance of this territory, as demonstrated by the agreement between Sobrado and Xuvia for the control of the mills of San Andrés at the end of the 12th century: *Isti sunt termini de Sancto Andrea de Brion, qui positi sunt per sapientes terre. Et per bonos homines et veteranos. Incipiunt per arenam de Paradiso, et inde ad Petram Scriptam que est inter casalem qui fuit de comitissa et bouzam, et inde ad marcum qui stat in ripa de rivo sub casa de Martino vacario, et inde ad Penam Aquilariam, et inde ad Lacunam, et inde ad Fontaelu sicut intrat in Iuuvia. Homines boni qui istas divisiones fecerunt sunt Pelagius Menendi de Sancto Matheo, Gunzalvuuus Froile de Mandiam qui heres erat de Balone, Iohannes Afonsi de Tabulata, Petrus Rabilum de Serantes et gener eius Gunzalvuuus Afonsi. Et compositores inter abbatem de Superaddo domnum Thomam cum suis fratribus et priorem de Sancto Martino domnum Bartholomeum.*

91 M. Pallares Méndez, *El monasterio de Sobrado...*, p. 178; P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, II, doc. no. 447.

92 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, II, doc. no. 390: *Orta est intentio inter fratres Superaddi ex una parte et fratres Sancti Martini de Iuuvia super unam estivadam quam fratres de Brione fecerunt in monte inculto de Brione superiori [...] et devenerunt, inde in presentia principis terre domini Roderici Gomet qui poisuit inquisitores donnum Mateum de Siloure et donnum Nunonem Iohannis de Serantis et Ovecum Froile presbiter de Leixa et Marinum Petri presbiter de Sedis.*

93 E. Pardo de Guevara y Valdés, *Los López de Lemos señores de Ferreira y Sober: El linaje y sus parentelas en los siglos XIII al XVI*, "Cuadernos de estudios gallegos" LVIII (2011) 124, pp. 111-148, esp. p. 118.

94 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, II, doc. no. 390: *Isti erant presentes quando esquisa fuit data: Domnus Petrus Iohannis magister conversorum, domnus Santius Roderici monachus, frater Iohannes Veremudi magister de Briuon, domnus Martinus procurator monasterii de Iuuvia, Alvoitus et Rodericus Gabarias, domnus Rodericus Fernandi, domnus Fernandi Suarii Trucu, Froila Suarii de Parada, Afonsus de Lema, Martinus de Minuu. See also the documents nos. 152, 159, 168, 421 in the same volume.*

Xuvia. These *inquisitores*, in the presence the monk and *procurator* of Xuvia Pedro Fernández and the *magister grangiae* of Brión, decided to confirm the possession of the lands to the Cistercians, according to the monks of Xuvia only one quarter of the mountain of Brión⁹⁵. Needless to say, the Cluniacs refused to accept this decision; the Cistercians tried to find another solution, but the Cluniacs of Xuvia refused to attend the meeting proposed by the white monks at Trasancos⁹⁶. After this refusal, the abbot of Sobrado – his name is not indicated in the source, but he should be one between Henry and Humbert, who were abbots between 1211⁹⁷ and 1242⁹⁸ – decided to call again the same *boni homines* nominated by Rodrigo Gómez de Traba to address the competing claims. This time, the *boni homines* swore fidelity (by an act of *commendatio*) to the Cistercian abbot of Sobrado⁹⁹. The sentence was, perhaps unsurprisingly, favorable for the white monks of Sobrado. However, when the lay-brothers arrived at Brión to take possession of the lands, they found a terrible surprise. The lay-brothers under the leadership of the *magister grangiae* of Brión (probably Menendo Peláez, who appears in the documents between 1227¹⁰⁰ and 1233¹⁰¹) saw “*fratri Sancti Martini cum armis, laceis, gladiis, cultellis, et brosis et fustibus*”¹⁰². The Cluniacs attacked the Cistercians lay-brothers and tried to kill the *magister grangiae*¹⁰³. Simmering patrimonial

95 Ibidem: *Qui venientes dixerunt quod terra culta de Brione superiori erat divisa inter eos per marcos et divisiones factas et mons incultus non erat divisus, et quod fratres Superaddi habebant de monte inculto tres quartas cum suis heredibus et fratres sancto Martini habebant quartam.*

96 Ibidem: *Dixerunt etiam quod frater petrus Fernandi qui eo tempore erat procurator monasterii de Iuuvia defenderat magistro de Brion predictam estivadam et magister de Brion dedit ei fideiussor quod faceret directum, et non venit ad diem prefixum frater Petrus Fernandi. Hoc facto frater Petrus Fernandi dimisit illum locum et rediit ad Superaddum, preterea dixerunt quod abbas Superaddi venit ad Trasancus et venerunt fratres de Iuuvia ad abbatem de Superaddo et dederunt ei querimoniam de magistro de Brione et ille non fecit eis quod querebant.*

97 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, I, doc. nos. 363 (1214), 364 (1211), 365 (1219), 366 (1222), 369 (1212), 399 (1223), 466 (1212), 571 (1227), 573 (no date); II, doc. nos. 191 (1222), 243 (1219), 330 (1224), 331 (1220), 352 (1220), 501 (no date), 522 (1218), 523 (1212), 524 (1219); AHN, Clero, A Coruña, Sobrado, Carpeta 537, nos. 15 (1215), 16 (1216), 18 (1219); Carpeta 538, nos. 8 (1219), 13 (1222), 14 (1222), 20 (1222); Archivo del Reino de Galicia, pergaminos, Sobrado, no. 307.

98 AHN, Clero, A Coruña, Sobrado, Carpeta 540, nos. 4 (1234), 9 (1236), 14 (1240), 20 (1242).

99 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, II, doc. no. 390: *Verutamen abbas vocavit bonos homines terre et fecerunt iurare in manibus suis quod inquirent directum Sancti Martini et Superaddi et darent utrique parti portionem suam et assignavit diem.*

100 Ibidem, I, doc. no. 467 (1227).

101 AHN, Clero, A Coruña, Sobrado, Carpeta 540, no. 3 (1233).

102 P. Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, *Tumbo del monasterio de Sobrado...*, II, doc. no. 390.

103 Ibidem: *fratres Sancti Martini [...] volentes ille occidere ruperunt capam magister cum lancea.*

tensions had erupted into open armed conflict. In the end, the monks of Xuvia were unable to resist the white monks' pressure, and had to accept the loss of part of their patrimony in Brión¹⁰⁴. But the incident reveals the ease with which monastic disputes could slide into violence. The social composition of Galician monasteries such as Sobrado and Toxos Outos suggests that a high proportion of monks and lay brothers came from the local aristocracy and often from families of knights: That is, from a social context permeated by a culture of violence and military skills¹⁰⁵. The monasteries needed men accustomed to command, with deep connections to the local population, and with a capacity to fight for their interests if necessary. Even if the source is not impartial, its content is not unrealistic: The Cluniac monks would have been fully prepared for this kind of situations¹⁰⁶. These episodes were the sign of the endemic violence in medieval Galician society¹⁰⁷ and furthermore it suggests the need for further research into monastic social recruitment, their structures and their interior political bargaining to better understand the role of these men with military specialization in the monasteries and if it is possible to establish a relationship between the social composition of the abbeys and the episodes of violence or riots in the monastic world related by the medieval sources¹⁰⁸.

Far from disappearing quietly after the arrival of the Cistercians, therefore, the monks of Xuvia were still actively – and literally – fighting and competing against the Cistercians of Sobrado as late as the second quarter of the 13th century. Their survival as a territorial and spiritual force in Galicia indicates the need for scholars to study the separate monastic orders in conjunction and in a comparative perspective. In my opinion, it is important to avoid the idea that the Cistercians simply replaced the Cluniacs: A sort of substitution between the old monasticism, Cluny, and the new monasticism, represented by the Order of Cîteaux. The Cistercians arrived in Galicia almost thirty years after the donation of Xuvia to Abbot Ponce de Melgueil and it is crucial to study this three decades to understand the reason of the weakness of the Cluniacs in north-western Iberian Peninsula face to the white monks. Although the small number of foundations, the Cluniac communities seem to

104 Ibidem.

105 See F. Renzi, *Monks and knights in medieval Galicia. The example of the Benedictines of Toxos Outos in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, "Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum" IX (2015), pp. 225-252.

106 Like, for example, in the case of the Cluniac monks of Romainmoûtier, see G.M. Cantarella, *I normanni e la Chiesa di Roma...*, pp. 377-378.

107 J. Andrade Cernadas, *La violencia recordada: Confesiones testamentarias en la Galicia de finales de la Edad Media*, "Semata" XIX (2007), pp. 65-67; J. France, *Separate but Equal: Cistercian Lay Brothers (1120-1350)*, Colledgeville 2012, p. 277.

108 F. Renzi, *I monaci bianchi in Galizia...*, pp. 84-88.

be active in the territory and in touch with the other monastic communities. In this perspective, monastic history remains very much a field open to continuing research especially for the central and late Middle Ages, when the monasteries were still one of the most important *piliers* of the European society and a decisive factor for its cultural and religious transformation¹⁰⁹.

ENDNOTE

Far from using this endnote to start a historiographical controversy, which has its rules and its time, I would like to introduce few considerations concerning some of the features of modern monastic historiography. The chance is offered by the review of my book¹¹⁰ written by prof. Didier Panfili (Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne) and published in the “Revue Mabillon”¹¹¹. In my opinion, prof. Panfili has highlighted some very important methodological aspects which deserve a deeper examination. Prof. Panfili wrote that the reader should avoid my book if he wants to understand the formation of the lordship of Fiastra. Moreover, the author said that the title is inappropriate as well as the use of the word *signoria*, because the patrimonial aspects of Fiastra are *occultés* (verbatim quoting prof. Panfili) and there are only “five unlucky” pages on granges. I will try to reply to these critics without following a particular order. The formation of the granges in the case of Fiastra was largely debated in the work of Otello Gentili (also indicated by prof. Panfili), in the excellent book of Marina Righetti Tosti Croce and in the very good introductions of the editions of the charters of Fiastra (for example the researches of Giuseppe Avarucci and Giammario Borri). Due to these reasons, the leading idea of my book was to study Fiastra from another and less known perspective that is the analysis of the aftermath of its monastic

109 They were four: San Pedro de Valverde, San Vicente de Pombeiro, San Salvador de Budiño e San Martín de Xuvia. On the number of Cluniac foundation in Galicia, see C.J. Bishko, *The Cluniac Priors...*, pp. 310-312. See also G. Melville, *Nuove tendenze della storiografia di area tedesca: Le ricerche di Dresda sulle strutture istituzionali degli ordini religiosi medievali*, in: *Dove va la storiografia monastica in Europa? Temi e metodi di ricerca per lo studio della vita monastica e regolare in età medievale alle soglie del terzo millennio*, ed. G. Andenna, Milano 2001, pp. 35-52; M.-É. Henneau, A. Marchandisse, *Vellétés de réformes dans l'Église de Liège des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, in: *De Pise à Trente: La réforme de l'Église en gestation: Regards croisés entre Escout et Meuse, Actes du colloque international de Tournai (Séminaire épiscopal), 19-20 Mars 2004*, eds. M. Maillard-Luypaert, J.-M. Cauchies, Bruxelles 2004, pp. 153-212.

110 F. Renzi, *Nascita di una signoria monastica cistercense: Santa Maria di Chiaravalle di Fiastra tra XII e XIII secolo*, Spoleto 2011, a work issued from my Master Thesis, the Italian Tesi di Laurea, academic year 2009/2010, Laurea Specialistica in Culture del Medioevo e Archivistica, dirs. Prof. G.M. Cantarella, Dr. T. di Carpegna Falconieri.

111 “Revue Mabillon: Nouvelle Série” XXIV (2013) 85, p. 338.

lordship seen through the social networks of this Cistercian community. The granges and the patrimonial controversies with local society were studied from a different and wider perspective which involves many other themes, rather than focusing only on the patrimonial mechanism of accumulation and organisation of lands. Again, there is no particular order. I considered: (1) The birth of Fiastra and the problem represented by its foundation documents/charters (obviously connected to the starting patrimony of the monastery). (2) The problem of relationship between the Cistercians and local aristocracy which knew a very deep transformation during the 11th and 12th centuries. This change was characterised by the loss of power of the Offoni and the rise of the Abbracciamonte family, which deeply changed the monastic patrimonial strategies in the period considered. (3) The problem of the *enfiteusi* practice and the implications connected to both the integration of Fiastra in a complex area such as the medieval March of Ancona and the problem represented by the white monks for the local population, the episcopate, and other monastic communities. (4) The problem of a new contextualisation of sources such as the privilege of Emperor Otto IV (and the re-writing of the foundation and history of Fiastra and its patrimony by the Cistercians) and the papal privileges of exemption (it is Fiastra's *Privilegierung*). They were further important elements which deeply affected the patrimonial policy of the white monks. (5) This is why in the second and third chapters of my book, I have also used other sources, rather than only the charters of Fiastra. It was necessary, indeed, to rethink the context of the privilege of Otto IV and the papal privileges of exemption. In the first case it was the clash between Innocent III and Otto IV, while in the second the evolution of the idea of exemption and *protectio beati Petri*. This last theme is crucial to also understand patrimonial mechanisms. Establishing if a monastery was exempt or not from the authority of the bishop; if a monastery could defend or not its exemption from episcopal claims (see the excellent works of Michele Maccarrone, Ludwig Falkenstein, Gert Melville and Guido Cariboni); the implications of papal exemption in both local and international context is not a mere exercise of erudition. It is an attempt to avoid the building of historiographical models not strictly based on sources, which give a totally misleading image of the medieval world. (6) In this more complex context, the word *signoria* may assume another meaning (which is not necessarily an Italian historiographical specificity), because it is very difficult to separate the patrimonial aspects from the social aspects and the relationship of a monastery with "powers". There is a large international academic literature starting from the 1950s (I can immediately think on Jean-Berthold Mahn, Jean Leclerq, Giovanni Tabacco, Giles Constable, Louis Julius Lékai or Constance Hoffmann Berman, only to name some very famous examples) which have dealt with the problems I have mentioned. I would

like to quickly add just three more clarifications on my book: (1) Prof. Panfili wrote that only the first part of the book is strongly based on the monastic sources of Fiastra. In this case, I do not agree with him. I have regularly quoted the charters of Fiastra even after chapter 2 and 3 (see for example pp. 129-133; 140; 151-153; 164-178; 180-183; 198-235). (2) The paragraph entitled *Grange, territorio e struttura amministrativa del territorio fiastrense* goes from page 154 to 178 (24 pages) and 14 are entirely dedicated to the granges of Fiastra, their organization and their men, with regular quotations of sources (these pages are also based on the works of Otello Gentili, Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce, Cristina Maraviglia, Giuseppe Avarucci, Giammarco Borri and Louis Julius Lékai). I also dealt with the grange of Brancorsina in the paragraphs *Il diploma di Ottone IV a Fiastra, le donazioni di Guarniero e la fondazione del monastero* (pp. 128-154, in particular pp. 151-154) and *Fiastra Montemilone e la Brancorsina* (pp. 213-235). I dealt with the grange of S. Maria in Selva and its church in the paragraph *La questione della Chiesa di S. Maria in Selva* (pp. 198-213). (3) Prof. Panfili is right when he criticises the maps (the quality is not good and I do apologise for this mistake); however, I do not understand the critics on the use I made of the detailed tables elaborated by the editors of the charters of Fiastra. I have used the very well done genealogical schemes elaborated by Delio Pacini, for example, to help reading the book, but next time I will personally add dates as suggested by Didier Panfili, whom I thank for his observation. Last, but not least, I would suggest a methodological note: Of course I am perfectly conscious of the limits of my monograph, but I think it is important to start a debate among scholars on the importance of a peer-review process for a book-review, which should not be different from a monograph or an article in its rigorousness. Critics are always welcome and very important for professional growth, but they should be detailed and scientifically founded; the risk is to give just an uncalled-for opinion which is not helpful to the progress of research.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to study the development of the Cluniac monastery of San Martín de Xuvia (Galicia, diocese of Mondoñedo) and its relationship with local “powers” between 10th and 13th centuries. Although a consolidated historiographical tradition has considered the Cluniac presence in Galicia very weak, the sources of the monastery of Xuvia show a more complex framework. The Cluniacs had connections with the most powerful aristocratic family of the area in the 12th century, the Traba, and they were still trying to fight the expansion of the Cistercian monks of Sobrado (archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela) in the first half of the 13th century. The experience of the Galician monastery of Xuvia might help to revise the study of the medieval monastic institutions through a comparative approach, rather than considering the monastic history as a chronological alternation between different forms of monastic life.

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LE BRUISSEMENT DU TEMPS : RHÉTORIQUE, DIALECTIQUE, MATHÉMATIQUE, PHILOSOPHIE ENTRE XI^E ET XII^E SIÈCLES



1.

Entre XI^e et XII^e siècles la pensée bouge. Tout se meut, dans le champ de la philosophie et du droit, de la pensée et de la pratique politique, de la musique. Tout cela est bien connu et bien banal.

Pour aborder ce thème, très rapidement d'ailleurs et de façon très schématique, avec quelque peu d'exemples, laissons-nous nous guider par le grand classeur, le grand fondateur du vocabulaire du Moyen Age, Isidore de Séville : ça va sans dire, le vocabulaire existait indépendamment de lui, mais son oeuvre cohérente et systématique a marqué profondément les siècles à venir, en raison de que les élèves se formaient sur ses livres. Ce sont les fondements de la culture, les racines antiques où plonge tout l'univers occidental, d'où il tire ses systèmes de référence. Ce seront les voies qui nous aideront à cadrer les choses en partant juste du coeur des problèmes¹.

DE RHETORICA EIVSQUE NOMINE.

Rhetorica est bene dicendi scientia in civilibus quaestionibus, eloquentia copia ad persuadendum iusta et bona [...] Coniuncta est autem Grammaticae arti Rhetorica. In Grammatica enim scientiam recte loquendi discimus ; in Rhetorica vero percipimus qualiter ea, quae didicimus, proferamus².

La rhétorique : en 1081 le pape Grégoire VII en donne une représentation bien efficace dans une épître à Alphonse VI de Castille :

¹ À voir maintenant : S. Sacchi, *Pensiero teologico e dimensione politica : l'originalità di Isidoro di Siviglia*, « *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* » CXVII (2015), p. 1-27.

² *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiae sive Origines*, ed. A. Valastro Canale, I, Torino 2004, II.I.1-2, p. 184.

De illa autem persona, quæ in archiepiscopum fuerat eligenda, dicimus, licet satis prudens et liberalis videatur, tamen, quemadmodum nobis notum est et litterę tuę non negant, disciplinę fundamenti, videlicet litteralis scientię peritia, indiget, Quę virtus quam sit non modo episcopis, verum etiam sacerdotibus necessaria, ipse satis intelligis, cum nullus sine ea aut alios docere aut sese possit defendere³.

L'objet d'un si dur jugement était Bernard de Sahagún, qui cependant en 1085 va être (malgré Grégoire VII) archevêque à Tolède⁴.

La rhétorique est l'art de la communication exacte afin de convaincre les interlocuteurs de la bonté et de la justice de ses propres positions. C'est-à-dire l'art d'impliquer le destinataire dans le même itinéraire logique, selon l'ordre institué pour remporter le résultat : « eloquentia copia ad persuadendum iusta et bona ».

Et l'art du discours, on le sait, est en premier lieu un art épiscopal. Plus qu'un art, une vertu : « Toi même tu comprends assez bien que cette vertu est nécessaire non seulement aux évêques mais aussi aux sacerdotes, car personne sans la posséder ne peut enseigner aux autres ni peut se défendre ». C'était un art qui formait l'objet de durs et méticuleux enseignements et entraînements précisément dans les écoles épiscopales, qui avaient transmis et transmettaient, presque naturellement pour ainsi dire, l'héritage du langage de l'élite de la *Res Publica* romaine, le latin sénatorial avec son sophistiqué lexique et ses propres catégories intellectuelles et, pourrâit-on dire, mentales⁵. Evidemment ce sont l'art du discours et son vocabulaire qui tracent le parcours du raisonnement et l'organisent ; sans rhétorique aucune dialectique n'est possible. Ne l'oublions pas : c'est un art épiscopal et très ancien, voire antique.

DE DIALECTICA.

Dialectica est disciplina ad disserendas rerum causas inventa. Ipsa est philosophiæ species, quæ Logica dicitur, id est rationalis definiendi, quaerendi et disserendi potens [...] Ideo autem post Rhetoricam disciplinam Dialectica sequitur, quia in multis utraque communia existunt.

[...]

DE DIFFERENTIA DIALECTICAE ET RHETORICAE ARTIS.

Dialecticam et Rhetoricam Varro in novem disciplinarum libris tali similitudine definivit : « Dialectica et Rhetorica est quod in manu hominis pugnus adstrictus et palma distensa : illa verba contrahens, ista

3 *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, dans : *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum separatim editae*, 2 voll., Berlin 1952, IX.2 (1081), p. 571.

4 *Ibidem*.

5 Cfr. mon *La escritura profética en la Plena Edad Media : ¿un trato episcopal?*, dans : *Del cristianismo antiguo al cristianismo medieval : viejas fuentes, nuevas perspectivas*, « Cuadernos Medievales », Cuadernos de Cátedra XIII (noviembre de 2012), p. 5-22.

distendens ». *Dialectica siquidem ad disserendas res acutior : Rhetorica ad illa quae nititur docenda facundior*⁶.

On ne pourrait pas être plus clair : la dialectique explore les possibilités de la langue – qu'on a appris à maîtriser avec la rhétorique – et des concepts. Voilà ce qu'écrivait Yves, le célèbre canoniste évêque de Chartres qui avait accepté l'investiture royale, en 1112 : « Finalement, à propos de ce que quelquesuns appellent hérésie l'investiture bien que l'hérésie ne soit que l'erreur dans la foi [...] La foi et l'erreur procèdent du cœur tandis que la fameuse investiture, à raison de laquelle on a fait tant de bruit et tant de désordre, ne réside que dans les mains de celui qui l'octroie et de celui qui la reçoit : qui peuvent faire le bien et faire le mal, mais ne peuvent ni croire ni errer dans les choses de foi⁷ ».

L'argumentation es bien subtile : personne ne peut rationnellement soutenir que les mains pensent ni qu'elles peuvent avoir ou maintenir une croyance, donc personne ne peut soutenir que ce que les mains font (ce qu'on fait avec les mains) est une hérésie c'est-à-dire une déviation de la croyance et moins encore de la foi. C'est un procédé logique absolument inattaquable.

Mais, on le sait bien, il y a maintes opinions qui diffèrent les unes des autres sur le même objet : on est dans l'époque de la littérature de discussion (les *libelli*).

C'est pour cela que Gratien opère méthodiquement une confrontation entre les opinions qui plus manifestement s'opposent entre elles, et afin que personne ne puisse rester sur ses doutes donne son interprétation personnelle et tout à fait logique. On est ici dans le champ de la pensée canonique, qui s'est infiniment parcelée dans les discussions de la Querelle des Investitures parce que les mêmes *auctoritates*, les mêmes fragments des mêmes auteurs, ont été appelées à soutenir une thèse aussi bien que la thèse opposée, et Gratien offre une *réduction à l'unité* en appliquant la méthode dite d'Abélard (bien que Abélard n'en fut pas l'inventeur parce qu'il ne s'agissait que de la méthode des disputes qu'on apprenait dans les écoles de rhétorique : il suffira de penser à l'Anonyme de Laon, ca. 960, ou à la *Disceptatio Synodalis* de Pierre Damien, ou à Guide de Ferrare), c'est-à-dire le célèbre *sic et non* : en reconnaissant l'objet précis d'une question, on peut la résoudre. Comme en effet on avait fait déjà avec l'invention du concept de *regalia*, qui définissait le contenu du geste de

6 *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiae sive Origines*, II. XXII.1-2, p. 228 ; II.XXIII.1-2, p. 230.

7 *Ivonis episcopi Carnotensis Epistola ad Joscerannum archiepiscopum Lugdunensem*, ed. E. Sackur, dans : *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libelli de Lite* II, p. 653 : *Postremo quod quidam investituram heresim vocant, cum heresis non sit nisi error in fide, sicut enim fides cordis est ad iustitiam, oris autem confessio ad salutem : ita heresis est error ad impietatem, professio vero eiusdem erroris ad perniciem. Et fides et error ex corde procedunt. Investitura vero illa, de qua tantus est motus, in solis est manibus dantis et accipientis, quae bona et mala agere possunt, credere vel errare in fide non possunt.*

l'investiture : le premier quart du siècle XII^e avait balayé le champ qu'on avait tant ravagé... La dialectique structurelle (ou *négative*, si l'on préfère, à savoir avec les *dicta Gratiani* : ce ne fut pas Hegel que la inventa de toute pièce...) est un résultat établi de tous ces efforts, elle fournira des catégories nouvelles (*Distinctio*, *Questio*) qui abriteront les réflexions juridiques, théologiques, politiques (bien qu'en forme de passe-temps : le maître – *magister* – Gautier Map, par exemple)⁸.

MATHEMATICA Latine dicitur doctrinalis scientia, quae abstractam considerat quantitatem. Abstracta enim quantitas est, quam intellectu a materia separantes vel ab aliis accidentibus, ut est par, inpar, vel ab aliis huiusmodi in sola ratiocinatione tractamus⁹.

Entre XI^e et XII^e siècles on perçoit un tout remarquable développement des sciences mathématiques. Pour ne fair qu'un seul, célèbre, exemple, Adélarde de Bath traduit al-Khuwārizmī et Euclide et écrit un *De regula abaci* adressé à l'attention de l'évêque de Syracuse, Guillaume, « le plus érudit dans toutes les sciences mathématiques » (et, détail de quelque importance pour ainsi dire, membre du conseil du comte Roger II pendant la permanence de sa mère la comtesse Adelaïde en Palestine, 1112-1117). Ce sont des *sciences appliquées*, la mathématique est une voie pour réduire la réalité à un ensemble complètement rationnel et abordable sans discussion aucune, pour résoudre des problèmes très concrets : l'évêque de Salisbury, Roger, est l'inventeur (ou plus vraisemblablement le responsable face au roi d'Angleterre) du système de l'Echiquier, dont on fait mention pour la première fois en 1110 – strictement contemporain de Adélarde de Bath. C'est un système d'avant-garde, issu de la culture logico-algébrique de ses temps : il s'agissait, comme sait tout le monde, d'un grand tapis qui était partagé en cases avec des craies, et dans chaque compartiment on plaçait des pièces de formes différentes, qui correspondaient aux différents revenus du règne. C'étaient des séances solennelles qui normalement avaient lieu à Westminster : les computistes traduisaient la documentation en nombres, les nombres en symboles (les pièces), et à partir des espaces et des symboles on retournait aux nombres et aux chiffres, mais déjà complètement traités. Les représentants des autorités laïques et ecclésiastiques surveillaient tout le procès avec la plus grande attention : car les procédés mathématiques ne constituaient que *la garantie du roi* ; c'était le roi qui devait être certain de ses revenus... et c'étaient les autres sujets publics qui devaient être sûrs que tout cela ne porterait atteinte à leur

⁸ Cfr. mes *Manuale della fine del mondo. Il travaglio dell'Europa medievale*, Torino 2015, pp. 221-229 ; *Problemi del XII secolo*, dans : *La trama nascosta della cattedrale di Piacenza* (Piacenza 25 ottobre 2013), à paraître, Piacenza 2015, pp. 3-13.

⁹ *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiae sive Origines*, III, p. 272.

droits et à leur revenus. Dans la séance de 1130, par exemple, l'Echiquier élaborait une rente royale de 24.500 livres d'argent *sterling*, le 44% provenant du domaine royal, le 16% des droits féodaux, le 14% des impôts, le 12% de l'administration de la justice, un autre 14% de revenus différents : en 1130 Henri I^{er} *était* 24.500 livres. Car l'Echiquier était une partie organique du corps visible aussi bien que symbolique du roi : dans l'ordre du cortège de couronnement de Richard Cœur de Lion (1189) le tapis était déplié par six comtes et barons, soutenait les vêtements royaux et précédait immédiatement la couronne et le roi : le roi était la personnification du Royaume (d'ailleurs il n'est qu'à partir de la seconde moitié du siècle XII^e qu'on peut commencer à parler de *Couronne*, comme on sait). Dans le royaume de Sicile il n'y avait pas une dramaturgie aussi nette et expressive, mais le système des *defetir* (*diftār*) et du triple *dīwān* n'était moins incisif : en tout cas là comme ailleurs tout est (et sera de plus en plus) confié à des hommes dotés de compétences bien précises et qualifiées et tout aboutit à des structures de plus en plus complexes – c'est au XII^e siècle qu'on *invente la bureaucratie* : auparavant, elle n'existait pas comme telle¹⁰.

« Quae abstractam considerat quantitatem » : c'est parfait, n'est-ce-pas? Quoi de plus abstrait que la réduction des choses, inévitablement traduites en mots, à des chiffres? Et quoi de plus concret que le calcul des rentes des roi?

Sans les chiffres, il n'existerait pas de musique. La musique, finalement, aussi réelle et concrète que la vie des hommes, parce qu'elle nous influence et domine nos âmes.

DE VOCABVLO ARITHMETICAE DISCIPLINAE.

Arithmetica est disciplina numerorum [...] Musica autem et Geometria et Astronomia, quae sequuntur, ut sint atque subsistant istius egent auxilium.

[...]

QVID POSSIT MVSICA.

Itaque sine Musica nulla disciplina potest esse perfecta, nihil enim sine illa [...] Musica movet affectus, provocat in diversum habitum sensus [...] Excitō quoque animos musica sedat, sicut de David legitur, qui ab spiritu immundo Saule arte modulationis eripuit. Ipsas quoque bestias, necnon et serpentes, volucres atque delphinās ad auditum suae modulationis musica provocat¹¹.

10 Cfr. encore *Manuale della fi ne del mondo. Il travaglio dell'Europa medievale*, p. 261-266. Cfr. aussi : H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1993 ; H. Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien, Herrscher zwischen Orient und Okzident*, Darmstadt 1997, p. 152 et suiv. ; cfr. p. 160 : « Unter Roger und seinen Nachfolgern wurden die Grundlagen gelegt für die Ausbildung eines für das Mittelalter neuen Typs des Staatsdieners, des Beamten ».

11 *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiae sive Origines*, III. I.1-2, p. 272 ; III.XVII.1-3, p. 298-300.

La recherche musicale, théorique et pratique, du XI^e et XII^e siècle n'a pas besoin d'être rappelée en détail. La musique, objet des traités de Guide d'Arezzo, la musique, sommet de tous les arts selon une *Vie* de Léon IX, la musique, noyau de la vie à Cluny, la musique, renouvelée par la soi disante restauration cistercienne qui cependant ne pût pas empêcher le développement de la poliphonie malgré les censures de ceux qui, comme Jean de Salisbuy (pour ne pas parler du moine Idung, qui enfin n'était qu'un cistercien *converti*, pour ainsi dire), faisaient étalage de leur scandale : tout cela est bien connu et il n'est pas nécessaire en souligner l'importance¹².

2.

Au sommet de tout, la philosophie.

DE DEFINITIONE PHILOSOPHIAE.

Philosophia est rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio cum studio bene vivendi coniuncta. Haec duabus ex rebus constare videtur, scientia et opinione [...] Ipsud autem nomen Latine interpretatum amorem sapientiae profitetur [...] Item aliqui doctorum Philosophiam in nomine et partibus suis ita definierunt : Philosophia est divinarum humanarumque rerum, in quantum homini possibile est, probabilis scientia. Aliter : Philosophia est ars artium et disciplina disciplinarum. Rursus : Philosophia est meditatio mortis, quod magis convenit Christianis qui, saeculi ambitione calcata, conversatione disciplinabili, similitudine futurae patriae vivunt [...] Alii definierunt Philosophiae rationem in duabus consistere partibus, quarum prima inspectiva est, secunda actualis. Inspectiva dividitur in tribus modis, id est prima in naturalem ; secunda in doctrinalem ; tertia in divinam. Doctrinalis dividitur in quattuor, id est, prima in Arithmetiam, secunda Musicam, tertia Geometriam, quarta Astronomiam. Actualis dividitur in tribus, id est, prima in moralem, secunda dispensativam, tertia civilem. Inspectiva dicitur, qua supergressi visibilia, de divinis aliquid et caelestibus contemplamur, eaque mente solummodo inspicimus, quoniam corporeum supergrediuntur obtutum [...] Divinalis dicitur, quando aut ineffabilem naturam Dei, aut spiritales creaturas ex aliqua parte, profundissima qualitate disserimus. Doctrinalis dicitur scientia, quae abstractam considerat quantitatem. Abstracta enim quantitas dicitur, quam intellectu a materia separantes, vel ab aliis accidentibus, ut est par, impar, vel ab huiusmodi, in sola ratiocinatione tractamus. Cuius species sunt quattuor : Arithmetica, Geometrica, Musica, Astronomia. Arithmetica est disciplina quantitatis numerabilis secundum se.

¹² Cfr. mon « *Inutile et ociosum opus* » : *il labor a Cluny*, dans : *Teoria e pratica de lavoro nel monachesimo altomedievale* (Roma-Subiaco 7-9 giugno 2013), a cura di L. Ermini-Pani, Spoleto 2015, p. 37-56.

Geometrica est disciplina magnitudinis immobilis et formarum. Musica est disciplina quae de numeris loquitur qui ad aliquid sunt, his qui inveniuntur in sonis. Astronomia est disciplina, quae cursus caelestium siderumque figuras contemplatur omnes, et habitudines stellarum circa se et circa terram indagabili ratione percurrit¹³.

La citation est très longue, mais tout avait été déjà dit, paraît-il : il ne faut pas attendre la Scholastique pour voir des définitions et explications tant aiguës... C'est qu'on est toujours là, nous sommes bel et bon à nouveau dans l'art de l'organisation du discours, où s'enracine la philosophie comme discipline autonome.

Jusqu'au XII^e siècle la philosophie n'était que la parfaite vie monastique selon les interprétations de la Règle bénédictine : la *sophia* des cisterciens silencieux et travailleurs ; les expériences d'extase des clunisiens gérées par la musique ; la vie mystique de privations et mortifications physiques des Avellanites de Pierre Damien... On s'approche de Dieu moyennant un parcours tout à fait individuel, bien que garanti par la régularité et l'exactitude des formes de la vie communautaire : on cherche à s'approcher de Dieu avec un parcours qui conjugue anachoretisme et cénobitisme, côté esthétique et côté mystique. Car chez les moines la recherche de Dieu a toujours été la recherche de la Beauté Parfaite, de l'infinie Beauté de la Vie Parfaite, de la Joie de la Beauté inépuisable. Mais c'est un parcours d'ordre, rien ne peut être laissé au hasard : si l'expérience esthétique se situe au sommet des aspirations des religieux, elle n'est pas moins guidée par la *ratio* : le *rationaliter vivere*. La *ratio* est l'élément ordinateur, le cadre de l'entière *philosophia* ; c'est la *ratio* que doit mener à l'expérience du sublime, dès les débuts du monachisme même¹⁴.

Ce fut pour amour de la *ratio* que Pierre le Vénérable accueillit Abélard à Cluny après la condamnation de Sens en 1140, bien que depuis une quarantaine d'années la *ratio* se manifestait chez les chanoines réguliers, auxquels appartenait Abélard, d'une forme différente. Les chanoines réguliers pouvaient revendiquer une lointaine ascendance augustinienne et avaient été institués par Chrodegang de Metz dans la première moitié du siècle VIII ; ils furent les protagonistes des grandes réformes épiscopales des églises du royaume allemand au XI^e siècle qui furent à l'origine des Réformes à Rome, ils obtinrent le soutien des papes de ces Réformes, ils participèrent de toutes les grandes discussions et contribuèrent à affiner les instruments de discussion :

¹³ *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiae sive Origines*, II. XXIV.1-15, p. 230-234.

¹⁴ Cfr. J. Leclercq, *Cultura umanistica e desiderio di Dio*, trad. italiana de *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, Paris 1957. Et encore mon *Manuale della fine del mondo. Il travaglio dell'Europa medievale*, p. 31-35, 69-71, 78-79, 86-87.

il suffirait de rappeler, par exemple, que les polémiques sur le caractère du *neutre* (Bérenger de Tours, Anselme de Cantorbéry, Ildébert de Lavardin) se croisèrent dans le contexte emmêlé des recherches de théologie, d'ecclésiologie et de droit pour définir et régler, selon les nouvelles exigences, le monde sans paix des pouvoirs bouleversés par des décennies de luttes acharnées. Les investigations à la lumière de la *ratio* et de la logique pouvaient être essentielles pour renforcer pleinement autant la *orthodoxia* que la *orthopraxis* : mais... elles ne pouvaient être soumises à aucune forme de contrôle qui ne fût prévue par leur même parcours logique, par la *certitudo de l'observance des règles logiques* (c'est pour cela que les discussions théologiques avaient immédiatement une valeur ecclésiologique, parce qu'elles mettaient en cause par elles mêmes, *an sich*, le système binaire orthodoxie-hérésie : et on retourne à l'argument-outil de Yves de Chartres...). C'est les groupe des *dialectici* qui se confronte et débat, ce sont eux qui participent aux négociations de paix entre Rome, les royaumes et l'Empire, ils sont détenteurs d'un savoir spécialisé aussi bien que les juristes. Mais, et voilà l'alarme de saint Bernard, ainsi ne mettrait-on pas en discussion l'unité même de la *philosophia*? ne soumettrait-on pas la recherche de Dieu à la seule et simple raison humaine? et quoi faire des vérités théologiques? C'est la logique qui dirige et préside ce changement : ce sont les procédés de la logique. On est à l'invention de la philosophie en tant que discipline autonome et gouvernée par des propres lois spécifiques : on est au début de la *philosophie comme telle*.

Comme écrivait Isidore, « *rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio cum studio bene vivendi coniuncta. Haec duabus ex rebus constare videtur, scientia et opinione [...] Alii definirunt Philosophiae rationem in duabus consistere partibus, quarum prima inspectiva est, secunda actualis* » : théorèse et éthique. Mais la nouveauté est que dès ces années-ci prend les devants la discussion toute philosophique, toute spécialisée, sur la valeur de la connaissance (qu'on pense à la critique anselmienne de Roscélin, par exemple), qui aboutit pour ne faire qu'un exemple à Martin Heidegger ou à Ludwig Wittgenstein – la *philosophia* par excellence n'étant plus la vie monastique mais l'investigation rationnelle, rien que cela. Le futur appartiendra aux logiciens, les théologiens ou les juristes¹⁵.

3.

Laissons ici Isidore ; il nous a conduit jusqu'ici et nous a fourni une trace, voire un chemin royal, une véritable *via regia*, pour nous approcher du passage entre XI^e et XII^e siècles. C'est évidemment un vocabulaire à *part entière*, pour

¹⁵ Cfr. encore *Manuale della fine del mondo. Il travaglio dell'Europa medievale*, p. 305-310, 322-332.

ainsi dire, ce qu'on constate : tout est relié dans des relations intrinsèques et indissolubles. Il ne faudrait jamais l'oublier.

Mais c'est justement grâce à l'enseignement et au guide d'Isidore, qui nous a donné les lignes du langage, qu'on est obligé à admettre que ce passage n'est pas seulement la continuation logique et naturelle d'une culture à part entière mais plutôt *un tournant*.

Non parce que avant de ce qu'on appelle la Querelle des Investitures l'on ne s'occupait pas de théologie ou de discussions dialectiques (pour rester avec des noms qu'on a déjà vus, Bérenger de Tours, ou Anselme du Bec – de Cantorbéry – et le moine Gaunilon), ou de mathématique (Gerbert d'Aurillac) ou de musique (Guide de Arezzo), mais parce que les contingences de la Querelle imposèrent une accélération, une intensification et une diffusion des débats et des réflexions. Le monde n'avait plus des règles établies, il paraissait : c'est pourquoi pendant les décennies du conflit plus aigu du Plein Moyen Age (ou Moyen Age Central), quand tous les efforts intellectuels furent mis en oeuvre pour résoudre les questions si compliquées qu'on avait soulevé peut-être sans penser aux conséquences (l'oeuvre de Grégoire VII, la Querelle des Investitures), la spéculation se mit en marche au même moment, *toute entière*, et *toute entière* se développa.

La littérature de discussion naît de la nécessité de correspondre à des exigences très concrètes, elle plie les textes, mais avec la majeure rigueur logique, pour démontrer que leur interprétation est convenable et fonctionnelle à l'égard de la solution que *a priori* on veut atteindre : rien de nouveau, ce sont à nouveau la technique et la logique de la *Disputatio* (il suffira de rappeler encore une fois Pierre Damien), mais tout de nouveau pour l'épaisseur des *libelli*, qui se ramifient et aussi se spécialisent ; exemplaire la collection de Rouen (*Anonyme de York*), une sorte de précis de thématiques comme l'a montré Francesco Paolo Terlizzi, qui est centrée sur les définitions des compétences épiscopales et apostoliques et sur les relations réciproques¹⁶. Voilà qu'on assiste à la naissance des écoles privées (*Studia*) à l'extérieur des écoles épiscopales et des écoles monastiques (et de toute façon différente des écoles de rhétorique antérieures, comme la célèbre de Drogon de Parme ou la de Pierre Damien), même si elles aussi sont insérées dans l'encadrement ecclésiastique parce que ce sont les hommes qui habitent le monde et en perçoivent le poignet (pour ainsi dire) qui se chargent d'elles, les chanoines réguliers dont on a déjà parlé. Et (le cas de Bologne) voilà les écoles des experts de droit, qui sont les spécialistes qui savent régler les controverses, notamment dans les villes – n'importe d'où il proviennent, pour formation

16 F.P. Terlizzi, *La regalità sacra nel Medioevo? L'Anonimo Normanno e la Riforma romana (secc. XI-XII)*, Spoleto 2007.

culturelle ou régionale. Le *bredouillement*¹⁷ des problèmes soulevés et discutés pendant ces décennies, qui apparemment n'avaient pas de solution mais auxquels il était absolument, strictement pour ainsi dire, nécessaire donner une solution, conduit à affiner tous les instruments intellectuels et culturels à disposition ; ce qui, selon une loi elle-même bien dialectique, aboutit à la construction, à l'invention j'oserais dire, d'instruments tout à fait nouveaux qui constituèrent le point de départ pour l'affirmation d'une culture tout à fait nouvelle et, à son tour, continuellement en évolution parce qu'elle produisait et produisit des instruments toujours nouveaux pour aborder les nouveaux problèmes d'une société continuellement en évolution et de plus en plus complexe.

C'est à dire, pour résumer, que ce fut la *culture à part entière* qui se mit en cause pour résoudre les problèmes (nouveaux, il ne faut jamais l'oublier!), et le *renouveau* de la culture fut lui aussi et inévitablement à *part entière*. Les polémiques des réformes et de la Querelle des Investitures on mis en marche une véritable *hélice de la pensée* qui a tourné furieusement.

4.

C'est pourquoi on ne peut pas être d'accord avec certaines tendances historiographiques actuelles. Je dirai davantage : c'est justement ce genre de considérations que je viens de faire qui confirme à mon avis l'*illégitimité* de certaines tendances historiographiques actuelles qui me paraissent fondamentalement anti-historiques.

J'essaierai de m'expliquer, et je cite au pied de la lettre ce que vient d'écrire, avec le plus grand esprit de clarté et de finesse, Umberto Longo :

Florian Mazel [...] nel 2010 ha dedicato espressamente un capitolo, il IV, di una sua monografia a : *La rupture grégorienne, une révolution culturelle* ; ancora alla *réforme grégorienne* nel Midi della Francia è stato dedicato l'ultimo numero dei Cahier de Fanjeaux, con l'introduzione ad opera dello stesso Mazel espressamente dedicata a una *Rédefinition de la réforme grégorienne* nella quale lo studioso presenta una messa a giorno concettuale della 'réforme grégorienne' proponendo di « demeurer attaché à une notion qui apparaît tantôt désuète tantôt contestée » per la sua caratteristica di essere un concetto « périodisant ». Partendo dalla tradizione storiografica 'gregoriana' Mazel la correda di alcuni presupposti teorici di grande forza e interesse, ritenendo che si debba parlare di 'riforma gregoriana' perché si tratta di un « fenomeno sociale totale », sulla scorta di M. Mauss, che esula dalla dimensione della storia

¹⁷ J'utilise l'expression de R. Barthes, *Le bruissement de la langue* (1975), dans : idem, *Essais critiques IV : Le bruissement de la langue*, Paris 1984, p. 93.

religiosa. Lo studioso individua tre idee forti che avrebbero accomunato tutti i riformatori tra metà XI e inizio XIII secolo : la sacralizzazione del clero con la conseguenza della divisione della società cristiana in due categorie rigorosamente distinte, il clero e i laici e l'iscrizione di questa distinzione e di questa gerarchia « au cœur du rapport aux biens, aux droits et aux échanges ». L'insieme di questi processi di fatto si risolve nell'idea-forza della necessaria separazione dell'istituzione ecclesiastica con la società circostante¹⁸.

A mon avis il est parfaitement évident qu'on ne peut pas tout reconduire à l'intérieur de grands schémas sociologiques (et moins encore anthropologiques : le rappel à Marcel Mauss), disons comme a fait la manière de *l'école de Dresde* – on se souviendra qu'il y a quelques années Georg Melville, en faisant abstraction de la trop banale *histoire événementielle*, c'est à dire *quotidienne*, proposait de tout reconduire au niveau de la symbolique des représentations des institutions¹⁹, en approchant par exemple Humbert de Romans et Pierre le Vénérable, bien que la simple considération des différences des instruments culturels entre les deux devrait inviter à garder au moins un peu de prudence (n'enseigne-t-il rien, pour ne faire qu'un exemple, le cas de Hugues de Saint-Cher?)²⁰. Il serait bien nécessaire relire un riche et difficile essai de Ovidio Capitani d'il y a une quarantaine d'années, bien prophétique et, maintenant on peut bien le dire, point du tout compris...²¹ Il faudrait se souvenir d'une

18 Cfr. U. Longo, *Monachesimo e la riforma della Chiesa tra Pier Damiani e Bernardo di Chiaravalle*, dans : *La società monastica nei secoli VI-XII. Sentieri di ricerca*. Atti Atelier jeunes chercheurs sur le monachisme médiéval (Ecole française de Rome, 12-13 juin 2014), à paraître.

19 Seulement un exemple : G. Melville, *Nuove tendenze della storiografia monastica di area tedesca. Le ricerche di Dresda sulle strutture istituzionali degli ordini religiosi medievali*, dans : *Dove va la storiografia monastica in Europa? Temi e metodi di ricerca per lo studio della vita monastica e regolare in età medievale alle soglie del terzo millennio*, a cura di G. Andenna, Milano 2001, p. 37 : « Altrimenti detto : noi vogliamo sapere come funzionano le istituzioni, come esse rappresentano simbolicamente la loro identità, dove si fonda la loro capacità di rendere permanenti i rapporti di attività e di comunicazione, come essi si conservano, si riformano oppure si dissolvono nuovamente, come nella durata le idee considerate trainanti possono essere con successo – cioè durevolmente – concretizzate nella prassi di vita ». Cfr. C. Caby, *De l'abbaye à l'Ordre. Écriture des origines et institutionnalisation des expériences monastiques, XI^e-XII^e siècle*, « Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome » CXV (2003), p. 235-267.

20 Cfr. G. Melville, *Action, Text, and Validity : On re-examining Cluny's Consuetudines and Statutes*, engl. trad. dans : *From Dead of Night to End of Day. The Medieval Customs of Cluny – Du cœur de la nuit à la fin du jour. Les coutumes clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*, ed. S. Boynton, I. Cochelin, Turnhout 2005, p. 82-83. Cfr. *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263), bibliste et théologien*, ed. L.J. Bataillon O.P., G. Dahan, P.-M. Gy O.P., Turnhout 2004.

21 Cfr. O. Capitani, *Crisi epistemologica e crisi di identità : appunti sulla ateoreticità di una medievistica*, « Studi Medievali » 3^a s., XVIII (1977), p. 457 : « Ma come non riconoscere che quell'organizzazione [scil. l'organizzazione ecclesiastica] era l'estrinsecazione di forme

chose tout à fait banale : c'est l'histoire événementielle, c'est-à-dire *cotidienne*, qui change et transforme les contextes, et c'est le contexte résultant des actes de la histoire événementielle qui modifie l'histoire *cotidienne*, selon une normale et pour ainsi dire banale interaction dialectique de réciprocité ; ce ne sont pas ni les idées platoniques ni les modèles sociologiques.

Ces derniers, finalement (on ne devrait jamais l'oublier), ont été conçus comme instruments d'interprétation de sommes (dialectiques!) de actes cotidiens, bien qu'à nos jours on veut les interpréter comme ipostatisations de la réalité et comme ses archétypes régulateurs – une position éminemment dogmatique, dépourvue de n'importe quelle attitude critique, fondamentalement autoritaire et fonctionnelle à l'exercice de l'autoritarisme et, comme l'on voit tous les jours, dysfonctionnelle à l'interprétation de ce qu'il se passe dans la *réalité banale*... Il y a une limite théorique bien précise à une affirmation comme celle qu'a fait Alain Guerreau il y a une quinzaine d'années : « Pour l'historien, dans sa démarche concrète, l'examen et la mise en lumière des formes de la diachronie peuvent constituer une voie d'accès efficace pour le repérage et l'identification des éléments de la structure et de leurs relations. C'est une application simple du principe qu'on ne " voit " bien une structure que lorsqu'elle " bouge " ». Parce que c'est précisément le « mouvement » qui peut entraîner les changements des *structures de la structure* : rien n'est immuable, il faut le reconnaître et accepter le fait qu'en histoire il n'est pas toujours question de grandes structures qui dépassent les choses humaines et, pour utiliser une expression magnifique du même Guerreau, leur « basculement »²². L'invention de la *vérité papale* appartient précisément à ce *basculement*, et sans doute entraîne un changement de *longue*, bien *longue*, *durée*...²³

Enfin, pourquoi reprendre des titres comme apparemment Mazel fait (je profite de l'occasion pour lui témoigner ma grande gratitude personnelle pour l'honneur qu'il me fait, volontairement ou involontairement...) ²⁴, si des

culturali nate dal concreto e dialettico rapporto con una società radicalmente diversa, urbana o prevalentemente urbana nel XIII sec. quanto lo era stata rurale nel VI e nel VII? A meno che, naturalmente, non si torni a riaprire la questione dei valori specifici di una storia religiosa, contrapposti alla loro riduzione a mere " funzioni " ».

22 A. Guerreau, *L'Avenir d'un passé incertain. Quelle histoire du Moyen Age au XXI^e siècle?*, Paris 2001, p. 224, 232.

23 Cfr. mes R.O.M.A., dans : *Roma e il papato nel Medioevo. Studi in onore di Massimo Miglio*, I : *Percezioni, scambi, pratiche*, a cura di A. De Vincentiis, Roma 2012, p. 149-159 ; *Riforme e riforma. La storia ecclesiastica del sec. XI*, dans : *Orientamenti e tematiche della storiografia di Ovidio Capitani*, Atti del Convegno di studio (Bologna 15-17 marzo 2013), a cura di M.C. De Matteis, B. Pio, Spoleto 2013, p. 53-68.

24 F. Mazel, *Féodalités, 888-1180*, Paris 2010 (*La rupture grégorienne, une révolution culturelle*). Il est assez de mauvais goût, je l'avoue et je m'en excuse, mais je me permets rappeler une

paroles de ces mêmes titres non seulement on ne tire pas les conséquences voire plutôt on les refuse? Un peu de dialectique et de logique ne feraient pas du mal... peut-être faudrait-il inviter ces illustres et passionnés savants à retourner aux sources, à relire Isidore de Seville, Yves de Chartres, Gratien, Guillaume de Ockham...

Dialectique et philosophie ne sont que les résultats des temps, du *bredouillement* qui à nos yeux de postérité très éloignée de ces secousses-là se transforme en *bruissement du temps*. Et sont les résultats du *bruissement de la langue*, comme nous a enseigné le trop rapidement oublié, par les soi-disants innovateurs du soi-disant *linguistic turn*, Roland Barthes²⁵. Car le bruissement de la langue n'est que le bruissement du temps, et le bruissement du temps ne peut s'exprimer qu'avec le bruissement de la langue (parlée, écrite, représentée avec les figures, frisée et jouée par la musique). Tout ce bruissement, « le frisson du sens que j'interroge en écoutant le bruissement du langage »²⁶, ça change de décennie en décennie, au fur et mesure de l'évolution (ou involution, ça va sans dire) des problèmes et des solutions.

Malgré les historiens d'aujourd'hui.

ABSTRACT

Le passage entre XI^e et XII^e siècle constitue un tournant d'importance exceptionnelle dans le développement de la pensée et de la pratique politiques et finalement de la réflexion dans tout son ensemble. Cette recherche aborde les lignes plus générales en suivant les déroulements les plus évidents dans la rhétorique, dialectique, mathématique (qui entraîne également et nécessairement arithmétique et musique) et, au sommet de tout et de toutes les arts de Trivium et Quadrivium, la philosophie, qui précisément au XII^e siècle change de sens pour prendre le sens moderne. Ce sont les résultats de la grande querelle qui engage toutes les forces disponibles pour aboutir à une solution, et en même temps des transformations institutionnelles en cours pendant ces décennies. C'est que le temps bouge, le temps "frissonne".

paire de petites choses que j'ai écrit il y a 30 et 10 ans : *La rivoluzione delle idee nel secolo undicesimo*, dans *Il papa ed il sovrano. Gregorio VII ed Enrico IV nella lotta per le investiture*, a cura di G.M. Cantarella, D. Tuniz, Novara 1985, p. 7-63 ; *Il sole e la luna. La rivoluzione di Gregorio VII papa, 1073-1085*, Roma-Bari 2005 ; je me permets aussi de suggérer un très rapide aperçu des sites web contenant les mots (ou le lexème) *revolution grégorienne* (en français, italien, allemand, anglais : c'est-à-dire chez les historiographies qui depuis longtemps ont ou ont eu une véritable tradition d'études sur ces thèmes) pour vérifier les dates de l'apparition de cette expression... Pour la plus récente mise à jour des problèmes cfr. maintenant N. D'Acunto, *Monachesimo camaldolese e monachesimo riformatore nel secolo XI*, dans : *Camaldoli e l'Ordine camaldolese dalle origini alla fine del secolo XV*, a cura di C. Caby-P. Licciardello, Cesena-Badia di Santa Maria del Monte 2014, p. 21-38.

²⁵ R. Barthes, *Le bruissement de la langue*, p. 93-96. Cfr. mes *Considerazioni inattuali*, « *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* » CXI (2009), p. 455-464.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

GIORGIO MILANESI
PARMA

FRAMING THE CHURCH OF SAN MARTINO IN PALAZZO PIGNANO (CREMONA) IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE INSULA FULCHERIA

A LAND SHARED BETWEEN FOUR BISHOPS



GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT AND GENERAL PREMISES

The church of San Martino in Palazzo Pignano rises in one of the most fertile areas in the northern and central Po Valley thanks to its peculiarities: the abundance of water and loam soil. In particular, the strip of land between the Adda river – towards Milan – and the Serio river facing east, which precisely flows into the Adda river at the level of Pizzighettone (Cremona), represents an easily definable geographical region, historically proven and documented which for many centuries had been a disputed area between religious and secular institutions. Such abundance of water, as a result of its proximity to reservoir of water in and around the Alps, explains its geo-hydrological structure which is peculiar to this area with considerable alluvial deposits that have accumulated over many centuries and have then given rise to both swamps and low plateaus. These areas have been privileged by human installment since the late Roman Republican Age¹, leaving notable traces in the Middle Age reported in the local toponymy² (Rivolta, Ripalta, Bagnolo, but also Monte) and in some

1 M. Benvenuti, *Dell'Isola Fulcheria e della città di Parasio o Parasso*, "Archivio Storico Lombardo" I (1874), pp. 297-314; A. Caretta, *Perasus: Palatium Piniani*, "Insula Fulcheria" I (1962), pp. 17-48; G. Braga, C. Meisina, L. Pellegrini, *Lineamenti geografici e geomorfologici*, in: *Storia di Cremona: L'Età Antica*, ed. P. Tozzi, Azzano San Paolo 2003, pp. 2-37, esp. pp. 30-31. I have to thank dr. Alberto Carpi for his help in English translation.

2 V. Ferrari, *Contributi toponomastici all'interpretazione del paesaggio della provincia di Cremona: 1. Geomorfologia, litologia e natura del terreno, condizioni microclimatiche*, "Pianura: Scienze

documents in which reference was made to harbours and docks for boats sailing through swamps or floodplains of the Adda and Serio rivers. Two toponyms – belonging to the semantic field of “water” – are instrumental in giving an adequate synopsis of the nature of these territories: *Insula Fulcheria* (or “*Fulkerii*” which first appeared in an “anomalous” document dating back to 1040 that we shall discuss later) and then “*Maris Gerundi*” which was first mentioned in 1204³. The focus will be on the issues regarding *Insula Fulcheria* because the complex of Palazzo Pignano has developed within its borders, first as a rural late-antique villa and then as pleban center. With this being said, it is clear that the toponym “*Insula*” does not refer to a real and proper island in the sea or in a lake, but rather a higher ground situated between two rivers with deep beds and swampy alluvial deposits, a land which has been perceived as being “different” from its surroundings and as a consequence, more easily defensible, if we take into account the uninterrupted presence of human settlement from the 5th century to the present day so as to allow the creation of specific toponyms. We will focus only on the medieval stages of human settlement in this area. As for the late-antique and early medieval phases of Palazzo Pignano – very well known by historians since the first excavations in the 1970s as archeological evidence of one of the most important and articulated housing complexes in Northern Italy – please refer to the recent studies by Marilena Casinari⁴. From the Medieval time, we will draw our attention to the church of San Martino, which is the only structure that has been preserved and is still standing today.

A solid and still living tradition of medieval architectural studies, started up by the fundamental research of Arthur Kingsley Porter⁵ on the Romanesque period in Lombardy in the second decade of the 20th century, envisages a rather strict approach to church architecture: Firstly, it is necessary to assess the geographical and institutional framework, followed by a thorough description of documents and epigraphic material which is useful to historically contextualize the building in question. Secondly, we may proceed with the analysis of the various architectural features; there has to be an attempt made to comprehend the single phases of construction

e storie dell’ambiente padano” XXIII (2008), pp. 1-26, offers the best studies about these aspects; on-line: <<http://www.ecomuseoisola.it/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/contributi-toponomastici-allinterpretazione-del-paesaggio-della-provincia-di-Cremona-geomorfologia-microclima.pdf>> (last accessed: 7 November 2015).

3 V. Ferrari, *Nuove ricerche e considerazioni sul mare Gerundo*, “*Insula Fulcheria*” XIV (1984), pp. 9-25. The year 1204 is referred to a document from Lodi attesting the expression *Maris Gerundi*, see *Codice Diplomatico Laudense*, ed. C. Vignati, II, Milano 1879-1885, no. 219, pp. 239.

4 M. Casinari, *Palazzo Pignano dal complesso tardoantico al “districtus” dell’ “Insula Fulkerii”*, *Contributi di Archeologia*, VII, Milano 2015, also for the whole bibliography.

5 A.K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, I-IV, New Haven 1915-1917.

along with the recognition of the formal and structural elements. Lastly, dating can be hypothesized with the aid of the documentation which was previously analyzed and also by carrying out comparative studies between other coeval buildings. However, we will not follow this strict order in our analysis – due to a variety of factors, ranging from documentation issues and historical and institutional matters which shall be analyzed in depth regardless of our own personal dating of this church. In the first part, after a brief, albeit necessary introduction supported by a few well-known documents, we will be dealing with the historical-architectural analysis of the church of San Martino. In the second part, we will focus on the wide range of documents found throughout the years which are related not only to Palazzo Pignano, but also to the entire area which can be identified as *Insula Fulcheria* in the same historical framework that involves four dioceses (Cremona, Piacenza, Lodi and Pavia), two major Metropolitan Sees (Milano and Ravenna) as well as property interests which are related to some of the most prominent families in Northern Italy (Canossa and Gisibertini) between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century.

THE CHURCH OF SAN MARTINO

The church of Palazzo Pignano is mentioned in Emperor Otto III's bull – Rome, 5 November 1000 – through which he takes under his protection the San Savino abbey and all its pertinences; among these, “*cortem que dicitur Palatium Apiniani cum plebe capellis et decimis cumctisque suis pertinentiis*”⁶ (fig. 1). In the same year, Bishop Sigifredus confirms donations to San Savino Abbey in Piacenza attesting again the “*plebs*” of “*Palatium Apiniani*”⁷. Similar documents are attributed to Emperor Henry II in 1004⁸ and to Emperor Conrad II in 1038⁹.

Resulting from several hard tamperings in the 15th, 16th and 18th century¹⁰ and a few restoration interventions on its medieval *facies* that were initiated

6 *Le carte degli Archivi Parmensi dei secoli X-XI*, ed. G. Drei, I-III, Parma 1924-1950, I, no. XCII, pp. 274-276.

7 *Ibidem*, no. XCIII, pp. 277-281.

8 *Ibidem*, II, no. III, pp. 5-7.

9 *Ibidem*, no. LXI, pp. 134-136, but also in other editions: see e.g. *Conradi II. Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, IV, Hannoverae 1909, no. 264, p. 365. For other documents about Palazzo Pignano during 11th and 12th century see A. Caretta, *Perasus: Palatium Piniani...*, pp. 17-48, esp. pp. 30-31; C. Verga, *Contributi a Palazzo Pignano*, Crema 1966, pp. 45-59.

10 C. Bianchessi, *Palazzo Pignano e la sua chiesa parrocchiale*, Crema 1909; E. Gussalli, *La Chiesa di Palazzo Pignano*, “*Rassegna d'Arte*” XII (1912) 4/5, pp. 69-71; L. Ermentini Caserani, *Fonti per la storia dei restauri della Chiesa di Palazzo Pignano*, “*Insula Fulcheria*” VII (1968), pp. 69-

in the first decade of the 20th century and were concluded approximately sixty years later by Beppe Ermentini, the existing building has a basilica plan with a nave and two side aisles, one bell tower in the south aisle near façade¹¹. Whilst the wall molding and the types of openings on the northern perimeter suggest that it might date back to a modern era (17th century – according to a plate dated 1729 and an inscription dated 1779¹²), the southern perimeter wall seems to be far more complex. First of all, one line of trench – 2 m wide approximately and parallel to the church up to the presbytery – had been left pending after the excavations concerning the Early-Christian church. This shows the foundation for a burial depth of approximately 1.5 m and it enables us to comprehend the original height of this basilica thanks to the threshold of a door which is no longer existing nowadays¹³.

What is interesting about the southern perimeter wall and its façade is that *opus spicatum* has been systematically used (fig. 2, 7), a type of masonry work that harkens back to the Roman tradition and has quite frequently been re-used in the middle centuries of the medieval period. The homogeneity on the external appearance of the façade and on the northern side is merely apparent. The bricks have different shades of colour and different dimensions as result of restorations in the 20th century which were designed to reintegrate the original structure by putting in place a masonry in imitation of the medieval *opus spicatum*, so much so that the pilasters were reconstructed along the lines of the original ones. For many decades, the presence of *opus spicatum* in the Middle Ages has constituted a sure indication of precocity – which has led us into believing that buildings which were realised with such masonry would date back no further than the 11th century. Scholars, nowadays, have less stringent criteria: On the one hand it is considered a useful concept in archaeology but not as strict as before. In the Po Valley, it is almost widely recognised that *opus spicatum* might be found as from the end of the 10th century to the beginning of the 12th century.

Looking at the apse (fig. 8), we can see that there have been many intervention cycles that have followed one another. However, the entire inferior section – up to 3 m from the ground – and especially the southern part up to the eaves can still be seen in the medieval period, even though they have been greatly altered. Generally speaking, the masonry is characterized by the presence of irregular *opus spicatum* compared to the façade and the

-83; B. Ermentini, *Il restauro della Pieve di S. Martino a Palazzo Pignano, "Insula Fulcheria" IX/X* (1970/1971), pp. 85-100; L. Coti Zelati, *Palazzo Pignano, la pieve antica*, Crema 1980; G. Zucchelli, *Architetture dello spirito: La pieve romanica di Palazzo Pignano*, Crema 2002.

11 About the minor apses, only an archaeological investigation could help to understand the relationship with the main apse.

12 C. Bianchessi, *Palazzo Pignano e la sua chiesa parrocchiale...*, p. 56.

13 C. Verga, *Contributi a Palazzo Pignano...*, p. 13.

perimeter wall – except for the higher sectors which were altered in later periods. The southern part of the apse allows us to see yet another high and narrow window and a pilaster rising from the ground to the roof. In the upper left corner, just below the eaves to the left of such pilaster, there are two arches (fig. 9); in the right corner, there is a third one which is bigger as it has been altered. Lastly, the two left arches are supported by two little arches with corbels.

The façade¹⁴ is harmoniously marked by vertical elements which divide the entire front into portions of equal length. At the opposite ends, there are two robust angular pilasters which are connected to the perimeter walls. In correspondence with the central nave, there are two outstanding shaped prism buttresses (fig. 4) made up of bricks and stone reaching the extreme lateral corners of the pediment on top. The central part is characterised by a very well-refined architectural solution: A non-prominent double *protiro* which frames the portal and it reaches this latter thanks to a subtle splayed arch. Featuring interesting capitals (fig. 5), the exterior jambs at the first level serve as imposts for the more external archivolts of the aforementioned splayed arch – the jamb on the left has been restored but has been modelled on what remains of the old capital on the right. The second level, which is perfectly in connection with the first one, terminates with a small pediment in axis with the upper one on the façade. The side jambs on the second level – blending and merging with the lower ones also through the use of limestone – terminate with an arch that was realised by alternating stones and hand-laid bricks generating a large chromatic effect. The arch surrounds a small rose window whose diameter corresponds to the width of the space between the jambs themselves. Lastly, the left part of the first level features an additional sculpted rock slab in fragments which depicts images of birds in a phytomorphic frame (fig. 3) and has been realised contemporarily with the rest of the masonry.

Before long, the first impression of homogeneity and simplicity – on the outside as well as on the inside (fig. 10) – is contradicted by a number of elements. The observations pointed out above as for the perimeter walls are confirmed even on the inside of the façade where the insertion of the bell tower in the 15th century (subsequently renovated on its superior part) have given rise to the need for extra internal support structures with pointed arches and corbels on the perimeter walls (fig. 11). In the most eastern section, in correspondence with the pipe organ, the southerner clerestory still presents traces of the late Baroque superfetation (two pilaster strips and parts of vaults), whereas every other feature in the southern section is essentially consistent

14 M. Mirabella Roberti, *La facciata della chiesa di San Martino a Palazzo Pignano*, "Insula Fulcheria" XI/XII (1972/1973), pp. 9-11.

with bricks, except for the upper sections where there is a stone/hand-brick wall alternation on the right, and it features restoration interventions from the 20th century on the left side. The northern clerestory is more articulated: Its entire height – this section corresponds to the last four arches – illustrates a type of masonry in which horizontal stripes are divided by regular rows of bricks such as in the superior section of the southern clerestory. This terminates in the counter-façade, the first rows of bricks over the arches. Given that the same technique of laying horizontal rows of stone/bricks is present in the southern clerestory over the point where the windows originate towards right, the same chronological phase can be identified which has focused on a significant part of the building, namely the superior section of the southern clerestory and the entire northern clerestory, as mentioned previously, with the exception of the sections that were restored in the 20th century. The inner surface area of the apse is entirely covered by frescos which can be attributed to the Modern Age taking into account their more superficial layer. However, some sections demonstrate the presence of an underlying fresco layer whose chronology is to be seen in correlation with the presence of late-Gothic false ridges that reasonably suggest they may belong to no later than the second half of the 15th century. The major restoration interventions were made in the upper sections since it was deemed necessary to wall up all of the single-lancet windows and change around the dome of the apse in order to obtain an homogenous wall surface. An unplastered frame which was left by the restorers demonstrates very well the *opus spicatum* and it appears to confirm this analysis. I presume that a rather similar ribbed construction can be found in the late 15th-century apse of the church of San Lorenzo in Fiorenzuola¹⁵ (Piacenza) – and in the nearby church of Santa Marta in Pandino, though highly affected by renovations. In addition to this, it seems to me to be reasonable to assume that the false ridges decoration – which was chosen to lend greater impulse to the dome of the apse – was accompanied by a triumphal arch which is wider than the original compared to the dimensions of the original medieval apse. Moreover, it has also been confirmed on the outside that the dimensions of the triumphal arch were not planned in the original project. When looking at the southern section in correspondence with the far eastern section of the minor naves, in addition to an elevation in the roof, we can notice an arch in the visible part of the wall towards right and in the point where it was clocked off, a small new section had subsequently been placed. Upon closer inspection, it can be assumed that such arch is nothing else than a sort of rampant arch in correspondence with the southern edge of the

15 *San Fiorenzo di Fiorenzuola: La storia e l'arte: Chiesa comunità e territorio nei secoli*, eds. M. Pallastrelli, C. Longeri, A. Carzaniga, Piacenza 2002; V. Poli, *Romanico e gotico nell'architettura medioevale a Piacenza (997-1447)*, Piacenza 2005, pp. 124-125.

triumphal arch, a buttress that was added probably in function of the external elevation. On the northern perimeter, the opposite buttress is absent – but this can be easily explained by the fact that this side of the building is the result of invasive interventions starting from the 18th century onwards.

The nave is articulated in eight regular arches – though the ones facing east are blocked off and show evident signs of late Baroque interventions. The point of origin of the small arches on the inner façade is realised by way of a large pilaster manufactured with fallback materials without resorting to *opus spicatum*. Furthermore, the third, the fourth and the fifth arches towards right on the southern section present archivolts made up from shaped squared stones alternated with hammered bricks which blend perfectly with the overlying masonry and, with their alternating colours, they harken back to the superior archivolt of the pseudo-prothyrum in the façade. The capitals (fig. 12, 13) – present only in the southern section – have been extremely problematic: Firstly, the round necking does not coincide with the underlying pillars and this allows us to assume that they had been built in two different periods. In particular, the octagonal shape of the pillars and the presence of fragments of frescos that can be dated back to the end of the 15th century – a useful *terminus ante quem* for us – have rightly led scholars into thinking that the structural supports date back at least to the 15th century. Moreover, since the rounded edges harken back to the imposts of the triumphal arch, it is correct to say that the pillars date back to the same era, in the context of an important late-Gothic building that ensured the construction of the bell tower, of a new apse and the substitution of the rounded structural support with the octagonal ones.

Now, let us draw our attention to the capitals, whose lacunas on almost every side are probably to be seen in correlation with a tight juxtaposition of pilasters during the 18th-century phase. Traditionally, historians have always thought these capitals were rather ancient due to their synthetic structure and the stylization of zoomorphic and phytomorphic patterns. The very early dating of these capitals goes hand in hand with the chronology that was suggested by the masonry with *opus spicatum* (11th century) – which for a long period of time was believed to be a sure indication of antiquity and in turn it fits with the mention of the church in the year 1000 – assuming that, in a positivistic vision, the first documented mention of the church was key to contextualize chronologically this building, regardless of any subsequent reconstructions. It was widely accepted to date this church to the first half of the 11th century up until 1993 when Nadia Ponti de Vecchi first had gingerly speculated that the chronology of the medieval phases of the church of San Martino could be postponed to the end of the 11th century¹⁶. Subsequently,

16 N. Ponti de Vecchi, *San Martino V. a Palazzo Pignano: confronti tipologici per una nuova datazione*, "Insula Fulcheria" XXIII (1993), pp. 189-198.

since this church is located in an area between Milano and Lodi, in correlation with San Marco in Lodivecchio and Santa Maria of Calvenzano in Vizzolo Predabissi, Paolo Piva suggested a different dating for this building, the first decades of the 12th century¹⁷. The scholar reached such conclusion basing his assumption not only on the similarities with the wall structure of the nearby church of Santi Maria and Sigismondo in Rivolta d'Adda – as much as dating was discussed, it may be dated back to the first years of the 12th century – but also on the shaped prism buttresses which are contextual to the masonry and which only appear in the Po Valley region starting from about 1100, just to name a few, in Verona¹⁸, Parma¹⁹, in bishopric of Reggio Emilia²⁰ or in the province of Mantua²¹, but at that time in the diocese of Reggio.

A number of additional observations can be made on the capitals of San Martino that might affect the dating of the building site in medieval ages corroborating the more recent conclusions. If we compare the capital of the façade of Palazzo Pignano and some capitals in the Bergamo area, common figurative representation patterns can be identified, which are centred on formal synthesis and stylization of animal and vegetal motifs. In this respect, the capitals of the church of San Giorgio in Lemine²² are to be taken into account:

17 P. Piva, *Architettura, "complementi" figurativi, spazio liturgico (secoli IV/V-XIII)*, in: *Storia di Cremona: Dall'Alto Medioevo all'Età Comunale*, ed. G. Andenna, Azzano San Paolo 2004, pp. 364-445, esp. pp. 438-439; idem, *Pievi dell'alto Cremonese: Pizzighettone, Palazzo Pignano, Crema*, in: *Lombardia Romanica: Paesaggi monumentali*, eds. R. Cassanelli, P. Piva, Milano 2011, pp. 263-265; according to Piva "ricondono al XII secolo il portale lapideo di facciata con archivolto torico intermedio, i peducci sagomati dei pochi archetti e fornic absidali [...]".

18 San Zeno, San Lorenzo and the cathedral: G. Valenzano, *Il Duomo di Verona*, in: *Veneto Romanico*, ed. F. Zuliani, Milano 2008, pp. 147-157; G. Trevisan, *San Lorenzo a Verona*, ibidem, pp. 169-174; *L'Altomedioevo e il romanico: Storia dell'architettura nel Veneto*, ed. J. Schulz, Venezia 2009, for bibliography; T. Franco, F. Coden, *San Zeno in Verona*, Sommacampagna 2014.

19 The clerestory of cathedral: M. Luchterhandt, *Die Kathedrale von Parma: Architektur und Skulptur im Zeitalter von Reichskirche und Kommunebildung*, München 2009 for a generale frame.

20 Smaller buildings scattered throughout this area such as Fosdondo, Sant'Andrea del Castellazzo in Campagnola, Santi Giacomo and Filippo in Reggio Emilia: M. Mussini, *L'architettura medievale nel territorio reggiano*, in: *Matilde e il tesoro dei Canossa tra castelli, monasteri e città, catalogo della mostra, Reggio Emilia-Canossa, 31 agosto 2008 - 11 gennaio 2009*, ed. A. Calzona, Cinisello Balsamo 2008, pp. 250-387, esp. pp. 313-315, 335-340, 342-344.

21 Pieve di Coriano and Nuvolato: P. Piva, *La pieve romanica di Santa Maria di Coriano*, in: *Pieve di Coriano nella storia, uomini e paesaggi di una comunità sulle sponde del Po da prima di Matilde ad oggi*, ed. P. Golinelli, Mantova 2002, pp. 49-70; idem, *La pieve di Coriano e le sue cappelle*, in: *Lombardia Romanica...*, pp. 277-280, also for bibliography; idem, *Lo scavo di San Fiorentino a Nuvolato (Mantova) e il problema dei cori "murati" dell'XI secolo*, in: *Architettura dell'XI secolo nell'Italia del Nord: Storiografia e nuove ricerche. Atti del convegno, Pavia, 8-10 aprile 2010*, eds. A. Segagni Malacart, L.C. Schiavi, Pisa 2013, pp. 96-97.

22 A. Bugini, P. Manzoni, F. Rossi, *S. Giorgio in Lemine: Per il recupero di una civiltà romanica*, Almenno San Salvatore 1995; P. Manzoni, *S. Giorgio in Lemine: Almenno*, in: *Itinerari dell'Anno Mille: Chiese romaniche nel Bergamasco*, eds. P. Capellini, G.M. Labaa, Bergamo n.d.,

Covered by a ribbed vault of square cross-section in the central presbyter and simple groin vaults at the sides, the space surrounding the presbyter has been dated back to the middle of the 12th century. It was probably commissioned by Girardo (1146-1167), the bishop of Bergamo, the same one who completed the construction for the cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore. A similar formal synthesis approach can be traced in the church of Sant'Egidio in Fontanella al Monte²³, well-known Cluniac priority as from 1095 as independent from the coenobium of San Giacomo in Pontida. Unanimously identified as such by all scholars, the second phase of Sant'Egidio in Fontanella determines the transition from two to three naves. The new arches that articulate the internal layout rest on capitals that Arthur Kingsley Porter²⁴ compared to those of San Giorgio in Lemine and were dated back to the first half of the 12th century by Andrea Zonca²⁵. The comparison with a half-capital around the perimeter wall of the northern nave of the basilica of San Giulio d'Orta appears to be even more stringent (fig. 6), after putting it in relation with the atelier that realised the pulpit. Although with limitations, the half-capital of the façade of Palazzo Pignano shows the same basic compositional pattern as the capital of San Giulio, whose *terminus post quem* is considered to be the beginning of the episcopate of Litifredo (1123-1151)²⁶.

The capitals on the inside might seemingly be more problematic. Here, the stylization is more emphasized and it is rather simple to comprehend the early dating which was given by scholars before Ponti de Vecchi in 1993. However, the stylization of birds and quadrupeds, of some caulicoli and vines with a lot of grapes could be reflected in numerous places from Lombardy to Tuscany, whose models in terms of imagery were parallel, without crossing, to innovations of Northern Italy in the building sites of Wiligelmo or Nicolò. As

pp. 101-106; F. Scirea, *San Giorgio in Lemine ad Almenno San Salvatore*, in: *Lombardia Romanica...*, pp. 198-199.

23 P. Piva, *Architettura monastica nell'Italia del Nord: Le chiese cluniacensi*, Milano 1998, pp. 56-63; G. Zizzo, *S. Egidio: Fontanella al Monte*, in: *Itinerari dell'Anno Mille...*, pp. 69-74; M. Spini, *S. Egidio di Fontanella al Monte: Le vicende storiche e costruttive del priorato Cluniacense (secoli XI-XII)*, Sotto il Monte Giovanni XXIII 2001; F. Scirea, *Note sui dipinti romanici in S. Egidio a Fontanella al Monte e sull'iconografia degli angeli-atlanti*, "Benedictina" LVI (2009) 2, pp. 215-234; idem, *Sant'Egidio a Fontanella al Monte*, in: *Lombardia Romanica...*, pp. 203-205, also for bibliography.

24 A.K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, I-II, New Heaven 1917, II, pp. 422-427, esp. p. 427.

25 A. Zonca, *Almenno San Salvatore (BG), chiesa romanica di San Giorgio: Lettura stratigrafica dell'alzato* (1988), "Archeologia medievale" XVII (1990), pp. 593-611, esp. p. 608.

26 See this capital published in *Piemonte romanico*, ed. G. Romano, Torino 1994, p. 161; F. Cervini, *Pietra come bronzo: Il pulpito di San Giulio nel cuore dell'Europa romanica*, in: *San Giulio e la sua isola, nel XVI centenario di San Giulio*, ed. L. Cerutti, Novara 2000, pp. 123-143; S. Caldano, *La basilica di San Giulio d'Orta*, Savigliano 2012, pp. 59-61; P. de Gennaro, *L'ambone di San Giulio d'Orta: Per una riconsiderazione*, Torino 2013.

a reference, just bear in mind the large part of the figurative apparatus of the cathedral in Bergamo (from 1137²⁷), the capitals and the lunette of San Tomè in Almenno San Salvatore, or even the solutions that were adopted by the nearby Cistercian abbacy in Abbadia Cerreto. Broadening our view towards South for a moment, we might be able to find similar results regarding such synthetic and anti-naturalistic preferences, backed up by a series of capitals in Tuscany (Casentino and Valdelsa²⁸) which can be dated approximately around the middle of the 12th century²⁹. This is not the proper place to ensure a full and complete analysis of the masonry and its stratigraphy. In the case of Palazzo Pignano, it is a complex operation, especially in the light of the numerous and invasive restorations that the building had undergone. However, on the basis of the observations and also the types of support, it is therefore reasonable to assume that the late-antique church with central plan – which was yet to be formalized in the documents of the first half of the 11th century – had developed into a basilica approximately in the first half of the 12th century. Out of this transformation, we can see a part of the apse, the southern perimeter wall – albeit rather renovated – the façade, the capitals and perhaps three lateral arcades in cotto tile and stone between the main nave and the southern aisle. Subsequently, probably due to the insertion of the bell tower in the aisle between the end of Middle Ages and the early Modern Age (15th century), this church undergoes its first radical maintenance intervention involving work in the presbyter area and support refurbishment: from oval/rounded to squared with bevelled corner and capital refurbishment – bearing in mind that the northern pillars had been restored in early 20th century. Lastly, from the 16th and the 18th century, in relation to the last late-Baroque transformation, work got underway on the clerestory and its perimeter wall.

INSULA FULCHERIA – MATILDA OF CANOSSA AND SICARDO

As already cited, the document dating back to 1000 AD indicates that, at that particular point in time, Palazzo Pignano was certainly a *curtis* and it would house a church with parish functions and *capellae* on which they depended.

27 F. Buonincontri, *Scultura a Bergamo in età comunale: I cantieri di S. Maria Maggiore e del Palazzo della Ragione*, Bergamo 2005.

28 W. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1926; M. Salmi, *L'architettura romanica in Toscana*, Milano-Roma 1927.

29 W. Angelelli, F. Gandolfo, F. Pomarici, *La scultura delle Pievi: Capitelli medievali in Casentino e Valdarno*, Roma 2003; G. Tigler, *Toscana romanica*, Milano 2006, for bibliography; *Storie di una pieve del Valdarno: San Romolo a Gaville in età medievale*, eds. P. Pirillo, M. Ronzani, Roma 2008; I. Moretti, *San Romolo a Gaville, la memoria di pietra*, Figline Valdarno 2015.

Since there is a clear reference to the Monastery of San Savino in Piacenza³⁰, the question is: Which diocese is Palazzo Pignano under? The answer is only apparently obvious.

In the 11th century, the territory of the *Insula Fulcheria* was divided into four dioceses: Cremona, Lodi, Pavia and Piacenza³¹. Lodi is about 20 km far from that area, whereas, in a curiously similar fashion, Cremona, Piacenza and Pavia are approximately 50 km far – south-east, south, south-west respectively. However, the dioceses of Cremona and Lodi were adjacent to that area, whilst Pavia and Piacenza had territorial *exclaves* in such region. The area which was controlled by Pavia gravitated around the present cities of Dovera and Postino. Palazzo Pignano was included in the slightly bigger area controlled by Piacenza whose borders extended to Serio towards east, including the more recent village of Crema. As will be seen later on, there is abundant evidence attesting that Palazzo Pignano will always be attached to Piacenza, despite numerous political and military interferences from Cremona, up to 1580 when the diocese of Crema was established³², and the entire territory of the ancient *Insula Fulcheria* ended up being the central focus of the new episcopate: All the former territorial exclaves were removed and some parish-churches were deducted from the adjacent dioceses of Lodi and Cremona. The situation is much easier from an institutional point of view. Up until they acquired administrative recognition – up to the first decades of the 12th century, the *Insula Fulcheria* had been a member of the *comitatus* of Bergamo³³, and – as demonstrated by François Menant several times – the

30 P. Racine, *Il vescovo di Piacenza, signore della città (997)*, "Archivio Storico per Province Parmensi" XLIX (1997), pp. 257-276; U.P. Censi, *Monasteri padani nei secoli X-XI dalla subordinazione vescovile all'autonomia. San Giovanni di Parma, San Lorenzo di Cremona, San Pietro di Modena, San Prospero di Reggio, San Savino di Piacenza*, "Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi" LI (1999), pp. 371-421.

31 The bibliography about the institutional frame obviously includes both Palazzo Pignano and Crema: L. Coti Zelati, *Palazzo Pignano: Note di storia religiosa, "Insula Fulcheria" VII (1968)*, pp. 57-67; C.D. Fonseca, *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche a Crema nel XII secolo*, in: *Crema 1185: Una contrastata autonomia politica e territoriale, atti del convegno, Crema, 25-26 ottobre 1985*, Crema 1988, pp. 55-68; M. Sangaletti, *Crema e la sua Cattedrale, cronologia di un linguaggio politico*, in: *La Cattedrale di Crema: Le trasformazioni nei secoli: liturgia, devozione e rappresentazione del potere, atti della giornata di studi, Crema, 7 maggio 2011*, eds. G. Cavallini, M. Facchi, Milano 2011, pp. 35-44; M. Casirani, *Palazzo Pignano dal complesso tardoantico...*, pp. 112-125.

32 Crema gained parish dignity in 1459.

33 G. Albin, *Crema dall'XI al XIII secolo: il processo di formazione del territorio*, in: *Crema 1185...*, pp. 37-54; eadem, *Da "castrum" a città: Crema tra XII e XV secolo, "Società e storia" XLII (1988)*, pp. 819-854; F. Menant, *Aux origines de la société crémasque: L'immigration bergamasque et crémonaise*, in: *Crema 1185...*, pp. 109-136, then translated in: idem, *Lombardia feudale. Studi sulla aristocrazia padana nei secoli X-XIII*, Milano 1994, pp. 245-276; G. Albin, *Crema tra XII e XIV secolo: il quadro politico-istituzionale*, in: *Crema nel Trecento: Conoscenza e controllo del territorio: Atti del convegno*, Crema 2005, pp. 13-44.

Gisalbertini³⁴ and the entire vassalage of Bergamo had had a predominant role in the settlement dynamics in this area starting from the early Middle Ages. In the absence of definite evidence, most scholars believed that Insula had gone under the control of Bonifacio da Canossa through his wife Richilda – from the dynasty of the Gisalbertini indeed. This passage of power is exactly the central premise of the document that we will be looking at now. I refer to the very well-known document (drawn up in Piadena, dated 26 December 1097) in which Matilda of Canossa, daughter of Bonifacio, ceded the entire Insula Fulcheria to the Commune of Cremona and to its Church³⁵. The importance of such document has been addressed by many scholars³⁶, although there is another document, a so-called *praeceptum* by Enrico III (dated 1040), through which the future emperor ceded fifty years earlier the *districtus* of the Insula Fulcheria to the Church of Cremona “iure proprietario et perpetua datione”. However, based on the direction of the publishers of *Monumenta Germaniae*

34 F. Menant, *Les Giselbertins, comtes du comté de Bergame et comptes palatines*, in: *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel Medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX-XII), atti del convegno di Pisa, 10-11 maggio 1983*, Roma 1988, pp. 115-186; translated in Italian: idem, *I Giselbertini, conti della contea di Bergamo e conti palatini*, in: idem, *Lombardia feudale...*, pp. 39-129, esp. the pages focused on San Benedetto in Crema, pp. 116-129; F. Menant, *Campagnes lombardes du Moyen Âge. L'économie et la société rurales dans la région de Bergame, de Crémone et de Brescia du X^e au XIII^e siècle*, Rome 1993, esp. pp. 527, 621-622, 671, 781.

35 For this document see A. Ricci, *Matilde e le città, Matilde e una città. Il caso di Cremona, in: Matilde e il tesoro dei Canossa tra castelli, monasteri e città, catalogo della mostra, Reggio Emilia-Canossa, 31 agosto 2008 - 11 gennaio 2009*, ed. A. Calzona, Cinisello Balsamo 2008, pp. 155-163, with the transcription of the document and its translation. The document is also published in *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII*, II, ed. E. Falconi, Cremona 1979-1988, no. 242, pp. 53-54 and in *Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, eds. E. Goetz, W. Goetz, in: *MGH, Laienfürsten- und Dynasten-Urkunden der Kaserzeit*, Hannoverae 1998, no. 48, pp. 150-151. For a complete bibliography see A. Ricci, *Matilde e le città, Matilde e una città...*, p. 161. See now also *Documenti e lettere di Matilde di Canossa. Testo latino e traduzione italiana*, eds. F. Canova, M. Fontanili, C. Santi, G. Formizzi, I, Bologna 2015, no. 48, pp. 170-171.

36 G. Dilcher, *Die Entstehung der lombardischen Stadtkommune*, Aalen 1967, pp. 107-108, 164-201; O. Banti, “Civitas” e “commune” nelle fonti italiane dei secoli XI e XII, “*Critica storica*” IX (1972), pp. 568-584, republished in: *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, ed. G. Rossetti, Bologna 1977, pp. 217-232, esp. pp. 225-226 and republished also in: idem, *Studi di storia e di diplomatica comunale*, Roma 1983, pp. 1-19; G. Tabacco, *Vescovi e comuni in Italia*, in: *I poteri temporali dei vescovi in Italia e Germania nel Medioevo, atti del convegno, Trento, Istituto italo-germanico, 13-18 settembre 1976*, eds. C.G. Mor, H. Schmidinger, Bologna 1979, pp. 253-282, esp. pp. 260-263; published also as appendix, with a different title, *La sintesi istituzionale di vescovo e città in Italia e il suo superamento nella “res publica” comunale*, in: idem, *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere nel medioevo italiano*, Torino 1979, pp. 397-427, esp. pp. 406-410, but original edition idem, *La storia politica e sociale: Dal tramonto dell’Impero alle prime formazioni di Stati regionali*, in: *Storia d’Italia: Dalla caduta dell’Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, I: *La società medievale e le corti del Rinascimento*, Torino 1974, pp. 3-274; F. Opll, *Stadt und Reich im 12. Jahrhundert (1125-1190)*, Wien-Köln-Graz 1986, pp. 249-250; for bibliography also F. Menant, *Cremona in età precomunale: il secolo XI*, in: *Storia di Cremona. Dall’Alto Medioevo all’Età Comunale...*, pp. 106-197, esp. pp. 132-136, 153.

Historica, Cinzio Violante has very well described the historical background so as to interpret this document correctly. It does not present any specific diplomatic features of the imperial chancery in it but it appears to have been produced by the episcopal curia in order to be signed by the emperor³⁷.

The document dated 26 December 1097 is deemed to be a fundamental changeover not only for the medieval history in the Cremona area, but also for the crucial stages – on which the debate has just recently regathered pace³⁸ – that have led to the creation of the commune in the ancient Lombardy.

To François Menant, the scholar who has done the most extensive research of the institutional aspects of Eastern Lombardy in the Middle Ages over the last few decades, with this document we come across la “prima menzione del comune”, it deals with “un evento capitale per la storia successiva di Cremona e, in certo grado, dell’intera Lombardia”³⁹. More recently, Edward

37 C. Violante, *Aspetti della politica italiana di Enrico III prima della sua discesa in Italia (1039-1046)*, in: *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale: Società, istituzioni, spiritualità*, ed. P. Zerbi, Milano 1975, pp. 249-290, original edition: “Rivista storica italiana” LXIV (1952), pp. 157-176, 239-314; see also U. Gualazzini, *Per la storia dei rapporti tra Enrico III e Bonifacio di Canossa*, “Archivio storico italiano” 7th ser. XIX (1933) 91, pp. 67-84.

38 Bibliography is now limitless, see at least for an historiographical frame: P. Grillo, *La frattura inesistente: L’età del comune consolare nella recente storiografia*, “Archivio storico italiano” CLXVII (2009) 622, pp. 673-70; M. Vallerani, *Comune e comuni: Una dialettica non risolta*, in: *Sperimentazioni di governo nell’Italia centrosettentrionale nel processo storico dal primo comune alla signoria, atti del convegno di studio, Bologna, 3-4 settembre 2010*, eds. M.C. De Matteis, B. Pio, Bologna 2011, pp. 9-34. See also H. Keller, *Die Entstehung der italienischen Stadtkommunen als Problem der Sozialgeschichte*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” X (1976), pp. 169-211, now translated in Italian in idem, *Il laboratorio politico del Comune medievale*, Napoli 2014, pp. 45-101; idem, *Der Uebergang zur Kommune: Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Stadtverfassung im 11. Jahrhundert*, in: *Beiträge zum hochmittelalterlichen Städtewesen*, ed. B. Diestelkamp, Köln-Wien 1982, pp. 55-72; P. Racine, *Ètêque et cité dans le royaume d’Italie: Aux origines des communes italiennes*, in: *L’Église et le siècle de l’an mil au début du XII^e siècle, actes du XIV^e congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public, Poitiers, 3-4 juin 1983*, “Cahiers des Civilisation Médiévale” XXVII (1984), pp. 129-140; H. Keller, “Kommune”: *Städtische Selbstregierung und mittelalterliche “Volksheerrschaft” im Spiegel italienischer Wahlverfahren des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter: Karl Schmid zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. G. Althoff, D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle, J. Wollasch, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 573-616, now translated in Italian in idem, *Il laboratorio politico del Comune medioevale...*, pp. 165-226, esp. pp. 165-184; idem, *Gli inizi del comune in Lombardia: limiti della documentazione e metodi di ricerca*, in: *L’evoluzione delle città italiane nell’XI secolo, atti della settimana di studio 8-12 settembre 1986*, eds. R. Bordone, J. Jarnut, Bologna 1988, pp. 45-70 and for a similar but different position due to a different point of view, G. Dilcher, *I comuni italiani come movimento sociale e forma giuridica*, ibidem, pp. 71-98. See also for his importance in the “common” discussion, *Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert: Paderborn, 10-15 dicembre 1989*, eds. J. Jarnut, P. Jonahek, Köln 1998. See also some recent books about this subject: G. Milani, *I comuni italiani. Secoli XII-XIV*, Roma-Bari 2005; F. Menant, *L’Italie des communes (1100-1350)*, Paris 2005; J.-C. Maire Vigueur, E. Faini, *Il sistema politico dei comuni italiani (secoli XII-XIV)*, Milano 2010.

39 F. Menant, *La prima età comunale (1097-1183)*, in: *Storia di Cremona: Dall’Alto Medioevo all’Età Comunale...*, pp. 198-281, esp. pp. 234-247: “first mention of the Comune

Coleman⁴⁰, with similar enthusiasm, has investigated the assumptions that were made by the French scholar, conferring the document the same relevant importance in the Medieval scenario in Northern Italy. This document seems to be even more important in view of the fact that *Insula Fulcheria* not only included Palazzo Pignano, but also the much better-known city of Crema, without forgetting the monastic settlement of San Benedetto⁴¹ in the same “new” town from the end of the 11th century⁴². Back then, the church of Crema depended on the parish church of San Martino in Palazzo Pignano and these historical events do not have to be further emphasised⁴³, starting from the middle of the 12th century, within the complex background of disputes between Frederick Barbarossa and some communes in Lombardy. In spite of its importance, as will be seen shortly, the ambiguity of these documents stems from a wide range of elements, in particular the simultaneous presence of the commune and the Church of Cremona as receivers of the investiture

[...]”, “a fundamental event for the subsequent history of Cremona and, in some degree, of Lombardy”.

40 E. Coleman, *Bishop and Commune in Twelfth-Century Cremona: The Interface of Secular and Ecclesiastical Power*, in: *Churchmen and Urban Government in Late Medieval Italy, c. 1200-c. 1450: Cases and Contexts*, eds. F. Andrews, M.A. Pincelli, Cambridge-New York 2013, pp. 25-41. I know that a new book on the medieval history of Cremona was published but editorial requirements did not allow me to read it: A. Silvestri, *Power, Politics and Episcopal Authority: The Bishops of Cremona and Lincoln in the Middle Ages (1066-1340)*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2015.

41 J. Schiavini Trezzi, *Il monastero di San Benedetto di Crema dalle origini alla metà del XIII secolo*, in: *Il XV centenario della nascita di San Benedetto da Norcia celebrato a Crema*, Crema (CR) 1981, pp. 69-134. I want to remember also the Cistercian abbey of San Pietro Cerreto, today Abbadia Cerreto (LO), built in 1140 around, just 10 km away from Palazzo Pignano southbound.

42 G. Degli Agosti, *La giurisdizione ecclesiastica a Crema e nel territorio cremasco*, “*Insula Fulcheria*” XIX (1989), pp. 69-85; idem, *Il Cristianesimo nel territorio fino al sec. XII*, in: *Diocesi di Crema*, eds. A. Caprioli, A. Rimoldi, L. Vaccaro, Brescia-Gazzada 1993, pp. 15-38; idem, *Traduzione e presentazione di antichi documenti medioevali su Crema e Cremasco*, “*Insula Fulcheria*” XXXVI (2006), pp. 75-140; G. Albini, *Crema e il Cremasco nel Medioevo: una comunità aperta*, “*Insula Fulcheria*” XXXVI (2006), pp. 41-52. See also M. Ibsen, *Santa Maria e le fasi antiche dell’insediamento religioso a Crema*, in: *La Cattedrale di Crema...*, pp. 47-61.

43 Still important A. Bosisio, *Crema ai tempi di Federico Barbarossa*, “*Archivio storico lombardo*” LXXXVII (1960), pp. 206-228; see at least A. Ambrosioni, *Crema nel regno durante l’età comunale*, in: *Crema 1185...*, pp. 9-35; idem, *I rapporti tra Milano e Cremona nella politica territoriale di Federico Barbarossa*, in: *Il borgo franco di Castelleone, atti del convegno di studi, Castelleone-Cremona, 28-29 ottobre 1988*, Castelleone 1991, republished in: *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale: raccolta di studi*, eds. A. Ambrosioni, M.P. Alberzoni, A. Lucioni, Milano 2003, pp. 471-498; but see now F. Oppl, *Friedrich Barbarossa als Gründer von italienischen Städten: Lodi – Alessandria/Caesarea – Crema*, “*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*”, CXVIII (2010), pp. 27-60; transl. in Italian as *Federico Barbarossa come fondatore delle città italiane: Lodi, Alessandria/Caesarea, Crema*, in: *Lodi tra il Barbarossa e la lega lombarda, atti del convegno, Lodi, 8-15-22 novembre 2008*, ed. L. Samarati, Lodi 2011, pp. 83-136.

ensured by Matilda of Canossa. This ambiguity, however, appears more justified thanks to a few subsequent evidences.

The destruction of Crema and its subsequent reconstruction have been widely studied. It is precisely from the documents produced by Frederick Barbarossa during the siege in Crema between the spring and early winter 1159, when the city up-rose against the imperial authority in Milan, that an important imperial bull – dated 30 December – was written. Drawn to us in a copy from the 16th century, it certifies the investiture of Tinto from Cremona – dubbed as Muso di Gatta – by the emperor as owner of *Insula Fulcheria* “sicut in terminis istis continetur, videlicet de Pizighitono usque ad Pontirolium, sicuti est infra Abduam et Serium, quicquid ad nostrum ius pertinet”⁴⁴. As Marilena Casirani has just recently noted, the contents of this document seem to collide with the terms of the one dated December 1097 made by Matilda. If Matilda donated the *Insula* to the commune and Church of Cremona, how do we explain the fact that Frederick Barbarossa, six decades after that, had granted the same land to his loyal vassal from the city of Cremona, now with the specification of the geographical boundaries? Casirani⁴⁵ provided an explanation of institutional nature: The scholar based her argument on a rather stringent definition of the term *districtus*. This would have presumably happened because Matilda did not own the *Insula* as an allodial property, but as a benefit which was granted to her family under the condition that it would be returned once died last heir⁴⁶. Not having the

44 *Friderici I. Diplomata*, ed. H. Appelt, in: MGH, *Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, X, pars II-IV, Hannoverae 1979-1990, II, pp. 103-104: 290, 1159 dic. 30, *vor Crema*. See also A. Fiore, *La dimensione locale del potere imperia: Aspetti istituzionali e linguaggi politici nel Regno d'Italia (1177-1197)*, “*Rivista storica italiana*” CXXII (2010), pp. 1088-1120.

45 M. Casirani, *Palazzo Pignano dal complesso tardoantico...*, pp. 117-119. See also G. Sergi, *I poteri dei Canossa: poteri delegati, poteri feudali, poteri signorili*, in: *I poteri dei Canossa da Reggio Emilia all'Europa, atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Reggio Emilia – Carpineti, 29-31 ottobre 1992*, ed. P. Golinelli, Bologna 1994, pp. 29-39, esp. p. 33.

46 A. Overmann, *La contessa Matilde di Canossa: Sue proprietà territoriali, storia delle terre matildiche dal 1115 al 1230, i registri matildici*, Roma 1980, pp. 18-19, considers the *Insula Fulcherii* as an imperial manor. I think this definition has created such confusion about the real meaning of the possession. See also T. Lazzari, *La creazione di un territorio: il comitato di Modena e i suoi “confini”*, in: *Distinguere, separare, condividere: Confini nelle campagne dell'Italia medievale*, ed. P. Guglielmotti, “*Reti medievali rivista*” VII (2006) 1, on-line: <http://www.dssg.unifi.it/_RM/rivista/saggi/Confini_Lazzari.htm> (last accessed: 10 December 2016). See at least for a general frame about feudal and ecclesiastical organization in Northern Italy: C. Violante, *Primo contributo a una storia delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche nell'Italia centrosettentrionale durante il medioevo: province, diocesi, sedi vescovili*, in: *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae: V. Colloque de Varsovie, 27-29 octobre 1971 sur la cartographie et l'histoire socio-religieuse de l'Europe jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle*, Louvain 1974, pp. 183-204; idem, *Pievi e parrocchie dalla fine del X all'inizio del XIII secolo*, in: *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della “Societas Christiana” dei secoli XI-XII: Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie. Atti della Sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974*, Milano 1977, pp. 643-799; idem, *La signoria “territoriale” come quadro delle strutture organizzative del contado nella Lombardia*

necessary skills to enter into the merit of the real meaning of the term *districtus* and especially of its applications in between the 11th and the 12th centuries with legal and institutional argumentations, I do not deny the possibility thereof. I will only mention a few aspects and suggest parallel research that may contribute to taking into account the actual contradiction between the two documents in an attempt to contextualize historically the reconstruction of the parish church of Palazzo Pignano.

Upon reading the documents produced by Frederick Barbarossa prior to the investiture which occurred on 30 December 1159, the contradiction that has been noticed is supported by an imperial *mandatum* dated 18 September through which, having declared the citizens of Crema, Milan and Brescia as rebels⁴⁷, it lays down that all their feuds, their allodial lands and all the people in Crema just in that moment were to be ceded. Yet again, how to reconcile such document with the one from 1097 by Matilda according to which *in perpetuum* the Insula Fulcheria – and Crema as well – were donated to the commune and the Church of Cremona? Why would Frederick have to cede adjacent lots of the loyal Cremona just to return them a few months later to a vassal from the same city named Tinto, dubbed Musa di Gatta?

A possible explanation, as a *lectio facilior*, is that Matilda, with her 1097 document, did not donate en bloc the entire Insula but only what was under her direct control, whatever it was a feudal or an allodial property. The first alternative should be rejected a priori given that there is a specific mention in the document which says “de toto comitatu Içole Fulkeri omnia et ex omnibus

del secolo XII, in: *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IV^e-XVIII^e)*, actes du XIV^e colloque historique franco-allemand, Tours, 27 mars - 1 avril 1977, eds. W. Paravicini, K.F. Werner, München 1980, pp. 329-385; idem, *Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centro-settentrionale*, in: *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze*, atti della XXVIII Settimana di studi del CISAM, Spoleto, 10-16 aprile 1980, Spoleto 1982, pp. 963-1158; G. Sergi, *La territorialità e l'assetto giurisdizionale e amministrativo dello spazio*, in: *Uomo e spazio nell'alto medioevo*, atti della L settimana di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto, 4-8 aprile 2002, I-II, Spoleto 2003, pp. 479-504, esp. pp. 487-488, 497-501; M. Ronzani, *L'organizzazione spaziale della cura d'anime e la rete delle chiese (secoli V-IX)*, in: *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo: Atti della LXI settimana di studi sull'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013, Spoleto 2014, pp. 537-564; for an updated bibliographical frame see E. Curzel, *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia prima del secolo XII. Sedi, spazi, profili*, in: *La diocesi di Bobbio. Formazione e sviluppi di un'istituzione millenaria*, eds. E. Destefanis, P. Guglielmotti, Firenze 2015, pp. 69-93, on-line: <<http://www.ebook.retimedievali.it>> (last accessed: 10 December 2016).

⁴⁷ *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 313-314: “387, <Mandatum>, 1159 set. 18, <in obsidione castris Creme>”, now in digital edition in: *Codice diplomatico della Lombardia medievale (secoli VIII-XII): Area cremonese*, ed. V. Leoni, on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/>> (last accessed: 10 December 2016) (henceforth we write directly the website related to the single document), <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1159-09-18>>. In addition to these editions: *Codex diplomaticus Cremonae (715-1334)*, ed. L. Astegiano, in: *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, XXI, I, Torino 1898; *Akty Cremonoi / Acta Cremonae, X-XIII vekov v sobranij Akademii Nauk SSSR*, ed. O.A. Dobia-Rowdestvenkaia, Moskva 1937.

quantum ad suprascriptam comitissam pertinet de ipso comitatu inintegrum". It appears that the whole of Insula Fulcheria belonged to Matilda.

After all, Pope Calixtus II – with a papal bull dated 1 February 1124⁴⁸ – brought certain rights under his control that originally belonged to the episcopate in Cremona, under the basis of a precept by Enrico IV (15 June 1058). Courts and castles of the episcopate and many other districts belonging to the Insula Fulcheria area are listed, although the toponym does not appear. Crema and Palazzo Pignano were left out because – this is the obvious conclusion – they were under the diocese of Piacenza. The same conclusion must be reached by looking at the papal bulls produced by Lucius II⁴⁹ and Adrian IV⁵⁰ – which go on to confirm the requests presented in the bull produced by Callixtus II. Only to a minor extent does another document by pope Eugene III – dated 7 July 1148 from Cremona⁵¹ – clarify the ambiguity that we have been trying to highlight. With this document, as a response to an epistle of protest by the Bishop Oberto from Cremona, the simultaneous presence and power of two episcopates in the town of Crema has been made explicit. From this bull, it would appear that some churches and canons of the chapel of Santa Maria – at this particular point in time it was still under the control of Palazzo Pignano – were dependent on Piacenza and other churches and the rest of the canons would have to obey the Bishop Oberto ("quedam Cremenses ecclesie que tui episcopatus existunt"). As clear as it may appear, historians have long revealed this simultaneous presence within the town of Crema, which is certainly a fact to which too little attention has been paid to. This double presence still jars with the 1097 document produced by Matilda. What may seem a peculiarity of Crema, it can also be verified in another village a little more up North. I refer to a document – dated 12 October 1148

48 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 131-133: "287, Pagina constitutionis, 1124 feb. 1, Laterano", on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1124-02-01>> and also in: *Il Codice Diplomatico della Cattedrale di Cremona: Documenti per la storia della chiesa maggiore cremonese e del suo capitolo dal IX al 1262*, ed. V. Leoni, Cinisello Balsamo (MI) 2010, no. 76, p. 49. See for a frame about this pope M. Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule*, Leiden-Boston 2004.

49 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 200-204: "327, Pagina constitutionis, 1144 mar. 17, Laterano", and in *Codice Diplomatico della Cattedrale di Cremona...*, no. 94, p. 58; on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1144-03-17>>.

50 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 283-287: "369, Pagina constitutionis, 1156 mag. 11, Benevento", and in *Codice Diplomatico della Cattedrale di Cremona...*, no. 99, p. 60; on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1156-05-11>>.

51 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 222-223: "339, Pagina decreti, 1148 lug. 7, Cremona"; on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1148-07-07>>. See also G. Andenna, *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dall'età longobarda alla fine del XIV secolo*, in: *Storia di Cremona: Il Trecento: Chiesa e Cultura (VIII-XIV secolo)*, eds. G. Andenna, G. Chittolini, Azzano San Paolo (BG) 2007, pp. 2-169, esp. pp. 61-62, n. 317-320.

– with which the Cardinal Guido da Somma, from Milan⁵², establishes that the parishioners from Romano are partly dependent on the parish church of Calcio, partly on Ghisalba and the churches of Santa Maria in Romano and the one in Bariano are subjected to the control of Bergamo, whereas the churches of San Giorgio and Sant’Eustachio, in the Romano territory, are subjected to the control of Cremona. Now, thought should therefore be given to another evidence from the imperial side which seems to be putting into question every certainty regarding the institutional nature of Insula Fulcheria in the 12th century. With an original diploma dated 7 March 1162 from Lodi⁵³, upon request by the consuls of Cremona, Frederick I, amongst other measures, prohibits the reconstruction of the castle of Crema (the village and its castle) – which had already been donated to the city of Cremona for its devoted loyalty. This document seems to leave no room for doubt on the fact that Crema (just Crema with his castle and his village) had been donated by Frederick I to the Commune of Cremona. Actually, a follow-up document is even more explicit: It asserts (13 June 1162, Pavia⁵⁴) that “castello et burgo Creme, quod nostra vobis munificentia concedimus” and in another one in its original form, dated 29 July 1176, from Pavia again⁵⁵, Frederick I grants to the Cremona people the imperial rights that the Empire had on Crema and all the other territories “inter Aduam at Olium”, an extension of the territories which included the whole Insula Fulcheria. As a direct confirmation of all this, we have an original diploma which was put to use years later in times of a profound crisis between Cremona itself and the emperor⁵⁶. It occurred

52 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 228-231: “342, Sententia, 1148 ott. 12, Milano”; on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1148-10-12>> and in *Codice Diplomatico della Cattedrale di Cremona...*, no. 96, p. 59. This bull was confirmed in 1180 by Pope Alexander III (*Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, III, no. 373, pp. 293-294).

53 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 329-332: “396, Edictum seu lex, 1162 mar. 7, Lodi”; *Friderici I. Diplomata...*, II, no. 353, pp. 193-195.

54 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 333-338, esp. p. 336: “398, 1162 giu. 13, Pavia”; *Friderici I. Diplomata*, II, no. 369, pp. 228-230, esp. p. 229. Two years later emperor took under his direct protection the bishopric of Cremona, see *ibidem*, no. 433, p. 328, on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1164-04-03>>: [...] *Ad augmentum quoque gratie nostre statuentes precipimus, ut de cetero prefatum episcopum et eius ecclesiam nullus episcopus, non dux vel marchio, non comes vel vicecomes, non capitaneus vel castaldio, non potestas vel civitas, consules vel rectores [...]*.

55 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, III, pp. 217-220: “529, Pagina Privilegi, 1176 lug. 29, Pavia”; *Friderici I. Diplomata...*, III, no. 653, pp. 157-159: *Et specialiter concedimus et damus omne ius, quod nobis et imperio pertinet in castro Creme et in omnibus terris et locis, que sunt inter Aduam et Olium, qui vel que sunt infra confines episcopatus Cremonensis et districti eius.*

56 In 1185 emperor rebuilt Crema and outlawed Cremona. See at least G. Andenna, *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dall’età longobarda...*, p. 78 and bibliography. Andenna reminds also a struggle between Piacenza and Cremona due to Rivolta d’Adda territory and church and definition of diocesan borders, see *ibidem*, pp. 75-76.

on 8 June 1186 “quando Castrum Manfredi obsidebatur”⁵⁷, the consuls from Cremona were forced to return Guastalla, Luzzara and other districts, as well as Crema and Insula Fulcheria to the Empire, territories that Frederick I himself had previously granted to them.

The reaction towards the Church of Cremona and the allodial lands was rather restrained because all of their previous prerogatives had been ensured by the Emperor. A document – dated 9 June 1186⁵⁸ – well shows the emperor’s disappointment towards Cremona because he gave Palazzo Pignano and Crema and all the territories related to the Insula to the Commune of Milano. Once again, however, the reason for such exclusion has to be explained by the presence and power of bishopric of Piacenza in that part of Insula Fulcheria non strictly related to Cremona, the “rebel one”. In this document, even Pandino gets mentioned – which is a city located about 3 km away from Palazzo Pignano. There is no plausible strategic or military reason to justify the presence of the one and the absence of the other, if not by mustering up a different ecclesiastic and institutional status both for the parish church of San Martino and its pertinences.

The resolution to the moment of crisis between Cremona and Frederick I came relatively quickly when, towards the end of the month – 24 June 1186, Pavia – the emperor commands to provide the Cremona people with two privileges: Crema and the Insula Fulcheria are back into the hands of two their representatives⁵⁹. The situation looks rather fluid and – in the light of the subsequent events – those documents quite often remain mere solemn acts: Just consider the bull produced on 2 November 1187 by Gregory VIII⁶⁰, the documents from 13 and 21 October 1188 in Lodi and Pavia⁶¹, and especially, the three documents produced on 25 November 1191 in Pavia⁶², with which Henry VI, represented by Henry of Lutra, solemnly promises, swears and commands that the passage of Crema and the Insula Fulcheria to Cremona

57 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, IV, pp. 29-34: “640, Instrumentum finis, refutationis, pacis et fidelitatis, 1186 giu. 8, «quando Castrum Manfredi obsidebatur»”; *Friderici I. Diplomata...*, IV, no. 941, pp. 208-210. Today *Castrum Manfredi* is the town named Castelleone; see at least A.A. Settia, *Zone strategiche e borghi nuovi. Aspetti della guerra nell’età comunale*, “Studi storici” XXXI (1990), pp. 983-997, republished with different titles in: *Il borgo franco di Castelleone...*, pp. 53-70 and “Strategie” e sperimentazioni fra Adda e Oglio, in: idem, *Comuni in guerra: Armi ed eserciti nell’Italia delle città*, Bologna 1993, pp. 53-70.

58 *Friderici I. Diplomata...*, IV, no. 943, pp. 212-213.

59 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, IV, pp. 34-37: “641, Carta capitulorum, 1186 giu. 24, Pavia”.

60 *Ibidem*, pp. 64-69: “657, Pagina constitutionis, 1187 nov. 2, Ferrara”.

61 *Ibidem*, pp. 83-86: “665, Cartule iudicati, 1188 13, 21 ott., Lodi, Pavia”.

62 *Ibidem*, pp. 168-170: “702, Cartula promissionis, 1191 nov. 25, Pavia”; pp. 170-171: “703, Cartula iuramenti, 1191 nov. 25, Pavia”; pp. 172-174: “704, Carta obligacionis, 1191 nov. 25, Pavia”.

would have to be made public within the following two years by ensuring the commitment through the concession of Guastalla, Luzzara and their districts to the Commune of Cremona.

The promise of the emperor appears to have been carried out properly through a bull (5 March 1192, Hagenau⁶³) with which the Cremona people acquire ownership right on the *Insula Fulcheria* – the same ownership once given by Frederick I some years before. However, on 30 December 1193⁶⁴, after mutual promises made and oaths to respect such agreement (9 June 1192, Würzburg⁶⁵), the Cremona consuls appoint two representatives so that they could take over a lasting control of the region between the rivers Adda and Serio. Something did not go as planned, despite a number of documents attesting the intention of the Commune of Cremona to bind the inhabitants of the *Insula* with private written oaths⁶⁶. On 6 June 1195 in Como⁶⁷, indeed, with the usual strategy of producing three bulls in one single day, Henry VI commands that Crema and the *Insula Fulcheria* “in manu Girardi de Iohannebuono at Talamacii de Gadoldis at Oddonis de Medolago consulum civitatis Cremone ad partem episcopatus et communis de Cremona, se ipsam investituram fecisse de Crema et *Insula Folcherii*”⁶⁸.

It is clear that the facts related to the possession of this area are embedded in a political situation – corresponding to the long and important episcopate of Sicardo (1185-1215) – which appears to be rather articulate, almost chaotic, in which internal conflicts go hand in hand with strong external pressures from both sides. It is not possible in this occasion to analytically describe

63 Ibidem, pp. 183-187: “709, *Scriptum donationis, concessionis et confirmationis*, 1192 mar. 5, Hagenau”.

64 Ibidem, pp. 272-275: “753, *Carta procurationis et introitus in tenutam*, 1193 dic. 30, Cremona”.

65 Ibidem, pp. 211-216: “718, *Pagina promissionis*, 1192 giu. 9, Würzburg”; pp. 216-217: “719, *Iuramentum*, 1192 giu. 9, Würzburg”. See also for these years M. Vallerani, *Introduzione generale: Il comune di Cremona e le sue alleanze tra XII e XIII secolo*, in: *I patti tra Cremona e le città della regione padana (1183-1214)*, eds. V. Leoni, M. Vallerani, “*Bollettino storico cremonese*” new ser. V (1998), pp. 3-15, esp. pp. 6-9; 9. *Conclusioni. La struttura degli atti di pattuizione della rete cremonese*, ibidem, pp. 229-258, esp. pp. 72-73, 229-232.

66 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, IV, pp. 275-279: “754, *Carta concordii*, 1194 gen. 4, «Ripa Scortecata» (presso Castelleone)”; pp. 279-282: “755, *Carta concordii*, 1194 gen. 4, «Ripa Scortecata» (presso Castelleone)”; pp. 283-286: “756, *Carta promissionis*, 1194 gen. 5 (4), Cremona”; pp. 287-291: “758, *Carta concordii*, 1194 mar. 27, Camisano”; pp. 296-298: “761, *Carta promissionis*, 1194 apr. 13, Cremona”; pp. 317-320: “770, *Carta promissionis*, 1194 giu. 25, Cremona”; pp. 320-322: “771, *Carta promissionis*, 1194 giu. 25, Cremona”; pp. 327-328: “775, <*Carta promissionis*>, 1194 ago. 14, Cremona”.

67 Ibidem, pp. 357-358: “787, *Carta investiturae*, 1195 giu. 6, Como”; pp. 359-360: “788, *Instrumentum investiturae*, 1195 giu. 6, Como”; pp. 360-361: “789, *Carta*, 1196 giu. 6, Como”.

68 Ibidem, pp. 358: “787, *Carta investiturae*, 1195 giu. 6, Como”.

the documentary frame, let us just confine our effort to a few key points: Cosimo Damiano Fonseca⁶⁹ has drawn his attention to a bull by Innocenzo III (5 November 1199)⁷⁰ with which, at the request of the Bishop Grimerio from Piacenza, there is an attempt made which is apt to clarify for once and for all the ecclesiastical rights of the lands around Palazzo Pignano. From the territories belonging to the episcopate of Piacenza, there has to be “plebem de Palatio Apiniani cum omnibus capellis et pertinentiis suis, et Capellam Creme ad eandem plebem pertinentem”⁷¹. Giancarlo Andenna has clearly described the subsequent steps⁷². In March 1210 Sicardo entitles himself “episcopus et comes” and at the same time is papal legate in Lombardy. In the summer 1210, Innocenzo III informs the bishop of Cremona that he has excommunicated the Emperor Otto IV and he announces that Cremona would be detached from the archbishopric of Milano. On 6 April 1212, the same pope gives a mandate to the bishop of Parma to give Cremona the jurisdiction that the church of Piacenza used to have in Crema (Palazzo Pignano, that is). A few months later Frederick II himself, appointed the archbishop of Bari to intervene on the final divestiture of Crema and the Insula to the Commune of Cremona. Lastly, in February 1213, Frederick II forced the inhabitants of Crema to obey Cremona and the authority to such commune of the same castle of Crema. Taking into account that in July 1226 the entire question was still at the centre of the tensions between the emperor and the allies in Milan, we can infer that the whole vicissitude of Insula Fulcheria never actually came to a real conclusion if not with the creation of the diocese of Crema in 1580.

69 C.D. Fonseca, *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche a Crema...*, p. 65. For Piacenza in these decades see at least I. Musajo Somma, *Mars pars canonicorum: L'elezione del vescovo piacentino Folco (1210)*, “Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia” LVII (2003), pp. 29-52; idem, *La Chiesa piacentina nella prima età comunale (1121-1210): Canonici, vescovi, papato*, in: *Storia della Diocesi di Piacenza*, II.2: *Il Medioevo: Dalla Riforma gregoriana alla vigilia della Riforma protestante*, ed. P. Racine, Brescia 2009, pp. 57-93; P. Racine, *I vescovi e il governo comunale*, ibidem, pp. 95-123.

70 The editors of Innocent III' Regesten had some doubts about this bull but the document is in *Liber Privilegiorum* in Archivio Capitolare of Piacenza. I would like to thank Tiziano Fermi for this information.

71 *Innocentii Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia*, ed. J.-P. Migne, in: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, CXCIV, Turnholt 1970, coll. 865-868: “CCCIV, Grumerio Episcopo Placentino”; originally in: Pietro Maria Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza, parte seconda*, Piacenza 1651, p. 87, republished Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, II, Venetiis 1717, coll. 220-223. The bull is not published in *Die Register Innocenz' III, II: Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200: Texte*, eds. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek, A.A. Strnad, Rom-Wien 1979.

72 G. Andenna, *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dall'età longobarda...*, pp. 77-89; idem, *Cremona*, in: *Enciclopedia fridericiana*, ed. M.P. Arena, I-III, Roma 2005-2008, I, now in digital edition: <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cremona_\(Federiciana\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cremona_(Federiciana)/>) (last accessed: 10 December 2016). See also obviously F. Menant, *Un lungo Duecento (1183-1311): Il comune fra maturità istituzionale e lotte di parte*, in: *Storia di Cremona: Dall'Alto Medioevo all'Età Comunale*, ed. G. Andenna, Azzano San Paolo 2004, pp. 282-363.

In this respect, there are still two key texts as for the late Middle Ages, *Liber Synodaliūm* and *Nota Ecclesiarum* of the diocese of Cremona in accordance with which, in 1385-1400, Palazzo Pignano was not at all related to the episcopate of Cremona⁷³.

With this being said, there are a few elements which will shed another light onto the document produced by Matilda in 1097. As known, the document produced by Matilda in 1097 is preserved in the *Privilegia Episcopii Cremonensis*, a universally known manuscript also as *Codex Sicardi*, named after the bishop from Cremona who was commissioned by, approximately in the first decade of the 13th century⁷⁴.

Let's be clear about the fact that this document might not be considered reliable just because it has reached us as a copy from the 13th century. This being said, there is one observation which arises suspicion in here: Why does the document produced by Matilda never get mentioned in the years and centuries that followed this event? I believe it would seem logic to me that an investiture by Matilda would apply memorial value – if not legal – to the historical framework of the disputes concerning Insula Fulcheria and Crema in favour of Cremona in order to demonstrate documented pertinence to it. It is not even safe to assume that the problem of so-called “Beni Matildini”⁷⁵ was unknown in the central Po Valley. Also regarding Cremona, it is sufficient to refer to three documents dating back to the second half of the 12th century

73 *Il “Liber Synodaliūm” e la “Nota Ecclesiarum” della Diocesi di Cremona (1385-1400)*, ed. E. Chittò, Milano 2009.

74 V. Leoni, “*Privilegia episcopii Cremonensis*”: *Il cartulario vescovile di Cremona e il vescovo Sicardo (1185-1215)*, “*Scrineum: Saggi e materiali on line di scienze del documento e del libro medievale*” III (2005), on-line: <<http://scrineum.unipv.it/rivista/3-2005/leoni.pdf>> (last accessed: 10 December 2016), ripubblicato in: *Cremona, una cattedrale, una città: La Cattedrale di Cremona al centro della vita culturale, politica ed economica, dal Medio Evo all’Età Moderna: Catalogo della mostra documentaria (Cremona, Museo Civico “Ala Ponzone”, 8 novembre 2007-17 gennaio 2008)*, Cinisello Balsamo (MI) 2007, pp. 54-73. See also E. Filippini, *I. Fragmenta codicum: La biblioteca e lo “scriptorium” presso la Cattedrale di Cremona, I.4 Il vescovo Sicardo e il suo tempo (1185-1215)*, ibidem, pp. 162-165. A northern Italy frame is *I registri vescovili dell’Italia settentrionale (secoli XII-XV): Atti del Convegno di studi, Monselice, 24-25 novembre 2000*, eds. A. Bartoli Langeli, A. Rigon, Roma 2003.

75 See at least, and also for the bibliographical frame, P. Golinelli, *La questione dell’eredità matildica*, in: idem, *L’ancella di san Pietro: Matilde di Canossa e la Chiesa*, Milano 2015, pp. 135-155, originally in German as *Die Lage Italiens nach dem Investiturstreit: Die Frage der Mathildischen Erbschaft*, in: *Europa an der Wende vom 11. zum 12. Jahrhundert: Beiträge zu Ehren von Werner Goetz*, ed. K. Herbers, Stuttgart 2001, but translated in Italian as *L’Italia dopo la lotta per le investiture: la questione dell’eredità matildica*, “*Studi medievali*” 3rd ser. XLII (2001), pp. 509-528; also E. Riversi, *Usi politici delle memorie monastiche del potere di Matilde di Canossa*, “*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*” XCII (2012), pp. 1-32, esp. pp. 18-31, and above all idem, *La memoria di Canossa. Saggi di contestualizzazione della “Vita Mathildis” di Donizone*, Pisa 2013, esp. pp. 392-416.

to demonstrate that there was knowledge of the ancient lands of Matilda of Canossa. Firstly, a certain Galicianus, who was summoned to testify in a dispute between a private party and a parish church, asserts that he did not know if such area “sit feudum, vel allodium, vel livellum; sed audivit quod fuit comitisse Matilde”⁷⁶. Secondly, by way of the document dated 9 June 1192, Henry VI had the Cremona people swear that they would help the Empire in any way they could and “manutenere et obtinere, et precipue terram comitisse Meithildis”⁷⁷, without further specification. At last, the third document – which had previously been analyzed – is more detailed. Underneath the walls of the *Castrum Manfredi* (8 June 1186)⁷⁸, Frederick I, disappointed at the Cremona people, forced them to return Crema, Insula Fulcheria, Guastalla and Luzzara to their owner: “de omni iure et honore quod quondam comitisse Matildis habuit in predictis locis et castro et curtibus et villis”. The clarification is precise but it is not irrelevant to point out that only Guastalla and Luzzara get mentioned, whereas there is no record of Insula Fulcheria and Crema.

It is also rather surprising that there is no mention of the Matilda’s document preserved in the *Codex Sicardi* in none of the “*Libri*” *Iurium* of the Commune of Cremona. Neither is there in the *Statuta at Ordinamenta Comunis Cremonensis*⁷⁹ from 1339, nor in the *Repertorium Iurium Comunis Cremonae*⁸⁰ from 1350. The diploma from 1097 does not even get mentioned in the *Codice A*⁸¹

76 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, III, pp. 322-325: “589, Sententia, Attestationes, 1181 ago. 10, Brescia”; though in this case we do not have the absolute certainty that he referred to the countess of Canossa because, taking into account the geographical circumstances in which the disputed occurred (the borderlands between Brescia, Cremona and Mantua) he might have also referred to another Matilda, who married Ugo of Sabbioneta/Desenzano in 1091. For a frame about “borders” in medieval time and space see at least P. Guglielmotti, *Introduzione*, in: *Distinguere, separare, condividere: confini nelle campagne dell’Italia medievale*, ed. P. Guglielmotti, “*Reti medievali rivista*” VII (2006) 1, on-line: <<http://www.rmojs.unina.it/index.php/rm/article/view/156/135>> (last accessed: 10 December 2016).

77 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, IV, p. 214: “718, Pagina promissionis, 1192 giu. 9, Würzburg”.

78 *Ibidem*, p. 30: “640, Instrumentum finis, refutacionis, pacis et fidelitatis, 1186 giu. 8, «quando Castrum Manfredi obsidebatur»”.

79 *Liber Statutorum Comunis Vitellianae*, in: *Statuta et ordinamenta Comunis Cremonae facta et compilata corrente anno Domini MCCCXXXIX*, eds. U. Gualazzini, G. Solazzi, Milano 1952, pp. 1-274.

80 *Repertorium Iurium Comunis Cremonae* (1350), ed. V. Leoni, Roma 1999.

81 V. Leoni, *Il Codice A del comune di Cremona*, in: *Comuni e memoria storica: Alle origini del Comune di Genova: Atti del convegno, Genova 24-26 settembre 2001*, “*Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*” new ser. XLII (2002) 1, pp. 261-316, on-line: <<http://scrineum.unipv.it>> (last accessed: 10 December 2016). For a frame about notaries between 12th and 13th century see eadem, *Notai e Comune a Cremona tra XII e XIII secolo: Note sui documenti pattizi tra il Comune cremonese e le città della regione padana (1183-1214)*, in: *Notariato e medievistica: per i cento anni*

belonging to the Commune of Cremona, put together in between the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century, although twenty-three documents refer to Crema and the Insula Fulcheria.

To further support the importance of this document from 1097 there was the war unleashed in 1098 between Crema and Cremona, apparently as a natural consequence of that measure that didn't resonate with the Crema people. Source of that event are primarily *Annales Cremonenses*, the *Chronicon* by Sicardo and the *Cronica* by Alberto de Bezani, the first two written documents between the end of 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century, the third one in the late second half of the 14th century. The information seems to appear for the first time in *Annales Cremonenses*⁸²: “quando prima Guerra de Crema fuit, MLXXXVIII. Infra Madium”, taken up again by Sicardo⁸³ and by Alberto de Bezani⁸⁴ without any of them mentioning the donation made by Matilda. I believe it is possible to assume that only the 19th-century erudite scholars from Crema (Giorgio Giulini⁸⁵ and Francesco Scorza Benvenuti⁸⁶ in particular) – having access both to the ancient chronicles and the *Codex Sicardi* with the 1097 diploma – had merged those data so as to justify not only the war between Crema and Cremona but also the investiture of Insula Fulcheria of the commune and the Church of Cremona. This merging also contributed to giving credit to a document that had always been overlooked up until then. The question is: Why did the investiture of Matilda deserve to be remembered until the 19th century? Assuming the accidental discovery at the time of Sicardo after one hundred years of oblivion, this would lead us

di “Studi e ricerche di diplomatica comunale” di Pietro Torelli: atti delle giornate di studi, Mantova, Accademia nazionale Virgiliana, 2-3 dicembre 2011, eds. I. Lazzarini, G. Gardoni, Roma 2013, pp. 247-260. See also, for a general frame, P. Cammarosano, I “libri iurium” e la memoria storica delle città comunali, in: *Il senso della storia nella cultura medievale italiana (1100-1350): XIV convegno di studi*, Pistoia, 14-17 maggio 1993, Pistoia 1995, pp. 309-326.

⁸² *Annales Cremonenses*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: MGH, *Scriptores*, XXXI, Hannoverae 1903, pp. 1-21, esp. p. 3: *Quando prima Guerra de Crema fuit, MLXXXVIII. Infra Madium*. About these sources see at least E. Faini, *Alle origini della memoria comunale: Prime ricerche*, “Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken” LXXXVIII (2008), pp. 61-81.

⁸³ *Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi Chronicon*, ed. J.-P. Migne, in: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, CCXIII, Parisii 1855, coll. 437-540, esp. coll. 500-501: *Anno Domini 1098, primo coepit guerra de Crema frixorium Cremonensium*, or in another version: *Eodem Anno fuit prima guerra de Crema, quae est usque in hodiernum diem, non solum Cremonensium sed etiam aliorum frixorium Longobardorum*.

⁸⁴ *Alberti de Bezanis Abbatis S. Laurentii Cremonensis Cronica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, in: *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Hannoverae 1908, p. 15, vv. 24-25: *Anno Domini MLXXXVIII. Primo cepit guerra de Crema frixorium Cremonensium*.

⁸⁵ G. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano ne' secoli bassi*, II, Milano 1854, pp. 366-367, 637-638.

⁸⁶ F. Sforza Benvenuti, *Storia di Crema*, I, Milano 1859, pp. 45-56, 74-75.

into thinking, on the other hand, that the *Chronicon* had been written before the drafting of the *Privilegia episcopii Cremonensis*. So, what is the reason behind why the subsequent medieval *cronache* and the *Libri Iurium* do not mention the document from 1097? Perhaps they did not trust its reliability: Is it why it has been suitably ignored?

Great caution is required to follow this path because, as it is easy to comprehend, we need to draw our attention to the text and the content of the document. We now start from some observations by François Menant: The French historian believes that the three representatives of the commune and the diocese of Cremona invested with the *Insula Fulcheria* “*nomine benefitii*” by Matilda are respectively a total stranger (“*Moricus*”), a man whose family is well known but his name is not listed in any document (“*Creroxanus Aldoni*”) and a representative of the nobility that does not appear in any documentation after 1058 (“*Gotefredus da Belusco*”)⁸⁷: Three strangers that had never appeared before and never appear after. Menant points out that the term *capitanei* no longer appears in the documents from Cremona before 1163⁸⁸ and we may add to it what was observed by Jean Claude Maire-Vigueur and Enrico Faini on the extremely rare use of the word *commune* as a noun and not as an adjective⁸⁹ before the half of the 12th century. These are very important data but it would be limiting to focus excessively on the last two observations as the well-known document from 1118, in which seven citizens from Cremona and soldiers from Soncino⁹⁰ are cited, still lies at the heart of the debate on the issue of the word *commune*⁹¹; moreover in the same document the term *capitaneo* is present. However, I believe that the evidence collected up to this point would allow us to cast doubts on the drafting of the Matilda document.

In the light of all this, I became convinced that it was a diploma produced at the time of the Bishop Sicardo in an attempt to facilitate the resolution of the

87 F. Menant, *Cremona in età precomunale...*, p. 135.

88 *Ibidem*, p. 153. About this complex problem see at least H. Keller, *Signori e vassalli nell'Italia delle città (secoli IX-XII)*, Torino 1995, pp. 1-42, esp. pp. 22-29; original edition: *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 1979; A. Castagnetti, *Introduzione*, in: *La vassallità maggiore del regno Italico: I capitanei nei secoli XI-XII: Atti del convegno, Verona, 4-6 novembre 1999*, ed. A. Castagnetti, Roma 2001, pp. 7-23, esp. pp. 13-14.

89 J.-C. Maire Vigueur, E. Faini, *Il sistema politico dei comuni italiani...*, p. 9.

90 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 106-109: “273, Breve investiturae et iuramenti, 1118 giu. 19, Cremona”.

91 See at least G. De Angelis, “*Omnes simul aut quot plures habere potero*”: *Rappresentazioni delle collettività e decisioni a maggioranza nei comuni italiani del XII secolo*, “*Reti medievali rivista*” XII (2011) 2, on-line: <<http://www.rmojs.unina.it/index.php/rm/article/view/319/394>> (last accessed: 11 December 2016), pp. 151-194, esp. pp. 170-171.

issue on the belonging of the Insula Fulcheria in Cremona (fig. 14). The bishop could have benefited from a useful legal instrument to emphasize a possible measure in favour of his own city: I remember he called himself “episcopus at comes” in a document written in 1210 as a papal legate of Innocent III in Lombardy. At the beginning of the 13th century, Sicardo would not have had better conditions to get his goal achieved: There is no question that he knew the *praeceptum* by Enrico IV from 1040 given that it is included in *Codex Sicardi*⁹². Moreover, by mentioning the location where the document has been produced – namely, Piadena – it would have rendered the whole situation more credible as it was an amply documented fact that Matilda had direct control on that place. Adelaide Ricci has furthermore stressed the fact that two of the witnesses from 1097 (Waço and Ermiço) were cited in a document dated 1095⁹³ and they “coincidentally” played the same character in the same location (Piadena⁹⁴). Valeria Leoni⁹⁵ has then highlighted the fact that the notary who certifies the copy of the document, Johannes de Lege, is listed as editor of only one legal deed on *Codex Sicardi*, which was added at the end of a file entirely authenticated by the notary Girardus Patitus. Confirming the dating of the *Codex*, Johannes de Lege has been documented between 1198 and 1210. I believe it is useful to stress the fact that his last known document was the famous “Lodo di Sicardo”, dated 1 March 1210⁹⁶, through which the bishop had tried to pacify the tumultuous situation within the city, having been the target of violent clashes between the *podestà* and the *societas populi*. In short, Johannes de Lege appears to be a trusted notary of Sicardo with whom he could have produced an *ad hoc* diploma which was included in the *Privilegia Episcopii Cremonensis* for the benefit of the Church and the Commune of Cremona regarding the management of Insula Fulcheria.

92 Available on-line: <<http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo1040-00-00b>> (last accessed: 11 December 2016).

93 *Le carte cremonesi dei secoli VIII-XII...*, II, pp. 47-48: “238, Carta investiturae, 1095 apr. 1, Piadena”; see also *Documenti e lettere di Matilde di Canossa...*, pp. 162-165.

94 A. Ricci, *Matilde e le città, Matilde e una città...*, p. 158. Recently, some doubts were expressed covertly in E. Riversi, *Matilde di Canossa: Tensioni e contraddizioni nella vita di una nobildonna medievale*, Bologna 2014, p. 266: “[...] la famosa concessione del 1097 dei diritti sull’insula Fulcheria, che, foss’anche una più tarda costruzione, conferma *ex post* la memoria di una posizione di vertice pubblico detenuta dalla contessa in quell’area”. The same scholar has suggested important considerations in the recent “*Maiorem se facit Italia*”: *nobiltà e potere di Matilde nelle fonti narrative e trattatistiche*, in: *Matilde di Canossa e il suo tempo, XXI congresso internazionale di studio, San Benedetto Po, Revere, Mantova, Quattro Castella, 20-24 ottobre 2015* (forthcoming).

95 V. Leoni, “*Privilegia episcopii Cremonensis*”..., p. 24.

96 G. Andenna, *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dall’età longobarda...*, pp. 83-84; see also U. Gualazzini, *Il “Populus” di Cremona e l’autonomia del comune: Ricerche di storia del diritto pubblico medievale italiano con appendice di testi statutari*, Bologna 1940.

In conclusion, returning to the parish church of San Martino in Palazzo Pignano, in light of that particular context of documents and in the light of the convincing comparisons – Vizzolo Predabissi⁹⁷, Rivolta d’Adda⁹⁸ and Lodivecchio – taken into account the continuous frictions between Piacenza, Cremona, Lodi and Milano in the 12th century for political and religious reasons, it does not seem reasonable to refer to any particular model examples – either taken by formal conclusions or on the basis of diocesan, institutional belongings or whichever ideological guidance it may be. One example out of many, the schism in 1130-1138 between Innocent II and Anaclet II, where the Cardinal Giovanni da Crema⁹⁹ played a leading role here. As for Palazzo Pignano, it appears to be possible to carry out one single in-depth reflection, taking into consideration the chaotic scenario of Insula Fulcheria. Rivolta d’Adda is just about 10 km far from Palazzo Pignano, about 20 km far from both Vizzolo Predabissi and Lodivecchio. For the moment, the only plausible explanation that enables us to contextualize the reconstruction of Palazzo Pignano in the first half of the 12th century is the use of easily available on-site workforce.

ABSTRACT

In the center of the region of Lombardy, in northern Italy, an area between two rivers (Adda e Serio), due to the particular morphological conditions that presented, was called “Insula Fulcheria”. Frequented since the Roman period as evidenced by the numerous remains and excavations still in progress, this area was also important from a strategic-military perspective and for this reason it was shared between the bishops of Lodi, Bergamo, Cremona e Piacenza. We do not know why this territory was subjected, at least since the end of the 10th century, to the diocese of Piacenza (it was actually an *exclave* in Lombardy); the ecclesiastical functions were ecclesiastical functions were carried out by the *plebs* of San Martino in Palazzo Pignano, the church that is the subject of this essay which has a dual purpose. The first is to better frame the historical, artistic and architectural aspects, arriving to propose a partially new cronology for the current medieval building and sculptures. Secondly, the area of “Insula Fulcheria” is important and known to all historians of the Middle Ages because it is the subject of a document of Matilda of Canossa (1046-1115) of the first days of the year 1098, by which it appears that she would donate the entire area to the bishop and the city of Cremona. The paper analyzes and contextualizes the document in a new way, and assumes a fundamental role of the Bishop Sicard (1185-1215) in relation to a possible interpolation of the document itself.

97 P. Piva, *Santa Maria di Calvenzano (Vizzolo Predabissi)*, in: *Lombardia Romanica...*, pp. 49-50.

98 R. Cassanelli, *Santi Maria e Sigismondo a Rivolta d’Adda*, *ibidem*, pp. 260-263.

99 See at least S. Freund, *Giovanni da Crema*, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LV, 2001, in digital edition: <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-da-crema_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-da-crema_(Dizionario_Biografico)/>) (last accessed: 11 December 2016). See also for his important contacts: M.A. Castiñeiras González, *Calixto II, Giovanni da Crema y Gelmirez, “Compostellanum” XLVII* (2000-2002), pp. 401-412.

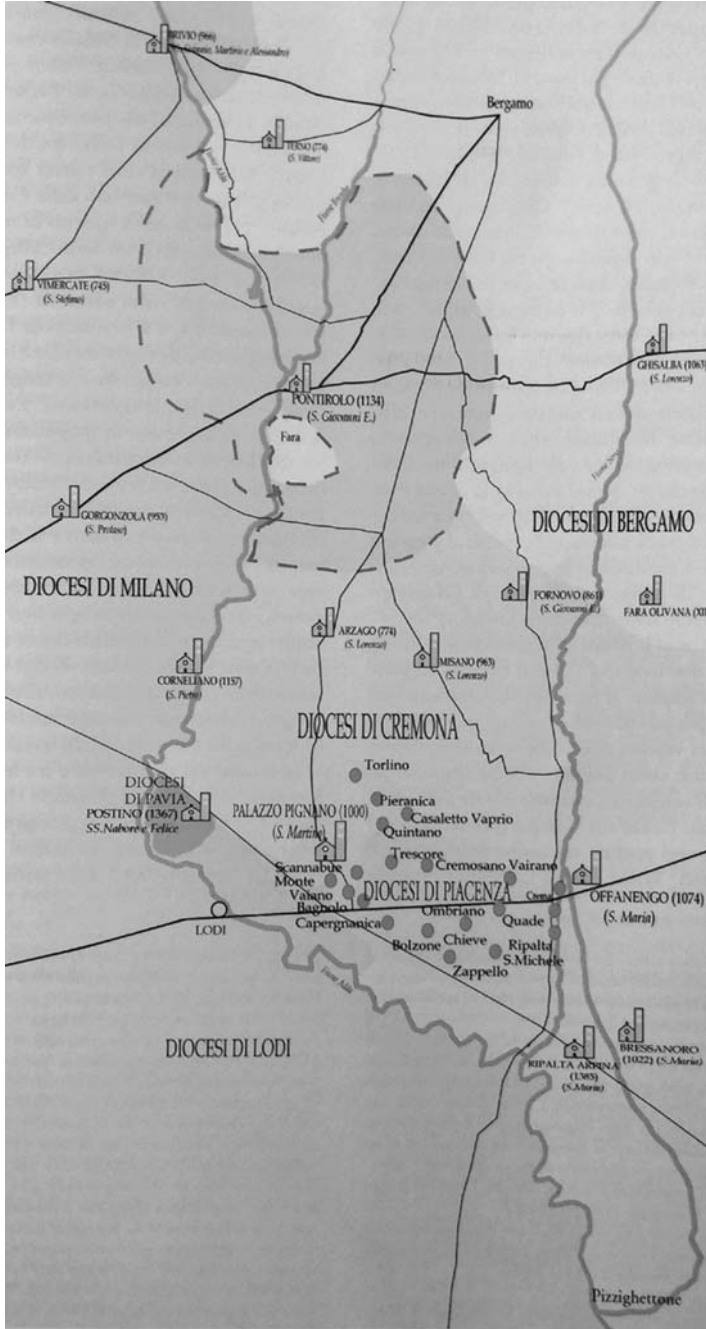


Fig. 1. Parish churches in and around Insula Fulcheria about 10th-12th century (from M. Casirani, *Palazzo Pignano dal complesso tardoantico al "districtus" dell'"Insula Fulkerii"*, *Contributi di Archeologia*, VII, Milano 2015).



Fig. 2. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, façade.



Fig. 3. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, façade, birds in a phytomorphic frame.



Fig. 4. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, façade, shaped prism buttress.



Fig. 5. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, façade, capitals.



Fig. 6. San Giulio d'Orta (Novara, Piemonte), San Giulio, interior, capital (from *Piemonte Romanico*, ed. G. Romano, Torino 1994).



Fig. 7. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, south wall.



Fig. 8. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, apse.



Fig. 9. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, apse, particular.



Fig. 10. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, interior.



Fig. 11. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, interior, south-west side, bell tower supports.



Fig. 12. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, interior, capital.



Fig. 13. Palazzo Pignano (Cremona, Lombardy), San Martino, interior, capital.

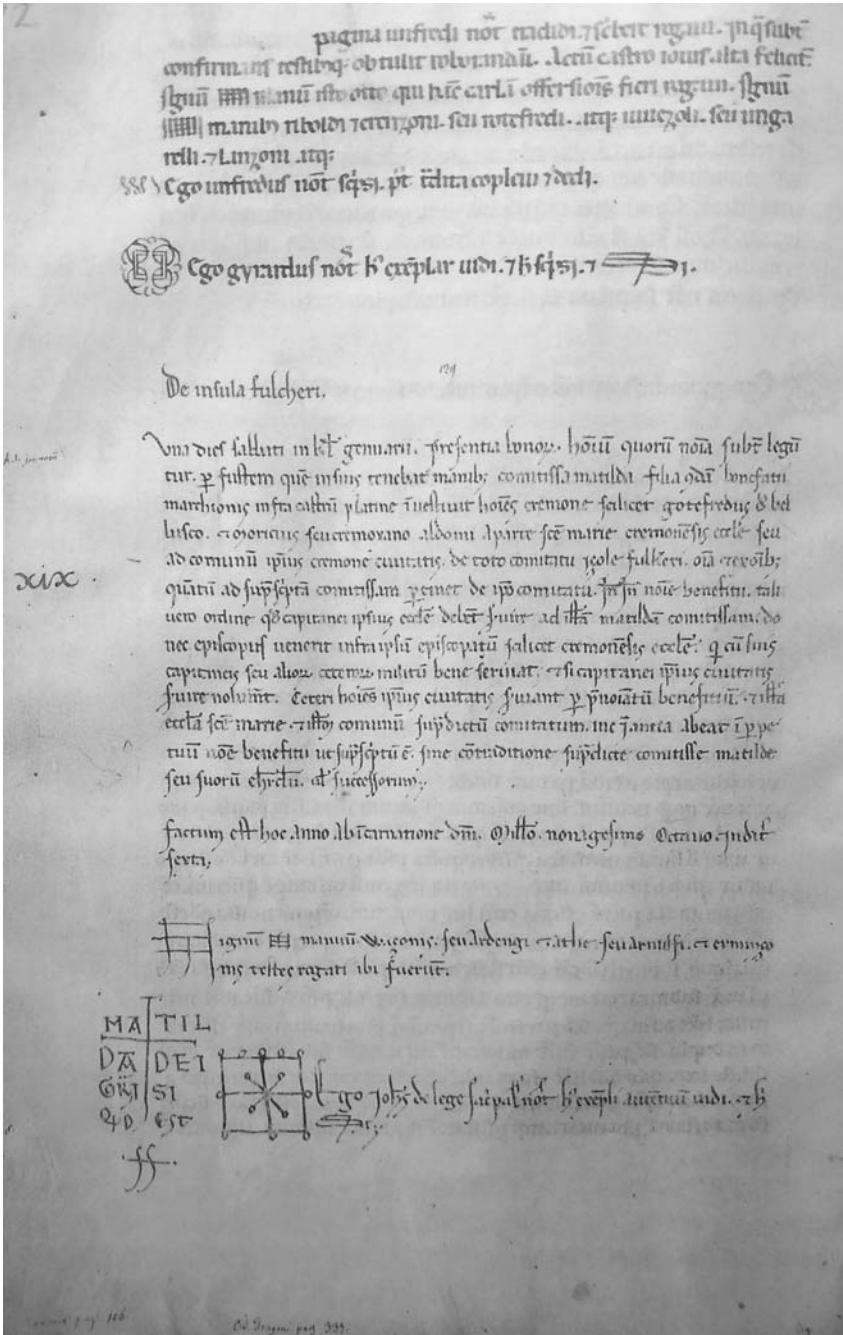


Fig. 14. Codex Sicardi, 1200-1210, document by Matilda di Canossa, 26 December 1097, Piadena (from Storia di Cremona: Dall'Alto Medioevo all'Età Comunale, ed. G. Andenna, Azzano San Paolo 2004).

IV. CURRENT RESEARCH

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MAKING SATISFACTION: COMPENSATION AND THE BODY IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND



The tremendous social upheaval during the last decade of the reign of King Æthelred II, those war-wracked years before the Dane, Cnut, acceded to the throne of England in 1016, were the productive conditions for a striking legal turn to assess personal responsibility for crime. While the default position for the settlement of criminal actions was the paying of a fine, in the laws considered here, developed across the reigns of both Æthelred and Cnut, his Danish successor, Wulfstan, archbishop of York (d. 1023), turns to the human body to exact satisfaction for crime. In the law codes he drafted, beginning with the Æthelred codes of 1008¹, Wulfstan develops a complex transaction where a criminal, who for new legal reasons cannot compensate for his crime with money, makes satisfaction instead with a part or parts of his body. Wulfstan characterizes such exactions as *friplice steora*, punishments framed as mitigation of the death penalty, although the precise translation and valence of *friplice* remains in question². The nature of such bodily satisfaction, crossing

¹ P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I: *Legislation and its Limits*, Oxford 1999, pp. 332-335. This is not the place to discuss the degree to which Anglo-Saxon written laws were put to use or the ways in which specific kings may have embraced written law codes. For a helpful review of these issues see A. Kennedy, *Law and Litigation in the "Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi"*, "Anglo-Saxon England" (henceforth: ASE) XXIV (1995), pp. 131-183, at pp. 175-179.

² V Æthelred 3 (henceforth: V Atr 3). *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, I, Halle 1903, p. 238. I use the abbreviations of Liebermann (p. IX) throughout. For the translation of *friplice* see below.

the secular with the religious, its claim to preserve the *frið* in this world and the next, and the choice of eyes and ears, hands and feet to mediate between an individual's soul and God are the subject of this essay.

The turn to bodily compensation that we see in Anglo-Saxon laws authored by Wulfstan came at a time of growing existential crisis across England, as Viking incursions grew more brazen and destructive, leading ultimately, in 1016, to the accession of the Danish king, Cnut, to the English throne. The darkest years of the second Viking invasions followed a famine across England, "the most severe in memory"³, and were presaged, perhaps, by the loss of the king's newly completed fleet, shattered by storms, burnt, and then abandoned in confusion. The desperate year 1010 saw months of Viking ravaging, scorched earth, and plunder, as the English found themselves consistently outmaneuvered and outfought, and no shire would come to the aid of another. The vast amounts of tributes paid to the ravaging Viking armies were for naught, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle observed in a despairing entry:

All these misfortunes happened to us because of bad counsel, because neither tribute nor battle was offered to them [the Vikings] on time; but when they had done their greatest evil, *then* peace was made with them. And nonetheless, for all the truce and tribute, they went wherever they wanted in hordes, and they harried our wretched people and robbed and slaughtered⁴.

Ælfheah, the archbishop of Canterbury, was taken captive and, refusing to be ransomed, was murdered by drunken Vikings in 1012. In the entries that record the cascading horrors of these years, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle pays unusual notice to living bodies, or more properly speaking, to parts of living bodies: amputated hands, eyes, ears, noses, and scalps, making them visible in the *res gestae* of the English in a way they had not been before⁵. This heightened visibility of severed parts calls attention to the way in which the body might suffer the consequence of provoking royal displeasure. And, I suggest, this attention, both in the historical record and in the law, points to a new understanding of the relation of body and satisfaction, individual and communal responsibility. While in the Barbarian law of early Anglo-

³ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. C*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition, V*, Cambridge 2001, *sub anno* 1005: *swylce nan man ær ne gemunde swa grimne*.

⁴ *Ibidem*, *sub anno* 1011: *Ealle þas ungesælda us gelumpon þuruh unrædas þæt man nolde him a timan gafol beodon oþþe wið gefeohtan. Ac þonne hi mæst to yfele gedon hæfdon, þonne nam mon frið 7 grið wið hi, 7 næþelæs for eallum þissum griðe 7 gafole hi ferdon æghweder flocmælum 7 heregodon ure earme folc, 7 hi rypton 7 slogon*.

⁵ For the early prominence of the resting places for the bodies of kings and bishops, see K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ASE XXVII (1998), pp. 209-232, at p. 211.

-Saxon England the *scilling* mediated between victim and transgressor, with calibrated payments set for injuries, mutilations, or loss of specific body parts⁶, in the first quarter of the 11th century Wulfstan of York inverts the relation between body part and compensation as the body itself becomes the medium of personal satisfaction to God and man.

Of particular interest to this revaluation of the body are laws developed serially in the codes of both Æthelred and Cnut⁷. In each case, Archbishop Wulfstan is their author, and the various iterations of these laws show the development of his thought process in exacting a bodily satisfaction for serious crime:

And it is the decree of our lord and his councillors, that Christian men shall not be condemned to death for too trivial offences, but, on the contrary, [*fridlice*] punishments shall be determined upon for the public good, that the handiwork of God, and what he purchased for himself at a great price, be not destroyed for trivial offences⁸.

This law, part of Æthelred's code enacted in 1008 at Enham, is repeated in the subsequent legislation, VI Atr 10-10.2, which adds two further items pertaining to judges and judgment⁹. Cnut's code of 1020 x 1021 shows a further development in the concept behind the law calling for *fridlice steora*: II Cn 2-2.1,

⁶ For a careful account of the relationship of Anglo-Saxon to continental "Barbarian" law see L. Oliver, *The Body Legal in Barbarian Law*, Toronto 2011. P. Tyszka (*The Human Body in Barbarian Laws, c. 500 - c. 800: Corpus hominis as a Cultural Category*, transl. G.R. Torr, Frankfurt am Main 2014) offers a close analysis of the implications of the barbarian codes for understanding early medieval corporeality and the ways in which these codes "creat[e] an account of the body" (p. 225). I am grateful to Professor Tyszka for his generosity in sharing his work with me.

⁷ The horrifying forensic mutilation of an innocent man recounted in Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (ca. 975) has led S. Keynes in *A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready* ("Transactions of the Royal Historical Society" 5th ser. XXXVI (1986), pp. 195-217, at p. 212) to suggest that such judicial punishments were in effect in the reign of Edgar. Certainly, the point of Lantfred's miracle story was not the mercy of such punishments! For Lanfred's account see *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. M. Lapidge, Winchester Studies, IV.2, Oxford 2003, pp. 310-315. For an analysis of the story see my *Body and Law...*, pp. 225-228.

⁸ *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and transl. A.J. Robertson, Cambridge 1925, p. 81. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 238: [V Atr 3] *7 ures hlaforðes gerædnes 7 his witena is, þæt man Cristene men for ealles to lytlum to deaðe ne fordeme. §.3.1 Ac elles geræde man fridlice steora folce to þearfe 7 ne forspille for lytlum Godes handgeweorc 7 his agenne ceap, þe he deore gebohte.* Abbreviations of the laws follow Liebermann's usage. I have chosen to use Robertson's (and for the earlier laws Attenborough's) translations to offer as neutral a rendering as possible of the difficult legal language. I have omitted Robertson's translation of *fridlice*, which obscures the complexity of the referent of the term. See below, p. 325 and n. 15. All other translations are my own.

⁹ A. Kennedy (*Cnut's Law Code of 1018*, ASE XI (1983), pp. 57-81) presents a separate set of "legislative pronouncements compiled by Wulfstan and issued [...] in 1018" (p. 58) which, as item 5 (p. 73), contains an iteration of V Atr 3.

perhaps unsurprisingly, re-presents V Atr 3 and VI Atr 10.1-2. However, II Cn 30.4-5, part of a set of pronouncements under the heading “Completely Untrustworthy Men” (*Swyðe ungetreowe*), specifies the penalty for failing the triple ordeal – the ultimate test of innocence or guilt – a second time or more. In so doing, it reveals the particulars of the somatic turn in Wulfstan’s legal thought on making satisfaction:

And on the second occasion, if he is proved guilty, there shall be no compensation [*bot*] possible to him but to have his hands or his feet cut off or both, according to the nature of the offence.

And if he has wrought still greater crime, he shall have his eyes put out and his nose and ears and upper lip cut off or his scalp removed, whichever of these penalties is desired or determined upon by those with whom rests the decision of the case; and thus punishment [*can*] be inflicted, while, at the same time, the soul is preserved from injury¹⁰.

In this sequence, spanning some dozen years, we see Wulfstan’s developing legal thought on the secular and spiritual necessity of measured punishment, marked by his characteristic discomfort at the death penalty and equally characteristic insistence on responsibility and satisfaction¹¹. Despite its frustrating vagueness (a feature shared by a number of Æthelred’s other laws), V Atr 3 stakes out clear legal territory in arguing against promiscuous use of the death penalty for minor offenses in order to avoid “destroying” (*forspillan*) what Christ had redeemed¹². In the code following, VI Atr, two further clauses extend that reasoning beyond the perpetrator of the crime to the judges themselves. VI Atr 10.2 calls for judgment to be made in proportion to the crime (*be mæpe*), and VI Atr 10.3 evokes Matt. 6:12 (“et dimitte nobis debita nostra [...]”) to remind judges of their own fallibility. As II Cnut repeats these laws from V Atr and VI Atr, the additions of II Cnut 30.4-5 make more specific the *fridlice steora* first imagined in the laws of Æthelred – bodily mutilation of increasing severity. The further reasoning offered for such royal

10 *The Laws of the Kings of England...*, p. 191; *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 332-334: § 4 *And æt ðam oðran cyrre ne sy ðær nan oþer bot, gyf he ful wuorde, butan ðæt man ceorfe him ða handa oððe ða fæt of oððe ægðer, be ðam ðe seo dæd sy. § 5 7 gyf [he] ðonne gyt mare weorc geweorht hæbbe, ðonne do man ut his eagan, 7 ceorfan of his nose 7 earan 7 ða uferan lippan oððe hine hættian, swylc ðisra swa man wyle oððe ðonne geræde, ða ðe ðærto ræðan sceolon: swa man [mæg] steoran 7 eac ðære saule beorgan.*

11 On this characteristic discomfort see D. Whitelock, *Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut*, “English Historical Review” LXIII (1948), pp. 433-452, at p. 449.

12 The OE word *ceap* (meaning “purchase”, but also “property”) approximates the valence of Christian Latin *redemptio* as “payment”. On the early views of Christ’s redemptive act as either the ransom or the sacrifice that bought back a fallen humankind see R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200*, New York 2002, p. 182.

legislation – balancing *steoran* (“to punish”) and *beorgan* (“to save”) – connects king, community, individual, and God in its economy of satisfaction¹³.

Wulfstan argues in his *Institutes of Polity* that the king’s special burden is to promote the law and punish evil-doers severely (*styrne*), because “Protection and support come through Christ and the Christian king”¹⁴. However formulaic the collocation of *frið* and *fultum* may be, the association of both Christ and the king with the complex of ideas in *frið* is crucial to understanding the startling combination of *friðlice* and *steora* in all three laws and their double valence, secular and religious. *Frið* is a complex term, encompassing peace, and peace treaties, civil order, friendly relations, amity between peoples, protection under law, the protection of a ruler. And the context of the word in the *Institutes of Polity* and in the Anglo-Saxon laws is “public law and order; absence of disorder / crime secured by law”¹⁵. This is, I argue, the sense of *frið* Wulfstan draws on in the laws and in his unique usage, *friðlice*. The punishments he envisions are *friðlice* to the extent that they restore the *frið* damaged by criminal acts. In the secular realm, the Christian king’s duty is to protect the *frið* for all his subjects. To do this, he must punish those who break the law. But he must do so within the crucial limit that such punishments not do irrevocable spiritual harm to the criminal by causing his death without atonement. As II Cnut 30.5 makes clear that the referent in preserving God’s “handiwork” was not the body but the soul of the transgressor, it also makes clear that the unit of payment in this economy of satisfaction is the body itself.

PRACTICES OF COMPENSATION IN THE ANGLO-SAXON LAW CODES

The significance of the shift in this set of laws only becomes clear in the context of the practices of compensation transmitted in Anglo-Saxon law codes¹⁶. Throughout the over four centuries of attested Anglo-Saxon law

13 Further evidence of Wulfstan’s thought processes about bodily satisfaction may be found in EGu 10, which specifies that a mutilated criminal who had been abandoned but who had survived three days, might be assisted by someone wishing to attend to his wounds and his soul (*beorgan sare 7 saule*), see *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 132-134. Long thought a treaty between King Edward and King Guthrum, it is actually early (though undateable) legislation by Wulfstan. See P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law...*, pp. 389-391.

14 *Frið and fultum cuman [...] þurh Crist and þurh cristenne cyning*. *Die “Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical”: Ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. K. Jost, Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, XLVII, Bern 1959, p. 46.

15 *The Dictionary of Old English: A to H online*, ed. A. Cameron, A.C. Amos, A.diP. Healey et al., Toronto, 2016, s.v. *frið*, sense 2.

16 The degree to which the laws represent the actual practice is unknown. For a memorable formulation: “What they [Anglo-Saxon laws] were, perhaps above all, was an index of governing mentalities”, see P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law...*, p. 481 (emphasis in original).

codes, fines were the standard punishment for violation of law¹⁷. Of the ninety chapters of the laws of Æthelberht (d. 616), for example, thirty-two set out levels of monetary compensation for a range of offenses from theft, to killings, to rape, fornication, and adultery; another fifty-eight chapters set the compensation for a head-to-toe inventory of personal injuries¹⁸. In all these laws, compensation as such involved a network of individuals beyond the accused in making satisfaction, and could entail complex exchanges among rank, offense, and money. These laws made strong distinction between the bodies of free men (and free women) and bondsmen (and bondswomen). The free could offer payment for their crimes; slaves paid with their bodies¹⁹. For example, slaves practicing devil worship or breaking a religious fast were punishable by scourging²⁰. And while slaves' status improved somewhat over the centuries in Anglo-Saxon England, without property and without freedom – those two key determinants of social status – the slave remained, in essence, his body. For example, II Cn 32 specifies that a slave found guilty at the ordeal was to be branded. For the second offence he would be executed. VII Atr 2.3 specifies that for breaking three fast days before Michaelmas a slave would be scourged, while a poor free man, for the same offense, might pay 30 pence, and a king's thane 120 scillings. III Em 4 prescribes death for the leader of a gang of thieving slaves. The others in the band were to be scourged three times, be scalped, and have the little finger mutilated as a sign of guilt. While slaves did not own their bodies, they might have some possessions, and some law codes specify that corporal punishment, otherwise required of a slave, might be avoided by paying compensation. So a complex law that preserves both forms of punishment, II As 19, in the case of a slave found guilty by ordeal, has the slave owner pay the full amount of *ceapgild* (payment of compensation for goods lost) and have his slave scourged three times.

17 For a general survey of *bot* as compensation see S. Rubin, *The "Bot", or Composition in Anglo-Saxon Law: A Reassessment*, "Journal of Legal History" XVII (1966) 2, pp. 144-154.

18 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 3-8. L. Oliver offers an edition in *The Beginnings of English Law*, Toronto 2002. The edition is now available online from the Early English Laws project: <http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/abt/view/#edition,1/commentary,1_0_c_7> (last accessed: 1 March 2017). While this is the earliest code of written law in Old English, its only witness is the 12th-century *Textus Roffensis*. See M.P. Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory*, Philadelphia 1988, p. x. For Wulfstan's use of the earliest Old English law codes see P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 361, table 5.4.

19 See D.A.E. Pelletier, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England: From the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge 1995, p. 84.

20 Wi 13 specifies a fine of 6 scillings or scourging; Af-Ine 3 specifies a fine of 30 scillings for a master who orders his slave to work on a Sunday and the freedom of the slave; Af-Ine 3.1 punishes the slave who works without the knowledge of his owner by the fine or scourging; Af-Ine 3.2 reduces a freeman who works on Sunday to slavery or requires a fine of 60 scillings (cf. EGu 7.1 below).

Or, absent scourging, this law has the slave owner pay the *ceapgild* a second time. In EGu 7.1 a slave working on a church feast day is to be scourged or may pay a fine: “*Deowman þolie his hyde oððe hydgyldes*”. The term for the fine, *hydgyld*, makes clear that it was understood quite literally as payment in place of one’s skin (ModE. “hide”).

While the exacting of monetary compensation continued as standard practice for free men and women in the later codes of Anglo-Saxon England, there were throughout notable exceptions particularly for repeated thieves (or those caught in the act) and corrupt moneyers, who in various ways paid bodily for their wrongdoings²¹. For a small number of particular offenses, condign bodily punishment was specified: A slave who raped a slave was to be castrated²². An adulterous woman was to have her nose and ears cut off²³. In the laws of Athelstan, a counterfeiter loses the hand that made the false coin²⁴. Similarly, a perjurer could lose a hand²⁵. A slanderer was to lose his tongue²⁶. In most cases, however, a fine could be paid in lieu of condign mutilation. The law distinguished between classes of people in specifying the amounts of their wergeld, but practical considerations of power and influence distinguished further between the powerful or well-connected and others²⁷.

In addition to legislating penalties for property crimes, sexual offenses, acts of violence, and transgression of church law (to name an obvious few), the laws of both Æthelberht and Alfred provide detailed lists specifying monetary compensation for bodily injuries, cataloguing the body from the head down

21 For example: a much-accused thief caught in the act is to lose a hand or foot (Af-Ine, 18, 37); a slave is scourged for theft (Af-Ine 48); a slave is scourged or a fine paid by the master (II As 19). For a lawsuit in which three moneyers are sentenced to lose their hands see P. Wormald, *A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits*, ASE XVII (1988), pp. 247-281, item 174 (dated to 959 x 988).

22 Af 25.1. However, rape of a slave by a freeman was compensated by fines. On castration as punishment see J.P. Gates, *The “Fulmannod” Society: Social Valuing of the (Male) Legal Subject*, in: *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Tracy, Cambridge 2013, pp. 131-148.

23 II Cn 53. She also loses all her property.

24 II As 14.1. Compare, for example, Louis the Pious, *Capitula legibus addenda (818-819)*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Leges*, II.1, Hannoverae 1883, p. 285, item 19, where debasers of currency lose a hand.

25 II Cn 36, or he could pay half his wergeld. The loss of a hand for perjury is widely seen in Carolingian law.

26 Af 32. The tongue could be redeemed (*lesan*) by payment of one third his wergeld, that is, the price of a tongue in Alfred’s laws. Cf. Af 52.

27 There is, of course, a gap between the vision of the written law and what we know of its accomplishment. For example, the *Fonthill Letter* shows how a well-connected individual might avoid the standard penalty for theft. See, for example, S. Keynes, *The Fonthill Letter*, in: *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. M. Korhammer, K. Reichl, H. Sauer, Woodbridge 1992, pp. 53-97.

and specifying the injured part, kind of injury, and level of compensation²⁸. These lists were, in effect, statements of the values of various parts of an injured body²⁹. Instead of the *lex talionis* of eye for an eye or hand for a hand, injured or destroyed body parts were assigned monetary values that permitted payment in other than blood. Among the highest assessed organs or body parts were the eye, hand, and foot³⁰. In the process of correcting the social disequilibrium created by the victim's mutilation or other bodily loss, the mediating function of coins (in Anglo-Saxon law, the fines were assessed in *scillingas*), made the actual agent of compensation the kin group (however it might be supplemented by a network of friends) more than the individual who committed the act of aggression³¹. In this legal process, the accused was helped in his oath by kin and neighbors and no spiritual guilt was assessed in the process of paying compensation. Payments made in composition for insults and injury (*bot*) thus focused on reparation rather than expiation of guilt and expanded agency for payment to the larger support group³². Such

28 Abt 33-72.1; Af 44-77. See *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 5-7, 78-88. For an English translation see *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and transl. F.L. Attenborough, Cambridge 1922, pp. 8-15, 86-93. The tariffs are also preserved in Latin in the *Quadripartitus*, *Instituta Cnuti*, and *Leges Henrici*. See P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law...*, p. 465. For a comparison of compensations across the Germanic law codes see L. Oliver, *Body Legal...*, tables 3-5 and Appendix.

29 This essay focuses on violence and payment by the male body – the default interest of the laws. C.E. Karkov makes the salutary point that the discourse of the laws is largely male and crimes were “perceived and judged in relation to their impact on the male body” in her *Exiles from the Kingdom: The Naked and the Damned in Anglo-Saxon Art*, in: *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. B.C. Withers, J. Wilcox, Medieval European Studies, III, Morgantown 2003, pp. 181-220, at p. 203. For an argument about laws dealing with female violence see C. Hough, *Two Kentish Laws Concerning Women: A New Reading of Æthelberht 73 and 74*, “Anglia” CXIX (2001), pp. 554-578, who argues that these laws also apply to women.

30 Ex 21, 24. In the law codes of both Æthelberht and Alfred, compensations for the loss of these parts were set as a percentage of wergild. In that of Æthelberht, compensation for an eye, hand, or foot was set at 50% of a man's wergild. Compensation for castration was set at three times the wergild. The percentage in Alfred's *Domboc* is reduced to 33% and assigned to eye, tongue, hand, and foot. Injury to the testicles that results in sterility is compensated at 80 scillings (40% wergild). For a suggestive reading of early Anglo-Saxon coins stamped with images of the five senses, see A. Gannon, *The Five Senses and Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, “Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History” XIII (2006), pp. 97-104.

31 On the necessity of building a “network of amity” by amplifying the kin group with friends, see P.R. Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England*, Ithaca (NY) 2003, pp. 10, 24, 28. On fines, valued in money but paid in property or livestock, see L. Oliver, *The Body Legal...*, p. 47.

32 M.P. Richards (*The Body as Text in Early Anglo-Saxon Law*, in: *Naked before God...*, pp. 97-115, at p. 97) argues that these early codes portray the injured body as a victim. But there is no assessment of guilt.

eminently practical payment of compensation, *bot*, diffused responsibility for satisfaction while allowing the transgressor to keep his body intact.

As we have seen, a slave, unfree and lacking a kin group to assist with fines, paid for his transgressions with his hide. Scourging, while painful and scarring, was a punishment that did not permanently damage the sufferer and thus did not interfere with the slave's ability to work. Significantly, scourging was not listed with the personal injury tariffs of Alfred, but appears in a law (Af 35) prescribing a fine of 20 scillings for scourging a guiltless free man. The associated clauses of this law, all regarding fines assessed for inflicting bodily injuries that would shame the victim, index the humiliation attendant on scourging and its strict association with the unfree status of the slave³³. The turn to mutilation as the medium of *fridlice steora* looks instead to a repertoire of bodily exactions made on free men.

MAKING THE BODY PAY

A very different record of bodily exaction appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. With the exception of the entry *sub anno 797 (recte 799)* when all versions of the Chronicle (A-F), record the mutilation of Pope Leo III, there is no mention of exactions on the body until the years of Æthelred II's reign. The narrative for the entry on Leo, in which "the Romans cut out [his] tongue and put out his eyes"³⁴ followed by his miraculous healing, clearly owes its structure to hagiography, but the politics behind the attack are equally obvious. Such mutilations aimed to render the pope incapable of fulfilling his papal duties by depriving him of sight and speech, maiming the organs to destroy their function. The absence of this kind of documentary detail otherwise in the Chronicle before the reign of Æthelred II does not suggest, however, that mutilations did not occur in England: The inclusion of precise tariffs for the loss of individual body parts calibrated for their relative importance in law codes from Kings Æthelberht and Alfred argue precisely the opposite. Rather, their presence in the Chronicle marks a change in the visibility of mutilation and its social significance.

The recording by the Chronicle of particular exactions – blindings and amputations of hands and ears – first appear in the terrible years of the second Viking invasions. In what Simon Keynes suggests was a "palace

³³ On the rarity of scourging as a punishment for free men in Barbarian law see L. Oliver, *The Body Legal*, p. 87.

³⁴ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. A*, ed. J.M. Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, III, Cambridge 1986, *sub anno 797*, my translation. For an English translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in a synoptic version see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. M. Swanton, London 1996, repr. London 2000.

revolution", Wulfheah and Ufegeat, two sons of the murdered Ealdorman Ælfhelm, were blinded (*sub anno* 1006, versions CEF), though the entry does not specify at whose behest³⁵. It is clear, however, *sub anno* 993 (CE) that King Æthelred himself ordered the blinding of Ælfgar, the son of Ealdorman Ælfric, the inference being that this was retribution for treachery by Ælfric in the preceding year. Whether ordered through anger or cool calculation, these blindings were an exercise in royal prerogative to assert the power of the crown³⁶. The Chronicle *sub anno* 1014 records that Cnut released at Sandwich the hostages that Lindsey and other shires had given to his father, Swein, as sureties of the peace. But he only released them after amputation of their hands, ears, and noses³⁷. By these mutilations, Cnut, at that point an aspiring king, showed his power in England and his contempt for the ineffectual attack on Lindsey that Æthelred had attempted. Atheling Alfred, son of Æthelred and pretender to the throne, was blinded upon his return to England in 1036, in order to remove him as heir, and he ended his days some months later in the monastery of Ely. Earl Godwin is blamed for this outrage and the various mutilations of Alfred's men³⁸. Further notices of blindings and other mutilations in the Chronicle occur after the Conquest³⁹. The Chronicle's account of blindings and amputations exacted from high-status individuals during the chaos of the second Viking invasions suggests a direction for understanding the systems of valuation in which they were understood, and how body parts, though mute flesh, could be made to speak

35 S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred "the Unready" 978-1016: A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge 1980, p. 211. Keynes (p. 212), citing John of Worcester, suggests that Eadric Streona might have been behind the intrigue. For notice of these blindings in the Welsh chronicles *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson* see E. Boyle, *A Welsh Record of an Anglo-Saxon Political Mutilation*, ASE XXXV (2006), pp. 245-249. Such mutilations become more frequent in later decades: for a list of similar (though later) mutilations as expressions of royal displeasure, see C.W. Hollister, *Royal Acts of Mutilation: The Case Against Henry I, "Albion" X* (1978), pp. 330-340, at p. 337.

36 In a cogent exploration of the Carolingian punishment of blinding, G. Bühner-Theiry explains that blinding for acts of *lèse-majesté* was a carefully articulated "special manifestation" of imperial power based on Byzantine practice. See her "Just Anger" or "Vengeful Anger"? *The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West*, in: *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.H. Rosenwein, Ithaca (NY) 1998, pp. 75-91, at p. 87.

37 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C, D records the amputation of hands, ears, and noses; E, F records only hands and noses.

38 The account is in C and D; E and F omit mention entirely. On Godwine's subsequent acquittal or amercing see P. Wormald, *A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits*, item 175.

39 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E, *sub anno* 1075, 1086, 1095, 1096, 1124, 1125. It is interesting to note that the late, bilingual version F of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Canterbury, 12th) is the sole version to add the detail that Ceolwulf, king of Mercia, after capturing King Edberht (Præn) of Kent (*sub anno* 796, *recte* 798) had him blinded and his hands amputated. It is tempting to conclude that the F chronicler added these details for contemporary verisimilitude.

eloquently. As we have seen in the personal injury tariffs of King Alfred, the eyes and the hands were the highest compensated organs (at 66 scillings, 3 1/3 pence), and the ears and nose were compensated at only slightly less (at 60 scillings). Their removal under these new circumstances (with no compensation possible) exacted from the individual affected the most intimate of penalties and a payment only he could render.

The unfolding crisis of the reign of Æthelred, the existential threat posed by the renewed Viking raids, was understood in homiletic literature as God's punishment of an unfaithful English nation. In equating the 11th-century invasions of the Vikings with the 5th-century invasions by the Angles and Saxons lamented by the Briton, Gildas, Wulfstan's own jeremiad, *Sermo lupi*, blames the Viking raids on an English people that had lost its spiritual way⁴⁰. In tacit recognition of the ineffectual payments of extortionate tribute to the Vikings and equally ineffectual military campaigns against them (recorded so bitterly in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 1001-1014), the later laws of Æthelred's reign sought to appease God's anger with a call for spiritual renewal, the making of amends, turning from heathen practice, right practice for monks and nuns, and chastity for canons⁴¹. Particularly, VII Atr, promulgated in 1009, required of "all adult Christians" penitential acts of prayer, fasting, confession, barefoot processions, and almsgiving. Masses in religious foundations were to be sung daily *contra paganos*. Each Christian subject was thus required to perform public, penitential practices designed to assuage God's anger⁴². This law code instituted, in effect, through mandated, intimate, bodily practice, a national penitence, through which each individual was made to assume personal, spiritual responsibility for the safety of the polity. Individual, spiritual *bot* was offered for the good of all.

ÆLFRIC, WULFSTAN, AND THE PROBLEM OF PUNISHMENT

At around the same time as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle begins to record the exaction of body parts in retribution, evidence of another understanding of the body as payment shows in the drafting of Anglo-Saxon laws. While, as we

40 *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. D. Whitelock, 3rd ed., New York 1966, pp. 65-66, lines 184-201.

41 S. Keynes (*Crime and Punishment in the Reign of King Æthelred the Unready*, in: *People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, eds. I. Wood, N. Lund, Woodbridge 1991, pp. 67-81, at p. 74) argues that Æthelred's later legislation "affirm[s] again and again that it was only through good conduct that the English could hope to earn God's favour and support in their struggle".

42 On the date and association with Wulfstan see S. Keynes, *An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids of 1006-7 and 1009-12*, ASE XXXVI (2007), pp. 151-220, at pp. 179-189.

have seen, Anglo-Saxon law had for centuries stipulated monetary payment (*bot*) for various kinds of transgressions – killings, maimings, thefts, and the like – a new word now makes its appearance in the language – *botleas* (“unpardonable”). It is a word primarily associated with Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and drafter of law codes for both Æthelred and the succeeding Danish king, Cnut. The *Dictionary of Old English* and *Corpus* records five uses of the word, all in reference to crimes that cannot be compensated by fines. The first appearance is in III Atr 1 (997; the only use in a code not drafted by Wulfstan)⁴³. In this formulation, the serious offence of breach of the peace in the king’s presence cannot be compensated. To this secular concern, Wulfstan would later add homicide within a church (1014; VIII Atr 1.1), though he later complicates the original formulation with a consideration of sanctuary (1020 × 1021; I Cn 2.3-5)⁴⁴. The list is extended further in II Cn 64 to include assaults on houses, arson, irrefutable theft, murder, and treachery against one’s lord⁴⁵. These crimes constitute limit cases where nothing but the criminal’s death can make satisfaction⁴⁶.

The context and significance of pronouncing particular crimes *botleas* is clarified in Napier Homily 51, preached by Wulfstan before the Witan in its legislative meeting. This homily argues that secular legislation must be drafted within the larger requirement of divine law, and that the common obligation of the English is to put divine law before secular law and to keep the peace⁴⁷. The penitential context of this brief homily is highlighted by its concluding with a ranked list of ministers of penance, from the parish priest up to the pope. The connection of Napier Homily 51 with Wulfstan’s legislative concerns in VII and VIII Atr is clear, as its centerpiece is a formulation on the

43 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 228: *Ðæt is: þæt his grið stande swa forð, swa hit fyrmest stod on his yldrena dagum, þæt þæt sy botleas, þæt he mid his agenre hand sylð* (“Namely, that the king’s peace shall continue to be maintained in accordance with the highest standards observed in the days of his ancestors, so that breach of the peace which he establishes in person shall not be atoned for by any payment of compensation”, transl. A.J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 65).

44 On the “secular” themes in the early laws of Æthelred, in contrast to the “religious” themes of Wulfstan, see P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 328.

45 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 352: *Husbryce 7 bærnert 7 open þyfð 7 æbære mord 7 hlaforðswyce æfter woruldlage is botleas* (“According to secular law assaults upon houses, arson, theft which cannot be disproved, murder which cannot be denied and treachery towards a man’s lord are crimes for which no compensation can be paid”, transl. A.J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 207).

46 See the specific reference in II Cn 26 that the proven thief is condemned to death.

47 Wulfstan, *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihr Echtheit*, ed. A. Napier, Berlin 1883, p. 274, lines 11-22. P. Wormald (*The Making of English Law*, p. 337, n. 344) would date the preaching of this homily to 1014 but concedes that it could have been earlier.

offenses that permit *bot*, those that are *botleas*, and the double obligation in making amends:

If someone violates that [i.e. peace and a ruler's or community's good will], which is worthy of compensation, let him make amends conscientiously. Proven theft and treachery against one's lord and open murder are, according to secular laws, without compensation. Murderers and traitors and those who abandon their lord where he has greatest need at the need of the people, and liars, and pledge breakers are all hateful to God, unless they make amends in the sight of God and the world⁴⁸.

In distinguishing between crimes that admit *bot* and those that are *botleas*, Wulfstan explains that satisfaction for crime must be made in the sight of man and God. And this means setting punishments for such crimes that admit both secular and divine satisfaction. This double requirement is made even more particular in II Cn 2, which specifies that punishment must be assigned to the repentant criminal/sinner that is "justifiable in the sight of God and acceptable in the eyes of men"⁴⁹. In such formulations, everything depends on the criminal's making amends earnestly. The verb *gebetan* (formed on the noun *bot*), widely used in law, means "to make amends; to atone; to repent". In building into secular law the need for the criminal's repentance, and for punishments that are both acceptable (that is, to the secular community damaged by the crime) and justifiable (to the God who redeemed man at so high a price), Wulfstan reveals how difficult it was to walk the line between the two realms, given his clerical and episcopal status. A swift sentence of death endangered the soul of the criminal, but justice had to be seen to be done.

Wulfstan's involvement in secular legislation was thus not without its complications. The vision of society outlined in his *Institutes of Polity* required a univocal commitment to God's law among secular and religious authorities: "Cyningan and bisceopan, eorlan and heretogan, grefan and deman, larwitan and lahwitan gedafenað mid rihte for Gode and for worulde, ðæt hi anræde weorðan and Godes riht lufian"⁵⁰ ("It is proper that kings and bishops, earls and leaders of armies, reeves and judges, scholars and those

48 Wulfstan, *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, p. 274, line 22 - p. 275, line 4: *Gif man abrece þæt, þe botwyrðe syg, bete hit jorne. open þyrfðe and hlaforðes searwu and abære morð æfter woruldlagu is botlease þing. manslagan and manswican and þa, þa heora hlaforð forlætað, þær him mæst neod byð on folces neode, and wordlagan and wedlogan beoð ealle gode laðe, buton hi hit gebetan for gode and for worlde.*

49 See *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 308: *for Gode sy gebeorhlic 7 for worulde aberendlic. Quadripartitus paraphrases sicut erga Deum sit clementius et in seculo tolerabilius (Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, p. 309).*

50 *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical" ...*, p. 62.

learned in the law, for God and for the world, be unanimous in loving God's law"). Bishops, the *bydelas* ("heralds") and *lareowas* ("teachers") of God's law, could be involved in the promulgation of royal legislation and were certainly involved in legal affairs at the shire level and for the protection of church property⁵¹. But episcopal involvement in secular legal matters risked running athwart long-standing canons on clerical behavior. Abbot Ælfric of Eynsham offers a cautionary tale at the end of his *passio* of King Edmund: When Bishop Peodred ordered the thieves who had attempted to rob the shrine of St. Edmund to be hanged, the bishop, unmindful of Prov 24, 11 and the various canons forbidding bishops and priests to punish, later regretted this action for the rest of his life⁵². A letter from Ælfric to Wulfstan highlights the difference in their perspective and points to Wulfstan's further thinking about the body as its own coin. Arguing against clerical involvement in criminal proceedings, Abbot Ælfric observes:

We may not be involved in the death of a man. Although he might be a homicide or has committed murder, or be a serious robber, we must not assign death to him. Nor may we judge in that case. But let secular men assign him life or death, so that we do not lose gentle innocence⁵³.

Malcolm Godden has pointed out that a copy of this letter in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, made "apparently by Wulfstan or with his authority", excises this section of Ælfric's letter⁵⁴. Ælfric, in using as his example three ultimate crimes – manslaughter, murder, and theft (those Wulfstan's legislation declares *botleas*) – underscores the critical importance to the clergy of being innocent of blood, in effect separating the clergy from the execution of justice. Wulfstan's concern looks instead at the larger threat such crimes posed for the English in the first two decades of the 11th century, and

⁵¹ Ibidem. See also Grid, 19.1 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 471). On the activity of bishops see M.K. Lawson, *Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut*, in: *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble, London 1994, pp. 141-164, at pp. 152, 154, 163.

⁵² Ælfric, *Lives of Three English Saints*, ed. G.I. Needham, New York 1966, pp. 55-56. On Peodred see p. 54, n. to line 163. This case is listed as item 157 in P. Wormald, *A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits*, p. 269. For another case of episcopal involvement in the punishment of a criminal, see item 158 (flogging and imprisonment of a thief by Bishop Ælfheah [924 × 954]).

⁵³ *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. B. Fehr, Bibliothek der anglosächsischen Prosa, IX, Hamburg 1914; repr. with supplement by P. Clemons, Darmstadt 1966, p. 140: *We ne moton beon ymbe mannes deað. Æeahþe he manslaga beo oþþe morð gefremede oþþe mycel þeofman, swaþeah we ne scylan him deað getæcean. Na we ne motan deman ymbe þæt. Ac tæcean þa læwedan men him lif oþþe deað, þæt we ne forleosan þa liþan unscaþþignysse.*

⁵⁴ M. Godden, *The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: A Reassessment*, in: *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. M. Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, X, Turnhout 2004, pp. 353-374, at p. 362. Godden dates Ælfric's letter to 1005.

the necessity of ensuring that sinners and criminals pay for their crimes. The “bewilderment and despair” at the national events of the years 1006 through 1012 that Simon Keynes has pointed to⁵⁵, the common understanding that the sufferings of the English were the result of divine retribution for sin, and the efforts of the archbishop to ameliorate these through a royal legislation in the upheaval of the early 11th century, underlie Wulfstan’s desperate efforts to achieve a new combination of secular and religious governance. He reaches this combination by crossing individual religious responsibility for spiritual atonement with the payment of compensation in secular matters. Just as those crimes declared *botleas* look to the body to make ultimate satisfaction, the emphasis on justice encoded in these laws moves from social reconciliation to personal payment. Whereas in the early English laws, the *scilling* mediated reconciliation, now, as extortion money for reconciliation poured in to Viking coffers and Æthelred ordered an *Agnus Dei* penny struck at the time of Thorkel’s 1009 August raid⁵⁶, the body of the criminal was made to mediate between himself and God. But the penalty for a *botleas* crime was death, in this world and likely the next – unless circumstances made it possible to assign *frīðlice steora* to assist in saving the soul. Juridical execution does not tell us much about the satisfaction Wulfstan envisions. We must return to two the laws of Æthelred and of Cnut where Wulfstan outlines his *friplice steora* by way of his commentary on them in his so-called *Commonplace Book*.

V Atr 3 specifies that men should not be condemned to death for *to lytlum* (small offenses) but that *frīðlice steora* should be determined (*geræde*) so that God’s handiwork not be destroyed. This code (1008 at Enham) connects the level of offense (though not the type), to *frīðlice* punishments exacted *folce to þearfe* (“at the need of the people”). Although this expression is translated variously – as “for the need of the people”, “for the benefit of the people”, “for the public good”, it is most likely that the sense “benefit” for *þearf* dominates here, though “straits” are not far from the fraught circumstances of 1008⁵⁷. The specific benefit to the people in 1008 was the removal of the Viking threat to the English, and the *friplice steora* are understood to be punishments benefiting the people by making the individual responsible for his transgressions (as both crime and sin) and making him alone pay.

55 S. Keynes, *An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids...*

56 See S. Keynes, R. Naismith, *The “Agnus Dei” Pennies of King Æthelred the Unready*, ASE XL (2012), pp. 175-223, at pp. 181-188.

57 *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 239, translates *folce to þearfe* as “dem Volke zum Nutzen”. D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, I, 2nd ed., London 1979, p. 443, translates “for the benefit of the people”. A.J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 81, translates “for the public good”. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, eds. J. Bosworth, T.N. Toller: <<http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/031562>> (last accessed: 14 November 2016), s.v. *þearf*, sense V, gives “use, service, behoof, good, advantage, profit”; sense VI, “need, distress, straits, difficulty”.

By paying with his body, the criminal/sinner was given a chance at salvation. The concern of earlier legislation specifying fines to compensate for wrongdoing was aimed at righting imbalance in the community through monetary compensation. The salvation of the sinner was not a concern. Wulfstan's turn to the body for compensation locates the concern of the community elsewhere – not at the social imbalance created by the commission of a crime, but the existential threat posed by an enemy from without, permitted by an angered God as punishment for sins. Individual satisfaction thus became paramount, in both secular and religious spheres, to order to atone for sin, which would at one legislative stroke satisfy God and man. This idea is stated clearly in a set of extracts that Wulfstan made in his so-called *Commonplace Book*:

For there are in these times secular judges who for a small offense immediately condemn men to death, thinking little of the warning of the apostle, saying, "Punish and do not put to death". Indeed, the criminal should be punished in various ways, by punishing and not by immediately putting to death; but they should be saved by punishments, lest their souls, for which the Lord himself suffered, be undone in eternal punishment. Some should be bound with chains and whips, others by hunger and cold; let others, indeed, suffer disgrace shamefully by losing hair and beard together; others should be restrained still more sharply, that is, let them lose a body part, namely, an eye or a nose, a hand or a foot or some other member⁵⁸.

These extracts, drawn from as yet unidentified sources, set out a range of corporal punishments designed to make the body pay intimately for different grades of offenses. The first set of punishments, from the wearing of chains to the shaving of hair and beard, are penitential practices, typically imposed by bishops on serious sinners (e.g. parricides)⁵⁹. These lesser corporal punishments do not appear in II Cn 30. Rather, the punishments adduced there are mutilations that we see in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

58 London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i, fol. 257: *Sunt namque his temporibus iudices seculares qui pro modico commisso homines statim morti adiudicant, parui pendentes monita apostoli, dicentis: castigate et non mortificate. Castigandi enim sunt rei diuersisque modis, arguendi et non statim necandi, sed per penas saluandi, ne anime pro quibus ipse dominus passus est, in eterna pena dispereant. Alii uinculis et flagris; alii autem fame uel frigore constringendi sunt; alii quoque pellem, capillos et barbam simul perdentes turpiter obprobria sustineant; alii adhuc acrius constringantur, id est, membrum perdant, oculum uidelicet uel nasum, manum, uel pedem seu aliud aliquid membrum.* The text is printed from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 in *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, ed. B. Fehr, Hamburg 1914, p. 245. It is also printed (with some differences) from the version in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265 by M. Bateson, *A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections Made c. 1000 AD*, "English Historical Review" X (1895), pp. 712-731, at pp. 726-727.

59 See, e.g., O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Body and Law...*, pp. 221-222.

exacted from free men. They are mutilations that signify the displeasure of the king, and they now appear as exactions that satisfy for the breaking of the *frið* in the world and also with God. The legal principle adduced in II Cn 30 is that the punishment should be proportional to the crime, and that the individual sinner/criminal should be solely responsible for atoning for his transgression. His soul, endangered by immediate execution, may be saved by such punishments (“per penas saluandi [sunt]”).

While the blindings from early in Æthelred’s career may echo Carolingian practice, Cnut’s mutilations of his hostages look more like expressions of anger and contempt – signals sent to his enemies that he was not to be opposed. Against this background, the specifications of Cnut’s law, where *friplice steora* entailed serial mutilations beginning with hands and feet and proceeding to the organs of sense, placed the individual and his body in complementary relation to the king and to God. To maintain the *frip*, both in this world and the next, the convicted criminal in crimes defined as *botleas* made satisfaction with all he had. *Botleas* crimes specifically excluded the kin group (extended by friends) from contributing to compensation. Without the ability to compensate with *bot*, the criminal was solely responsible, and paid for killings, serious theft, breaking the king’s peace, arson, and violating the sanctity of a church with his life. And for “lesser” crimes outlined in II Cn 30, he paid with the parts of his body, in an exchange (*ceap*) where the body paid to protect the soul, itself bought by Christ’s redemptive act.

Wulfstan’s legal efforts to permit the criminal an opportunity to save his soul by losing limbs and senses may strike us as cruelty masquerading as care. But in its articulation of an economy of salvation, Wulfstan’s legislation balanced temporal pain and loss against the possibility of eternal life. In this context, the loss of limbs or other body parts, whether by disease, violence, or punishment, was understood to be a purely temporal matter, an accident of fallen flesh to be remedied in the life to come. The *Prognosticum* of Julian of Toledo, a widely circulated florilegium of Patristic opinion on life after death and one strongly attested in Anglo-Saxon England, addressed this question definitively:

If someone is disabled in body, maimed and broken when he leaves this life, without doubt he can be restored to his missing wholeness of limbs at the time of the resurrection; so that whatever there is in him that either infirmity has made deformed or another’s cruelty crippled, the beauty of immortality will remake it⁶⁰.

⁶⁰ Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticon futuri saeculi libri tres*, ed. J.N. Hillgarth, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*, CXV, Turnhout 1976, III.30, p. 104, lines 3-7: *Si quis debilis corpore, truncatus confractusque de hac uita exierit, non dubium quod debita integritate membrorum possit*

In this understanding, the mutilations understood as *friðlice steora* called for punishments that balanced temporal pain and disability against the possibility of restoration in the life to come. They demanded a double satisfaction by the individual to restore the *frið* in both this world and the next. In Wulfstan's calculus, the price was right.

Concern about an over-enthusiastic use of the death penalty for theft is not unique to the codes authored by Wulfstan. It surfaces in VI As 1, which would condemn to death any thief who steals more than 12 pence worth. Curiously, in the same code, VI As 12.1 proclaims that the king "thinks it cruel [*hreowlic*] to put to death such young people and for such slight offences [*for swa lytlan*], as he has learnt is the practice everywhere"⁶¹. The code goes on to mitigate the penalty so that no one under fifteen years of age would be executed, unless he resisted arrest or tried to flee. By contrast, concern in the laws of Æthelred and Cnut with appropriate punishment is markedly different. Wulfstan, whose hand crafted these 11th-century laws, has changed the terms of justification from a concern for what is *hreowlic* in this world to a question of salvation in the next. For crimes that were *botleas* no fine was possible, but for repeating offenders convicted of other serious crimes, the body itself, in a poignant inversion of Barbarian law, was made its own coin⁶².

ABSTRACT

The first two decades of the 11th century in Anglo-Saxon England saw conditions for a new assessment for personal responsibility for crime. In the legislation he crafted in these decades, Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. 1023) inverts the relation between body part and compensation to make the body itself the medium of personal satisfaction to God and man. Describing the punishment of mutilation for certain crimes as *friðlice*, Wulfstan reveals the way in which this kind of exaction was meant to meet the obligations of both king and bishop to assuage the terrible anger of God. In earlier centuries the standard punishments for transgressions of law specified fines for free persons and physical punishment (usually scourging) for slaves. While condign punishment might be prescribed for free persons in certain cases, normally such

resurrectionis tempore reparari; ut quidquid in illo aut infirmitas turpe, aut aliena effecit crudelitas debile, ita hoc immortalitatis pulchritudo reformet. The *Prognosticum* was widely known in Anglo-Saxon England, with seven manuscripts still surviving. It is attested in four contemporary library catalogues (including that from Worcester, a see of Wulfstan's relinquished in 1016). See M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, Oxford 2006.

⁶¹ *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 169. VI As 12.3 specifies that no one should be slain for a theft of property under 12 pence. VI As 1.4 specifies that a recidivist thief should be slain.

⁶² It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generosity of Maureen Miller, Lisi Oliver, and Jonathan Sheehan in reading the manuscript and making suggestions. I did the bulk of the work on this article while a Senior Fellow at the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities (University of California, Berkeley). I am very grateful to the members of the seminar for their helpful comments.

punishment could be avoided by payment of a fine. Such fines were sufficiently high that the kin group made satisfaction by payment rather than the transgressing individual. To assuage God's anger against the English (manifested in the disastrous attacks of the second Viking age) Wulfstan, in VII Æthelred, designed group and individual penitential acts through which each Christian was made to assume personal, spiritual responsibility for the safety of the polity. This responsibility was further developed in the secular realm by laws that meant to punish but not to kill. By mutilations rather than executions, the bishop meant to preserve the soul by punishing the body. For crimes that were *botleas* (without compensation) no fine was possible, but for repeating offenders convicted of other serious crimes, the body itself made satisfaction.

RADOSŁAW KOTECKI
BYDGOSZCZ

WITH THE SWORD OF PRAYER, OR HOW THE MEDIEVAL BISHOP SHOULD FIGHT¹



PROLEGOMENA

Not long before 967, the Spanish hagiographer, Raguel, mentioned that the central figure of his *Passio sancti Pelagii*, the future martyr and saint Pelagius had been given, at the age of ten, to the Muslims as a hostage in exchange for the freeing his uncle, the bishop of Oporto, Ermogio. From a short passage, which was of little importance to the main plot of the work, we also learn that Pelagius's uncle was taken captive during a battle fought by the king of León, Ordone II, and the armies of the Emir of Córdoba, which had taken place in the Junquera pass in 920. Apart from Ermogio, another bishop was also captured there, whose name, Dulcido, was given by Raguel's contemporary, the chronicler, Sampiro². The author of *Passio* felt obliged to give a short explanation of why the prelates were present with the army during the fight. Despite the fact that the Christians suffered a defeat in the battle, the hagiographer decided to reveal that the prelates' presence with the army was connected with the necessity to provide the combatants with God's help. Even more interesting is the following passage, which comes from *Passio*, according to which, the bishops joined the war party against the Muslims because they were obeying

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² Raguel did not state how many bishops were captured, but he clearly gave information that Bishop Ermogio was not the only prelate taken captive. On Bishop Dulcido, see *Sampiro, su crónica y la Monarquía Leonesa en el siglo X*, ed. J. Pérez de Urbel, Madrid 1952, pp. 313-334: [...] *etiam duo episcopi, Dulcidius et Ermogius, ibidem sunt comprehensi et Cordubam sunt aducti.*

the king's will. Raguel stated that "it was a custom of a king of the Christian people to take bishops with him on military expeditions"³.

Those highly interesting words provide one with a good chance of defining the tasks assigned to the prelates in the context of the spiritual aspect of the bishops' function in military operations. It cannot be ruled out that both prelates were supporting the king in a military manner, or even that they were directly involved in the fighting, especially given the later Spanish analogies⁴ and the dissonance in regard to military activities, so characteristic of the high-ranking hierarchs of the clergy⁵. However, in accordance with the message conveyed by the source material, it should be primarily assumed that Ermogio's and Dulcido's roles during the battle were dominated by spiritual functions. The same narrative contains some clues, which seem to point to the possibility that Raguel believed that the aforementioned prelates were following custom, which obliged the bishops, as those who possessed supernatural powers and abilities that might give them an advantage on the battlefield, to take actions that were meant to increase God's support for the army.

Comparing his account with the broader evidence of Christian war rituals, and the religious world of ideas connected with war offered by today's historiography, allows one to understand the narrative more fully whilst also picturing the actions of those characters in a quite vivid way. David S. Bachrach's research unambiguously confirms that bishops accompanied armies for religious reasons, not just military ones⁶. Just before a battle, the bishops would preach, confess, bless and communicate the soldiers, say mass. Bachrach has clearly shown that those actions had two main goals: to reinforce

³ Raguel, *La pasión de san Pelayo*, ed. C. Rodríguez Fernández, Santiago de Compostela 1991, p. 36.

⁴ Just to mention Don Jerónimo, the warrior-bishop of Valencia and comrade of Rodrigo Díaz. On his epic portray, see A. Nathan, *The Clergy as Characters in the Medieval Spanish Epic, "Iberoromania"* XX (1984), pp. 21-41. On the military activities of Spanish bishops, see esp.: C. Ayala Martínez, *Obispos, guerra y cruzada en los reinos de León y Castilla (s. XII)*, in: *Cristianos y musulmanes en la Península Ibérica: La guerra, la frontera y la convivencia: XI Congreso de Estudios Medievales, León, del 23 al 26 de octubre de 2007*, ed. M.Á. Ladero Quesada, León 2009, pp. 219-256; P. Dorrónzoro Ramírez, *El episcopado "batallador" en tiempos de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona, "Estudios Medievales Hispánicos"* III (2014), pp. 7-42.

⁵ Compare e.g. D. Gerrard, *Chivalry, War and Clerical Identity: England and Normandy, c. 1056-1226*, in: *Ecclesia et Violentia: Violence against the Church and Violence within the Church in the Middle Ages*, eds. R. Kotecki, J. Maciejewski, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, pp. 102-121.

⁶ D.S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300-1215*, Woodbridge-Rochester 2003; idem, *The Medieval Military Chaplain and His Duties*, in: *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. D.L. Bergen, Notre Dame 2004, pp. 69-88; idem, *Lay Confession to Priests in Light of Wartime Practice (1097-1180)*, "Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique" CII (2007) 1, pp. 76-99; idem, *Military Chaplains and the Religion of War in Ottonian Germany, 919-1024*, "Religion, State and Society" XXXIX (2011) 1, pp. 13-31.

the soldiers' morale, and to obtain God's actual help in the forthcoming battle. The latter goal could have been achieved, among other things, by pre-battle spiritual preparations, which were meant to cleanse the soldiers' souls of their sins, and to strengthen them with "spiritual sustenance"; because of that, the knights who were reconciled with God were worthy of divine help⁷. The fact that the theme of victory guaranteed by God and the saints' help was one of the most common amongst the sermons delivered by the clergy before battles, shows just how important that function was, in their opinion⁸. This image was recently completed by Daniel Gerrard. He described beliefs whereby bishops possessed certain spiritual weapons which, if used correctly, could severely harm the enemies. In the list of such weapons he included excommunication and anathema imposed on enemies, as well as the custom of lending the holy banners to armies and motivating the supernatural forces to help the Church's allies and punish its enemies⁹.

To fully understand the point of Raguel's work about the involvement of bishops in the aforementioned battle, it is important to take into account one more fact, namely that the hagiographer could have primarily meant the bishops' prayers for *auxilium Dei*. As I shall demonstrate later, that possibility should be considered as being at least highly probable, especially given the fact that it was a basic method of obtaining God's assistance by the clergymen. If one were to adopt such an interpretation, it should also be assumed that Raguel intended that this mean a prayer during battle, and not the pre-battle orations. Such an interpretation seems to be worth considering, especially given the fact that he mentions their participation in the battle, completely ignoring the spiritual preparations before it. Though lacking in detail, Raguel's description appears to be a good basis for a substantial consideration of bishops' spiritual role during the battles, especially with respect to episcopal prayers. The need for a better understanding of this point is even greater as, until now, other researches have devoted very little attention to the issue of a intercessory prayer during battles and campaigns¹⁰.

7 D.S. Bachrach, *Lay Confession to Priests...*, p. 97.

8 D.S. Bachrach, *Conforming with the Rhetorical Tradition of Plausibility: Clerical Representation of Battlefield Orations against Muslims, 1080-1170*, "International History Review" XXVI (2004) 1, pp. 1-19.

9 D. Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots and Other Clergy in England, c. 900-1200*, Abingdon-New York 2016, chap. 4.

10 Until now, the analysis almost exclusively centered prayers meant as an element of the army's spiritual preparation for the battle as well as "continual prayers" (to use the phrase of Michael McCormick) in the intention of the king and the army, organized in a systemic way at the time of a threat or cyclical as *laudes regiae* or litanic prayers, which were said in churches of the country for long periods of time or even continuously, usually at the ruler's order or due to an initiative of Church hierarchs. See esp.: M. McCormick, *The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy*, "Viator" XV (1984), pp. 1-24;

This article is devoted to the prayers with the help of which the clergymen attempted to affect the course of battles and war campaigns. I shall focus mostly on the sources themselves, and their idea-layer, rather than on the issue of their credibility. Due to the influence of the cultural context on those narratives, especially those voices which assert that the bishops abstained from the use of weapons, armour or any kind of personal military activity, they need to be analysed to check the authors' susceptibility to the views of the clergy reform supporters; the latter having demanded that the bishops change their secular weapons to spiritual ones. The aim of this research therefore, is to check what kind of content the authors wished to pass on to their readers, and how they structured their narratives.

The focus of this work will mainly be the historiographic and hagiographic narratives from the period of the central Middle Ages. However, first I wish to examine the legal and theological texts, as in those sources it is possible to find a certain set of norms which describe prayer as a postulated episcopal weapon.

PRAYER AS A POSTULATED EPISCOPAL WEAPON

The clergy taking up arms, and their personal military activity as a result, are phenomena which were constantly present in the history of the medieval Church. There were also always attempts to eliminate them, and the main means to achieve this goal were legal texts¹¹. The characteristic feature of this legislation, especially in the early Middle Ages, was, however, a small number of regulations which would apply this constraint directly to bishops. Such prohibition had not actually appeared in general circulation until the beginning of the 11th century, together with the Burchard of Worms' collection.

Among the very few early normative sources which explicitly forbid bishops as from involvement with weapons and war, it is possible to point out three which postulate the resignation from direct military activity in favour of a prayer. One of them is the letter of the Pope Nicholas I to Charles the Bald (865), well known in the canonical tradition. In this letter the Pope admonished the ruler for using bishops in a way which was against their spiritual vocation. The Pope believed that bishops, as *milites Christi*, should not fight with secular

idem, *The Liturgy of War from Antiquity to the Crusades*, in: *The Sword of the Lord...*, pp. 45-67; W. Pohl, *Liturgie di guerra nei regni altomedievali*, "Rivista di storia del cristianesimo" V (2008), pp. 29-44; D.S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War...*

¹¹ L.G. Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity*, Woodbridge 2013.

weapons, like soldiers, but should instead devote themselves to prayer¹². The Pope's intention is not completely clear; whether he meant for the bishops to stop taking part in royal campaigns completely or, more likely, to take part in the campaigns through the provision of spiritual service and prayer. The latter interpretation is further strengthened by another well-known Carolingian regulation, and although it was created by forgers, in Pope Nicholas I's time, it was believed to be authentic. The document in question is the false capitulary of Benedictus Levita (847/852) that was assigned by the forger to the Charlemagne. According to this regulation, bishops should not actively take part in military campaigns for any reasons other than spiritual, and should avoid using any secular weapon. However, if asked by the ruler, one or two bishops should accompany the army, but only in their capacity as chaplains, to carry relics, provide sacraments and, as it was additionally emphasized, to pray "so that the people who fight would win with God's help". This thought had been emphasized twice in the regulation, clearly showing the importance of this idea for the forger¹³.

A certain regulation, known from the 10th-century collection *Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberhti* as well as a set of canons of the Bishop Wulfstan of York, is worth mentioning here. Although it appears to be relatively unknown across the continent, its contents is significant as it includes elements featured later, in the period of the professionalisation of the canon law in the 12th century. The text ends with a conclusion that bishops are prohibited from using any kind of weapon with the exception of spiritual ones, such as the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation and the sword of spirit, "which is the Word of God". The creator of this recommendation explained beforehand that in God's eyes, ardent prayers and spiritual services are more effective weapons than

12 Nicolai I. papae epistolae, ed. E. Perls, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Epistolae*, VI, Berolini 1925, pp. 309-310: *Quod si seculi milites militie student, quid ad episcopos et milites Christi, nisi ut uacent orationibus?*

13 Benedictus Levita, *Capitularia spuria*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH, *Leges*, II.2, Hannoverae 1837, pp. 110-111: [...] *ut nullus sacerdos in hostem pergat, nisi duo vel tres tantum episcopi electione ceterorum propter benedictionem et praedicationem populi que reconciliationem, et cum illis electi sacerdotes, qui bene sciant populis poenitentias dare, missas celebrare, de infirmis curam habere, sacratque olei cum sacris precibus unctionem impendere [...]. Hi vero nec arma ferant, nec ad pugnam pergant, nec effusores sanguinum vel agitadores fiant; sed tantum sanctorum pignora et sacra ministeria ferant, et orationibus pro viribus insistant; ut populus, qui pugnare debet, auxiliante Domino victor existat. [...] et ipsi pro nobis et cuncto exercitu nostro missas, letanias, oblationes, elymosinas faciant, orantes Deum coeli, ut proficiamus in itinere quo pergimus, victoresque Deo amminiculante existamus. Gentes enim et reges earum qui sacerdotes secum pugnare permiserunt, nec praevalabant in bello, nec victores extiterunt; quia non erat differentia inter laicos et sacerdotes, quibus pugnare non est licitum. Haec vero Galliarum, Hispaniarum, Langobardorum nonnullasque alias gentes et reges earum fecisse cognovimus; quae propter dictum nefandissimum scelus nec victores fuerunt, nec patrias retinuerunt.*

swords and spears. He based his opinion on two examples: the well-known *exemplum* of St Martin who decided not to fight despite emperor's order, and the example of Moses who was praying during the battle of the Israelites against the Amalekites at Rephidim described in Exodus 17:8-13¹⁴.

In the 12th century, the legal framework which permitted participation of bishops in warfare was described much more clearly. What is more, the changes that had taken place in the Church made it possible for the newly created norms to spread widely. The credit should go to Gratian and his *Decretum*, whose composition has been dated at the third decade of the 12th century¹⁵. Subordinating the legislation to the goals of Church reform made the father of the canon law regulate the issues of bishops using weapons and military force in accordance with the spirit of the postulates mentioned above. Despite the fact that Gratian, in his collection, ignored the aforementioned Levita's text, his opinion on the clergy's participation in wars was similar to the one presented in the pseudo-capitulary. Although he would permit the bishops' participation in wars under certain conditions, he stated that it is not allowable for them to use a physical weapon, or to get directly involved in warfare. He postulated that the prelates' functions should be limited only to the religious ones, and he advised using spiritual weapons¹⁶.

Gratian did not stop at just giving a general instruction; he also precisely stated what the term "spiritual weapon" meant. In the beginning, he declared that a bishop can always use "gladius spiritualis, qui est verbum Dei", following Ephesians 6:17. However, as he did not find any canon or decree which would sufficiently specify that issue, he reworked a passage from St Ambrose's *Contra Auxentium*. Gratian's text reads:

They do not gather iron spears, weapons are not for the knights of Jesus. The necessity for fight I do not know but sorrow, weeping, prayers, tears were my weapon against soldiers. Such is the priest's weaponry. I should not, I cannot resist in any other way; and to escape and abandon [my] church is not my custom. The servant of the Christ is protected not by a physical armour but by his Lord¹⁷.

¹⁴ Wulfstan's *Canon Law Collection*, eds. J. Cross, A. Hamer, Cambridge 1999, chap. 165, p. 169.

¹⁵ Recently e.g. A.A. Larson, *Early Stages of Gratian's "Decretum" and the Second Lateran Council*, "Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law" XXVII (2009), pp. 21-56; A. Winroth, *Where Gratian Slept? The Life and Death of the Father of Canon Law*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung" CXXX (2013), pp. 105-128.

¹⁶ F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 55-85; J.A. Brundage, *Holy War and the Medieval Lawyers*, in: *The Holy War*, ed. T.P. Murphy, Ohio 1976, pp. 106ff; L.G. Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy...*, pp. 128ff.

¹⁷ C.23, q.8, c.3, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg, in: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, I, Lipsiae 1879, repr. Graz 1959, p. 954: *Item Ambrosius. Non pila querunt ferrea, non arma Christi*

In Gratian's opinion, the weapons that were suitable for the clergy were desperate crying and prayer. However, he perceived these means as specifically meant for the bishops. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, in Gratian's times was believed to be the ideal of a good shepherd, a perfect diocesan. In the *Questio*, which opened the whole section, the future bishop of Chiusi even openly stated, in clear reference to the excerpt presented above, that the bishop's weapons are tears and prayer: "Item Ambrosius: 'Arma episcopi lacrimae sunt et orationes'".

A similar *ratio* can be found in a different part of the *Decretum*. The passage is important because it is a statement by the canonist himself, and its content was based on a biblical *exemplum*, which had great influence on the issue of possibility of bishops engaging in military activities. The article is titled "Sacerdotis est legis scientiam habere, non bellis, sed orationibus operam dare" and it can be found in the first part of the *Decretum*. Using this as a base, Gratian formed a postulate which stated that a *pontifex*, depending on the situation, should, with his actions, emulate Moses or Aaron. In Aaron, he saw a perfect priestly model of the bishop's function; and in Moses, just like Pseudo-Egbert before him, a military model, although only in the spiritual aspect. Using the leader of the Israelites as an example, the canonist suggested that in a moment of a genuine threat, bishops are obliged to actively defend and support the people that they are responsible for. However, at the same time, they should avoid getting involved in military matters, and not participate directly in fights, acting instead like Moses at Rephidim. During this battle, according to Exodus 17:8-13, Moses climbed onto a hill overlooking the battlefield and secured the victory for the Israel by receiving God's help thanks to his zealous prayer with his hands raised up all the time. The passage reads:

There is also another act that Moses does: he does not go to battle; does not fight with enemies. What does he do? He prays and when he prays his people win; when he relaxes his arms and lets them fall his people are being defeated and flee. And so a priest of the Church should constantly pray for the victory of the people he is responsible for and the defeat of the invisible enemies, Amalekites, who are demons, at the hands of those who desire to live piously in Christ¹⁸.

milites. Coactus repugnare non noui: sed dolor, fletus, orationes, lacrimae fuerunt mihi arma aduersus milites. Talia enim munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere; fugere autem, et relinquere ecclesiam non soleo. Seruum Christi non custodia corporalis, sed Domini prouidentia sepire consueuit. The original text does not mention prayer as a mean of fighting but only "groans and sighs". See Ambrose of Milan, *Sermo contra Aucentium de Basilicis tradendis*, in: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, XVI, Parisii 1855, col. 1007.

18 D.36, c.3, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, p. 135: *Si quis uult pontifex non tam uocabulo esse quam merito, imitetur Moysen, imitetur Aaron. [...] Est et aliud opus, quod facit Moyses: ad bella non*

An equally radical point of view is presented in this passage. Gratian did not permit any kind of personal military activities on behalf of the bishops; instead, he only allowed prayer in the intention of victory. However, in setting Moses as an example, he had to allow the possibility of prelates taking part in military campaigns. Nevertheless, their role was supposed to be limited to prayer only.

Many of the reform-minded clerics in the 11th and 12th century agreed with Gratian on prohibiting bishops from too strong engagement in military activities. One of them, originating from North-East France or Lotharingia, was an anonymous author of a treatise called *Epistola de episcopis ad bella procedentibus*¹⁹. His view of bishops who were eager to participate in wars, and to use weapons, was as critical as Gratian's, even though he probably had never heard of, nor read, the *Decretum*. Although he was independent in his choice of *auctoritates*, and he referenced the false capitulary by Benedictus Levita, which Gratian ignored for unknown reasons, his conclusions were similar to Gratian's. And so, in his opinion, bishops should devote themselves exclusively to their pastoral function and not engage in wars, even the just ones, unless as chaplains²⁰. Their weapon should be of the spiritual kind, never material. Among the postulated weapons he mentioned prayer as well as patience, like Gratian taking the example from Exodus 17:8-13:

In the Old Testament thanks to Moses' prayer the Israelites vanquished enemy armies, etc.; on the contrary, when he lowered his hands, the enemies would get their triumph. The conclusion we can draw from

uadit, non pugnat contra inimicos. Sed quid facit? orat, et donec orat, uincit populus eius; si relaxauerit et dimiserit manus, populus eius uincitur et fugatur. Oret ergo sacerdos ecclesiae indesinenter, ut uincat populus, qui sub ipso est, hostes inuisibiles Amalechitas, qui sunt demones inpugnantes eos, qui uolunt pie uiuere in Christo.

¹⁹ Its author was not Fulbert of Chartres, which was proven by F. Behrends, *Two Spurious Letters in the Fulbert Collection*, "Revue bénédictine" LXXX (1970), pp. 253-275.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 263-269. See e.g.: *Sane nequaquam audeo illos episcopos nominare, ne religioso nomini iniuriam faciam. Tyrannos potius appellabo, qui bellicis occupati negotiis, multo stipati latus milite, solidarios pretio conducunt, ut nullos saeculi reges aut principes noverim adeo instructos bellorum legibus, totam armorum disciplinam in procinctu militiae seruare, digere turmas, ordines componere ad turbendam Ecclesiae pacem, et Christianorum, licet hostium, sanguinem effundendum. [...] Idem etiam papa docet nullo modo, neque pro iusta etiam causa, episcopum debere armis inservire [...]. Episcopi uero in sua mansuetudine et ecclesiastica severitate et praedicatione uerbi Dei stabiles permaneant, sicut in Actibus apostolorum scriptum est: "Non est aequum relinquere uerbum Dei et ministrare mensis". Qui sic etiam docere debent, sicut Hieronymus ait, ut uita eorum irreprehensibilis sit. Perdit enim auctoritatem docendi, cuius sermo opere destruitur. Proinde sciant sibi omnino inhibendum ad bella procedere [...]. Breuiter docuit non solum episcopos aut sacri ordinis ministros a praeliis cohiberi, uerum etiam qui Christo semel militare coeperit, etiam ab ipsis bellorum occasionibus omnimodis abstinendum fore.*

this is that it is better to fight with patience and prayer than with swords and riots²¹.

The author, additionally, strengthened the postulate that bishops should limit their involvement to prayers by referring to St Paul's (Romans 12:19): "Do not take revenge, my dear friends, but leave room for God's wrath"²². The logic of the author of the *Epistola* can be seen here, as he assumes that a bishop's prayer has the power to influence God Himself. A complaint addressed to God in the form of a prayer arouses His wrath, which is then directed against the enemies of His people. In such a situation, using swords is not only against their episcopal vocation, but also simply unnecessary for the bishops.

The interesting fact here is that the author referred to the same excerpt of the *Contra Auxentium* by St Ambrose as Gratian. However, he did not use it in the same way as the Bolognian canonist, because his reading of it was closer to the original²³. For this reason, he could not use that passage as an argument in favour of the prayer as the preferred weapon for bishops; nevertheless, in general, it did not stop him from formulating an identical postulate.

The differences enumerated above suggest that the *Epistola* had been written before the *Decretum* became well-known. This observation strengthens Frederick Behrends's assertion, in his dating of the *Epistola* to the last decades of the 11th century or, more likely, the beginning of the 12th century²⁴. Given this fact, the general similarity between the argumentation and the conclusions must be the result of the similar intellectual and moral formation of the authors. Both texts, if interpreted jointly, show that in the first half of the 12th century, the idea that bishops need to stop using weapons and limit their military functions to chaplain tasks and prayers with the intention of victory only became a popular view in Reform circles. However, it is important to remember that it was Gratian's voice which caused a widespread reaction in the 12th century, albeit mostly because of the prevalence of his collection.

21 Ibidem, p. 263: *In veteri instrumento oratione Moysi hostilem exercitum vincebat Israel, etc.; contrario, manus illo remittente, hostibus cedebat victoria. Unde colligere possumus quod melius patientia et oratione praeliamur, quam gladiis et seditionibus.*

22 Ibidem: *Orationibus siquidem instare deberent, et Pauli consilio acquiescere dicentis: "Non vosmetipsos defendentes, charissimi, sed date locum irae".*

23 Ibidem, p. 265: *Qui itaque talibus officiis vacare debet, quam illicite et contra gradum suum ad arma humanae militiae consurgat, omnis qui sanum sapit intelligit. Unde B. Ambrosius sacerdotibus dare volens exemplum patientiae, in epistola contra Auxentium de tradendis basilicis civibus scribit: "Video vos praeter solitum esse turbatos solito. Sed quid turbamini? Volens nunquam vos deseram, coactus repugnare non novi, dolere potero, flere potero, gemere potero, adversus milites Gothos arma quoque lacrymae meae sunt. Talia monumenta sunt sacerdotis: aliter non debeo, nec possum resistere".*

24 Ibidem, pp. 258, 261.

The opinion that he formed was, of course, applied to the whole clergy. For example, Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215) claimed that if the function of the clergy is to fight demons and not people, then they should not use physical weapons but fight instead using prayers, as Moses was considered to have done²⁵.

EPISCOPAL PRAYERS IN "SECULAR WARFARE"

The need to successfully seek heavenly support during campaigns, which has been confirmed by various sources, made it necessary for rulers to cooperate with the clergy; especially with bishops, as they represented the highest ranked specialists in terms of contact with God. Eusebius of Caesarea and Sozomen (Hermias) link the beginnings of such practices with Emperor Constantine who, after he converted to Christianity, ordered a tent in the shape of a church to be made, specifying that this tent should, together with a group of clergymen, always accompany him during military campaigns²⁶. This custom was continued into the Middle Ages, and one example concerning the king of León, Ordoño II, who, according to Raguel, "used to take bishops with him on military campaigns" demonstrates that such action was not unheard of. There are in fact many sources confirming the presence of bishops in the armies of rulers. It is well illustrated by some German sources. Unfortunately, only a small number of them show explicitly that bishops had served a religious function as chaplains²⁷. In this context, it is worth mentioning the passage from *Annales Altahenses* concerning Emperor Otto II's defeat in battle against the Muslims in Cotrone (982), where it is stated that during this battle, the chests with relics – without a doubt elements of the chapel – were lost, and the bishops and chaplains were killed²⁸. Even more pertinent, is an example from the period of war between Henry IV and the Saxons; Bruno of Merseburg described how, in one of the battles, the bishops from the imperial camp were unexpectedly taken captive, and their tents, surely also including the *capellae* together with liturgical vessels,

25 Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ, seu de officiis ecclesiasticis summa*, in: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, CCXIII, Parisii 1855, col. 60: *Clerici non debent arma portare, quia non debent homines, sed daemones impugnare, sicut Moyses non armis Amalec, sed orationibus impugnavit; sicut Apostoli non armis resistere docuerunt, sed magis injuriam pati.*

26 R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Secondary Century AD to the Conversion of Constantine*, London 1988, pp. 16-17; J.Ch. Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel: The Formation and Diffusion of a Saintly Cult, c. 300-c. 800*, New York 2013, p. 53. See also D.S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War...*, pp. 10, 17.

27 Most of the early examples were given by D.S. Bachrach, *Military Chaplains and the Religion of War...*

28 *Annales Altahenses maiores*, eds. W. von Giesebrecht, E.L.B. von Oefele, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, IV, Hannoverae 1891, p. 14: [...] *in quo proelio scrinia cum reliquis sanctorum pro dolor! amisit, episcopis, capellanis [...] interfectis.*

were plundered²⁹. The well-known fact that many imperial bishops were also royal court chaplains must have resulted to them taking action on the battlefield in the character of religious service. However, it is also possible that the choice of military chaplains could have been decided by informal factors, such as chance or unexpected necessity. Nonetheless, in the face of Carolingian precedents, it seems that it was not a phenomenon typical only of the *Reichskirche*. An example, very similar to the German ones, was given by a Spanish chronicler; the author of *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* which informs us about the presence of bishops during the battle between the Aragonese army and the Muslims near Fraga in 1134. From this work, we learn that the ruler of Aragon would always take a tent-chapel to war, and would always erect it next to his own tent. In the chapel he kept numerous holy relics, and the clergy would perform services there. During the battle however, the royal camp, along with the chapel, was captured. The Muslims robbed the holy items stored there, among them the much treasured “golden casket within which the cross of the salvation-giving wood was stored”. It was no accident that during this event, a bishop and some priests, as well as deacons and numerous members of lower clergy, were taken captive³⁰. It is obvious that the bishops were not free from performing pastoral tasks or from taking responsibility for chapels during military campaigns. If they did not have their own *capellae*³¹, they would perform the service in royal chapels.

If bishops performed a chaplaincy or, in more general terms, any spiritual service in armies lead by secular authorities, it would seem only natural that it was also their duty to devote themselves to the task of prayer.

29 Bruno of Merseburg, *Buch vom Sachsenkrieg*, ed. H.-E. Lohmann, MGH, *Deutsches Mittelalter*, II, Lipsiae 1937, pp. 116-117.

30 *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. L. Sánchez Belda, I, Madrid 1950, bk. 1, chap. 56, p. 46: [...] *et archa aurea capta est, in qua erat crux salutaris ligni, et aliae pixides supradictae et capella regis capta est; et tentoria regis in terra ceciderunt, et supradictus episcopus de Lascar et sacerdotes, et levitae et omnis clerus [...] capti sunt.*

31 There is an interesting example found in the Czech sources, which state that the bishop of Freising, who was accompanying the imperial army in a campaign against the Czechs in 1099, while fleeing in panic from a Czech attack, “he lost his tent-chapel, and miraculously escaped with his life”. See *Annales Gradicensis-Opatovicenses*, ed. J. Emler, in: *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, II.2, Praha 1875, p. 391. The term *capella* should be understood in accordance with the interpretation suggested by C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, II, Niort 1883, p. 117: *Ministeria ac vasa sacra, quae sacerdoti ad sacra peragenda necessaria sunt*. However, it is clear that this term also included the tent-chapel itself. Apart from the known etymology of the term which shows that it comes from the St Martin’s *cappa*, John Beleth knew also a more general etymology which suggested that the word originated from goatskin (*capra*), which was used to create a holy area inside a tent to perform a liturgy. See *Iohannis Beleth Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. H. Douteil, II, in: *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*, XLIA, Turnhout 1976, p. 173: *Alii autem dicunt, quod capella dicta est, quia antiquitus in expeditione in tentoriis facta domuncula et de pellibus caprarum supertecta missa celebrabatur.*

The oldest text which addresses this problem is definitely the highly-detailed *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius of Caesarea. In Eusebius' opinion, Constantine understood that "he needed an effective prayer so he took God's priests with him [to military campaigns], believing that they should accompany him at all times, and should be near him as loyal guardians of the soul". Such practices were believed to result in military triumphs for the Emperor: "the victories over his enemies Constantine owed to nothing else but God's help and the fact that the aforementioned [priests] were always at his side"³². This fragment does not actually mention bishops, but another passage states that bishops may have been preferred for performing the duties enumerated before. Additionally, Eusebius put extra emphasis on the value of a bishop's prayer:

[Constantine] immediately ordered his troops to embark. At the same time, he informed the bishops, who at the time were at his side, about his intention to march, foreseeing that some of them should accompany him as indispensable helpers in performing God's service. And they eagerly and gladly reacted to his will, stating that they would follow him, would not abandon him and would fight with him with the help of constant prayers said in his name. He was very happy with such an answer and presented them the marching plan and then he ordered to construct a magnificent tent in the shape of a church for his own use during the upcoming war. In this tent, together with his bishops, he intended to pray to God, from whom every victory originates³³.

An interesting set of details is presented here. Constantine is portrayed as the ruler whose prayer has the vital meaning for the expedition's fortune, and the bishops as indispensable helpers. It is worth noting that the situation described by Eusebius – even though he does not make any direct allusions in this respect – is similar to the biblical description of the battle at Rephidim. Constantine is like the continuously praying Moses, and the bishops are like the indispensable Aaron and Hur. Unfortunately, there is no information about the form of the prayer itself. However, it is almost certain that Eusebius meant to refer to an identical praying posture to the one used by Moses, as in another passage he wrote, wherein Constantine ordered that his likeness on paintings and coins would be the one showing him "when with his eyes raised he reaches with his arms to God as the one who prays". He also ordered that his soldiers should be instructed "to say the required prayers to God with their hands raised to the sky"³⁴.

32 Eusebius, *Über das Leben Constantins*, ed. I.A. Heikel, in: *Eusebius Werke*, I, Leipzig 1902, bk. 2, chap. 4, p. 42.

33 Ibidem, bk. 4, chap. 56, pp. 140-141.

34 Ibidem, bk. 4, chap. 15; chap. 19, pp. 123, 124-125. For Eusebius Constantine was "the second Moses". See: E. Becker, *Konstantin der Große, der "neue Moses": Die Schlacht am Pons*

Medieval sources contain similar material, though they are much less informative than the excerpts from *Vita Constantini*. Carolingian rulers had their *capellani*, who accompanied them into battle, together with St Martin's cloak. The previously mentioned capitulary by Benedictus Levita makes one believe that rulers would engage bishops *cum capellanis* for the task of carrying the relics and praying for the army. In the Carolingian dynasty, this custom began early. Pepin III, even before his coronation, was instructed by Pope Zachary in 747 to respect the priests, who are expected to pray in the intention of victory over the pagans and all other enemies of the state. If he removed them from the secular matters and let them devote themselves to the spiritual, he would be able to fight his enemies with a prayer (*orando pugnare*), just like Moses had done.

Among many bishops who embarked on military campaigns led by the Carolingians, at least some of them – regardless of their obvious military functions – performed spiritual tasks during those expeditions. The liturgical formula *Benedictio crucis*, written about 829 by the bishop of Regensburg and the arch-chaplain of the Louis the Pious, Baturich, shows that during a campaign, bishops present in the Frankish army were chanting prayers with the intention of defeating the enemies and victory through God's support³⁵. Similarly, Angilbert tells us that his predecessor Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne and *sacri palatii archiepiscopus* served Charlemagne "like once great priest Aaron under Moses" carrying *Ephod* and "with his prayers [he] constanly defend[ed] the army (*populus*) from the enemy"³⁶.

Milvius und die Katastrophe am Schilfmeer, "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte" XXXI (1910), pp. 161-171; M.J. Hollerich, *The Comparison of Moses and Constantine in Eusebius of Caesarea's "Life of Constantine"*, "Studia Patristica" XIX (1989), pp. 80-95.

35 E.J. Goldberg, "More devoted to the equipment of battle than the splendor of banquets": *Frontier Kingship, Martial Ritual, and Early Knighthood at the Court of Louis the German*, "Viator" XXX (1999), pp. 66-67.

36 Angilbert, *Carmina*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, I, Hannoverae 1881, pp. 361-362, ll. 55-61; cf. W. Lüders, *Capella: Die Hofkapelle der Karolinger bis zur Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1908, p. 34. *Populus* was a standard medieval term to denote the army, used in this sense also in the Vulgate. The term *Ephod* (*effoth*) is taken from the Old Testament, where it has two distinct meanings – in the first it is a garment worn as a sacred vestment by the High Priest, and in the second it is used to denote the sacred boxes or arks (and sometimes the Ark of Covenant) which were taken from temples by the priests accompanying the *populus* of the Israel going into battle. For the meanings of *ephod* in Bible, see W.R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark: A Study in the Records and Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*, Cambridge 1917, as well as the review of Arnold's book by L.B. Paton, *Ephod and Ark*, "American Journal of Theology" XXIII (1919) 2, pp. 220-225. In the poem *Ephod* is used in the sense close to the second meaning, as Angilbert stated that Hildebald had to carry (*portat*) the *Ephod* and not to wear it. It seems that the poet had in mind some kind of sacred object of a palladial character similar to St Martin's cloak, *patrocinia* or *pignora* of the martyrs or saints carried (*porto, -are; fero, -re*) by the chaplains and arch-chaplain on the campaigns of the Frankish kings, mentioned in capitulary of Benedictus Levita, as well as in Carolingian *Life of St Betharius* (BHL 1318,

It is, however, worth taking another Carolingian text into closer examination – *On Christian Rulers* – a *speculum* written by Sedulius Scottus for Charles the Bald. In one piece of advice presented there, Sedulius advised Charles that military triumphs depended on an effective prayer, which should be chanted by the Emperor himself in a pious way, together with his selected companions:

Hence if at any time rumours of war are noised, let confidence be placed not so much in the strength of bodily arms as reposed in the Lord, with assiduous prayers; and let the help of god be implored, in Whose hand salvation, peace and victory rest, Who, if called upon in godly manner, never leave the calling, but assist them as a merciful helper in tribulation. For when [your] and your chosen ones' hands and voices are raised toward the Father of Mercy, the ferocity of the enemy is annihilated; and, sometimes, sudden disgrace and the pitfall of death are set for their enemies, while the pious comes an unexpected victory. And, while pious men enter upon the road to safety of which they had despaired, the impious, on other hand enter the pitfall of unforeseen death³⁷.

The message of this excerpt is almost identical to that found in Eusebius' work concerning the prayers said by Constantine together with his bishops; the only difference being in the fact that Sedulius additionally points to the postulated form of the prayer, as in the next paragraph he referred to the image of Moses' spiritual fight during the battle of Rephidim as an *exemplum* for the Emperor³⁸. However, the meaning of the term *electores*, which he uses, is not very clear. The most probable interpretation would be, however, that it was meant to denote specially selected companions, who were supposed to support the king in his prayer, like Moses was supported by his priests, Aaron and Hur, the most venerable "elders of Israel", and Constantine himself was supported by bishops picked by the Emperor himself. Such an interpretation is supported not only by the comparison with Eusebius' works, but especially

early 9th century), and *Miracles of St Denis* (late 9th century); see *Vita Betharii episcopi Carnotensi*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, III, Hannoverae 1894, p. 615: *Qui audiens [King Chlotar II] famam beatissimi viri, suum constituit archicapellanum [St Betharius, bishop of Chartres], et pignora multa sanctorum, quae secum deferebat, ut mos est Regum, ditioni illius constituit. Miracula s. Dionysii*, ed. J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis s. Benedicti*, III.2, Parisii 1672, chap. 21, p. 536: [...] *de Carolo M. proficiscente contra Saxones: Hic pignora beatorum martyrum secum ferri fecerat, et custodes clericos, qui secum proficiscebantur, delegaverat, uti eis vicissim sibi succedentibus debita exhiberetur religio.*

³⁷ Sedulius Scotus, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, ed. L. von Traube, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, I.1, München 1906, chap. 15, p. 66. English translation consulted in Sedulius Scotus, *On Christian Rulers, and the Poems*, transl. E. Doyle, Binghamton 1983, p. 78; *On Christian Rulers*, ed. and transl. R.W. Dyson, Woodbridge-Rochester 2010, pp. 143-145.

³⁸ Sedulius Scotus, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, p. 66: *Moyses legislator cum manus suas in oratione elevabat ad Dominum, vincebat Israel; cum autem paululum remittebat, vincebat Amalec.*

with the text of the aforementioned pseudo-capitulary by Benedictus Levita, written in the time of Sedulius, where it was postulated that a ruler should have one or two specially chosen bishops (*electi episcopi*) with him during a war campaign, who would take care of holy relics, perform masses, and in their prayers ask God for victory.

In the presented texts, a bishop's prayer is shown as vital for the success of military operations, however, even more important than that is the royal prayer. Bishops are only helpers in the enterprise of gaining God's favour and are subordinated to the ruler's will. Apart from these testimonies there are a few texts which describe bishops as individuals who are more autonomous in their actions and in a special way predestined, unlike the rulers, to the prayer function.

In the first half of the 11th century, a canon of Cambrai cathedral, Gerard, the author of *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai*, expressed an opinion that the task of fighting should be exclusive to the rulers and the task of prayer to the bishops. He believed that

to the latter it is assigned to pray, and to the former, to fight. It is therefore the king's duty to repress conspiracies by force, calm wars, and to extend the associations of peace; it is for bishops, to advise kings to fight manfully for the safety of the homeland, and to pray that they may be victorious³⁹.

In this passage, the auxiliary function of bishops was emphasized; but the division between different roles – perhaps under influence of Adalberonian conception of three social *ordines* – was made very clear.

Similar situations can be seen in works which are not as strongly characterized by the author's attempts to theorize problems as Gerard's work was. The first writings worth mentioning are the ones which relate to the participation of bishops in the Norman conquest of England. According to William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis, two bishops accompanying William the Conqueror, Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances, joined the campaign, together with their subordinated clergymen in order to "fight with a prayers"⁴⁰.

According to certain sources, during an earlier conquest of England done by the forces of Canute the Great, it was the invaders army that had to fight

³⁹ *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. L. Bethmann, MGH, *Scriptores*, Hannoverae 1846, bk. 2, chap. 7, p. 474. English translation from G. Constable, *The Orders of Society*, in: idem, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, New York 1998, pp. 284-285.

⁴⁰ William of Poitiers, *The "Gesta Guillelmi"*, eds. and transl. R.H.C. Davis, M. Chibnall, Oxford 2006, p. 124: *Aderant comitati e Normannia duo pontifices, Odo Baiocensis et Goisfiedus Constantinus; una multus clerus et monachi nonnulli. Id collegium precibus pugnare disponitur.* Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, II, Oxford 1969, p. 172.

against the religious weapons of their enemies; this however, did not prove to be a problem. As certain works state, King Edmund's army was accompanied by Eadnoth, the bishop of Lincoln, who, together with the Abbot of Ramsey, Wulfsgige, "had come to pray to God for the soldiers fighting the battle". Such an account was given by John of Worcester, over one hundred years after the battle of Ashington (1016), in which both clergymen were killed. His words were repeated by the Ely chronicler, who added that they both lost their lives while saying Mass. However, it is possible that this information is not supported by facts, and was instead invented by John. On the other hand, the very fact that chroniclers would believe that such a situation could be possible means they would consider it to be normal practice⁴¹.

Other interesting testimonies in which bishops were characterized not only as individuals especially predestined for prayer work with the intention of success in battle, but also as individuals more independent than those who, for example as in Eusebius's work, could be found in *Liber Maiolichinus*. It is an epic chronicle, probably written some time between 1117 and 1125 by an anonymous cleric, telling the story of the heroic recapturing of the Balearic Islands from the Muslims by Pisan and Catalan troops. The bishops mentioned in this work are Peter, *presul Pisanorum*, and the papal envoy, Cardinal Boso, the bishop of Cagliari. The author does not pay much attention to the two of them. He only mentions them while talking about activities appropriate for clergymen. The bishops would encourage troops to fight, deliver sermons and pray. Of all those actions, prayers were described in the most detailed way in the source, and even twice. The chronicler first referred to the conquest of a Muslim city. In his view, when the Christians were organizing the siege, the rest of the clergy, led by Bishop Peter, "the heavenly horde", were praying "persistently and mightily" to support their knights in combat. In this task, as the author claims, the clergymen were so determined, and their cries so resounding, that they reached the ears of God Himself. The prayer was accompanied by weeping, which was supposed to show the Creator how much the combatants needed His help. The story ends with the singular conclusion that it would have been inappropriate for God to have ignored such an effort from the clergy⁴².

⁴¹ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, eds. R.R. Darlington, P. McGurk, transl. J. Bray, P. McGurk, II, Oxford 1995, p. 492: *Eadnothus quoque Lincolniensis episcopus Romesigensis quondam prepositus et Wulsius abbas, qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente conuenerant, interfecti sunt; Liber Eliensis*, ed. E.O. Blake, London 1962, p. 141. John of Worcester's testimony was based on an account of an elder and this is why it has little value. Compare Gerrard, *The Church at War*, pp. 210-211.

⁴² *Liber Maiolichinus de gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. C. Calisse, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, XXIX, Romae 1904, p. 58: *Celica turba, Deum Pisanus presul, et omnis / Firmiter orabat magno cum*

The second example presented in *Liber Maiolichinus* took place during the open field battle in which only some of the crusaders took part, and the rest, opting for a truce, remained passive. What is interesting is that the clergy joined the combatants, along with both bishops. In the author's opinion, they went to the battlefield in order to provide the knights with protection, through the help of their prayers. When the knights crossed their weapons with those of their enemies, "the clergymen directed their minds to the important matters. For the generous grace, they work with their prayers and pleas". However, the author also stressed the special importance of the prelates' prayers. He emphasized that in order to gain God's favour, they both began to cry and weep. According to the author, in their prayers they would ask for "pious help" and for granting the Christians, who adored their Father, a victory over a sacrilegious nation⁴³.

What draws attention in particular, is the fact that in the text, Bishop Peter and Cardinal Boso act as independent specialists who, together with a group of highly qualified *oratores*, comprise a unit of prayer support whose task was to ensure that individual military operations would be successful, thanks to God's help. Their actions can really be described as combat; while their protégés fought with swords, they were fighting mightily with prayers. Another important aspect in the description is the complete independence of the prelates in their activities. It seems that the description of their prayer effort was strongly influenced by the postulate formulated, amongst others, by Gerard of Cambrai, who assumed the separation of secular and clerical roles.

It is possible that among the clergymen associated with the crusade movement, such a way of thinking was especially popular⁴⁴. A historian of

presule clerus, / Quatenus ipse suis pugnantibus auxilietur. / Divinas aures tantos audisse rogatus / Creditur, et fusas lacrimas monuisse Tonantem / Deviat esse Dei quisquis tales negat actus.

43 *Ibidem*, pp. 122-123: *Clerus adest, proceresque simul, contentio crescit / Maxima, divisas pandunt certamina mentes. / Pars trahit ad pactum, pars diligit altera pugnam. / Colludat clerus partem pugnare volentem, / Sanctus et antistes cum cardine prelia censet / Hisque favent acies, contra Catalanicus heros / [...] / Et sancti cleri firmas converterte mentes / Muneribus largis, precibus precioque laborant / Hec pius, ut renuit, convicia sustinet ordo. / [...] / Profundens lacrimas mestus cum cardine presul / Sic genibus fuis numen celeste precatur: / "Conditor omnipotens celi terreque creator, / Cuius perpetuo sunt condita secula iussu, / Et quodcumque viget, quodcumque videtur in illis, / Clamantum, petimus, lugubres intende precatus, / Et confidentes in te, pater optime, servo, / Ecclesieque tue, pro te certare volenti, / Auxilio succurre pio: da vincere gentem / Sacrilegam, multa sanctorum cede madentem, / Et pietate tua rogantes respice servos / Qui te factorem cunctorum semper adorant. / Et tu, sancta Dei Genitrix, regina polorum, / Una cum sanctis nostros suppleto rogatus".*

44 Different roles of clergy and laity during crusade expedition were similarly distinguished in the narrative on the contribution of Venetians to the First Crusade, the work commonly known as *Translatio sancti Nicolai*, written before 1116. This view is most evident in the phrase referring to the siege of Myra: *dux suos milites ad bellandum ordinabat, episcopus suum*

the First Crusade, Robert the Monk, a contemporary of the author of *Liber Maiolichinus*, stated directly: "Knights sent to war fight, clerics and priests weep and pray"⁴⁵. This idea was developed by Baldric of Borgueil. He credited Pope Urban II with a statement in which the latter would explain to the bishops, priests and knights gathered in Clermont what their roles were supposed to be:

You then, pilgrims [i.e. crusaders], will have us [i.e. clergymen] as praying on your behalf; we [on the other hand] will have you as the *populus* of God fighting. Our task is to pray, yours to fight against the Amalekites. We keep our arms raised tirelessly, together with Moses, praying to the Heavens; you are soldiers crossing your swords with Amalek⁴⁶.

The separation of functions must have been clearly emphasized by some clergymen at the time of the Church's reform. However, the dependence of bishops on a secular ruler, especially when the latter commanded considerable respect in religious matters, might have been more visible than what was presented by the author of *Liber Maiolichinus*. Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey de Montbray perhaps acted on the duke's orders and prayed at his command⁴⁷. There are also other examples; the bishops accompanying the king of Aragon in the aforementioned battle of Fraga, which ended in the defeat of the Christians, started praying immediately when the royal camp came under attack. As the chronicler states: "When they saw this, the bishops, clergy, and all the Christian people began to beseech Lord God to deliver them from the hands of the Saracens and not to remember the sins of the King, nor those

clerum ad psallendum commonebat – Anonymous monk of Lido, *Historia de translatione sanctorum magni Nicolai terra marique miraculis gloriosi, ejusdem avunculi, alterius Nicolai, Theodorique, martyris pretiosi de civitate Mirea in monasterium S. Nicolai de Littore Venetiarum*, in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, V, Paris 1895, chap. 12, p. 262. On the role of Venetian bishop of Castello, Enrico Contarini, in this expedition, see E. Bellomo, *The First Crusade and the Latin East as Seen from Venice: The Account of the "Translatio sancti Nicolai"*, "Early Medieval Europe" XVII (2009) 4, pp. 420-443.

⁴⁵ *Roberti Monachi Historia Hierosolymitana*, in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, III, Paris 1866, bk. 3, chap. 10, p. 761: *Milites et ad bellum expediti pugnabant; sacerdotes et clerici plorabant et orabant*.

⁴⁶ *"Historia Ierosolimitana" of Baldric of Borgueil*, ed. S. Biddlecombe, Woodbridge 2014, p. 10: *Vos autem qui ituri estis, habebitis nos pro uobis oratores; nos habemus uos pro populo Dei pugnatōres. Nostrum est orare, uestrum sit contra Malechitas pugnare. Nos extendemus cum Moysē manus indefessas, orantes in celum; uos exerite et uibrate intrepidi preliatores in Amalech gladium*.

⁴⁷ Traces of the great ideological support Norman Church provided for the conquest of England and for the Duke William are also legible in the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* of ca. 1067, as shown by J.C. Hirsh, *Church and Monarch in the "Carmen de Hastingae Proelio"*, "Journal of Medieval History" VIII (1982) 4, pp. 353-357.

of his relations, nor those of them who were with him, but to chastise them gently". The last part of the sentence sounds especially interesting as it shows that in their prayers, the bishops tried to convince God to forgive the ruler his sins. It shows the author's way of thinking, characteristic of the clergy, who perceive war as a kind of ordeal in which the God grants victory only to those who prove to be worthy of His help. In an army led by a king or a duke, the purity of a leader's soul, as it was also expressed in *Vita Constantini*, gained a special significance. If the ruler's sins proved to be too great, even the bishops, with their prayers, could not appease God. According to the author, this was what had happened during the battle of Fraga, when the Christians suffered a crushing defeat and many bishops were killed "through the agency of divine vengeance". The anonymous author revealed in detail, an occurrence rare in medieval writing, what was not granted by God to the Christians: "But, in payment for their sins, their prayers were not heard before God, because the Archangel Gabriel, the most important messenger of God, did not carry them before the judgment-seat of Christ; nor was Michael, the leader of the celestial army, sent by God to help them in battle"⁴⁸.

The Spanish source visualises, in a very emphatic way, what an important role a bishop's prayer could have during a royal expedition. The success of the campaign and even the king's life and well-being, could depend on it. Such an episode was also written down by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum*. Its characters are King Valdemar I of Denmark and his foster brother, Absalon, the archbishop of Lund. The chronicler states that during a retaliatory campaign against Wendic pirates, Absalon saved the whole army from an oppression caused by the ruler's health indisposition. When the archbishop noticed that his brother was suffering from an illness, he immediately began a prayer vigil for the king and the salvation of the army. However, seeing that Valdemar's health was declining with each passing day, he decided to use potentially more effective measures. He donned his episcopal vestments and performed a ceremonial propitiatory Mass, during which he used special prayers, appropriate for the seriousness of the situation. In this way he single-handedly changed the course of the campaign⁴⁹.

48 *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, bk. 1, chap. 55, pp. 45-46: *Hoc uidentes episcopi et clerici et omnis populus Christianorum ceperunt rogare Dominus Deum ut eos eriperet de manibus Sarracenorum et ne reminisceretur peccatorum regis neque parentum suorum uel qui cum eo erant et ut ab ipso mitius corriperentur. Sed, paccatis exigentibus, orationes eorum non sunt exauditae ante Deum, quia Gabriel Archangelus, summus nuntius Dei, non tulit eas ante tribunal Christi, nec Michael, princeps militiae caelestis, missus est a Deo ut eos adiuvaret in bello.* English translation from *The World of el Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, eds. S. Barton, R. Fletcher, Manchester 2000, p. 187.

49 Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. K. Friis-Jensen, II, Copenhagen 2006, bk. 14, chap. 21, pp. 244-246.

A special value for the analysis of a bishop's role in royal expeditions has another Danish account telling about the battle between the army of King Valdemar II (Valdemar I's son) and the Estonians in 1219. According to the records, the archbishop of Lund, Anders Sunesen, took part in this battle, but performed only a spiritual function. When the Danish people's enemies started gaining advantage, the archbishop was said to have climbed, together with his suffragans and a group of clergy, onto a hill situated near the battlefield, where he fell to his knees, and *tamquam alter Moyses* raised his arms over his head and started praying, and shedding tears. The account states that whenever he had his arms raised, the Danish army was winning and whenever he felt tired and let his arms fall, the pagans immediately counterattacked. However, Anders managed to keep praying until the end of the battle to secure a victory for his kinsmen⁵⁰.

The aspect that draws attention in this legend is the comparison of the cleric to Moses, who was until then unheard of in sources concerning royal campaigns. Here, the archbishop took the place which in other texts was reserved for the rulers. Unfortunately, as there are few texts informative enough, it is difficult to assess whether or not what can be seen here was the effect of a progressing division of functions and spheres, the secular and the spiritual, between the clergy and the military leaders; or if it is just a single occurrence.

EPISCOPAL PRAYERS IN "EPISCOPAL WARFARE"

For many bishops, their participation in wars under the command of the ruler must have been something of which to be proud. However, even greater glory befell the bishops who defended their own flocks. Although such goals could not be achieved without engaging military means, and, more often than not, participating in heavy combat, this kind of military activity was easier to justify. Supporting royal military actions, even though sometimes creditable, was more often becoming a reason for open criticism. The regulations that were gaining in power at the time of the church Reform clearly stated that bishops should not participate in secular warfare, and definitely should not provide any military support. The issue of defending their own churches was

⁵⁰ The legend appears as *addidamentum* to *Chronica Jötensis*, ed. M.C. Gertz, in: *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi*, I, Copenhagen 1917, pp. 459-460: *Metropolitanus igitur cum suffraganeis et clericis in monte utrumque exercitum prospectans tamquam alter Moyses eleuatis in celum manibus pro Christianis cum lacrimis orabat. Quo leuante manus in oracione vincebat Dani; cum vero pre lassitudine seniles manus demitteret, Dani cedebantur. Episcopi vero et sacerdotes senem fulcebant.*

more complicated, mostly because by many it was seen as being part of the fulfillment of a bishop's pastoral duties. It is for this reason there were even efforts to legalize such violent behaviour. Probably one of the most interesting displays of this aim was the statement given by Sigebert of Gembloux, who in his well-known letter to the Pope Paschal II (1103), tried to argue that the military activity of clergymen had a partial legal justification. With primarily bishops in mind, he claimed that using military force and weapons against pagans and the enemies of God in defence of towns and churches was allowed, even by canons⁵¹. Obviously such arguments were connected with a quite common allowance for this kind of activity by imperial bishops. It is one of the symptoms that could be noticed in sources starting since the 11th century, of a practice of legitimizing bishops' actions using the idea of *defensio ecclesiae*, which would present those who used it as avengers of any harm done to God Himself, roles which, for hundreds of years, had been reserved for monarchs in general.

It is clear that bishops' actions, which would involve the military defence of their dioceses, were linked to the same postulate which claimed that prelates should use spiritual weapons instead of swords and spears. Obviously this factor also influenced the authors who were describing such actions; and because of that, they had to be careful when writing their narratives. When describing this kind of activity, one more additional context appears. On the one hand, ordinaries were expected to fulfil their pastoral duty to protect their flock; on the other hand, they should follow the biblical order to endure suffering. According to St Matthew, the order was either created by Christ when he said not to oppose evil but to turn the other cheek (Matthew 5:30-39), or by St Paul when he advised the Romans to leave revenge to God (Romans 12:19). The supporters of the reform, or at least some of them, believed that any overly forceful response to experienced harm was not worthy of Church hierarchs. Atto of Vercelli warned bishops not to dare use military force in order to defend themselves from aggression or for the purposes of seeking revenge, as by acting in this way they would commit a serious transgression and become demons. He advised them to follow the example of St Ambrose, who opposed the enemies in an effective way by entrusting his fate to God's protection, and passed the responsibility for taking revenge on to Him⁵².

51 Sigebert of Gembloux, *Leodiciensium epistola adversus Paschalem papam*, ed. E. Sackur, MGH, *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum*, II, Hannoverae 1892, chap. 4, p. 474: *Contra barbarorum et inimicorum Dei assultus concedunt canones etiam clericis arma ad defensionem urbis et aecclesiae*.

52 Atto of Vercelli, *Epistolae*, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, CXXXIV, Parisii 1853, col. 98.

The custom of armed revenge carried out by the clergymen was strongly condemned by Peter Damian. In addition, he believed that they could not use weapons *more saeculario* under any circumstances⁵³. In his opinion, using military means (*arma saeculi*) was reserved solely for secular authorities, and that the appropriate spiritual weapon (*gladius spiritus*) for the clergy was the Word of God⁵⁴.

One significant example of bishops' prayer as "defensive weapon" from the central Middle Ages is an account described by Gallus Anonymous in his *Gesta principum Polonorum* (ca. 1112)⁵⁵. The narrative concerns the bishop of Płock, Simon, who had to defend both a city and a whole *regio* of Mazovia that had been threatened by a plundering raid of pagan Pomeranians from the North. The chronicler states that the task of leading the military defence was undertaken by a local official (as apparently, the ruler was absent in those parts), and a bishop, who then followed the soldiers with a group of clergymen in order to efficiently support the combatants with his spiritual power. Gallus says:

For Simon, the bishop of those parts, donned his priestly vestments and in company with his clerics followed his sheep who had be torn by the teeth of the wolves, mourning loudly, and strove to accomplish with spiritual arms and prayers what he was not permitted to do with material weapons. And as in ancient days of the sons of Israel smote the Amalekites trough this prayers of Moses, so now the Mazovians won victory over the Pomeranians with help of their bishop's prayers⁵⁶.

This account combines a few important ideological definitions. Gallus stated that Simon, when accompanying the defenders, was fulfilling his pastoral duty, as he did not abandon his flock but instead protected them when the bloodthirsty wolves attacked. As the author assures us, it was not about military defence (*arma materialis*), but an intervention with the use of spiritual weapons and prayer (*arma spiritalis et orationes*). In an explicit way, this shows the author's attachment to postulates of reform that were formed at that time in

⁵³ *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel, MGH, *Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, IV.2, München 1988, no. 87, p. 509.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 513.

⁵⁵ About the work and its author, see the summary of recent research in E. Mühle, "Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum": *Neue Forschungen zum so genannten Gallus Anonymus*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" LXV (2009), pp. 459-496.

⁵⁶ Gallus Anonymous, *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, eds. and transl. P.W. Knoll, F. Schaer, Budapest-New York 2003, bk. 2, chap. 49, pp. 207-209: *Quippe Symon, illius regionis presul, oves suas lupinis morsibus laceratas luctuosis vocibus cum suis clericis infulis indutus sacerdotalibus sequebatur et, quod armis sibi materialibus non licebat, hoc armis perficere spiritalibus et orationibus satagebat. Et sicut antiquitus filii Israel Amalechitas orationibus Moysi devicerunt, ita nunc Muzouienses de Pomoranis victoriam, sui pontificis adiuti precibus, habuerunt.*

Epistola de episcopis, or a little later by Gratian. Indeed, Bishop Simon's actions were compared to the prayer battle fought by Moses at Rephidim.

The image presented by Gallus Anonymous is unique, because of the clear and plain manner with which he characterized the bishop's spiritual power during military actions, and how he gained power due to the effectiveness of a prayer, which in turn caused God to react, the consequence of which resulted in a miraculous victory for the defenders. This is supplemented with a clear declaration negating any possibility of the use of secular weapons by the ordinary.

There are few narratives which can match the account of Bishop Simon in this respect. One of them is definitely the description of Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg's defence of his city and his flock from the Hungarians in 955, written by Bern of Reichenau (1020-1048). In this testimony, the bishop goes to the battlefield without armour, and wearing only clerical vestments, to sing, together with the clergy that accompanied him, psalms, and to call for God's help for the combatants. Not unlike with Gallus' work, the bishop was presented as the good shepherd of his sheep who does not fear the wolves, although the author did not compare him to Moses on this occasion, but instead to Joshua at the walls of Jericho⁵⁷.

Out of the several sources concerning the actions of the bishop of Worcester, Wulfstan, during the defence of his city from the barons rebelling against the rule of William II (1088), two accounts are also worth mentioning. Of all authors, Henry of Huntingdon put the greatest emphasis on the spiritual aspect of a bishop's role. He depicted how, when the king's enemies arrived at the city walls, the bishop went to a church and with a prayer, called "his best friend in need", i.e. God, to help; God, in response, immediately forced back the assault⁵⁸. John of Worcester described Wulfstan's actions in fewer words. The chronicler stated that during the defence of the city and the people, the ordinary behaved like "the second Moses". However, he also added that the

57 *Vita Sancti Uodalrici confessoris atque pontificis*, ed. D. Blume, in: idem, *Bern von Reichenau (1008-1048): Abt, Gelehrter, Biograph*, Ostfildern 2008, pp. 240-242.

58 *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, London 1879, bk. 7, chap. 1, p. 214: *Principes vero Herefordshyre et Salopescyre cum Walensibus praedantes combusserunt provinciam Wirecestre usque ad portas urbis. Cum autem templum et castellum assilire pararent, Wlstanus episcopus sanctus quemdam amicum familiarem summis in necessitatibus compellavit, Deum videlicet excelsum. Cuius ope coram altari iacens in paucis militibus emissis quinque mille hostium, vel occidit, vel cepit; caeteros vero mirabiliter fugavit.* More about the role of the Bishop Wulfstan in the defence of Worcester, which definitely was not limited only to prayers, see: K.A. Fenton, *The Question of Masculinity in William of Malmesbury's Presentation of Wulfstan of Worcester*, "Anglo-Norman Studies" XXVIII (2006), pp. 124-137; eadem, *Writing Masculinity and Religious Identity in Henry of Huntingdon*, in: *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. P.H. Cullum, K.J. Lewis, Woodbridge 2013, p. 73.

bishop, with his prayers, caused God to join the fight, who – as the prelate told the defenders – “fights with neither sword nor spear”⁵⁹.

Despite certain differences, all of the texts are connected by one principal idea – that in the defence of the bishops’ cities, as well as of the whole dioceses, and the people, the bishop’s prayers are a very potent weapon as they have the power of affecting God Himself. God, once summoned by the prelates’ prayers, protects His followers and takes revenge on those who dare to harm His protégés. The reason behind such a belief was revealed in an interesting way by Huntingdon, when he stated that between a bishop and God there is a certain friendship or even familiarity (*familiaritas*).

What is really worth noting in the narratives by Henry and Gallus, is the comparison between the bishops with Moses fighting with prayers during the battle of Rephidim. As I have shown, such an *exemplum* in descriptions of campaigns led by secular rulers was usually used in reference to emperors and kings, and not to the prelates accompanying them (the legend of Anders Sunesen being rather late exception). The bishops were usually given the role of Aaron and Hur. However, some authors who were describing the military actions arranged by bishops, decided to use the example of the Patriarch of Israel in order to show the might of ordinaries’ prayer efforts by comparing them to the battle with the Amalekites. It is necessary to point out here that the role which Moses played according to the Bible, seemed to be the best example of military activity among the supporters of the idea of Church hierarchs abstinence from weapons and combat. This is exactly what was believed by Gratian and the author of *Epistola de episcopis*, as well as Pseudo-Egbert before them.

An early example of such practice is *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* written in the second decade of the 8th century by Stephen of Ripon, the bishop of York. The author considered comparing the saint bishop to Moses while he was describing the skirmish which took place when a group of Christians, led by Wilfrid, was attacked by a large group of pagans. In the author’s opinion, when the fighting began, the bishop and the clergymen that accompanied him fell to their knees, raised their arms up and started praying like Moses prayed with Aaron and Hur. This act not only saved Christians from being decimated, but it also brought them a miraculous victory while losing only a handful of people from their group⁶⁰.

59 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, III, p. 54: [...] *pater reuerendus Wlstanus, Wigornensis episcopus, magna turbatur molestia, sed Dei respirans misericordia, iam quodammodo alter Moyses parat se uiriliter staturus pro populo et ciuitate sua. Hostes ad debellandum parant sua arma, ipse pro imminente periculo fundit precamina, exhortans subditos ne desperent de Deo, qui non pugnat gladio neque hasta.*

60 Eddius, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and transl. B. Colgrave, Cambridge-New York 1985, chap. 13, pp. 27-29.

In the early medieval sources, the measure used by Stephen, his prayers and tears, was, however, not unique⁶¹. It seems that the 12th-century references to Exodus 17:8-13 in descriptions of bishops' battles became more common.

One of these is the earliest native Polish chronicler, Master Vincentius (1150/1160-1223). In his *Chronica Polonorum*, he expanded on the theme addressed by Gallus Anonymous and described the Płock shepherd's role in the fight of the Masovians with the Pomeranians. In his opinion, during the battle, Bishop Simon, "who combined the qualities of a patriarch and a lawgiver", after he encouraged the defenders with his words and sent them to combat, walked away from the battlefield a little, in order to pray continuously in seclusion until "lots of the raiders fell dead and only a few managed to escape". The chronicler's commentary, which comes right after that, unambiguously explains what the source of inspiration for such a characteristic in the bishop was. The bishop was like Moses: "when he prayed, the Amalekites would fall dead; when he kept his arms raised, Israel would win, and when he tired and let them fall the Amalekites gained strength"⁶². For precision's sake, one should add that in his version, the chronicler completely overlooked the ducal *comes* mentioned by Gallus. Bishop Simon was the sole defender of the town and province.

Equally significant is the account included in the hagiography of a bishop of an Umbrian diocese in Gubbio, St Ubaldus (d. 1160), written by his immediate successor in office, Bishop Theobaldus. In the text, the city and its shepherd were threatened with aggression by eleven powerful cities, who united against the diocesan and decided to take control of the city by exile of Ubaldus. The bishop, however, took some remedial measures. In comparison to the previous sources there are some minor differences, but the account contains more details. We learn that when it became clear that the city would be attacked, Ubaldus organised a great procession which circled the walls

61 G. Bühner-Thierry, *De Saint Germain de Paris à Saint Ulrich d'Augsbourg: L'évêque du haut Moyen Âge, garant de l'intégrité de sa cité*, in: *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge: Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves*, eds. P. Boucheron, J. Chiffolleau, Paris 2000, pp. 27-41.

62 *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadlubek Chronica Polonorum*, ed. M. Plezia, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova, XI, Cracoviae 1994, pp. 94-95: *Adest uenerabilis antistes Symon institis ac infulis pontificalium insignitus, non tam luctu quam precum et suffragiorum deuotione miserabile spectaculum prosequitur. Qui eminus exclamat: "In uno tantum, filioli, spes est uincendi; non in multis est uictoria, nec mortis metuendum est discrimen, maxime cum pro salute agitur proximorum. Quia mors corporis hominem non extinguit, set ad premium uirtutis admittit". Quo dicto suos pugne, sese orationi committit nec cessat, donec omnis illa predonum numerositas succubuit, paucis admodum fuga elapsis. Sic omni suorum excussa preda, sic hostibus, prostratis, letus cum suis refert tropheum. [...] Symon, [...] qui patriarche ac legislatoris in se uirtutem expressit. Nec enim nescit Moyse orante Amalechitas confectos, qui cum lassas manus demitteret, conualescebat Amalech et cum erectas sustineret, uincebat Israel.*

of Gubbio three times, while calling on God Almighty for help. When the armies gathered at the city walls, the saint began preparations for battle. He gathered the defenders, strengthened them with his words, ensured that he would take care of the Heavens' support and then blessed them. At that point, the bishop and the defenders parted ways, but only in the physical sense. It is especially interesting that when the bishop's *populus*, probably also including cathedral knights, went to face the enemy forces, the spiritual bond continued to last because the bishop climbed onto the roof of his *claustrum*; according to the author this was the highest point in the city, and there he began his spiritual battle in the intention of victory. In this way, the promise given to the combatants proved to be real, as with the bishop's and God's help, the city defenders easily defeated their enemies, who during the first clash dropped their weapons and started fleeing. According to Theobaldus "just as God destroyed the Amalekites when Moses prayed for Israel, so when Ubaldus prayed, the Lord put to flight all the adversaries of Gubbio"⁶³.

In Theobaldus' narrative, the most intriguing part is not the comparison between the bishop and Moses, but the mention that the saint, by climbing to the highest point in the city, emulated the Patriarch of Israel, who had prayed on top of a hill during the battle of Rephidim. In that respect, the account corresponds with the legend of Archbishop Sunesen, although the metropolitan was closer to the biblical archetype because he and the clergy that accompanied him prayed on a natural elevation. This detailed information from Theobaldus and the author of the legend about the battle of the Danes against the Estonians, can be contrasted with narratives which do not compare bishops to Moses, but contain similar image. Especially strong associations with both accounts can be evoked by a certain passage from *Relatio de Standardo proelio* by Aelred of Rievaulx, a description of the battle of Northallerton in 1138 between English defenders and the Scots. The most interesting here is how Aelred presented the role of the bishop of Orkney, Ralph. In the author's opinion, right after the battle began, the bishop climbed

63 *Vita S. Ubaldi episcopi Eugubini per Tebaldum episcopum successorem*, Acta Sanctorum, XVI, Mai III, Parisii-Romae 1866, p. 631: *Illis temporibus undecim civitates potentes, cum tota virtute sua convenerunt in unum, et Eugebium venientes castra prope muros posuerunt. [...] Ante aliquantos dies vir Dei Ubaldus cum processione magna triduo civitatem circumvoverat, et pro salute populi devotissime omnipotentem Deum deprecatus fuerat. Cum ergo dies pugnae venisset, Sanctus Dei populum suum prudenti exhortatione commonuit, et ad sperandum indubitanter de coelo victoriam constanter animavit. Et isti quidem, episcopi sui benedictionibus muniti, pergunt ad bellum: episcopus autem claustrum suum ascendit tectum, locum scilicet excelsum, unde videret populum suum. Sed qui Moyse orante Amalecitas coram Israel prostravit, ipse Ubaldo deprecante coram Eugubinis omnes adversarios in fugam convertit. Nam primo congressu pugnae omnes terga vertunt, fugiunt, arma projiciunt.* English translation by Maureen Miller in *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation*, eds. K.L. Jansen, J. Drell, F. Andrews, Philadelphia 2009, pp. 43-46.

onto a nearby hill. From there he granted the combatants absolution, before raising his arms to the sky and starting to call for God's help for the army⁶⁴.

Based on these three accounts it is difficult to unambiguously decide how the idea of a prayer on an elevation was interpreted. Theobaldus stated that his predecessor climbed onto the roof because he wanted to see all of the city's defenders. It seems, however, that the act of climbing onto an elevation in order to pray had a deeper, religious sense, namely that it symbolised getting closer to God; this particular meaning should have been clear for medieval people. From such a high place, closer to Heaven, prayers and pleas were reaching God ears with greater ease. This interpretation is further supported by Henry of Huntingdon's information concerning the bishop of Worcester who prayed with the intention of victory in front of the altar of his church, a place where God was especially present, and where contact with Him was made easier. For the same reason, a priest's prayer with his arms raised in front of an altar in liturgical texts was presented as an allegory of Moses' prayer battle of Rephidim⁶⁵.

CONCLUSIONS

The division of bishop's prayers into those included in campaigns led by secular rulers and those episcopal prayers utilised in defensive actions conducted by the bishops themselves, as have been presented in this article, match the two main areas of bishops' military activity⁶⁶. Such a differentiation is a convenient measure, however, as it does not completely suit the nature of the phenomenon. The sources' significance, in spite of multiple similarities, can vary; and not all accounts can be easily categorised. It is important to mention that the texts can be divided into different groups, and that because of their context, they can be very similar on their form level, with those put in one category able to be very different in that respect. A good example is the comparison of the legend of Anders Sunesen with the text by Master Vincentius about the ordinary of Płock, Simon. The possible similarities originate from the fact that the author of the legend presented his character as an autonomous individual, independent of King Valdemar II, while

64 Aelred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, ed. R. Howlett, in: *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I.*, III, London 1885, pp. 195-196: *Interea episcopus Orchardensis [...] stans in eminentiori loco, cum populo proeliandi necessitatem [...] erectis manibus divinum auxilium precabantur.*

65 See esp. A. Kirkman, *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass: Medieval Context to Modern Revival*, Cambridge-New York 2010, pp. 107-108, 122.

66 S. Burkhardt, *Bishops*, in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology*, ed. C.J. Rogers, New York 2010, pp. 147-151.

Vincentius' work, despite the fact his account fits the category of defending the people and territory of the diocese, in fact tells the story of a military campaign as the bishop leaves the city walls and accompanies the troops like bishops in royal armies. In Gallus' account, this is even more visible – the bishop acts like a “typical” defender, but at the same time he accompanies the duke's official.

General similarities originate from the fact that the bishop at prayer has distinct universal features. What is more, presenting the phenomenon was sometimes to a lesser extent dependent on the mediatory context of episcopal prayers, and to a greater extent on its main sense, which was obtaining God's help for the *populus* and influencing God to oppose the enemy. In both contexts, the point of the bishops' actions was identical; and that is the reason for similar forms despite the contextual differences.

However, the context was important, and it sometimes visibly influenced the way in which the bishops' function was presented. It was easier for authors who described the defence of the diocese, the Christian folk, the Church or land, and where the bishops had a clearly autonomous role, to show their characters as representations of Moses, and to compare the defenders and leaders as the people of Israel and Joshua. Contrary to this, such measures were a rarity in the accounts of royal campaigns. This was because it would require the “reduction” of the character of the ruler to the role of Joshua, which would have been against the tradition – let us call it Constantinian – of giving the royal prayer a superior role, as is also based on the actions of the Patriarch of Israel. In the Middle Ages, such an image of the royal prayer must have been very long-lasting. In the Empire, at the time of Lothar III's reign, it still remained valid – at least in some circles. A meaningful example can be the words of Adalbert of Bamberg in his *Vita Heinrici II imperatoris*, who said that the Emperor won wars more with prayers than with weapons, just like Moses himself⁶⁷. The authors who valued such a perspective reserved the role of Aaron and Hur for the bishops, although there were also those, like the author of the legend of Anders Sunesen, who easily “demoted” the king to the role of Joshua and presented the accompanying bishop in a way similar to the character of Moses. Using such a measure must have been easier for those who supported the idea of separation of competence between *oratores* and *bellatores*. It is difficult to assess if there was some dominating trend in that respect during the examined period. Some of the 12th-century narratives show that the bishops' role in royal armies did not differ much from the one described by Eusebius.

⁶⁷ *Vita Heinrici II imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores*, IV, Hannoverae 1841, p. 810: [...] *et sicut Moyses precibus magis quam armis triumphavit.*

ABSTRACT

The article analyses the issue of bishops saying prayers during military actions in the period of early and high Middle Ages. The conducted research proves that the tradition of describing bishops' prayers during military activities derives from Late Antiquity and its beginnings are connected with the bishops fulfilling their duty to defend the capital cities of their dioceses. However, at that time the prayer had already been noticed by secular authorities as indicated by the accounts mentioning Constantine the Great using it. E.g. according to the Eusebius of Caesarea the Emperor was aided by bishops' prayers during his campaigns just like the Book of Exodus says praying Moses was aided by Aaron and Hur during the battle of Rephidim between the Israelites and the Amalekites. In the Middle Ages this tradition was continued primarily by Carolingian and Ottonian emperors as well as other monarchs emulating the imperial ideology. Starting in the 9th century the texts postulating that the bishops should limit their military activity to prayers were a gaining support. In the next centuries, together with the intensification of the ecclesiastical reform and the endeavor to maximally eliminate military tendencies in the episcopacy, these opinions were expressed in a particular way. The authors of the reformed legal codes, by skillfully selecting older *auctoritates*, reasoned that bishops' prayers are an effective weapon against both visible and invisible enemies and the Moses' prayer battle was seen as a model for bishops' prayers.

This research shows that especially in the 12th century this view was often used in historiographical and hagiographical texts. It resulted with the monarch's prayer being perceived as less important for the success of a military campaign. A tendency to abandon the "Constantinian pattern", which compared praying ordinaries to Aaron and Hur, in favour of an approach valuing bishops' prayer on its own.

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**WŁADYSŁAW THE WHITE, BARTOSZ WEZEMBORG
AND "THE KNIGHTS OF BURGUNDY":
ON A CERTAIN HISTORIOGRAPHIC MYTH CONCERNING
THE CIVIL WAR IN KUJAWY UNDER THE REIGN
OF LOUIS I OF HUNGARY**



In 1363/1364, Władysław the White, duke of Gniewkowo, son of Duke Casimir III of Gniewkowo, decided to sell the domains he inherited to his uncle, King Casimir III the Great for 1 thousand florins. Having peregrinated around Europe for some time, the former duke of Gniewkowo joined a Cistercian monastery in Citeaux and later moved to a Benedictine monastery in Dijon in Burgundy. After King Casimir died and his nephew, Louis I of Hungary, assumed the Polish throne, Władysław, the last male descendant of the Kujawy line of the Piast family, attempted to conquer the Duchy of Inowrocław twice, in 1373/1374 and in 1375-1376¹. His efforts were extensively documented in *Kronika* by the archdeacon of Gniezno, Jan (Janek) of Czarnków. Upon his story Jan Długosz based his account of those events in *Roczniki*². Władysław

1 See the latest biography of the duke: J. Śliwiński, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333-20 luty 1388): Ostatni książę kujawski, największy podróżnik spośród Piastów*, Kraków 2011, his genealogy is extensively covered also in: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, Poznań-Wrocław 2001, pp. 185-189, in this work we disregard the then internal situation in the Kingdom of Poland, especially issues related to Władysław the White's pursues in the 1370s (an attempt to suggest his candidacy for the Polish throne or just to regain the Northern Kujawy patrimony?), because it had already been appropriately discussed in the cited J. Śliwiński's study, using references to older source literature on the subject matter.

2 *Kronika Jana z Czarnkowa* (henceforth: KJC), ed. J. Szlachtowski, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1872, pp. 654-661; *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae* (henceforth: Długosz), ed. S. Gawęda et al., X: 1370-1405, Varsaviae 1985, pp. 32-35, 39-42, 44-47.

the White's rebellion was also extensively covered in the modern Polish historiography³. Among recent papers on this issue, there are also voices arguing that a knight regiment was sent to support the mentioned Piast by Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, the younger brother of the French King, Charles V the Wise.

This idea was first suggested in the Polish historiography by Józef Śliwiński in the older versions of his biography of Duke Władysław the White, suggesting that its protagonist received armed reinforcement from Philip the Bold and that during fights in Kujawy some Burgundian knights were taken captive⁴. Another researcher who touched upon the issue was Ryszard Kabaciński. In his article on the Duchy of Gniewkowo, he mentioned that Burgundian knights supported Duke Władysław during his siege of Złotoria in 1376. He later had to buy out those who were taken captive by Louis I of Hungary⁵.

The argument that the Burgundian knights supported Władysław the White during his rebellion in Kujawy in the 1370s was mostly substantiated from a prosopographical perspective by Stanisław A. Sroka, who indicated a number of Philip the Bold's subjects that were supposed to receive monetary compensation for buying themselves out of captivity. According to the researcher, these were: Guillaume and Pierre de Trémoille, Jean de Pontailier, Gavignon de Semur, Jean le Borgne de Poquières, Perrinet de la Haye, Eudes de Grancey, and Oudinet de Chazeron. The researcher also claimed the Burgundian knights were kept in captivity for several years. Most certainly they participated in the fights in Złotoria in 1376, whereas it was only around 18 April 1380 when their duke sent his chamberlain Bertrand de Chartres to the Kingdom of Bohemia and Hungary (!) in order to take the necessary steps to free them from the captivity in Poland. It was precisely Guillaume, Pierre de Trémoille and Jean de Pontailier who allegedly were commanders of the mentioned military excursion⁶.

The issue in question gained further interest in a newer biography of Władysław the White by Józef Śliwiński. The author maintained his previous stance, in which he argued in favour of the Burgundian knights participating

3 Listed among other studies on the character by J. Śliwiński, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333-20 lutego 1388)...*, pp. 14-16.

4 J. Śliwiński, *Książę Władysław Biały a sukcesja tronu polskiego*, Lubawa 1982, pp. 17-18; idem, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333-1388): Ostatni Piast kujawski*, Olsztyn 1995, p. 100.

5 R. Kabaciński, *Księstwo gniewkowskie w XIV w.*, in: K. Jasiński, R. Kabaciński, Cz. Sikorski, *Gniewkowo w średniowieczu: Książęta, księstwo, miasto*, Gniewkowo 1993, pp. 41-42; idem, *Władysław Biały*, in: *Inowrocławski słownik biograficzny*, IV, ed. E. Mikołajczak, Inowrocław 2000, p. 131.

6 S.A. Sroka, *Książę Władysław Biały w Burgundii*, "Studia Historyczne" XXXIX (1996) 2, pp. 153-154.

in the Kujawy rebellion supporting Władysław the White. However, he provided further evidence by citing the aforementioned article by Stanisław A. Sroka⁷.

It is noteworthy, though, that the above researchers based their speculations on works by Western European historians. The thesis that the excursion of the Burgundian knights was aimed at supporting Władysław the White was first advanced by a French historian, Ernest Petit, in a 1908 monograph on Philip the Bold as the founder of the Duchy of Burgundy. It was later referenced by Richard Vaughan, in his biography of the younger brother of Charles V the Wise⁸.

The thesis that Burgundian knights supported Władysław the White's rebellion in Kujawy seems reinforced by the fact that, as a Benedictine in Dijon, he could have indeed had contacts and initiate political relationships with Philip the Bold. On the other hand, there are serious doubts regarding the matter.

What is particularly intriguing is lack of any reference to the Burgundian knights participation in the rebellion in *Kronika* by Jan of Czarnków, who was a then contemporary witness to the events⁹. Moreover, he was especially close to what happened during the revolt, as an archdeacon of Gniezno, located relatively near Kujawy¹⁰.

If we agree with Józef Śliwiński, Ryszard Kabaciński and Stanisław A. Sroka, who claim that Burgundians were taken captive in 1376 near Złotoria, it is also difficult to understand why it was only in late April 1380 when a representative of Philip the Bold set out to make an effort to free them. Especially given the fact that among the captives there were members of the then prominent Burgundian knight families such as de Trémoille and de Pontailler (Guillaume de Trémoille was a squire, a courtier and a close friend of the duke, while the brother of Jean de Pontailler, Gui, was Marshal

7 J. Śliwiński, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333 - 20 luty 1388)...*, pp. 91-92.

8 E. Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois*, I.1: *Philippe le Hardi, 1363-1380*, Paris 1909, pp. 355-356; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State*, Woodbridge 2011, p. 14; the R. Vaughan's work was used by J. Śliwiński in later biographies of Władysław the White (*Książę Władysław Biały a sukcesja tronu polskiego*, pp. 17-18), while E. Petit's work was cited by S.A. Sroka (*Książę Władysław Biały w Burgundii*, pp. 153-154; J. Śliwiński, *Książę Władysław Biały a sukcesja tronu polskiego*, pp. 17-18; idem, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333-1388)...*, p. 100); R. Kabaciński used earlier biographies of the duke by J. Śliwiński.

9 The chronicler's silence regarding the support from Burgundy for the duke of Gniezkowo was already examined by S.A. Sroka (*Książę Władysław Biały w Burgundii*, p. 154), however the researcher did not consider it a rationale enough to undermine the hypothesis that Philip the Bold's subjects took part in the fights in Kujawy.

10 J. Bieniak, *Jan (Janek) z Czarnkowa: Niedokończona kronika polska z XIV wieku*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XLVII (2009), p. 120.

of Burgundy in 1364-1392, the governor of Burgundy in 1381-1387 and the governor of Flanders in 1384)¹¹. It is doubtful, therefore, that the ruler of Burgundy would allow Guillaume and Pierre de Trémoille, as well as Jean de Pontailler, to remain captive somewhere in Poland for over three years¹².

What also certainly speaks against the theory that Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, provided military support for duke of Gniewkowo is aspects related to the dynastic policy of the House of Valois in the 1370s. It does not seem to matter that Louis I of Hungary, being also the king of Poland, against whom Władysław the White revolted, was also a close agnatic relative of the House of Valois, because also the House of Anjou-Hungary constituted a side line of the French House of Capet¹³. Both the European dynasties were joined in the 1370s by matters far more contemporary. The issue had been extensively discussed in Polish historiography by Jan Dąbrowski and recently by Stanisław A. Sroka. According to the findings by the mentioned researchers, desiring to receive support from France in ensuring his daughters inheritance in the Kingdom of Naples, Louis I of Hungary planned to marry his oldest daughter Catherine (born in 1370) to one of the sons of Charles V the Wise. An agreement on the relationship was signed by a Hungarian diplomatic mission sent to Paris and the French king on 10 August 1374. It stipulated that Catherine of Hungary was to marry the younger son of Charles V – Louis I of Orléans – who was two years old at the time. Even though the then Queen of Naples, Joanna I, strongly opposed the marriage agreement, it was valid until the middle of 1378, when Catherine died¹⁴. As seen above, close political interests were shared by the House of Valois and the House of

11 E. Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne...*, I.1, passim; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold...*, pp. 22, 33, 35, 83, 114, 126, 156, 213; T. Poklewski-Koziełł, *Rubież Prosný i Baryczy 1333-1401: Fortyfikacje stałe*, Łódź 1994, pp. 28-29, 102-103; idem, *Bartosz Wezenborg – możny rycerz wielkopolski, który nie umiał negocjować (druga połowa XIV wieku)*, in: idem, *Studia o zamkach średniowiecznych*, Warszawa 2012, p. 188.

12 Złotoria most probably surrendered in late autumn 1376 or in early 1377 at the latest; the final settlement between Duke Władysław and King Louis was reached at a meeting in Brześć Kujawski in early spring 1377. The capitulation was mediated by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Winrych von Kniprode and his dignitaries (most certainly as arbitrators from the duke's side) and certain Silesia dukes, not mentioned by names (most certainly as arbitrators from King Louis' side), in the presence of a number of Polish nobles. See: J. Śliwiński, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333 - 20 lutego 1388)...*, pp. 95-96; A. Szweđa, *Wyprawa Ludwika Andegawenkiego z 1377 r. w kontekście litewskiej polityki zakonu krzyżackiego*, "Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne" XXXIX (2013), pp. 18-19.

13 J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego 1370-1382*, Kraków 2009; pp. 12-14; S.A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich*, Kraków 2015, p. 11.

14 J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego...*, pp. 298-302; S.A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich*, pp. 68-70; the latest summary of the dynasty policy of Louis towards the end of his life see J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga król Polski*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 70-76.

Anjou-Hungary, still after Duke Władysław's rebellion was over. Therefore, it seems doubtful that Philip the Bold sent armed reinforcement to the Piast rebel, because this would harm the interests of the expected father-in-law of his nephew. There seems to be no evidence suggesting that in the second half of the 1380s there was any significant disagreement between Philip and his older brother, Charles V, who, as the patriarch of the House of Valois, approved and endorsed the policy of connecting and forming a dynastic alliance with the House of Anjou-Hungary¹⁵.

The hypothesis that Burgundians participated in the rebellion in Kujawy in the 1370s is finally refuted by findings of Werner Paravicini, comprised in a monumental work on the contribution of Western European knights in military activities led by the Teutonic Order against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e. Prussian raids¹⁶. He criticised Ernest Petit's statement about military reinforcement of Philip the Bold's knights to Władysław the White, indicating that the author of the hypothesis did not know the true chronological order of events during the rebellion. References cited by the French researcher that are supposed to confirm the Burgundian knights' captivity in Poland (empowerment of Bertrand de Chartres of 18 April 1380 and compensation for buy-outs from captivity dated at summer that year) are dated too late, according to Werner Paravicini, and thus do not prove that the captivity resulted from the military activities during the Władysław's rebellion¹⁷. The German researcher also presented a number of references proving that Burgundian and French knights held captive in Poland were taken prisoners by a Polish noble Bartosz Wezemborg during their return from the Teutonic Prussia, whence they set out for a raid on Lithuania. It was to take place in the winter of 1379/1380. However, the crusade on the last European pagan country had to be cancelled due to unfavourable weather conditions (winter was not cold enough)¹⁸.

The matter of the French knights returning from Prussia and being taken captive by Bartosz had been discussed before in the Polish source literature¹⁹;

15 E. Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne...*, I.2, pp. 281-329; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold...*, pp. 6-22.

16 W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, I-II, Sigmaringen 1989-1995.

17 *Ibidem*, I, pp. 240-241.

18 *Ibidem*, pp. 239-242.

19 See a few sentences in H. Polackówna's work, *Ród Wezenborgów w Polsce i jego pierwotne gniazdo*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie" VII (1924-1925), p. 146; a short reference in an article by S. Mikucki, *Rycerstwo słowiańskie w Wapenboek Gelrege*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" III (1958), p. 109 (he dates the "Burgundian" knights captivity somewhat broadly between the summer of 1378 and August 1387); similarly, a short note based on the work of H. Polackówna in an article by K. Górski, J. Pakulski, *Udział Polaków w krzyżackich rejsach na Litwę w latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XIV stulecia*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LII (1987) 3, p. 53; a few paragraphs in a paper by T. Poklewski-Koziół, *Bartosz Wezenborg...*,

however, it appears justified to examine it further, because the event was one of the few Polish-French encounters in the late Middle Ages.

Firstly, it is crucial to focus on the captor of the knights returning from Prussia to the Kingdom of France. The Polish source literature discussed Bartosz Wezemborg extensively before, so the short biography of his that follows will be based on the output of my predecessors²⁰. Reaching somewhat ahead of the discussion, it is worth noting that Wezemborg was one of the most prominent Polish nobles of the last three decades of the 14th century, particularly given the fact that he achieved his strong position as a relatively new subject of the Kingdom of Poland. His family originated from the Upper Sorbian Weissenberg near Bautzen. However, in the early 13th century, the family's founder, Peregryn, emigrated to Silesia, where he joined the court of Henry the Bearded, duke of Wrocław. In 1227, he died in a battle defending the duke in the Gaśawa massacre. His numerous descendants were later witnessed in several Silesian duchies. Bartosz was a son of Peregryn (1337-1357), who resided in the Duchy of Oleśnica (directly bordering with Wielkopolska, the Greater Poland), where he owned a dozen villages. The circumstances surrounding his son's relocation to Poland are unclear; though it did not mean losing his assets in Silesia. Even before Bartosz Wezemborg received a large portion of land from King Casimir III the Great, he owned Nabyszyce in the county of Kalisz (near Odolanów). It is not certain, however, in what way he obtained it: whether through an earlier bestowal from the king or if it was

pp. 188-189 (the researcher knows and relies on the work by W. Paravicini) and a few sentences in a biography of Bartosz Wezemborg: A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV (1374-1426): Studium o elicie politycznej Mazowsza na przełomie XIV i XV wieku*, Warszawa 1998, p. 148 (however, the researcher from Toruń does not know the work by W. Paravicini and wrongly suggests that Bartosz took the Burgundian knights captive when they set out on a raid to Prussia).

²⁰ H. Polaczówna, *Najstarsze źródła heraldyki polskiej*, Lwów 1924, pp. 22-25; eadem, *Ród Wezenborgów w Polsce...*, pp. 135-149; eadem, *Bartosz z Wezenborga*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* I (1935), pp. 322-323; S. Kozierowski, *Obce rycerstwo w Wielkopolsce w XIII-XVI wieku*, Poznań 1929, pp. 95, 117-118; H. Chłopocka, *Wezenborg Bartosz*, in: *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa-Poznań 1981, p. 807; K. Górski, J. Pakulski, *Udział Polaków w krzyżackich rejsach...*, pp. 52-53; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, pp. 241-242; T. Jurek, *Kandydatura Konrada II oleśnickiego do tronu polskiego w roku 1369*, "Roczniki Historyczne" LVII (1991), p. 56; idem, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku do połowy XIV wieku*, Poznań 1996, pp. 304-305; idem, *Obce rycerstwo w średniowiecznej Wielkopolsce*, in: *Wielkopolska, Polska, Europa: Studia dedykowane pamięci Alicji Karłowskiej-Kamzowej*, ed. J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2006, p. 50; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, pp. 147-150; T. Poklewski-Kozieł, *Bartosz Wezenborg...*, pp. 185-192; W. Brzeziński, *Koligacje małżeńskie możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław 2012, pp. 222-238; see also *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa poznańskiego w średniowieczu* (henceforth: SHGP) I (1982-1987), pp. 75, 126, 326, 429, 515, 576-577, 704; II (1988-1992), pp. 475, 586; III (1993-1999), pp. 756, 835; IV (2001-2008), pp. 16, 72, 321, with valuable information on Bartosz and his closest family.

purchased by Peregryn or by Bartosz himself. Under a document issued in Chęciny on 4 November 1369, the young Wezemborg (already an appointed knight) obtained from the Polish king the town of Koźminek along with the following villages: Chodupki (currently Chodypki), Nakwasin, Osuchów, and Złotniki in the county of Kalisz²¹. The royal donation was motivated by numerous merits earned in favour of the last Piast on the Polish throne ("inspectis consideratisque multiplicibus operosis meritis"). The nature of the merits is not known, though. Nevertheless, the king must have valued Bartosz highly, because under the same document he granted the inhabitants of Koźminek the right to trade and exempted them from any trade fees and customs duty in Kalisz, Sieradz and Warta. Bartosz obtained yet another privilege that was rather rare: a right to be rendered homage by the noblemen residing within a radius of four miles from Koźminek and making them his vassals²². According to Tomasz Jurek, besides the town of Koźminek and its surrounding estates, Bartosz obtained from Casimir III the Great the towns of Poniec and Gostyń along with the surrounding estates²³. Without much trouble, he also joined the court of Louis I of Hungary, the successor of his then patron. From this monarch Bartosz obtained the *starostwo* (eldership) of Odolanów with a castle and surrounding estates. This must have happened before 19 December 1372, because at that time he was already referred to as the *starosta* (elder) of Odolanów²⁴. According to chronicler Jan of Czarnków,

21 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* (henceforth: KDW), I-XI, Poznań 1877-1999, III, ed. I. Zakrzewski, no. 1618.

22 On rare cases of the homage system on the border of the Greater Poland and Silesia and Neumark see T. Jurek, "Omagialitas alias manowstwo": Przyczynek do dziejów recepcji prawa lennego w średniowiecznej Wielkopolsce, in: *Kościół, kultura, społeczeństwo: Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, eds. S. Bylina et al., Warszawa 2000, pp. 249-271; the researcher examines the early 15th-century homage relations near the Gostyń estates that also belonged to Bartosz and later to his brother Hinczka, and Bartosz's sons; however, what may indicate that Wezemborg was an overlord in the Poniec land is the fact that still in 1387 he would confirm real estate sales made by a nobleman in the area of "districtus Ponecensis" (KDW, III, no. 1866).

23 T. Jurek, *Kandydatura Konrada II oleśnickiego...*, pp. 54, 56; idem, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku...*, p. 304; idem, *Obce rycerstwo w średniowiecznej Wielkopolsce*, p. 50. The sources do not allow to determine exactly the reasons of King Casimir's generosity towards Wezemborg. It might be explained by his alleged military merits during the last Polish excursion against Lithuania in the war for Red Ruthenia in 1366, which ended with a peace treaty ("eternal peace") with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in autumn the same year. The treaty survived until the death of the last Piast on the Polish throne (Poland achieved significant military successes during the campaign, which persuaded the Lithuanians to begin peace talks), see: G. Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności*, I: *Trudne początki*, Poznań 1998, pp. 159-160. This supposition, however, is undermined by the fact that, in 1366, Wezemborg could still be staying in France (see below); on the other hand, the reason might have been Bartosz's (or his father's) merits of a completely different nature.

24 KDW, III, no. 1678.

Bartosz also obtained estates in the Greater Poland from King Louis I, owing to close relationship with Duke Władysław Opolczyk, the key partner and supporter of Casimir III the Great's nephew²⁵. How Bartosz Wezemborg considered his own position in the Greater Poland at the dawn of the reign of Louis I may be seen in a title he referred to himself in an own document issued on 27 June 1373 ("Ego Barthuz de Wesinburg Dei gracia dux in Odolanow et in Coszynecz")²⁶.

What proved how much King Louis and Elżbieta Łokietkówna, his regent mother in Poland, valued Bartosz Wezemborg was certainly the fact that he and his uncle, Bartosz Sokołowski, in the end of 1373 or in the beginning of 1374, were entrusted with the eldership of Brześć, which meant both civil and military rule over Southern Kujawy²⁷. The mentioned eldership was one of the key areas in the ongoing first phase of Władysław the White's rebellion in the Northern Kujawy (of Inowrocław)²⁸. However, the sources do not mention Bartosz being engaged in the fights against duke of Gniewkowo. In *Kronika*, Jan of Czarnków suggests that the main opponent of the rebel at the time was Sędziwój of Szubin²⁹, the general elder (an administrative official) of the Greater Poland, also the elder of Inowrocław and Gniewkowo. Thanks to his military power and successful negotiations, Sędziwój managed to convince his opponent, a duke, to surrender and attempt to reach a compromise with King Louis I (which proved unsuccessful)³⁰. A different chronicle view is presented by Jan on the second phase of the fights in question that started in September 1375. This time it was Bartosz Wezemborg as the elder of Brześć, who was elevated to be considered the key, along with Sędziwój of Szubin, opponent of the Piast duke of Gniewkowo, leaving behind his uncle, Bartosz Sokołowski, and the elder of Sieradz, Jan Kmita (with whom he defeated Władysław the White in the battle of Gniewkowo). It was Wezemborg to whom Władysław the White surrendered his last resistance point – the castle in Złotoria. Here, the duke challenged Bartosz to a duel and was defeated. According to Jan of Czarnków, both Bartosz and his uncle financed Władysław's excursion to Hungary, where the duke was to finally deal with any pending disputes between him and King Louis I³¹. A similar view is presented in an account

25 KJC, p. 682.

26 KDW, VI, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, H. Kowalewicz, Warszawa-Poznań 1982, no. 237.

27 *Urzednicy kujawscy i dobrzyńscy XII-XV wieku: Spisy*, eds. J. Bieniak, S. Szybkowski, Kórnik 2014, pp. 131-132.

28 J. Śliwiński, *Władysław Biały (1327/1333-20 lutego 1388)...*, pp. 80-84.

29 *Urzednicy kujawscy i dobrzyńscy...*, pp. 139-140.

30 KJC, pp. 654-656.

31 KJC, pp. 656-661; it is worth noting that, in fact, the king and the duke were led to compromise by arbitrators during a meeting in Brześć already in the spring of 1377 (J. Śliwiński,

by a chronicler of Toruń on the siege of Złotoria in the summer of 1376. Sędziwój of Szubin was illustrated as an incompetent commander attempting to capture the castle by force. It was only surrendered after the negotiations led by Bartosz Wezemborg, who guaranteed that in case the duke does not reach an agreement with Louis I of Hungary, Złotoria would be returned to the hands of the Piast duke of Gniewkowo³².

At that time, Bartosz also participated in events of international significance. In 1375, as a representative of King Louis I, he guaranteed a dynastic agreement signed in Brno (the Kingdom of Bohemia) between the House of Luxembourg and the House of Anjou-Hungary, under which Mary of Hungary was to be married to Sigismund of Luxemburg, son of Emperor Charles IV³³.

Until December 1376, Bartosz was a loyal partner to Louis I of Hungary and to his Polish Queen Regent, Elizabeth, accepting his dynastic policy, which can be assumed from the fact that he guaranteed the agreement with the House of Luxembourg in Brno. His relations with the dynasty deteriorated only towards the end of 1376. During her journey to Hungary, Elizabeth removed both Bartosz Wezemborg and Bartosz Sokołowski from their duties at the eldership of Brześć and appointed the local royal steward, Piotr Małocha of Małochowo. In his account of this event, Jan of Czarnków seemed convinced that the most significant motivation for the queen regent was greed, because a new nominee promised to pay 2 thousand grzywnas for lease of the eldership, whereas Bartosz Wezemborg and his uncle only paid 800 grzywnas³⁴. It is possible, however, that Louis I and his mother were also not fully content with how Wezemborg dealt with Władysław the White issue. He was not defeated, but surrendered Złotoria under treaties, as a result of which the Crown had to pay 10 thousand florins to the Piast rebel for his resignation (sale) of the Duchy of Gniewkowo³⁵. It is worth mentioning that, according to the accounts of Jan of Czarnków and Chronicler of Toruń, at the

Władysław Biały (1327/1333 - 20 luty 1388)..., p. 96), which does not exclude duke Władysław's excursion to Hungary.

32 *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici (941-1410)*, ed. E. Strehlke, in: *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, III, Leipzig 1866, pp. 102-103.

33 J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego...*, p. 304; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 148; J. Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski, wieluński, kujawski, dobrzyński, pan Rusi, palatyn Węgier i namiestnik Polski (1326/1330-8 lub 18 maja 1401)*, Kraków 2012, p. 111; the only guarantor of the agreement on the Polish side, besides Bartosz, was the voivode of Kalisz and the general elder of the Greater Poland, Sędziwój of Szubin.

34 KJC, pp. 677-678.

35 It is believed (K. Górski, J. Pakulski, *Udział Polaków w krzyżackich rejsach...*, p. 53) that seizing the eldership of Kujawy from Bartosz was a punishment for him, agreed on with Władysław the White.

time, Sędziwój of Szubin, who sought a military solution during the siege of Złotoria, was relocated from the general eldership of the Greater Poland to the capital eldership of Kraków. Such a move is hardly a punishment.

It seems that the fact that Bartosz Wezemborg was deprived of the eldership of Brześć, even though he maintained that of Odolanów, might have been considered by him a grave injustice. Since that moment his relationship with Louis I only deteriorated further. Clear evidence to the fact was a raid arranged in 1378 by Bartosz on estates located in the Opole region and owned by Władysław Opolczyk, who was a close ally of the king of Poland and Bohemia, as well as the governor of Ruthenia and, for a short while, the Kingdom of Poland³⁶. Yet another act of hostility towards Louis I (a matter that will be further justified and examined in the following parts of this paper) was taking French knights captive during their return from a planned raid on Lithuania and extorting a ransom for them. Consequently, in September 1381, King Louis I ordered Polish elders to seize the eldership of Odolanów from Wezemborg by force. Eventually, no military actions took place since the elders signed an agreement with the opponent. Under its provisions all Polish estates owned by Bartosz (eldership of Odolanów and other inheritable estates) were to be bought back by the Crown (at a fair price that was to be determined by four arbitrators appointed by both parties). Then, the amount paid as ransom for the French knights was to be deducted. What is noteworthy is that putting the agreement into action would mean removing Bartosz entirely from the Kingdom. However, even such a seemingly attractive arrangement was rejected by King Louis³⁷. Consequently, another military expedition was launched against Bartosz in 1382 and led by the king's son-in-law, Sigismund of Luxemburg, a potential successor on the Polish throne. The young nobleman proved quite successful in his military activities ordered by King Louis in late summer that year: He conquered Wielki Koźmin, Koźminek and Naboszyce. However, during the siege of Odolanów he received news of King Louis' death. Fights ceased and a treaty was signed with provisions similar to those of 1381: Four arbitrators were to assess the value of the eldership of Odolanów owned by Bartosz, who was supposed to get compensated for its forced return to the Crown³⁸.

Sigismund's military struggles against Wezemborg transpired to be a prelude to an outbreak of a civil war that encompassed a large portion of the vast Greater Poland. Being estranged towards the House of Anjou, Bartosz supported Siemowit IV, duke of Płock, the Piast pretender to the

36 J. Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski...*, pp. 103-131.

37 KJC, pp. 698-699.

38 KJC, pp. 721-722.

Polish throne, from the Mazovian line of the Piast dynasty. He became one of Siemowit's most significant adherents and paid homage to the duke. Bartosz also contributed significantly to a large number of military successes of the duke's faction. In exchange for the support, in 1383, the former elder of Odolanów and his brothers were granted the cities of Przedecz and Kłodawa, along with the surrounding estates in the Brześć part of Kujawy, as well as the city of Kowal (secured for a loan) and the surrounding villages³⁹. It was only under the treaty of Krakow, concluded between Siemowit IV and queen Jadwiga in early December 1385, when Bartosz was relieved by the Piast duke of Płock of his promise and obliged to acknowledge the reign of the young queen⁴⁰. The treaty stipulated that Siemowit waive his claims to the throne in exchange for monetary compensation, which was to be secured with the Brześć part of Kujawy.

Afterwards, Bartosz became involved more closely with King Władysław Jagiełło, who was baptised, married Queen Jadwiga and became the king of Poland in 1386⁴¹. In 1387, he granted Bartosz the highest administrative title in the Greater Poland: *wojewoda* (voivode) of Poznań. The new monarch elevated Wezemborg, counting on his loyalty and support, because as a ruler who comes from the outside he had to start building his own trusted circles in a new reign⁴². Since that moment, the newly appointed voivode of Poznań was often witnessed near Jagiełło, who already in 1387 invited him to Lithuania to assist, along with other dignitaries, at the formal baptism of the Grand Duchy⁴³. For a short time during the same year, Wezemborg was also the elder of Kościan, most certainly through the appointment of his new patron⁴⁴.

39 A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 149.

40 *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, II.2, eds. L. Ryszczewski, A. Muczowski, Varsaviae 1852, no. 532; *Iura Masoviae terrestria*, I, ed. J. Sawicki, Varsaviae 1972, no. 30.

41 Contrary to the account of Długosz, X, p. 158, King Władysław did not expel Bartosz from the Kingdom, nor deprived him of estates or the castle of Odolanów (A. Gąsiorowski, *Starostowie wielkopolskich miast królewskich w dobie jagiellońskiej*, Warszawa-Poznań 1981, p. 55). The chronicler's reference in his work on how the royal couple finally brought peace in the Greater Poland in 1386 aimed at moralising the audience and presenting a justified punishment for Bartosz "of Odolanów". In *Roczniki*, he is illustrated as a troublemaker, in an account of two past military excursions that were supposed to seize Odolanów from him (1381, 1382; see Długosz, X, pp. 79-80, 101-102). However, Długosz does not identify this person as Bartosz Wezemborg, as, in the following chapter, he is to assist the king during the baptism of Lithuania in 1387, as a voivode of Poznań (*ibidem*, p. 159).

42 On how Jagiełło started building his own faction and the role played by Bartosz, see: J. Sperka, *Szafrancowie herbu Stary Koń: Z dziejów kariery i awansu w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Katowice 2001, pp. 260-296 (about Bartosz pp. 278-279).

43 Długosz, X, p. 159; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 149.

44 A. Gąsiorowski, *Starostowie wielkopolskich miast królewskich...*, p. 46.

Later, in 1390, his military experience proved useful during the challenging rebel of Duke Witold, an ally of the Teutonic Order⁴⁵. Bartosz also secured the Crown's interests in Silesia that year by arranging a raid on Duke Konrad of Oleśnica, who got into a disagreement with Poland⁴⁶. It was also in the interest of Jagiełło that Bartosz captured Wisław Czambor, a Silesian knight, in 1392 in his own city of Przedecz. Wisław obtained the city and castle of Kruszwica from the Mazovian Piast as a security for a loan. However, he posed a threat to the Crown as he entered into a private alliance with the Teutonic Order. Taking Wisław captive led to a siege of Przedecz arranged by Siemowit IV, which had to be raised at an explicit order from his sovereign, King Władysław Jagiełło. Czambor was released only after Wezemborg was paid ransom in the amount of 4 thousand kopas of groschen (*kopa* equalled 60 at that time)⁴⁷.

Bartosz served Jagiełło not only with his sword, but also with his diplomatic skills. Already in 1388, he participated in negotiations with the Teutonic Order at Kępa Wiślana, between Raciążek and Toruń, during a meeting that was supposed to stop the Teutonic Order's attack on Lithuania. Then, again as a royal diplomat, he met with the Teutonic Order envoys in 1393, near Nieszawa⁴⁸.

Wezemborg died in 1393, shortly after meeting the above mentioned representatives of the Teutonic Order. At that time, he was considered a close partner to King Władysław Jagiełło and the highest land noble of the Greater Poland, voivode of Poznań. Moreover, despite being somewhat a newcomer from Silesia, his Polish wealth was close to that of an "old" aristocracy elite of the Greater Poland. It included the city of Poniec, Koźminek, Gostyń (all with their surrounding estates), potentially also Wielki Koźmin, eldership of Odolanów (all of them in the Greater Poland), eldership of Przemęt (city of Przemęt with villages: Błotnica, Radomierz, Sączkowo, Zaborowo)⁴⁹, cities of Przedecz and Kłodawa (with nearby estates) and the secured city of Kowal (with nearby estates), located in the Brześć part of Kujawy. Additionally, he owned assets in Silesia, in the Duchy of Oleśnica⁵⁰.

45 J. Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski...*, p. 178.

46 J. Sperka, *Szafranowie herbu Stary Koń...*, p. 279.

47 *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici...*, pp. 178-180; *Die aelttere Hochmeisterchronik*, ed. M. Toeppen, in: *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, III, pp. 622-623; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, pp. 41, 149; J. Sperka, *Otoczenie Władysława Opolczyka w latach 1370-1401: Studium o elicie władzy w relacjach z monarchą*, Katowice 2006, pp. 243-244.

48 A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 149; A. Szweda, *Organizacja i technika dyplomacji polskiej w stosunkach z zakonem krzyżackim w Prusach w latach 1386-1454*, Toruń 2009, pp. 357-358, 363-364.

49 SHGP, I, pp. 66, 704; III, p. 835; IV, pp. 16, 321; it seems that Bartosz obtained these already from King Władysław Jagiełło.

50 T. Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku...*, p. 304.

Studying Bartosz's life clearly shows that already after taking the French knights captive during their return from Prussia he was a prominent noble in the Greater Poland⁵¹. His status seems close or even higher than the status of the imprisoned brothers de Trémoille and Jean de Pontallier, who were considered "chiefs" of the fictitious excursion of Burgundian knights to aid Władysław the White.

It is time to focus on how the attempted "crusaders" (subjects of the French king) were captured. As Werner Paravicini previously illustrated, the Western European knights who gathered in the winter of 1379/1380 in the Teutonic Prussia did not set out to combat the pagan people of Lithuania. According to the account of the Chronicler of Toruń, the Teutonic elite was visited by a number of regular knights, but only a few barons among them. Nevertheless, the excursion did not take place due to unfavourable weather conditions, namely winter being not cold enough for the Lithuanian and Samogitian marshes to freeze, which would allow the invaders to enter the country⁵².

Probably already at the end of winter in 1380, the disappointed French knights set off back to their country. Judging from the fact that Bartosz Wezemborg was connected, wealth-wise, with a part of the Greater Poland that bordered Silesia, it can be assumed that the knights travelled from Prussia through these lands southwards, most certainly to Wrocław, and further to the Bohemian Prague. It cannot be ruled out that the former elder of Brześć captured them already close to the border with Silesia.

The earliest account confirming the French knights were taken captive is a note, already known to Ernest Petit and Werner Paravicini, from Philip the Bold's bills, dated 18 April 1380 or shortly afterwards. It related to the fact that Bertrand de Chartres was sent to the Kingdom of Bohemia and Hungary with an attempt to free brothers de Trémoille, Jean de Pontailler and their companions from captivity in Poland⁵³. Further records by the mentioned researchers on the imprisonment and kidnapping include mandates of duke of Burgundy on disbursing a compensation for the incurred losses (the earliest one was issued in Paris, on 13 June 1380, the latest one on

51 His high status and integration in the group is clearly illustrated with a fact that his wife, Siechna, was most probably daughter of Bartosz's predecessor at the seat of voivode of Poznań – Wincenty of Kępa, of the Doliwa coat of arms, see W. Brzeziński, *Koligacje małżeńskie możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego...*, pp. 40, 223-226, 326, 352.

52 *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici...*, p. 113: *Anno 1380 non fuit reisa propter defectum nivis et glaciei [...]. Fuerunt in terra valentes milites, sed pauci baroni*; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 239.

53 E. Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne...*, I.1, p. 355 (although the French researcher associated compensations with imprisonments as a result of fights in Kujawy during the rebellion of Władysław the White); W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 240.

14 February 1381)⁵⁴. Yet another source discovered by Werner Paravicini that substantiates the event in question is an excerpt from unpreserved bills of the French general treasurer dated around 1381/1382. It includes a reference on a compensation paid by King Charles VI the Mad to his courtiers for the financial losses incurred as a result of being imprisoned by a Polish knight, Bartosz Wezemborg (Bertrand de Wisebourt)⁵⁵.

How Bartosz took the French knights captive was also mentioned in a loan document, issued in 1848 by Johannes Voigt and in 1879 by Ignacy Zakrzewski, also discussed extensively by Werner Paravicini. It was preserved in a limited form (without a date, among other details) in a collection of old Teutonic Order documents⁵⁶. Under the loan document, the knights kidnapped by Wezemborg undertook to return to grand master Winrych von Kniprode 27 thousand florins, which he paid for their ransom. The document being a collection does not allow for a detailed interpretation in all the crucial aspects, though. It was issued by both appointed and non-appointed knights (*militēs* and *militares*): “nos P. tales et tales, qui in universo facimus numero XLXVIII”. The mentioned “P.” Werner Paravicini correctly assumes to be Pierre de Trémoille, though without determining if the number of the remaining knights was 49, 59 or 69, due to a corrupted notation. However, given errors most frequently made by Middle Ages copyists in noting Latin numbers, it seems that the number was actually 79 (LXXVIII). The remaining details mentioned in this source deserve full credit, though. It was Bartosz Wezemborg who was indicated explicitly as the instigator of the kidnapping, also noting that he was a subject of King Louis I of Hungary (“Bartko de Wesinburg, situs in iurisdiccione temporalis illustrissimi regis Ungarie”). The document also specifies the motivation that made Grand Master Ulrich decide to pay ransom, as the “father and protector of all pilgrims arriving to Prussia” (“tamquam pater et protector omnium peregrinorum illas partes Prussie visitantium”). This clearly indicates that the imprisoned knights were on a way back from what was supposed to be a crusade against the pagan people of Lithuania. Another reason for him was respect (“reverencia”) he felt for the King of France, Charles V the Wise and other sovereigns captured by Wezemborg. The studied source also specifies how the amount dedicated for ransom was returned. The first instalment of 7 thousand florins was to be delivered to Bruges, the capital city of the county of Flanders, to a representative of the grand master or to the local councillors, not later than

⁵⁴ E. Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne...*, I.1, pp. 355-356; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 240.

⁵⁵ W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 240.

⁵⁶ *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, III-IV, ed. J. Voigt, Königsberg 1848-1853, no. 147; KDW, III, no. 1779; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 239.

the closest All Saints Day (undoubtedly 1 November 1380)⁵⁷. The remaining amount of 20 thousand florins was to be paid by the released knights in the same place and manner not later than the following Christmas ("in festo Nativitatis Domini proxime post venturo"), i.e. 25 December 1381. To secure the obligation they had left ten men of their group in Prussia, until the debt was settled and a receipt issued.

Yet another account, also mentioned by Werner Paravicini⁵⁸, is a receipt that has been preserved in a relatively good shape, which confirms that brothers Bartosz, Hinczka, Tyma, and Pota Wezemborg received payment of 20 thousand florins from Grand Master Winrych von Kniprode on 20 January 1381 in the town hall of Toruń. The document specifies that grand master and the Teutonic Order had been obliged to reimburse the mentioned amount due to a debt "for the Frenchmen" ("von der Françoysen"), while the obligation was confirmed in writing on documents issued earlier by Winrych for the brothers ("noch lut und ynheltniss des brives, den uns derselbe herre homeistir besegilt hatte gegeben"). Wezemborg brothers did not go to Toruń to collect the money in person; instead, they authorised Herman Spiegel⁵⁹ and their own writer Stanisław⁶⁰.

Besides written sources, captivity of the knights returning from a crusade that was not realised is also certified by two Polish narrative accounts. The first one is *Kronika* by Jan of Czarnków, who justified the above mentioned excursion led by the general elder of the Greater Poland against Bartosz

⁵⁷ The choice of Bruges in the Flemish region as a place where the French knights delivered sums transferred to the order stems from the fact that a trading post (*kontor*) operated in that town; the Teutonic knights had also their own trading post there, see: M. Biskup, *Gdańsk a zakon krzyżacki na przełomie XIV-XV w.*, in: *Historia Gdańska*, I, ed. E. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1985, pp. 439-440; A. Szweđa, S. Szybkowski, *Krzyżacka dyplomacja we Francji, Flandrii i Anglii w pierwszej połowie lat osiemdziesiątych XIV w. Kredytywa wielkiego mistrza Konrada Zöllnera von Rottenstein dla szafarza malborskiego Henryka von Allen z 26 stycznia 1383*, "Przegląd Historyczny" CV (2014) 2, pp. 265-269.

⁵⁸ W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 239.

⁵⁹ Herman Spiegel, who was specified in the Wezemborgs' document as their "friend" ("unser vrund"), is to be identified with a Silesian knight operating in the Namysłów country. According to sources, he mostly occurred in 1359-1369 (T. Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku...*, p. 289). It is not certain if it was him, already his son Wojciech (known in 1383) or some other member of the family who participated in an excursion to Prussia and sat at the "honorary table" in 1385 (W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 138); likewise the Wezemborgs, the Spiegels began moving to the Kingdom of Poland in the second half of the 14th century and obtained estates in the Wieluń country (S. Kozierowski, *Obce rycerstwo w Wielkopolsce...*, pp. 96-97). It directly bordered the Southern Greater Poland, the region where Bartosz Wezemborg settled down. Perhaps an ancestor of the Spiegels from the Wieluń country came to Poland near Bartosz.

⁶⁰ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussisches Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, XX. HA, Pergament Urkunden, Schiebl. 96, No 39, the document is published in the Annex of this paper.

with the fact that the latter extorted ransom of 18 thousand florins for the Frenchmen (“Gallicos”). What is interesting, the chronicler used the following phrase when referencing the ransom: “alias ut premissum est”⁶¹. However, in the only (unsigned) copies of his work that have been preserved until this day, upon which based was the only contemporary edition of *Kronika* by Jan Szlachtowski, there is no earlier reference to this event. Nevertheless, concluding from what has been stated above, a more detailed description of how the French knights were taken captive by Bartosz could have been included in the autograph of *Kronika* by Jan of Czarnków, but that part has not been preserved in the existing copies of the work. The autograph was not known to Jan Długosz, whose account on the events of the 1370s and the 1380s is based on *Kronika* by Jan of Czarnków. He only mentions the siege of Odolanów in 1381, specifying that it was motivated by the fact that Bartosz demanded ransom from a number of merchants (header). Allegedly he captured some knights and French merchants and extorted ransom from them as well (“et quosdam Gallicos milites et mercatores captos depactatosque ad solucionem quantitatis artaverat”)⁶². The precise statement that the Frenchmen imprisoned by Wezemborg were “knights and merchants” seems to be an addition by Długosz, who considered Jan of Czarnków’s version too laconic.

What is interesting, there is no reference on capturing the knights returning from their raid in the Prussian chronicles. It should be particularly surprising with regard to the Chronicler of Toruń, because the fact that as high an amount as 20 thousand florins was paid to the kidnappers’ proxies at the town hall, witnessed by the mayor and councillors, was certainly not left undetected. In contrast, the Prussian narrative sources do mention the fact that in autumn 1388, in the Duchy of Słupsk, Duke William I of Guelders was taken captive while heading for a raid⁶³.

The written and narrative sources discussed above allow for quite a precise reconstruction of the events. Thus, Philip the Bold learnt of the unfortunate events that happened to his knights before 18 April 1380, given the fact

61 KJC, p. 698.

62 Długosz, X, p. 79.

63 *Franciscani Thorunensis Annales Prussici...*, pp. 154-155; *Johanns von Posilge Officialis von Pomesanien Chronik des Landes Preussen (von 1360 an, forgesetzt bis 1419)*, ed. E. Strehlke, in: *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, III, pp. 154-155; *Chronik Detmars von Lübeck*, ed. E. Strehlke, ibidem, pp. 154-155; on the event see: F. Koneczny, *Sprawa księcia Geldrii 1389 r.*, “Ateneum Wileńskie” VII (1930), pp. 1-58; J. Mielcarz, *Dzieje społeczne i polityczne Księstwa Słupskiego w latach 1372-1411*, Poznań-Słupsk 1976, pp. 146-160; J. Walachowicz, *Geneza i ustrój polityczny Nowej Marchii do początków XIV wieku*, Warszawa-Poznań 1980, p. 12; J. Zdrenka, *Polityka zagraniczna książąt szczecińskich w latach 1295-1411*, Słupsk 1987, pp. 208-210; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, pp. 243-252.

that on this day he decided to send a representative to attempt to free the captives. However, the document issued by the Teutonic Order confirms that grand master resolved to pay the ransom out of respect for the King of France, Charles V the Wise, and other imprisoned overlords. This means that among several dozen representatives of the French aristocracy there were not only sovereign from Burgundy, but also knights of the French king and other seniors, most certainly from the circle of the French vassals⁶⁴. However, Bertrand of Chartres' mission was late. Duke of Burgundy must have known the identity of the kidnapper, because Bertrand was sent to the Kingdom of Bohemia and to Hungary. Therefore, his aim was to reach both Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia, who was Bartosz Wezemborg's sovereign, due to his Silesian estates, and Louis of Hungary, who was the king of Poland, thus also Wezemborg's sovereign due to his estates located in the Greater Poland. The French knights must have been released prior to Bertrand's arrival to the courts in Prague and Buda, though. Already before mid-June 1380 they were in France, given the fact that Philip the Bold already paid compensations for the losses incurred during their return from Prussia. It seems that it was the Grand Master Winrych von Kniprode who was the first one to be informed of the matter and immediately reached an agreement with brothers Bartosz, Hinczka, Tyma, and Pota Wezemborg on the amount of 27 thousand florins and the method to pay the ransom. The agreement concluded was also confirmed with relevant documents. Prisoners were released to the Teutonic knights, since a document ensuring reimbursement of the money spent on ransom to Kniprode was most likely issued on the Prussian land. In all probability, it was from that place that they set out on a journey back home. Certainly, their release was already preceded with payment of the first instalment amounting to 7 thousand florins to Wezemborg brothers. The

64 W. Paravicini (*Die Preussenreisen...*, I, pp. 97-98, 240) indicates four knights and eight sires of duke of Savoy, knights of Picardy and Normandy. Besides Guillaume and Pierre de Trémoille, Jean de Pontailler, Gavignon de Semur, Jean le Borgne de Poquières, Perrinet de la Haye, Eudes de Grancey, and Oudinet de Chazeron, mentioned in the introduction to this paper as participants of the alleged Burgundian excursion to support Władysław the White, W. Paravicini (*ibidem*, pp. 97-98) also indicates the following persons as participants of the unrealised raid of 1379/1380 and thus also prisoners of Bartosz: Guiot d'Orges, Robert le Borgne de la Heuze, Jean de Hangest, and Jacques de Créquy; however, the oldest of de Trémoille brothers, Gui, could not have been in Prussia in 1379/1380 and therefore taken captive by Bartosz, because in late January 1380 he was in France (see E. Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne...*, I.1, p. 356). Among the above mentioned persons an especially frequent guest in Prussia was Pierre de Trémoille. Besides the unlucky excursion of 1379/1380, he was there also in 1378/1379, 1390, 1391/1392, and in 1394. After being imprisoned by Bartosz, his brother Guillaume also visited Prussia in 1389/1390; likewise, Jean de Hangest in 1391. Robert le Borgne de la Heuze stayed there, too, though in 1374/1375 (W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, pp. 97, 99-100, 173, 175).

French knights were supposed to return the mentioned amount in Bruges not later than on 1 November 1380. The second instalment of the ransom, amounting to 20 thousand florins, was received by Wezemborg's proxies in the town hall of Toruń only on 20 January 1381, while the original agreement stipulated that the Frenchmen were obliged to return it to the Teutonic Order by 25 December this year.

Taking the French knights captive and releasing them only in exchange for a ransom of 27 thousand florins, which was certainly extremely high with regard to Central Europe at the time, proved to exert considerable aftermath on Bartosz Wezemborg. Undoubtedly, it was as a result of complaints on Bartosz from his French relatives, the House of Luxembourg, and the Teutonic Order, that Louis I of Hungary decided to punish him severely. Jan of Czarnków's account clearly indicates that king's resolve was to deprive Wezemborg of all his Polish assets by force. The agreement between Bartosz and Polish elders was certainly a breach of the king's will. Under the contract, Wezemborg's inheritable assets were to be sold and, along with the returned eldership of Odolanów, taken over by the monarch. The price agreed by arbitrators was supposed to be reduced by the amount of ransom received for the prisoners (the chronicler specifies 18 thousand florins). However, Wezemborg did not intend to respect the agreement, nor did the king, who did not permit such an arrangement. This caused another offensive in 1382, led by the king's son-in-law, during which Louis I died.

What seems to be a significant matter to be determined is the reason for taking the French knights captive by Wezemborg. Judging from his life, the simplest answer would be to state that he merely followed his quarrelsome temper and a certain drive for robber-knight behaviour, rather than that of an eminent noble. Such an assumption may seem substantiated when one considers the fact that he also captured Wiśław Czambor in 1392 in Kujawy, though this must have been ordered or suggested by King Władysław Jagiełło. He only released the prisoner after being paid an enormous ransom of 4 thousand kopas of groschen. However, taking the French knights captive on their return from Prussia appears to be somewhat more complicated. What seems to confirm the above statement is the before mentioned excerpt from receipts of a general military treasurer of France, dated at the beginning of Charles VI the Mad's reign, discovered by Werner Paravicini⁶⁵. According to this account, the young monarch compensated to his (not specified by names) courtiers all the financial losses they incurred as a result of imprisonment by Bartosz and the ransom he was paid. However, the kidnapper did not act out of his desire for mere financial gain; he motivated capturing the travellers

65 W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 240.

with the fact that the deceased king (it refers to Charles V the Wise, who died on 16 September 1380) owed him a large amount of money. Werner Paravicini fairly indicates, thus, that Wezemborg considered himself harmed by the French monarch and took his people only out of a private feud (*fehde*), a notion he perfectly knew from the Silesia region, where he came from and where he participated in other *fehde*⁶⁶.

It seems that it was not necessarily the only rationale behind Bartosz's actions. What is noteworthy is the fact that he was a prominent Polish noble with vast political horizons, up until 1377 in a close partnership with King Louis I of Hungary. Thus he was perfectly familiarised with all the nuances of politics, treaties and dynastic alliances concluded in the 1370s by the ruler of Hungary and Poland. After all, importantly, he was one of the two Polish guarantors of the agreement between the House of Anjou-Hungary and the House of Luxemburg signed in Brno in 1375 on a marriage of Sigismund of Luxemburg, son of Emperor Charles IV, with Maria, daughter of Louis. As a result of this deal, the young Sigismund gained a prospect to assume the Polish or Hungarian throne after his father-in-law, who only got two other daughters, besides Maria: Katarzyna (who died in 1378) and Jadwiga. Therefore, Bartosz was aware that until Katarzyna died, Louis I remained in close, friendly relationship with the House of Valois; she was promised to marry Louis I of Orleans, son of Charles V the Wise. There is no evidence suggesting that the two dynasties were in conflict afterwards, either. It is, therefore, possible that Bartosz wanted to somewhat harm his monarch, who deprived him of the eldership of Brześć two years earlier; thus, he knew that capturing the French knights would certainly complicate the relationship between the House of Anjou-Hungary and the House of Valois. It is worth noting that what Bartosz did could also displease the House of Luxemburg, as he was their subject due to his Silesian assets. The dynasty was closely related to the House of Valois. Charles V the Wise was a son of John II the Good and Bonne (Jutta) of Luxemburg, sister of Emperor Charles IV. Therefore, Wenceslaus IV, after his father-emperor died in 1378, King of the Romans and King of Bohemia, and Sigismund of Luxemburg were cousins of the King of France⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 241. On a concept of a private feud (*fehde*) in late middle-age Poland see recently A. Szweda, *Feud in Medieval Poland: An Introduction into the Concept*, in: *Fehdehandeln und Fehdegruppen im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, eds. M. Prange, Ch. Reinle, Göttingen 2014, pp. 93-107.

⁶⁷ In 1379 and 1380, close relations between the House of Luxembourg and the House of Valois that resulted from their kinship could not be disturbed by a dynastic rivalry for the inheritance to Louis, because Catherine of Hungary, designated to marry son of Charles V the Wise, had already died.

Regardless of whether the mentioned “dynastic” suggestions on what motivated Wezemborg are likely, the fact that he captured the French knights certainly affected Louis’ relations with yet another state and its ruler. It was grand master of the Teutonic Order, Winrych von Kniprode, who considered himself “father and protector” of all the pilgrims-crusaders visiting Prussia. After all, it was him and the order that were obliged to pay a considerable ransom for the imprisoned knights and only later was supposed to be reimbursed for the cost by the released knights. However, as was presented in recent research, the relations between Louis I and the Teutonic Order in the late 1370s were very friendly, because both parties wanted to co-operate against the pagan Lithuania⁶⁸. Bartosz’s misdeed, therefore, might have caused an impediment to the cause. What is more, this event was yet another (if only besides the rebellion led by Władysław the White) cue not only for monarchs of the neighbouring states, but also for the Polish people, that Louis I of Hungary fails to control the situation in his Northern kingdom. Hence, most certainly, his fierce reaction (two military excursions in 1381 and 1382) and his drive to punish Bartosz in a most ruthless way.

The fact Werner Paravicini indicated Charles V the Wise’s debt to Wezemborg as the reason for the latter’s imprisoning the French knights calls for attempting to determine the circumstances in which the obligation was made⁶⁹. Wezemborg’s stay in France is known to the Polish historiography through the 15th-century French chivalric romance entitled *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, by Antoine de la Sale. In this source, difficult to interpret due to its character, the protagonist, knight Jehan de Saintré, fought a duel with a Polish baron “de Loiselench”, who visited the French court of John II the Good with a few companions on his way to the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela. The Polish knight’s coat of arms is described in a very detailed way, which helped identify it with Wezemborg’s coat of arms (an aurochs moving rightwards). The majority of Polish researchers believe that the author placed a Polish pilgrim travelling via France on his way to the North of Spain in the first half of the 15th century actually in the times of John II the Good. The conclusion led to identifying Wezemborg from the romance with castellan of Nakło in 1432-1441, Bartosz of Gostynin, son of the elder of Brześć and of Odolanów, carrying the same name⁷⁰. Only Anna Supruniuk,

68 A. Szweđa, *Wyprawa Ludwika Andegaweńskiego...*, pp. 93-107.

69 W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 241, did not find answers to them, though.

70 H. Polackówna, *Najstarsze źródła heraldyki polskiej*, pp. 22-28; A.F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach Europy Zachodniej XIV-XV w.*, Warszawa 1968, p. 66; idem, *Rycerstwo polskie w służbie obcej w wiekach średnich*, in: *Historia wojskowości polskiej: Wybrane zagadnienia*, eds. W. Biegański, P. Stawecki, J. Wojtasik, Warszawa 1972, p. 57; D. Piwowarczyk, *Obyczaj rycerski w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej (XIV-XV wiek)*, Warszawa 1998, p. 125; on a younger Bartosz see: *Urzednicy*

in two of her works, identified Wezemborg with the older Bartosz, though she chose not to substantiate her stance on the matter⁷¹. She also proved to be inconsistent in this regard, because in yet another paper (notably, a later one), she believed Wezemborg travelling through the Kingdom of France to Santiago de Compostela was actually castellan of Nakło⁷².

The mentioned fact that Charles V the Wise (son of John II) indeed was in debt to Bartosz indicates that de la Sale fairly placed Wezemborg's visit already at the court of John II. This, in turn, may indicate that he was the older Bartosz, not his son.

The only question that stands is about the time and character of his stay in France. Anna Supruniuk suggests that Bartosz travelled to Santiago de Compostela in the early 1370s, when he "had already served the French king for a while" and "gained recognition in knight tournaments in Paris"⁷³. If we follow dating suggested by the researcher, the precise years would only be 1370-1371, since the older Bartosz's biography, outlined earlier, indicates that since 1372 he had permanently stayed in Central Europe. It seems, however, that a longer visit of Wezemborg in Poland at the turn of reign, when Casimir the Great died and the throne was assumed by Louis I of Hungary, notably, from a different dynasty, could have a negative impact on his career. Nevertheless, before 1372, the new monarch granted Bartosz the eldership of Odolanów, which seems to indicate that Wezemborg actively sought to initiate a friendly relationship with Louis I since the very beginning of his reign. This

wielkopolscy XII-XV wieku: Spisy, ed. M. Bielińska, A. Gašiorowski, J. Łojko, Wrocław 1985, pp. 138, 201; W. Brzeziński, *Koligacje małżeńskie możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego...*, pp. 226-232, 352.

71 A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 148; eadem, *O wyprawach do Prus rycerzy polskich i wojnie domowej w Koronie w latach 1382-1385*, in: eadem, *Szkice o rycerstwie mazowieckim XIV/XV wieku*, Toruń 2008, p. 90; Bartosz's visit in France in the early 1370s is also mentioned in: B.W. Brzustowicz, *Turniej rycerski w Królestwie Polskim w późnym średniowieczu i renesansie na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 343-344; A. Sobczak, *Polski rycerz we francuskiej powieści (Antoine de la Sale, "Jehan de Saintré")*, in: *Wielkopolska, Polska, Europa...*, pp. 69-74; however, the following researchers avoid linking Wezemborg's visit to France with any certain date or identifying him with the father or the son: S. Mikucki, *Rycerstwo słowiańskie...*, p. 119; S.K. Kuczyński, *Turnieje rycerskie w średniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Pauvres et riches: Société et culture du Moyen-Âge aux temps modernes: Mélanges offerts à Bronisław Geremek à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, Varsovie 1992, p. 304.

72 A. Supruniuk, *Ex oriente ad finem terrae: Polish Knights of the Way to Santiago de Compostela in 14th and 15th Century*, London 2010, pp. 23, 68. T. Poklewski-Kozieliński was entirely wrong in assuming (*Bartosz Wezemborg...*, p. 187) that Bartosz set out for the court of French kings from Bern, Switzerland (which was in fact, Brno in the Kingdom of Bohemia), where he was guarantor of the dynastic agreement concluded in 1375 between the House of Luxembourg and the House of Anjou-Hungary.

73 A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 148; eadem, *O wyprawach do Prus...*, p. 90.

proved successful and he was appointed the elder of Odolanów. What also seems to suggest that, more likely, Wezemborg peregrinated around Europe still before Casimir the Great died is the fact that he was an appointed knight already in 1369, when the last member of the Piast dynasty on the Polish throne granted him Koźminek with surrounding estates.

All the above mentioned seems to allow assuming that older Bartosz Wezemborg might have stayed at the court of John II the Good during his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. After suffering a crushing defeat in the battle of Poitiers in 1356, the monarch was taken captive by the English army and was only released under the Treaty of Brétigny (1360); one of its stipulations was that a gigantic ransom was to be paid. Afterwards, he continued ruling France until 1364, when he faced difficulties in collecting resources for the ransom and, additionally, his son, Louis, fled England. He decided to return to captivity of his own accord, where he died several months later⁷⁴. Therefore, the chronology of the monarch's reign does not exclude the possibility that Bartosz participated in chivalry tournaments at the court of John II at that time (1360 - early 1364). It cannot be ruled out that Wezemborg might have joined service for the king of France as a mercenary, after he returned from the pilgrimage. Then, given he indicated Charles V the Wise as his debtor (since the debt could have been an unpaid soldier's wage), one may assume that his service lasted several years and ended already with a new monarch at the throne. The demand for knight mercenaries in France persisted, even despite the peace treaty with England that was ratified in 1360. Later in the 1360s, the monarchs were engaged in a military conflict regarding throne succession in the Duchy of Brittany, fights with King of Navarre, Charles II the Bad, but also in an intervention in a civil war in the Kingdom of Castile, where they combated the English army (battle of Nájera in 1367). The chief conflict with the Kingdom of England was only resumed as a result of Charles V capturing Aquitaine in the end of 1369, but at that time Bartosz was already in Poland⁷⁵.

The above reconstruction of relations between Wezemborg and France is highly hypothetical. What supports its probability is also the fact that Bartosz's military successes during the civil war in 1382-1383 did not seem to be solely owing to his luck. It is most likely that he was highly adept at military activities

⁷⁴ Ch. Allmand, *Wojna stuletnia: Konflikt i społeczeństwo*, transl. T. Tesznar, Kraków 2012, pp. 23-27.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 26-29. If one is to assume, however (see n. 23 above), that what motivated Casimir the Great to grant Bartosz land was his merits during a recent war with Lithuania for the Red Ruthenia in 1366, then his military service in France (after John II returned to the English captivity and Charles V was crowned) should be limited at most to 1364 and a part of 1365.

and must have gained the experience at some point. His relations with rulers of France, John II the Good and Charles V the Wise, confirmed in various sources, seem to suggest that it was during his service as a mercenary in the 1360s. It is possible that it was at that time that he was appointed a knight and became fond of military novelties. After all, during the civil war, Bartosz pioneered the use of powder artillery. It was at the siege of Pyzdry (1383) in the Greater Poland, which he led, when artillery was first used in Poland, as documented sources⁷⁶. Prior to that, artillery was already used, to a limited extent, during the early stages of the Hundred Years' War⁷⁷.

Still, Bartosz would not be the only Silesian knight to have operated on areas involved in the Hundred Years' War. At the battle of Poitiers in 1356, Bernard von Zedlitz supported the English side as a mercenary; then, in 1364 he joined the court of Edward the Black Prince and, afterwards, his son, King of England, Richard II. Eventually, he returned to Silesia. Moreover, since 1383/1384, Mikołaj Kordebok (Kurzbach) became involved with the Burgundian court of Philip the Bold; he later fell at the fields of Nicopolis in 1396, where he supported son of Duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless⁷⁸.

However, the fact that Bartosz captured the French knights returning from Prussia and extorted a ransom for them seems to question one element included in the existing approaches to his biography, namely his participation in the raids on Lithuania⁷⁹. With no doubt, his stay in Prussia after imprisoning the French knights in 1380 was not welcomed. One may notice his relationship with the Teutonic Order thawed only when he was granted the office of voivode of Poznań, which meant he joined the closest circle of advisers to King Władysław Jagiełło. In the late 1380s and the early 1390s, Wezemborg was sent to Prussia several times as an envoy, a fact that was mentioned before. Most certainly his high position in the then Polish political elite resulted in the fact that, in May 1392, Grand Master Konrad von Wallenrode was willing to loan him 100 grzywnas, an amount guaranteed by his two brothers, Hinczko and Pota⁸⁰. Before the Polish throne was assumed by King Władysław Jagiełło,

76 KJC, p. 726; J. Szymczak, *Początki broni palnej w Polsce (1383-1533)*, Łódź 2004, pp. 13-14.

77 Ch. Allmand, *Wojna stuletnia...*, pp. 109-110.

78 W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, pp. 141-142; idem, *Von Schlesien nach Frankreich, England, Spanien und zurück: Über die Ausbreitung adliger Kultur im späten Mittelalter*, in: idem, *Noblesse: Studien zum adeligen Leben im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, eds. U.Ch. Ewert, A. Ranft, S. Selzer, Ostfildern 2012, pp. 328, 330; T. Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku...*, pp. 248, 308.

79 K. Górski, J. Pakulski, *Udział Polaków w krzyżackich rejsach...*, pp. 52-53; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 140; A. Supruniuk, *Otoczenie księcia mazowieckiego Siemowita IV...*, p. 148; eadem, *O wyprawach do Prus...*, pp. 90-91.

80 *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum*, eds. E. Joachim, W. Hubatsch, II, Göttingen 1948, no. 1249; W. Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen...*, I, p. 241.

except for the receipt, dated January 1381, confirming the order paid a ransom of 27 thousand florins, there are no written sources that would indicate any relations Wezemborg might have had with the Teutonic Prussia. The only clue that is used to confirm his participation in the raids on Lithuania, arranged by the Teutonic Order, is the fact that the Wezemborg family coat of arms, described with his name and nickname (or just the name), was found in two Flemish books of heraldry dated at the second half of the 14th century: *Wapenboek by Gelre* and *Armorial Bellenville*⁸¹. It seems, however, that his involvement in the Prussian raid was not the only way the knowledge of his coat of arms could have found its way into the Western Europe. After all, he was quite well-known to de la Sale, which seems to be a consequence of the older Wezemborg's stay at the court of John II the Good and his likely contribution in the military conflicts in the 1360s as a mercenary for the French army. It also seems possible that it was the mere fact he imprisoned a few dozen members of prominent French knight families in the spring of 1380 that made them relay details of his coat of arms to Western European heralds. What supports this assumption is that the author of *Armorial Bellenville* placed Wezemborg's coat of arms on a separate page, before coats of arms of the king of Bohemia and a few Bohemian knights, but also in quite a distance from other Polish coats of arms. The reason for that fact is that the mentioned author sorted coats of arms not according to marches connected to particular states (such as Guelders), but according to events (tournaments, excursions and other chivalry encounters)⁸², during which a given coat of arms was observed. This seems to suggest that Wezemborg's coat of arms was copied for *Armorial Belenville*, or for its unknown source, at a different time than other Polish coats of arms, whose owners are considered participants of the raids on Lithuania.

The presented capture and ransom extortion for several dozen French knights returning from Prussia in 1380 certainly had an impact of political nature. Two military excursions on Wezemborg ordered by Louis I of Hungary were already mentioned before. Since the king failed to realise his goals, they intensified the disagreement between him and the brisk and politically experienced noble of the Greater Poland. Especially the second expedition of 1382 led by Sigismund of Luxemburg could be considered a prelude to the

⁸¹ See papers mentioned in n. 77.

⁸² Bibliothèque nationale de France, sign. 5230, fol. 11v (Bartosz's coat of arms), 12 (Czech coats of arms), 61 (Polish coats of arms and further), 66v, 67, 67v, 68, 68v, 70, 71 (internet publication: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470169b/f1.image>>; last accessed: 5 November 2016); A. Heymowski, *Herby polskie w paryskim Armorial Bellenville*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XXXII/XXXIII (1990), pp. 114, 115, fig. 2; *Armorial de Gerle* is discussed most extensively in the Polish historiography by S. Mikucki, *Rycerstwo słowiańskie...*, pp. 103-123 (here, fig. 2, no. 15 Bartosz Wezemborg's coat of arms).

civil war that broke out in the Greater Poland after the death of the last ruler from the House of Anjou-Hungary. The fact that Bartosz supported Duke Siemowit IV in the war certainly contributed to the political failure of Louis' dynastic plans, as he designated the Polish throne to his daughter, Mary, who just got married to Margrave Sigismund.

It also seems that the considerable ransom he was paid for the captured knights (27 thousand florins) must have facilitated an effective defence against both royal attacks on him. The money he received from Winrych von Kniprode could also help him significantly in the first stage of the civil war that broke out in the Greater Poland and in which he achieved significant successes, but also in the later battles during the conflict. Most certainly, the large sum of florins he got from the order made it possible for him to hire mercenaries, purchase weaponry for the less wealthy clients and canvass more supporters for the duke of Płock as the candidate for the Polish throne. What is a clear confirmation that all the mentioned expenses did not impoverish Bartosz is the fact that still in August 1384 (thus, already over 1.5 years after the civil war broke out), he was able to lend Siemowit IV as many as 2060 grzywnas of Prague groschen (which equalled 4944 Hungarian florins), which were secured in Kowal with the surrounding estates⁸³. In order to illustrate the relative significance of the amount of 27 thousand florins in the then Central Europe it is sufficient to mention that the duke of Płock received from the Teutonic Order "only" 17 800 Hungarian florins, secured with the countries of Wizna and Zawkrze⁸⁴.

* * *

The discussion presented in this paper eventually prove that Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, did not send his knights to support Władysław the

83 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego*, ed. T. Lubomirski, Warszawa 1863, no. 110. We assume that the florins which Wezemborg received as ransom for the French knights were Hungarian florins, the most popular in Central Europe, and not the proper florins from Florence or the Rhenish florins (gulden), see M. Gumowski, *Moneta złota w Polsce średniowiecznej*, "Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny" 2nd ser. XXX (1912), passim; florins are exchanged to Bohemian groschen with a Polish exchange rate of 1390, which was 20 groschen for 1 Hungarian florin (ibidem, p. 232).

84 In December 1382, 7 thousand florins (security for the Wizna country), in 1383, 3600 kops of Bohemian groschen (=10 800 Hungarian florins) (security for Zawkrze), see: *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, III, no. 99; IV, no. 26; *Iura Masoviae terrestria*, nos. 26, 29; K. Neitmann, *Die Pfandverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" XLI (1992) 1, p. 4; M. Radoch, *Długi zastawne Siemowita IV mazowieckiego wobec zakonu krzyżackiego*, in: *Spółeczeństwo i polityka do XVII wieku: Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Profesora doktora Wacława Odyńca w 70-lecie urodzin*, ed. J. Śliwiński, Olsztyn 1994, pp. 52-53; idem, *Zarys działalności polityczno-dyplomatycznej książąt mazowieckich wobec państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1385-1407*, Olsztyn 1998, pp. 30-32.

White in the rebellion in 1376 against elders loyal to King Louis I of Hungary in Kujawy. The thesis stated by Ernest Petit, who knew about certain Philip's vassals being held captive in Poland in 1380, resulted from him not being familiarised with the chronology of the rebellion led by duke of Gniewkowo, a fact first pointed out by Werner Paravicini. An inaccurate assumption of Ernest Petit was accepted and exempt from criticism by Richard Vaughan and Polish historians (Józef Śliwiński, Stanisław A. Sroka, Ryszard Kabaciński), later to be reflected in their scientific works.

A few dozen vassals of the French king and other lords from the French political circles (including the people of Philip the Bold) were indeed taken prisoners on the Polish soil in 1380, which was proved by Werner Paravicini. However, in fact, they were on their way back from Prussia, whence they intended to set out on a raid on the pagan Lithuanian people, arranged by the Teutonic Order, a plan that was supposed to be realised in the winter of 1379/1380, but never came into life. The man who took them captive and extorted a ransom for their release was a prominent Polish noble of Silesian origin, Bartosz Wezemborg. What he declared a reason for imprisoning the French knights was a debt the French king, Charles V the Wise, owed to him. Most probably, it was due to an unpaid soldier wage Bartosz earned during military service for the French monarchs. The Silesian knight became a mercenary, undoubtedly, after returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Bartosz's going on the pilgrimage, as well as his stay at the court of King John II the Good is confirmed in a chivalry romance by Antoine de la Sale, entitled *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, which apparently deserves credit in this regard.

Taking the French knights captive, however, is also consistent with the context of the conflict that was ongoing since 1377 between this prominent Polish noble and Louis I of Hungary, king of Hungary and Poland. Two military excursions arranged in 1381 and 1382 by order of the monarch against Bartosz, due to the fact he imprisoned French knights, unquestionably became a prelude to the civil war that broke out in the Greater Poland already after Louis I of Hungary died. In 1382-1384, Wezemborg participated actively and with much success in the war, advocating Duke of Płock, Siemowit IV, as the candidate for the Polish throne. The final outcome of the conflict shattered Louis' intentions to designate to the Polish throne his daughter, Mary, and her husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg, margrave of Brandenburg, son of Emperor Charles IV.

A considerable amount of 27 thousand florins Bartosz received as ransom for the French knights undeniably must have proved critical in repelling the royal attacks in 1381 and 1382, as well as during later fights in the civil war.

ANNEX

After 20 January 1381¹

Brothers Bartosz, Hinczka, Tyma, and Pota Wezemborg acknowledge that Herman Spigel and Stanisław, the Wezemborg brothers' writer [acting under their authority], at the town hall of Toruń, received 20 thousand florins grand master of the Teutonic Order [Winrych von Kniprode] owned [due to a ransom] for the French knights. Wezemborgs hereby acknowledge that grand master and the entire order is free of the debt.

Orig.: *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussisches Kulturbesitz Berlin-Dahlem, XX. HA, Pergament Urkunden, Schiebl. 96, No. 39, 281 × 222 + 59 mm, on the back by hand from 14th or 15th c.: dis ist eyn quitancia de dem | orden ist gegeben abir XX tusund | golden; Wezenborg; tot ist, old signatures, modern information on content (v. Wiesenburg), seal of Staatsarchiv Königsberg with signature, four seals hanging under the document in dark wax: 1. undoubtedly belonging to Bartosz Wezemborg, of which a fragment of the wax cup was preserved only; 2. belonging to Hinczka Wezemborg, of a diameter of 27 mm (the diameter of the wax cup ca. 40 mm), with the Wezemborg's coat of arms (an auroch striding to the right), legend: + S hENOSKE * D * WEZINBO; 3. belonging to Tyma Wezemborg, of a diameter of 22 mm (seal slightly chipped, wax cup damaged of ca. 32 mm), with Wezemborg's coat of arms (an auroch striding to the right), legend: + S + [...]MONIS + D + WESIN; 4. belonging to Pota Wezemborg, of a diameter of 23 mm (wax cup ca. 33 mm) with Wezemborg's coat of arms (an auroch striding to the left [!]), legend: + S PO[...].*

Reg.: *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum, II, eds. E. Joachim, W. Hubatsch, Göttingen 1948, no. 1080.*

Note: *Source text published according to principles specified in A. Wolff, Projekt instrukcji wydawniczej dla pisanych źródeł historycznych do połowy XVI wieku, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" I (1957), pp. 155-184.*

Wissintlich sy allen, den dy disen brieff sehen adir horen lezen, das wir her Bartusch² |, her Heyncze³, her Thyme⁴ und Pote⁵ gebrudere von Wezenborg genant mit allen unsirn rechte | erbnamen bekennen, das wir volmechtig habin gemacht und gekoren Hermann Spigel⁶ | unsirn vrunt und Stenczlaw schriber⁷ glichirwis als ab wir, alle vire gebrude[re] in unsirn selbes personen keginvortig veren uffczuvoren und czu entphaende di XX thusind golden, di uns der achtbar herre ...^a homeistir von Prusen⁸ mit syme ganczin orden scholdig was als von der Franczoysen wegin czu bezalin noch lut und ynheltniss des brives, den uns derselbe herre homeistir besegilt hatte gegeben, nu bekenne wir vort in disem brieve offintlich, das derselbe Herman Spigil

und Stenczlaw unsir schriber vorgenant diselbin XX thusund goldyn uffgebort und entpfagin habin von unsir wegin, also als der brieff sprach, den uns der ...^b homeystir von Prusen mit syme ganczin ordin gegeben hatte, diselbin XX thusunt goldyne uns gancz und gar vol und volkomelichin und lieblichin bezalet syn, das uns wol genuget und sagin ledig und los mit allen unsirn rechten erbin den vorgenantin ...^c homeistir und synen ganczen orden der vorgeschrebin XX thusund golden und synes brives, das her uns das allis guttlichin und lieblichin gehalden hat, das wir en denken wollen mit allin unsirn vrunden, wo wir kunnen adir mogin. Czu eyne bekenthnnis und volkomener warheyte habe wir her Bartusch, her Heyncze, her Thime und Pote gebruder von Wezinborg genant unsir iczlicher besundern syn ingesegil disem brive angehangnr [s] und dyse bezalunge ist gescheen zcu Thornn uff deme rathuse⁹ in keginwortikeit der ...^d borgmeistere¹⁰, ...^e rattmannen und eldestin derslebin stat Thornn in deme jare unsirs Herrin driczenhundirt in deme eyn und achczigisten jaren des tages Fabiani und Sebastiani Mertere.

a-e *Fragments where double dots are placed in the source text.*

1 *The document does not include a date in a collection-like meaning; only a date and a place where the amount of 20 thousand florins were received. It must have been issued by Wezemborg brothers later, certified with their stamps and delivered to Malbork.*

2 *Bartosz Wezemborg of the aurochs coat of arms, occ. since 1369, elder of Odolanów in 1372-1393, voivode of Poznań in 1387-1393 (see main text).*

3 *Hinczka Wezemborg of the aurochs coat of arms, occ. until 1410 (SHGP, I, p. 576).*

4 *Tyma (Tymon) Wezemborg of the aurochs coat of arms, brother of Bartosz, undoubtedly died before 1384, because in a document issued by Siemowit IV related to securing Kowal Bartosz was accompanied by only two of his fratres germani: Hinczka and Pota. Only Hinczka and Pota also guaranteed Bartosz's payment of a loan taken from grand master in 1392 (Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego, no. 110; Regesta historico-diplomatica, II, no. 1249).*

5 *Pota (Boto) Wezemborg of the aurochs coat of arms, occ. until 1400 (SHGP, I, p. 126).*

6 *Herman Spiegel, a Silesian knight, occ. 1359-1381 (1385?) (see main text, n. 59).*

7 *Unidentified.*

8 *Winrych von Kniprode, commander of Gdańsk in 1338-1441, commander of Balga in 1442, grand marshal in 1343-1346, grand commander in 1346-1352, grand master of the Teutonic Order in 1352-1382 (K. Conrad, Winrich von Kniprode, in: Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1994, ed. U. Arnold, Marburg 1998, pp. 84-88; B. Jähnig, Dostojnicy i urzędnicy zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, in: Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach: Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII-XVI wieku, eds. R. Czaja, A. Radziwiński, Toruń 2013, pp. 289, 291, 292, 296, 301).*

9 *Certainly, refers to an existing up to this day town hall of the Old Town of Toruń.*

10 *In January 1381, the mayor of the Old Town of Toruń was Eberhard Rinhof, who died already on 22 July 1381. He was in the office since 1369 and prior to that a town treasurer in 1360-1361, a councillor since 1360 (R. Czaja, Urzędnicy miejscy Torunia: Spisy, I: Do roku 1454, Toruń 1999, pp. 55-71, 218).*

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

In the recent Polish source literature related to the rebellion of Władysław the White in Kujawy in the 1370s an opinion emerged that he was supported by Burgundian knights sent by Philip the Bold (Stanisław A. Sroka, Józef Śliwiński, Ryszard Kabaciński), who were then taken captive and had to pay a ransom for their own release. The belief is based on a hypothesis of a French researcher from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Ernest Petit, who used documents from the Archive of Burgundian Dukes in Paris to identify the captives, on the basis of a reimbursement they received from Duke Philip for the ransom. He connected their imprisonment with the civil war in Kujawy, which was also accepted by an expert in the reign of duke of Burgundy, Richard Vaughan. Recently, Werner Paravicini attempted to undermine this view, fairly indicating that the reimbursements were paid significantly too late for the possibility of Burgundians participating in the rebellion led by Duke Władysław to be true. The knights, however, were imprisoned by Bartosz Wezemborg during their return from a raid on Lithuania planned to take place in the winter of 1379/1380, but never put into effect. They were bought out of captivity by Grand Master Winrych von Kniprode for a tremendous amount of 27 thousand florins, which they promised to reimburse to the order. Unfortunately, the researcher did not examine the matter further. Paravicini determined that among the captives there were not only Burgundians, but also knights from other territories subject to the king of France, which definitely contradicts the idea that Philip the Bold alone decided to send them to aid Władysław the White. What also refutes Philip's involvement is very good relations between Louis I of Hungary, Charles V of France, his brother Philip the Bold, and other members of the House of Valois in 1373-1376, during the rebellion of Duke Władysław. Placing the imprisonment of the French knights in the early 1380s, thus additionally indicating that it was knights returning from a Prussian raid, seems also to be supported by the account of Jan of Czarnków, who mentioned the event in the narrative on what happened in Poland in the second half of 1381. According to the chronicler, King Louis I ordered his elders to seize the eldership of Odolanów from Wezemborg due to the amount of 18 thousand florins "which [he] extorted as ransom for the Frenchmen". However, the elders entered into an agreement with Bartosz, which in fact delayed confiscation of his assets, much to the discontent for the king. Only a year later, when Louis already passed away, his son-in-law, Sigismund of Luxemburg, initiated further combats with Wezemborg, including the siege of Odolanów. Bartosz's capturing French knights was not related to the rebellion of Władysław the White. However, it directly caused a conflict in the Greater Poland that started in early autumn of 1382 and later became a prelude to a bloody civil war that came to an end only in 1384/1385. Bartosz played a significant role in the struggles, as an advocate of Siemowit IV's candidacy for the Polish throne, which is perfectly documented in the source literature. However, it has not yet been observed that his considerable possibilities in the first stage of the conflict were undoubtedly stimulated with the tremendous amount of 27 thousand florins he received from Winrych von Kniprode. The sum certainly facilitated not only canvassing supporters, but also hiring mercenaries during the first stage of the civil war.

What he declared a reason for imprisoning the French knights was a debt the French King, Charles V the Wise, owed him. Most probably, it was due to an unpaid soldier wage Bartosz earned during military service for the French monarchs. The Silesian knight became a mercenary, undoubtedly, after returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. Bartosz's going on the pilgrimage, as well as his stay at the court of King John II the Good in the early 1360s is confirmed in a chivalry romance by Antoine de la Sale, entitled *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, which apparently deserves credit in this regard.

ANNA PANER
GDAŃSK

ERZBISCHOF JAN ROKYCANA (1397-1471) – POLITISCHE PERSÖNLICHKEIT DER HUSSITENZEIT



Léta MCCCCXXXVII z rozkazanie Cziesarze Zigmunda a legatuow Basileyských w tomto kostele hlasseno Czesky L a t i n i e Vhersky a Niemeczky, že Czechowe a Morawane Tielo bozie a krew pod dwogi zpuosobu przigimagic gsu wierni krzestiane a prawi synowe cierkwe.

(Im Jahre 1437, auf Befehl Kaiser Sigismunds und der Basler Legaten, verkündete man in dieser Kirche auf Tschechisch, latine Ungarisch und Deutsch, dass Tschechen und Mährer, indem sie Gottes Leib und Blut unter beiderlei Gestalt empfangen, treue Christen und legitime Söhne der Kirche seien)

Wegen dieses einzigen Satzes ließ man langwierige und blutige Kämpfe führen. Dass dieser Satz zum Privileg der Tschechen geworden war, war Jan Rokycana zu verdanken. Später ließ man den Satz für die Nachkommenschaft an der Wand der nicht mehr bestehenden Prager Fronleichnamkapelle festhalten. Das Fragment mit jener historischen Inschrift wird heute im Nationalmuseum aufbewahrt.

Unter zahlreichen berühmten Persönlichkeiten der Hussitenzeit – Predigern, Politikern, Befehlshabern – wie Jan Hus (Johannes Huss), Hieronymus von Prag, Křišťan von Prachatice, Jakoubek ze Stríbra (Jakobellus von Mies), Václav Koranda, Jan Želivský oder auch Hetmane – Jan Žižka, Mikulaš z Husi (Nikolaus von Hus), Prokop Holý (Andreas Prokop) – hatte Jan Rokycana eine nicht so hochgradige Stelle inne, da die Geschichtsschreibung seine Rolle erst viel später hochzuschätzen wusste¹. Es sind mehrere Ursachen hierfür

¹ Z. Nejedly, *Mládí Mistra Jana z Rokycan*, „Časopis Českého muzea“ 1899, S. 517-530; *Prameny k synodám strany pražské a tábořské*, 1900; K. Krofta, *Mistr Jan Rokycana*, Rokycany 1911; V. Pavlík, *M. Jan z Rokycan, volený arcibiskup Pražský 1439-1471*, „Časopis katolického duchovenst-

zu erwähnen: Jan Hus und Hieronymus haben ihr Leben heldenhaft auf dem Scheiterhaufen geopfert, Želivský – der erste Revolutionsdiktator – ist bei einem Attentat ums Leben gekommen, Mikulaš z Husi – der Initiator der hussitischen Stützpunkte, das heißt der Volkswanderungen „in die Berge“ – ist von einem Wagen gefallen und infolge späterer Komplikationen gestorben, der geniale Hetman Jan Žižka ist während der Eroberung einer katholischen Festung zu Pestopfer geworden, Prokop Holý – der Autor der neuen Strategie der Reformbewegung – der Hussitenexpeditionen außerhalb der tschechischen Grenzen – ist in der Schlacht bei Lipan gefallen. Der spektakuläre Tod der Helden verdeckte häufig das gewöhnliche, obzwar recht „ungewöhnliche“ Lebensschicksal der im Hintergrund stehenden Personen, die – so wie Jan Rokycana – jahrelang an ihrem Erfolg arbeiteten. Sein erster unstrittiger Erfolg war das Konzil von Basel und die Verhandlungen mit Sigismund von Luxemburg (1433-1436), als er mit Wort um böhmische Rechte kämpfte. Der weitere

va“ LIV (1913) 1, S. 53-62; (1913) 2, S. 122-131; (1913) 3, S. 138-192; (1913) 4, S. 278-288; (1913) 5, S. 389-397; (1913) 6, S. 452-459; (1913) 7-8, S. 546-561; (1913) 9, S. 659-668; F.M. Bartoš, *Z Husových a Žižkových časů*, Praha 1925; *Literární činnost M. Jana Rokycany*, M. Jana Příbrama, M. Petra Payna, hrsg. F.M. Bartoš, Praha 1928; idem, *Svěťci a kacíři*, Praha 1949; M. Jana Rokycana, *obránce pravdy a zákona Božího: Výbor z kázání, obrany kalicha a z listů*, hrsg. F. Šimek, Praha 1949; idem, *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, I-II, Praha 1928-1929; idem, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany*, Praha 1938; idem, *Traktát Mistra Jana Rokycany o přijímání krve*, Praha 1940; idem, *Nové rukopisy Rokycanovy Postily*, „Listy filologické“ (1942), S. 259-272; R. Urbánek, *Věk Poděbradský, I: Věk poděbradský (1438-1444)*, Praha 1915, S. 976; II: *Věk poděbradský (1444-1457)*, Praha 1918, S. 1047; III: *Věk poděbradský (1457-1460)*, Praha 1930, S. 1083; IV: *Čechy za kralování Jiříka z Poděbrad. Léta 1460-1464*, Praha 1962, S. 823; P. Cironis, *Život a dílo Mistra Jana z Rokycan*, Rokycany 1997; M. Šandera, *Mistr Jan Rokycana a jeho východočeské působení*, [in:] *Chrám Svatého Ducha a královna Eliška Rejčka v Hradci Králové 1308-2008. Historické tradice města, Ústí nad Orlicí 2008*, S. 33-40; J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan. Vydáno u příležitosti 600. Výročí narození Mistra Jana z Rokycan*, Rokycany 1997; *Vědecká konference o životě, díle a historickém významu Mistra Jana z Rokycan. Materiály z konference konané v Rokycanech ve dnech 27-28 02 1997*, „Sborník Muzea Dr Bohuslava Horáka“ III (1997), S. 76; F. Heymann, *Jan Rokycana-Church Reformer between Hus and Luther*, „Church History“ XXVIII (1959), S. 240-280; M. Šroněk, *Karel IV., Jan Rokycana a šlojřr nejistý*, [in:] *Zbožnost středověku*, hrsg. M. Nodl, P. Kras, K. Bracha, Praha 2007, S. 79-110; O. Halama, *Pojmy pokoje a miru u mistra Jana Rokycany*, [in:] *Hledání nové Evropy. Projekt krále Jiřího*, hrsg. J. Boubín et al., Praha 2015, S. 117-123; P. Čornej, *Světla a stíny husitství (Události – osobnosti – texty – tradice)*, Praha 2011; A. Vidmanová, *Borotínovy dopisy Rokycanovi*, Praha 2000; *Druhý dopis M. Jana Borotína Rokycanovi*, „Listy filologické“ CCCXCVIII (1997) 3-4, S. 281-289; J. Válka, *Kompaktáta a kapitulace. Charta stavovských svobod?*, „Časopis matice moravské“ CXXIX (2010), S. 19-43; F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh deseti listin*, Praha 2011; J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1378-1437. Lucemburkové na českém trůně II.*, Praha 2000, S. 164-168; M. Nodl, *Země vírou rozřátá, aneb Čechy bez revoluce*, „Dějiny a současnost. Kulturně Historická revue“ (1998), S. 7-12; J. Smolík, *Význam teologie M. Jana Rokycany pro pochopení jeho zápasu*, „Křesťanská revue“ X (1997), S. 263-268; J. Hubáček, *Ekspresivní výrazy v Postille Jana Rokycany*, „Listy filologické“ CXIII (1990) 4, S. 314-322; A. Paner, *Fenomen kariery Jana Rokycany*, [in:] *Elity i masy w społeczeństwie Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*, hrsg. A. Januszek-Sieradzka, H. Gmiterek, W. Iwańczak, P. Kras, Lublin 2015, S. 79-99; D. Coufal, *Polemika o kalich mezi teologií a politikou 1414-1431. Příspěvek k předpokladům basilejské disputace o první z pražských artikulů*, Praha 2012.

durchschlagende Erfolg Rokycanas war – nach elf Jahren Emigration – seine Rückkehr ins politische Leben und der Aufbau der Utraquistenkirche (1448-1471). Dies trug zur Stärkung der Podiebrader Partei bei und erleichterte die Wahl Georgs von Poděbrad, der auf den böhmischen Thron gebracht wurde. Außer den zahlreichen politischen, seelsorgerischen und organisatorischen Unternehmen hinterließ Jan Rokycana ein riesiges Werk als Abhandlungen, Predigten (Postillen), polemische Schriften und Briefe, welche teilweise von J. Šimek und F.M. Bartoš erörtert und veröffentlicht wurden. Solche Versuche unternimmt heutzutage O. Halama².

Jan Rokycana unterschied sich von den Obengenannten durch das Tempo und die Einzigartigkeit der Leistungen, wogegen ihnen niedere Herkunft und hohe Ambitionen gemeinsam waren, eine für Karrieren der Umbruchszeit recht typische Erscheinung. Die Zeit des Umbruchs kam in Böhmen bereits am Anfang der 90er Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts zum Ausdruck und dies als scharfe politisch-ideologische Krise. Diese zeichnete sich durch eine immer schärfer werdende Kritik der Kirche und die ersten Pläne der Kirchreform Milíč z Kroměříže (Johann Milíč von Kremsier), Matěj z Janova (Matthias von Janov), Thomas Štítný, einen Kampf großer adeliger Geschlechter gegen Wenzel IV. von Luxemburg um die Macht, eine Aktivierung der Adligen niederen Standes, die bestrebt waren, ihre Vermögenslage zu verbessern. Ihre Zielsetzungen begünstigten Postulate, nach denen die Geistlichen wieder zu den Idealen des evangelischen Lebens zurückkehren sollten – Armut, Schlichtheit der Rituale und Liquidation der Hierarchie³. Die gesellschaftliche Aufregung blieb nicht ohne einen gewichtigen Einfluss auf den ökonomisch recht differenzierten Geistlichenstand, dessen Status manchen ungünstigen Änderungen unter den Bedingungen des Schismas und des römischen Zentralismus unterlag. Es ist deswegen gar nicht überraschend, dass – nach wie vor – die Reformpostulate von den ausgebildeten und beruflich mit der Prager Universität verbundenen Geistlichen formuliert wurden. Der Aufruf, wieder zur evangelischen Regel der Armut zurückzukehren, die Unfehlbarkeit und die Macht des Papstes anzuzweifeln, das Postulat Hierarchie und Ämter in der Kirche abzuschaffen, gewannen eine rege Unterstützung nicht nur bei

2 Das erhaltene Werk Rokycanas besteht aus Schriften unterschiedlicher Art und Umfangs: theologische Abhandlungen, Anordnungen und Predigten für Geistlichkeit, Predigten für Gläubige, Polemiken, Korrespondenz mit Konzilslegaten und böhmischen Adligen, Konzilsreden. Diesen Nachlass ordnete chronologisch F.M. Bartoš (*Postilla Jana Rokycany*, I): Politische Anfänge 1429-1432, Kompaktaten (1432-1433), Kampf um die Unität der hussitischen Kirche (1441-1448), Unitätsgrundlagen der hussitischen Kirche (1448-1471).

3 J. Čechura, *K některým aspektům státní ideologie a sekularizačních idejí v předhusitských Čechách*, „Časopis Národního muzea“, řada historická CLV (1986), S. 29-36.

den Adeligen, sondern auch bei der niederen Geistlichkeit, derer Verarmung immer stärker wurde. Eine zusätzliche Antriebskraft der ökonomischen und ideologischen Rivalisierung der böhmischen Gesellschaft mit der hiesigen Kirche war das Postulat der Verteidigung der böhmischen Sprache, insbesondere nach 1408. Diese Forderung war von Aufrufen begleitet, die nationale Sprache in die Liturgie einzuführen, was auch seit 1402 teilweise Jan Hus in der Prager Bethlehemskapelle tat, als er gemeinsam mit den Gläubigen in der tschechischen Sprache sang und bat sowie etwa 3000 Predigten innerhalb von 11 Jahren hielt. Als Zeichen der ersten formell durchgesetzten Nationalhandlungen galt das Kuttenberger Dekret, das den Böhmen wichtige Privilegien an der Universität zusprach⁴.

Obwohl die Kirche in Böhmen und Mähren um die Jahrhundertwende 14./15. über ein riesiges Vermögen verfügte, waren die sich daraus ergebenden Einkommen für die einzelnen Gruppen der Geistlichkeit stark differenziert⁵. Der Landbesitz der Kirche, der etwa auf 30% des Grundareals in Böhmen und 25% in Mähren zu schätzen war, bestand aus Gütern des Erzbischofs, der Diözese, Pfarreien, Pfründen und Klöster, derer wirtschaftliche Lage recht unterschiedlich war. In der Prager Diözese gehörte der Landbesitz zu 2100 Pfarreien und 150 Konventen, in der Olmützer Diözese zu etwa 500-550 Pfarreien und 68 Konventen. Nach Berechnungen J. Čechuras wurden in der uns interessierenden Krisenzeit (1395-1415) niedere Weihen (Akolythat) an 13 261 Personen gespendet, und von dieser Gruppe wurden lediglich 2686 zum Priester geweiht. Zur selben Zeit erhielten 3996 Priester entsprechende Bestätigung des Benefiziums⁶. Wir wissen nicht Bescheid, was für einen Bruchteil des gesamten Klerus die armen Priester darstellten, die keine Pfründe innehatten und im Rahmen der Pfarreien als Prediger und Vikare ihren Dienst leisteten. Nach F. Šmahel, der das Lebensschicksal von insgesamt 344 Klerikern aus Tábor (süd-östliches Böhmen) in den Jahren 1395-1415 analysierte, übernahmen lediglich 61 Priester ihre eigene Pfarrei. Ein derartiger Aufstieg hing meistens vom Schirmherrn der Kirche ab, der über personelle Besetzung der neuen vakanten Stellen zu entscheiden

4 M. Nodl, *Dekret kutnohorský*, Praha 2010; idem, *Středověk v nás*, Praha 2015, S. 165-174. M. Nodl (*Středověk v nás*, S. 167-168) weist darauf hin, dass der Streit um Wyclif einen nationalen Nebensinn hatte, da die Verteidiger seiner Thesen ausschließlich Böhmen waren, wogegen diejenigen, die ihn für einen Häretiker hielten, den übrigen, an der Universität vertretenen Nationalitäten gehörten. Die Letzteren behaupteten nach Jahren, dass sich die Böhmen von den Deutschen irgendwie unterscheiden wollten und weil sie nichts Konkretes gefunden hatten, nahmen sie die Lehre Wyclifs an.

5 T. Borovský, *Kláštery, panovník a zakladatelé na středověké Moravě*, Brno 2005, S. 133.

6 J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1378-1437...*, S. 274.

hatte⁷. Die Erörterungen Z. Hledíkovas erlaubten in drei böhmischen Diözesen 119 Personen mit ähnlichem Vermögensstatus ausschließlich für ein einziges Jahr 1407 zu identifizieren. Der Meinung J. Čechuras nach schließen sich diese Verschiedenheiten gar nicht aus, weil sie sich aus mangelnden Informationen aus amtlichen Quellen ergeben, welche recht selten arme Bedienstete der Pfarreien erwähnten. Da diese Personen aber recht häufig und genau in der damaligen Literatur geschildert sind, kann man mit Sicherheit behaupten, dass es sich um recht zahlreiche Gruppe handelt, die sogar bis zu 1200 Personen zählen könnte⁸.

Trotz einer durchaus negativen Schilderung der Kirche von Reformatoren und radikalen Predigern, versuchte man im Priesterstand und Ordensleben eine Verbesserung der ökonomischen Lebensbedingungen und eine Möglichkeit des gesellschaftlichen Aufstiegs zu finden. Einen Nachweis hierfür stellt der Lebensweg Jan Hus', Jan Želivskýs, Prokop Holýs wie auch Jan Rokycanas und später auch seines Neffen dar⁹. Wegen künftiger Perspektiven gehörte das Studium an der theologischen Fakultät der Prager Universität zu den attraktivsten Lehrgängen, obwohl es zur Überproduktion der Geistlichen beitrug¹⁰.

Jan Rokycana wurde 1397 in einem kleinen Städtchen Rokycany im Pilsener Land geboren. Da er sich immer mit der Angabe seines Geburtsortes unterschrieb, wurde im Laufe der Zeit der Name Rokycany zu seinem Familiennamen. Man weiß recht wenig Bescheid darüber, was für Pläne der junge Jan für seine Zukunft vorhatte, er stellte sich aber gewiss nicht vor – so berichtete er beiläufig nach mehreren Jahren – dass er mit Hammer und Amboss in der Schmiede seines Vaters arbeiten könnte. Dank der Unterstützung seiner Verwandten erlaubte der Vater dem 13-14-jährigen Jan das Familienhaus zu verlassen und sich nach Prag zu begeben, wo er während des Studiums „tausend Male den Predigten Jan Hus' zuhörte“. (Den Predigten Jan Hus' konnte man lediglich bis zum Ende Dezember 1412 zuhören, weil der Meister nach blutigen Unruhen wegen der Ablässe und des päpstlichen

7 Ibidem, S. 282.

8 Ibidem.

9 Die Laufbahn eines Geistlichen beziehungsweise das Klosterleben fanden ihre Anhänger sogar nach der Hussitenrevolution. Als Beispiel hierfür kann der Neffe Jan Rokycanas genannt werden, der 1446 von Jan z Přibrami (Johann von Pribram) ins Kloster Na Slovane aufgenommen wurde. Dort nahm er den Vornamen Gregor an und wurde später zum Gründer der Brüder-Unität, die feindselig Jan Rokycana gegenüber war. Er behauptete, dass Rokycana die hussitischen Ideale gegen „ein Pelzstück tauschte“ (im übertragenen Sinne: gegen erzbischöfliche Gewänder). Siehe *Ze starých letopisů českých*, Praha 1980, S. 482; J. Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad*, Praha 1967, S. 48.

10 J. Spěváček, *Václav IV. 1361-1419. K předpokladům husitské revoluce*, Praha 1986, S. 526.

Kirchenbannes der Stadt Prag endgültig verwiesen wurde). Auch für Rokycana, diesmal aber aus finanziellen Gründen, erwies sich Prag ungastlich. Er kehrte nach Hause zurück und wurde Novize im hiesigen Augustinerkloster, obwohl es nicht auszuschließen sei, dass die zeitliche Reihenfolge dieser Ereignisse umgekehrt sein konnte¹¹. Informationen hierüber stammen von Quellenüberlieferungen aus den 30er bis 60er Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts, die für den Bedarf des Kampfes gegen die utoquistische Kirche und gegen Rokycana als deren Erzbischof entstanden sind¹².

Der Aufenthalt Rokycanas im Kloster musste kurz gewesen sein, es handelte sich hierbei höchstens um ein Jahr. Rokycana „trat dem Orden nicht aus Gottes Berufung bei, sondern um der Armut zu entkommen; er war eingebildet, ehrgeizig und missachtete den von den Vätern verlangten Grundsatz der Demut“. Indem er die strenge Disziplin nicht einhalten konnte, legte er das Ordensgewand ab und versuchte wieder sein Universitätsstudium fortzusetzen. Die späteren Kritiker Rokycanas deuteten an, er wurde aus dem Kloster wegen Alkoholmissbrauchs relegiert, es konnte sich aber auch um eine Kritik der Kirchenordnung handeln, die in Prag vernommen werden konnte¹³. In Prag überstand er, weil er ins Heim für arme Studenten aufgenommen wurde¹⁴ und als Lehrer im reichen Haus für seinen Unterhalt verdiente. 1415 erwarb er den akademischen Grad eines Baccalaureus an der Fakultät für freie Künste und blieb in Prag im Kreise der Schüler von Jakoubek ze Stříbra¹⁵. Da Jan Rokycana erst in sieben Jahren in den Quellen regelmäßig erscheinen wird, und dies stets in Begleitung Jakoubeks, soll man seinen Meister wie auch Geschehnisse der Jahre 1415-1422 eingehender erörtern, die

11 *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica*, übers. und bearb. D. Martínková, A. Hadravová, J. Matl, F. Šmahel, Praha 1998, S. 136-137. Eneas, im viel sagend betitelten Kapitel „Über den häretischen Priester Jan Rokycana“, erwähnt nicht seinen Aufenthalt im Kloster, wobei er vermutet, Rokycana hätte seine grammatischen und dialektischen Kenntnisse als aus Almosen lebender Autodidakt erworben.

12 J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 11. Die Autoren behaupten, dass Rokycana zuerst in Prag verweilte, wo er Jakoubek kennen lernte, jedoch aus finanziellen Gründen die Hauptstadt verlassen musste und in seinem Heimatort Rokycany ins Augustinerkloster ging. Es sollte 1412 zustande kommen, weil Jan eben damals eine Abschrift des antihusstischen Traktats an Jakoubek übersandte, er musste also Jakoubek früher kennengelernt haben.

13 *Ibidem*.

14 Das Wohnheim für arme Studenten befand sich auf dem Gelände der St. Valentin Pfarre.

15 *Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 136-137. Eneas datiert das Zusammentreffen mit Jakoubek erst auf die Zeit seines Universitätsstudiums: „weil er begabt und beredsam war, wurde er ins Heim für arme Studenten aufgenommen und damals wurde er zum Hörer der Vorlesungen Jakoubeks“. Der Tutor der Bakkalaureatsarbeit Jan Rokycanas war Křišť'an von Prachatic, siehe A. Hadravová, P. Hadrava, *Křišť'an z Prachatic. Stavba a užití astrolábu*, Praha 2011, S. 20-22.

einen bedeutenden Einfluss auf die theologischen Ansichten Jan Rokycanas, seine politische Orientierung wie auch seine Charaktereigenschaften hatten, die ihm erlaubten, den künftigen Erfolg zu erreichen, die aber gleichzeitig extreme Urteile über Rokycana fallen ließen.

Infolge der Konstanzer Ereignisse war die Situation in Prag im Sommer 1415 sehr angespannt. Das Konzil verdamnte Jan Hus als „einen offensichtlichen Häretiker“, indem es darauf verwies, dass das Spenden des Abendmahls an die Laien unter der Gestalt von Wein (die sog. Kelchkommunion)¹⁶, wie es in Böhmen seit 1414 passierte, verboten sei¹⁷. Die Adeligen wiesen die Anschuldigungen des Konzils ab und ermächtigten 1415 den Rektor, die Doktoren und Meister der Prager Universität in Dingen des Glaubens, der Verteidigung der Freiheit für die Predigt wie auch der Legalität und des Rechtes der Anwendung des Interdiktes zu entscheiden. Den Kernpunkt für künftige Ereignisse bildeten das Jahr 1417 und die starke gesellschaftliche und religiöse Anregung in der Provinz. Chiliastische Zukunftsvorstellungen („Zu jener Zeit würde es auf der Erde weder menschliche Herrschaft noch Hörigkeit geben...“) wurden immer häufiger in den Predigten der volkstümlichen Prediger hörbar, was jedoch die mäßigen Utraquisten beunruhigte. Im Januar 1417 präsentierte Meister Prokop von Pilsen in einer öffentlichen

16 Aus diesem Grund, das heißt wegen des Empfangs der Kommunion auch unter der Gestalt von Wein, im Unterschied zu Katholiken, die Kommunion nur unter einer Gestalt (von Brot) empfangen, wurden die Hussiten auch Kalixtiner (von lateinisch *calix* – der Kelch) beziehungsweise Utraquisten (von lateinisch *communio sub utraque specie* – in beiderlei Gestalt) genannt. Umgangssprachlich bezeichnete man Hussiten als „Anhänger des Kelches“, „Verbündete des Kelches“, und dies nicht nur wegen der Gestalt des Empfangs des Abendmahls, sondern auch als Bestimmung ihrer politischen Orientierung und des künftig formulierten Programms der sog. *Vier Prager Artikel*. Aus diesem Grund scheint es berechtigt zu sein, in der polnischen Schreibweise das Wort Kelch groß zu schreiben.

17 Das Abendmahl unter der Gestalt von Brot und Wein knüpft an die Tradition des Letzten Abendmahls, als Jesu seinen Jüngern Brot und Wein als Symbol seines Leibes und Blutes hinreichte. Im 15. Jahrhundert bedeutete diese Form der Kommunionsspendung das Bestreben nach einer Demokratisierung der Kirche, der Gleichsetzung von Laien und Geistlichen in der christlichen Gemeinschaft, wobei eine Begründung hierfür vermutlich von zwei Emigranten aus Dresden – Nikolaus – und Peter – gegeben wurde. Die Idee der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt tauchte in der radikalen Volksbewegung noch vor der endgültigen Formulierung des Reformprogramms auf, wovon eine anonyme Relation über die Predigten auf Kozi Hrádek zeugt, die angeblich Jan Hus nach dessen Verbannung aus Prag halten sollte: „Man sagt, dass alle Priester bis auf den heutigen Tag als Diebe galten, weil sie uns kein Blut Jesu Christi spendeten. Darüber lehrt [Jan Hus] und sagt zu ihm: Man fragt dich beim Spenden des Leibes Christi: Glaubst du daran, es sei das Leib des Herrn? Dann sage: Nein, ich glaube daran nicht, denn Christus spendete das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt, und wenn Christus keinen Unterschied zwischen diesen Sachen gesehen habe, dann würde Er das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt nicht gespendet haben“ (J. Nechutová, *Místo Mikuláše z Drážďan v raném reformačním myšlení*, Praha 1967; J. Macek, *Ktož jsú boží bojovníci*, Tabor 1951, S. 32; R. Kalivoda, *Husitské myšlení*, Praha 1997, S. 170; J. Kejř, *Deklarace pražské univerzity z 10 března 1417 o přijímání pod obojí a její historické pozadí*, „Sborník historický“ VIII (1961), S. 133-156.

Debatte an der Universität theologische Argumente gegen den Empfang des Abendmahls unter beiderlei Gestalt, wobei die ehemaligen Freunde und Anhänger Jan Hus', mit Jan von Jesenica und Křišť'an von Prachatice an der Spitze, versuchten, das Reformprogramm zu konkretisieren, indem sie das Kelchabendmahl beibehalten und gleichzeitig verbieten wollten, von der in der Kirche obliegenden Lehre über das Fegefeuer, Abbildungen, Weihen und Rituale abzuweichen¹⁸. Diese Notmaßnahmen lösten eine Reaktion Jakoubeks ze Stříbra aus. Seine Ansichten, vom Einfluss der Schriften Matějs z Janova und John Wyclifs geprägt, wie auch seine konsequente Haltung ebneten 1417 den Weg für gemäßigten Utraquismus¹⁹. Jakoubek und Jan Hus waren Altersgenossen, ihre Bekanntschaft reicht auf ihr Universitätsstudium hin, als die beiden sich im Reformatorenkreis gefunden haben. Die Karriere Jakoubeks entwickelte sich nicht so spektakulär, wobei der Kernpunkt seines Programms, das wir als die künftigen *Vier Prager Artikel* kennen, langsam, innerhalb einer Dekade aufgebaut wurde, um dann im Frühjahr – Sommer 1417 dessen endgültige Gestalt aufzunehmen. Zehn Jahre früher, im Jahre 1407, das durch eine ernsthafte Krise in den Beziehungen zwischen dem Prager Erzbischof und den Reformatoren gekennzeichnet war, plädierte Jakoubek unterm Einfluss Wyclifs für die These, dass die zeitgenössische Kirche lediglich durch eine zwanghafte Säkularisierung zu retten sei, die auf eine näher unbestimmte Art und Weise vom König und Adeligen durchgesetzt werden soll²⁰. Er wiederholte seine Meinung in einer Debatte über das Programm Wyclifs und dessen Anpassung auf die einheimischen Umstände, die von der böhmischen Nation 1408 im Hause Zur Schwarzen Rose organisiert wurde²¹. 1411 definierte Jakoubek das grundlegende Prinzip des Hussitismus:

18 J. Spěvák, *Václav IV. ...*, S. 530-531.

19 Jakoubek ze Stříbra, *Výklad na Zjevení*, hrsg. F. Šimek, I-II, Praha 1932-1933. In den letzten Jahren erschienen neue Ausgaben und Kommentare zum theologischen Werk Jakoubeks ze Stříbra *Dvě staročeská utrakvistická díla Jakoubka ze Stříbra*, hrsg. M. Čejka, H. Krmíčková, Brno 2009; *Jakoubek ze Stříbra: texty a jejich působení*, hrsg. O. Halama, P. Soukup, Praha 2006; P. Soukup, *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra*, Praha 2011, insbesondere S. 245-253; J. Marek, *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích. Studie o Jakoubkově postile z l. 1413-1414*, Praha 2011.

20 B. Zilynská, *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a dobová církevní správa*, [in:] *Jakoubek ze Stříbra: texty a jejich působení*, S. 9-48; F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny české reformace*, II, Praha 1993, S. 80-94, insbesondere S. 83. Zur Ursache der Krise 1407 wurde die im Sommer d.J. in der Prager Bethlehemskapelle von Jan Hus gehaltene Predigt, in der er die wegen geleisteter seelsorgerischer Dienste erhobenen Gebühren kritisierte, wie auch seine Synodalpredigt zum Thema der amoralischen Lebensweise der Geistlichen. Die Letztere fiel mit der Entscheidung des Erzbischofs über die Verschärfung der Sanktionen gegen Nichteinhaltung des Zölibats zusammen, wobei sich der Widerwille des Konsistoriums und des Kapitels auf Hus als Initiator dieses Aktes konzentrierte.

21 P. Soukup (*Reformní kazatelství...*, S. 231, 240-241) weist darauf hin, dass für die Entwicklung der reformatorischen (aber auch der nationalen) Denkweise der im Jahre 1408

die Priorität der Ordnung Gottes den anderen, durch die irdische Kirche festgesetzten Gesetzen gegenüber. Seine Kritik des Reichtums der Geistlichkeit sowie die Vision des Antichrist, der bereits die christliche Welt erobert habe, schilderte Jakoubek erneut im Jahre 1412. Zwei Jahre später ergänzte Jakoubek seine Postulate, als er am 28. Oktober 1414 in der St. Michael Kirche die Regel einführte, nach der Erwachsene das Abendmahl in beiderlei Gestalt empfangen konnten, und die mit der Zeit auf Kinder erweitert wurde. Auf diese Art und Weise baute Jakoubek Schritt für Schritt *Vier Prager Artikel* auf, das heißt das Programm der sich nähernden Revolution²².

Eine seit 1417 fortschreitende Mobilisation in der Provinz und eine weitgehende Verschärfung der Situation in Prag, nachdem der König den Hussiten fünf Kirchen weggenommen hatte, wo man den Gläubigen das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt spendete und den Gottesdienst auf Tschechisch abhielt, explodierten mit dem Prager Fenstersturz vom 30. Juli 1419. König Wenzel IV. erkrankte schwer, als er die Nachricht darüber erhielt und starb zwei Wochen später. Durch die Stadt zog eine Gewaltwelle begleitet von Raubakten in den Prager Kirchen und Klöstern. F. Šmahel kommentierte diese Ereignisse, indem er feststellte: „Kein Geschehnis im Zusammenhang mit der kontroversen Persönlichkeit dieses Königs hatte für die böhmische Geschichte eine derart große Bedeutung, wie dessen Tod. Mit seinem Tode eröffnete er den Weg für eine gesamt-nationale Hussitenbewegung, die sich von einer Revolte bis zur Revolution entwickelte“²³.

Die Gewaltakte während der Juli-Ereignisse zeigten darauf hin, dass der Waffenkampf nur eine Frage der Zeit sei. Davon zeugte die angespannte Situation auf der Provinz im Herbst 1419, die sich zuerst in kleinen Gefechten mit Katholiken und dann im Verteidigungskampf um die durch die Militärkräfte des ersten Kreuzzuges belagerte Hauptstadt widerspiegelte. Der Sieg Jan Žižkas über Kreuzfahrer beim Veitsberg im Juli 1420 wie auch die

stattgefundene Austausch des altstädtischen Rates von großer Bedeutung war, als zum ersten Mal die böhmischen Stadtherren die Mehrheit hatten. Diese Stadtherren beteiligten sich dann 1409 an der öffentlichen Universitätsdebatte (sog. *kvodlibet*) unter Führung Matějs z Knína und unterstützten seine reformatorischen Ansichten.

22 Der Meinung F. Šmahels nach (*Husitská revoluce. Kořeny...*, II, S. 95-104) verknüpften die *Vier Prager Artikel* Postulate der über 50 Jahre dauernden Aktivität mehrerer böhmischer Generationen und fremder Theoretiker der Kirchenreform. Bereits vor 1419 bestanden zwischen dem früheren Programm Jan Hus' (Gehorsam der Gottes Ordnung gegenüber, Ablehnung der Antichrist' Ordnung, Reform der Geistlichkeit, Mitwirkung der Stände) und dem Programm der *Vier Prager Artikel* (die Freiheit für die Predigt, das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt, arme Kirche, Bestrafung der Todsünden) keine Unterschiede mit der Ausnahme der Kelchkommunion. Das harmonische Mitwirken der Stände, das Jan Hus postulierte, verlangte nach der Befreiung von Todsünden im persönlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben.

23 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny...*, II, S. 318.

Eroberung Vyšehrads im Herbst des gleichen Jahres, trugen zur Stärkung der Prager Radikalen aus dem Umfeld Jan Želivskýs, der in der Kirche St. Maria im Schnee predigte. Eine Dominanz Želivskýs, die verschiedene Formen hatte, wie Ernennung von Ratsherren und das persönliche Militärkommando, beunruhigte das konservative Bürgertum, die Geistlichen und Meister, was wieder zum scharfen Konflikt mit Křišť'an von Prachatice und Jakoubek ze Stříbra führte²⁴. Želivský versuchte die Meister einzuschüchtern und, wie Vavřinec z Březové (ein konservativer Kalixtiner) berichtete: „fachte seine Anhänger an und erlaubte, dass diese ihre Häuser überfallen“²⁵. Der Konflikt erreichte seinen Höhepunkt im Oktober 1421, als Jan Sádlo ze Smilkova und Kostelec, einer von zwanzig durch den Landtag in Čáslav eingesetzten Reichsverwesern, in Prag angekommen war und Želivský der Überschreitung dessen Ermächtigungen und der Intervention in säkulare Sachen beschuldigte. Želivský warf ihm Verrat vor, ließ ihn verhaften, und der aus seinen Anhängern bestehende Stadtrat fiel den Todesurteil über Sádlo. In knapp einem Monat nach der Hinrichtung, am 12. November 1421, auf der Sitzung der Prager Priester und Meister, wurde Želivský von Jakoubek der Diktatur und des Blutvergießens angeklagt. Jakoubek forderte auf, Želivský zu verweisen. Nicht nur Jakoubek fürchtete vor Želivský. Nach dem Sieg Jan Žižkas infolge der weiteren Konfrontation mit Katholiken und Sigismund von Luxemburg bei Deutschbrod im Januar 1422 brach im Kreise der gemäßigten Kalixtiner die Furcht vor der Dominanz der Taboriten aus. Die Folge dieser Stimmung war eine Verschwörung und die Hinrichtung Želivskýs zwei Monate später. Der Tod Želivskýs führte zu langwierigen blutigen Gefechten und weitgehenden Zerstörungen. Um den Frieden in der Stadt wieder aufzubauen, opferte man das Leben von sieben Ratsherren und des Bürgermeisters²⁶. Darüber hinaus wurden die Meister und Priester „des Aufhetzens zum Hass“ beschuldigt. Sie mussten die Hauptstadt verlassen und unter Obhut des Priesters Ambrož in Hradec Králové die Buße für ihre Sünden tun²⁷. Jakoubek und Rokycana wurden für kurze Zeit verbannt, obwohl es wenig wahrscheinlich war, dass sie

24 Zum Kreis der Hinterleute Jan Želivskýs gehörten die in Prag weilenden Hetmane Jan Hvězda, Zbyňko z Buchova und Jan Roháč z Dubé (im Hause Matějs z Chlumčan in der Altstadt ließ sich auch Jan Žižka behandeln, der bei der Belagerung der Burg Rabi sein Auge verloren hat).

25 Vavřinec z Březové, *Husitská kronika. Píseň o vítězství u Domažlic*, Praha 1979, S. 265-267; M. Čapský, *Město pod vládou kazatelů*, Praha 2015, S. 112-120 über die Ursachen des Konflikts zwischen dem hussitischen Adel und der Stadt Hradec Králové, wo Priester Ambrož die hiesigen Hussiten anführte.

26 *Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 80.

27 M. Čapský (*Město pod vládou kazatelů*, S. 136-141) charakterisiert die Situation und die Person des Priesters Ambrož in Hradec Králové, wo sich auch zweimal Jan Rokycana versteckte.

sich am Attentat beteiligt haben. Die Verschwörer wussten nur den öffentlich deklarierten Widerwillen Jakoubeks gegen Želivský geschickt auszunutzen, indem sie die Verantwortung auf die beiden Meister abzuwälzen versuchten. Wenn man das spätere Verhalten Rokycanas – die weitgehende Vorsicht beim Handeln und die Suche nach dem Kompromiss – analysiert, war für ihn der Fall Želivskýs sicherlich eine lehrreiche politische Erfahrung.

Der Tod Želivskýs, die klare Distanzierung von den Radikalen und die Niederlage Sigismunds von Luxemburg bei Deutschbrod schlossen die erste Phase der Entstehung des Prager Bundes ab und veranlassten die Kalixtiner dazu, nach einem Herrscher zu suchen, der zur Verteidigung der bisherigen Errungenschaften fähig wäre. Die Wahl Sigismunds Korybut, der 1422 in Böhmen angekommen war, hieß für Rokycana eine richtige Chance zu sein. Der Prinz wollte die Situation im Lande in Ordnung bringen und brauchte hierfür einen geschickten Führer durch die Verwicklungen des religiösen Streits, einen Führer, dem – anders wie den älteren Meistern – keine Schuld für den Niedergang Želivskýs zuzuweisen wäre. Man weiß nicht genau, wann Rokycana Hradec Králové verließ, er befand sich aber ganz gewiss im Mai 1422 im engen Kreis des Prinzen.

Auf jeden Fall ein Jahr später, nachdem Sigismund Korybut Prag verlassen hatte, war Rokycana eine erkennbare Persönlichkeit und obwohl er keinen Meistertitel innehatte, nahm er an der zweiten theologischen Debatte der Kalixtiner und Taboriten auf der Burg Konopiště teil²⁸. Es handelte sich dabei gar nicht um das erste Zusammentreffen Rokycanas mit den Tabori-

28 Das erste Zusammentreffen in Konopiště, im frühen Frühling 1423, fand unter besonderen politischen Umständen statt. Nach dem Abschluss der Verhandlungen zwischen Sigismund von Luxemburg und Jagiello verließ Sigismund Korybut Böhmen, Jan Žižka verließ die alte Bruderschaft und ließ die neue taboritische Bruderschaft (das Kleine Tabor) im Nordosten des Landes gründen. Dies trug zur Destabilisierung der bisherigen Kraftverteilung und ließ Streitigkeiten zwischen dem Alten Tabor und dem Prager Bund entstehen, den bei der Belagerung der Burg Kříženeč die katholischen Adligen unterstützten. Dieser Streit wurde eben während des Zusammentreffens auf der Burg Konopiště friedlich gelöst, es gelang dagegen nicht, das Problem der Messgewänder zu lösen, obwohl die Taboriten die Möglichkeit zuließen, diese zu tragen. Während des zweiten Zusammentreffens in Konopiště diskutierte man über die sich aus der falschen Auffassung der Bibel ergebenden Widersprüche, Messgewänder sowie über die Unterschiede beim Begreifen der Eucharistie. Die Meister behaupteten, das Opfer der Eucharistie habe dieselbe Kraft unabhängig davon, ob die Gläubigen anwesend oder abwesend seien. Die Taboriten meinten, das sakramentale Opfer sei nur beim gleichzeitigen Empfang des Abendmahls und nach der Verkündung des Wortes Gottes gültig. F. Šmahel (*Husitská revoluce. Kronika válečných let*, III, Praha 1996, S. 137) meint, dieses Zusammentreffen habe trotz versöhnlicher Gesten der beiden Parteien die bestehenden Kontroversen nicht gemildert. Es hatte jedoch den Vorteil, dass es zur langsamen Kristallisierung des Prager und des taboritischen Programms beitrug, und dessen gemeinsam festgesetzte Minimum zur Grundlage der Verhandlungen in Cheb (Eger) und Basel wurde.

ten, auf dem man über religiöse Probleme diskutierte, es wurde jedoch zum Wendepunkt auf seinem Wege zur Selbständigkeit: Er stand nicht mehr im Jakoubeks Schatten, er ließ sich erkennen und lernte taboritische Geistliche und Hetmane, mit denen er trotz ideologischer Widersprüche zusammenarbeiten wird. Die in Konopiště erschienenen Prokop Holý, Petr Payne und Mikuláš z Pelhřimova (Nikolaus von Pelgrims) fuhren zehn Jahre später mit Rokycana nach Basel.

Für seine gemäßigte, bereits aber antitaboritische Haltung fand Rokycana Anhänger im Kreise der wohlhabenden Bürger der Altstadt, die angesichts der weitgehenden Umstrukturierung der Kräfte ins politische Vakuum nach der Abberufung Sigismunds Korybut gelangen. Nicht ohne Bedeutung für die Suche nach den neuen Lösungen und die Emanzipation der neuen Politiker war die Gefährdung seitens der Katholiken und Sigismunds von Luxemburg, der die Kalixtiner im geschickten diplomatischen Spiel des Bündnisses mit Jagiellonen beraubte²⁹. Diese gefährliche Situation ließ Jan Žižka noch gefährlicher werden, indem er mit Hilfe der neuen Bruderschaft – des Kleinen Tabors – von der Prager Domäne Hradec Králové, Čáslav und Kutná Hora löste und dem Prager Bund bei Malešova den endgültigen Schlag versetzte. Eine solche Umwendung der Bündnisse ließ wieder die Aufmerksamkeit der Kalixtiner auf Polen lenken, wo Jagiello und Vytautas offiziell die Geschehnisse in Böhmen verurteilten, was im in Wielun erlassenen Edikt bestätigt wurde. Gleichzeitig bereitete der Kronkanzler Jan Szafraniec eine Militärunterstützung für Sigismund Korybut vor, der sich dafür entschied, wieder nach Prag zu kehren, und zwar angeblich wider den Willen seiner Onkel³⁰. In Böhmen erwartete den Prinzen eine politische Sackgasse. Die Niederlage bei Malešov stellte die Glaubwürdigkeit von zwölf Reichsverwesern in Frage, insbesondere von Herrn Hašek z Valdštejna, wogegen man anhand der von Jan Žižka und dem Alten Tabor geschlossenen Waffenstillständen schließen konnte, dass er erneut eine Aktion gegen die Prager Bevölkerung plant. Deswegen schien jede Entscheidung sehr schwierig zu sein. Hätte sich der Prinz mit Žižka versöhnt, so hätte er die Kalixtiner gegen sich, was zur Steigung der Aktien Sigismunds von Luxemburg beitragen würde. Das Gedenken an Malešov hielt ihn aber von einer Konfrontation mit dem Hetman zurück. Der

²⁹ Zu diesem Problem bleibt stets aktuell: J. Grygiel, *Życie i działalność Zygmunta Korybutowicza. Studium z dziejów stosunków polsko-czeskich w pierwszej połowie XV w.*, Wrocław 1988, S. 9-66 sowie: J. Nikodem, *Polska i Litwa wobec husyckich Czech w latach 1420-1433. Studium o polityce dynastycznej Władysława Jagiełły i Witolda Kiejstutowicza*, Poznań 2004.

³⁰ J. Sperka, *Szafraniec, orędownicy zbliżenia polsko-czeskiego w okresie wojen husyckich*, „Acta Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Ostraviensis“ CLXXXII, Historica VII (1999), S. 165-166; J. Krzyżaniakowa, J. Ochmański, *Władysław II Jagiełło*, Wrocław 1990, S. 274-275; J. Grygiel, *Życie i działalność Zygmunta Korybutowicza...*, S. 87-88.

Prinz entschied sich für die erste Variante: Er schickte seine Kündigungsbriefe an Sigismund von Luxemburg und Albrecht von Habsburg und verurteilte wahrscheinlich manche Personen und Prediger mit Jan z Přebami an der Spitze zur Verbannung, da diese wegen des Konflikts mit Žižka und des bestrebten Einvernehmens mit dem König für schuldig erklärt wurden³¹. Trotz allem erschien Žižka im August 1424 im Prager Vorfeld.

In dieser Situation erwies sich Jan Rokycana als der Mann der Vorsehung. Man ließ ihn ohne größere Hoffnung ins Žižkas Lager entsenden, und die mit dem Hetman durchgeführten Gespräche, deren Inhalt unbekannt blieb, verhinderten den Angriff. Die am Špitálskie Pole geführten Verhandlungen, von Eneas in zwei Sätzen geschildert, sind mythologische Geschichte geworden: „Et iam nomine et auctoritate valebat, cum Zischa Pragam obsideret. Exiit ergo consentientibus civibus et in castra profectus civitati Zischam conciliavit“³². Der unerwartete Tod des Hetmans lediglich einen Monat später zerstörte leider die bisherige politische Ordnung, man ist deshalb nicht mehr imstande, die eventuellen Bedingungen der Vereinbarung zwischen Žižka und Rokycana zu rekonstruieren, falls es überhaupt eine Vereinbarung gegeben habe. Die Historiker bezweifeln diese Absprache und behaupten, dass Eneas' Zeugnis zweifelhaft sei, wobei man den restlichen Inhalt des Berichtes Hájek z Libočan zu verdanken habe, obwohl in seiner Überlieferung der Name Rokycana nicht genannt wurde³³. Einwenig Licht auf die mögliche Teilnahme und die Rolle Rokycanas bei den Verhandlungen mit Žižka wirft die (für Rokycana höchst missbilligende) Publizistik der 60er Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts. In der Sammlung von über 200 Beschwerden, im Unterkapitel „Verbrechen Rokycanas weder eines Priesters noch eines anderen geistlichen Amtes würdig“, liest man: „Er wurde zur Ursache zahlreicher Misserfolge, zumal er die Prager

31 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny...*, III, S. 151 und S. 367, Anm. 289.

32 *Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 136-137.

33 Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká*, hrsg. J. Linka, Nachwort P. Voit, Praha 2013, S. 932: „Pražané vzavše opět radu s Zikmundem Korybutem, poslali k Žižkovi o pokoj, podruhé vyslavše z sebe s plnou mocí na den svatého Kříže před svatým Václavem, na Špitálském poli smlouvu činili, takže Pražané Žižkovi pokoj zachovati zaručili“ („Nach den Beratungen mit Sigismund Korybut baten die Prager Žižka um Frieden. Als sie danach ihren Bevollmächtigten gewählt hatten, schlossen sie am Tage des Heiligen Kreuzes vor dem Heiligen Wenzel eine Vereinbarung, laut der auch die Prager Žižka gegenüber das Bewahren des Friedens versprachen“). Die vorgeschlagenen Friedensbedingungen waren nach Ermessen des Chronisten gar nicht günstig für die Belagerten: „To když se vykonalo, Žižka přijel do Prahy a Pražané jej slavně vítali a ctíli poctivě, a kto zabit, ten tam, a komu statek pobrán, tolikéž, a komu spáleno, poustku míti musil“ („Als es sich vollzogen hatte, kam Žižka in Prag an, die Prager begrüßten ihn feierlich und bewirteten ihn hochachtungsvoll. Wer aber dabei ums Leben gekommen war, da kann man nichts machen, und wenn einem sein Hab und Gut genommen wurde, da kann man auch nichts machen, und wenn einem sein Haus verbrannt wurde, der muss sich mit der Leere abfinden“).

Bürger dazu veranlasste, dass sie bei Malešov kämpften, wo sie auch eine Niederlage erlitten. Und er, der Verräter, einigte sich mit Žižka“³⁴.

Die Rolle Rokycanas als Vermittler verteidigte J. Pekař, der Žižka nicht mochte und ihm den gemäßigten und talentierten Rokycana gegenüberstellen wollte. An die diplomatische Begabung Rokycanas glaubten auch V.V. Tomek, R. Urbánek, J. Prokeš wie auch F.M. Bartoš, wobei der Letztere dieses historische Gespräch rekonstruierte. Während des Gesprächs habe Rokycana an Žižka als den jüngsten Sieger und Verteidiger Prags gegen Kreuzfahrer appelliert, indem er argumentierte, der Angriff der Taboriten auf die Hauptstadt würde den König veranlassen, nach Böhmen zu kommen. Er bat um Verzeihung für die Prager Bevölkerung, darunter auch die Geistlichen, und vor allem für Jan z Přebrami. Er bat auch für sich selbst um Begnadigung wegen Malešov. Er überzeugte Žižka, der ihm vergab, weil er die große Überzeugungskraft der Prediger der Bevölkerung gegenüber kannte, zumal die Geistlichen und die Meister nicht zum ersten Mal zum Hass aufhetzten³⁵. Nach der Meinung F. Šmahels habe sich Eneas diese Geschichte ausgedacht, wenn er aber darüber berichtet, soll man annehmen, dass Rokycana die Prager mit Žižka versöhnt habe³⁶. P. Čornej ist davon überzeugt, Rokycana habe einen solchen Erfolg erzielt, da es hierfür entsprechende Voraussetzungen gegeben habe: Die für Malešov verantwortlichen Schuldigen wurden bestraft und beinahe eine Hälfte (8/18) der konservativen Ratsherren durch die Anhänger Rokycanas ersetzt³⁷.

Im Jahre 1424 kam es außer den politischen und militärischen Missverständnissen zur weiteren Verschärfung der Beziehungen zwischen den Taboriten und Kalixtinern, was sich während des Konzils der hussitischen Geistlichen bemerken ließ, das im November 1424 zweimal tagte³⁸. Die Synode hatte die

34 P. Čornej, *Světla a stíny husitství...*, S. 170; J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 71.

35 F.M. Bartoš, *Žižka a Rokycana*, „Časopis Národního muzea“ (1924-1925), S. 2-9; idem, *Husitská revoluce*, I: *Doba Žižkova*, Praha 1965, S. 197ff.

36 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kronika...*, III, S. 152.

37 P. Čornej, *Světla a stíny husitství...*, S. 169. Die Regelung der Beziehungen zwischen den Pragern und den Taboriten bestätigen die zahlreichen *letopisy* (*Jahrbücher*) wie auch die *Sehr schöne Chronik*: „Und dann erschien Žižka auf dem Špitálske Pole. Hier versöhnte er sich mit den Pragern“. Der Name Rokycanas wird in keiner anderen Quelle außer dem Eneas' Bericht erwähnt.

38 Mehr zu diesem Problem: B. Zilynská *Husitské synody v Čechách 1418-1440. Příspěvek k úloze univerzitních mistrů v husitské církvi a revoluci*, Praha 1985. Es scheint, dass Rokycana aus einem offensichtlichen Grund (die Übereinkunft mit Žižka) unter den erschienenen Meistern anwesend war. Žižkas Tod ließ die mit der Prager Partei in Zdice festgelegte Ordnung in Frage stellen, er trug aber gleichzeitig zur Beseitigung allerart Missverständnisse zwischen den Bruderschaften bei, die infolge der expansiven Politik des Hetmans zustande kamen. Es zog

Aufgabe, zum aus 24 Punkten bestehenden und von Universitätsmeistern erarbeiteten religiösen Programm Stellung zu nehmen, welches während der nächsten Landtagversammlung in Kouřim präsentiert werden sollte. Außer dem traditionellen Streit um Paramente und liturgische Utensilien kehrte man wieder zur Weise und Umständen der Abendmahlspendung. Jan Přeboram warf Markoltov von Zbraslavice vor, er vertrete Häresie, indem er behauptete, dass die durch einen sündhaften Priester gespendete Kommunion ungültig sei. Die taboritischen Geistlichen entgegneten, Přeboram lasse sich nicht von Grundsätzen der urchristlichen Kirche sondern von scholastischen Doktrinen leiten. In Beantwortung der Vorwürfe attackierte Jan Přeboram die Taboriten, insbesondere Prokop Holý, indem er meinte, kein Priester dürfe kämpfen beziehungsweise die anderen zum Töten führen³⁹. Die Gespräche endeten mit einem Misserfolg und der Überzeugung eines Teils der konservativen Geistlichkeit, dass es leichter sei, sich mit der Kirche zu verständigen als mit den Taboriten⁴⁰.

Die Radikalisierung der taboritischen Ideologie sowie der Angriff gegen die Prager Domäne, wie auch der im Februar und September 1425 unternommene Versuch, die Hauptstadt zu erobern, ließen die ganze Situation in eine Sackgasse geraten. Rokycana verstärkte planmäßig seine Position unter dem konservativen Bürgertum und bemühte sich um eine Unterstützung im Rat der Prager Altstadt. P. Čornej bemerkt, dass die Bürger (es gab über vierzig solche Familien), die von der Stadtgemeinde die Häuser der verbannten Katholiken und der 1424 am Aufrufen zur Konfrontation Schuldigen erwarben, als sie einen Kurswechsel und eine Rückkehr zu alten Zeiten befürchteten, eine Unterstützung bei einer gemäßigten Person, wie es auch Rokycana war, zu finden versuchten⁴¹. Die politische Aktivität Sigismunds Korybut, unterstützt von den Meistern aus dem Kreis Křišť'ans von Prachatice und Jan Přeborams, strebte an die Übereinkunft mit dem Papst und Sigismund von Luxemburg. Für diejenigen, die mit der Politik des Prinzen unzufrieden waren, schienen die aufeinander folgenden Fehler Korybuts günstig zu sein, der die kleinen Festungen der Taboriten angriff, was zur Verschlechterung der Beziehungen mit Prokop Holý beitrug und die Position des Prager Bundes

ernsthafte Folgen ideologischer Natur nach sich: Žižka ließ kein übermäßiges Eingreifen der taboritischen Geistlichen in die weltlichen Angelegenheiten zu, sie kritisierten ihn dagegen wegen brutaler Methoden im Kampf um den Kelch. (Dieses Problem galt als eine der Ursachen seiner Trennung mit dem Alten Tabor und der Gründung seiner eigenen Organisation – des Kleinen Tabors. Angesichts der Übernahme des Kommandos über Žižkas Waisen von Jan Hvězda und der dann erfolgten Teilung in zwei-drei Kampffraktionen stärkte sich der Einfluss der Geistlichen.

39 Jan z Přeboramě, *Život kněží táborských*, hrsg. J. Boubín, Přeboram 2000.

40 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kronika...*, III, S. 160.

41 P. Čornej, *Světla a stíny husitství...*, S. 170.

gar nicht verbesserte⁴². Die dem Prinzen Beistand leistenden hussitischen Priester versuchten dagegen den religiösen Konflikt wieder zu verschärfen, indem sie die Autorität Jakoubeks und Petr Paynes verleugneten und die beiden der Verbreitung der Wyclifs Lehre und der falschen Lehre über die Eucharistie beschuldigten⁴³.

Rokycana engagierte sich nicht tiefer in den theologischen Diskurs um solche Probleme wie Transsubstantiation und Remanenz, die bereits zur Zeit Jan Hus' öfters erörtert wurden. Möglicherweise war sein Wissen hierüber zu schwach, er konzentrierte sich viel mehr darauf, wie man die *Vier Artikel* in die Tat umsetzen kann, ohne sich mit deren Übereinstimmung mit Dogmen und der Schrift zu befassen⁴⁴. Man kann sagen, Rokycana kennzeichnete sich durch einen religiösen Praktizismus, insbesondere in Debatten mit den Laien, deren theologische Dilemmas er kurz und bündig löste: „Netaž se, kterak to mŏž býti, věř proste a nechaj toho ptanie“ („Mach dir keine Sorgen darum wie es sein kann, glaube nur und gib allerart Fragen auf“)⁴⁵. Ein derartiges Verhalten erleichterte das Handeln unter den durch Glaubens- und politische Unterschiede geprägten Umständen.

Der Streit mit den älteren Meistern ist auch im Bericht des Autors der *Alten Chronik* zu hören, des Augenzeugen der Geschehnisse, der das Argument Rokycanas aus der Debatte über das kontroverse Wesen der Eucharistie zitiert: „Die Hostie sei doch das gebackene Brot, so nach wie vor der Weihe, warum sollten wir dann davor niederknien?“ Für die Meister war es nicht anzunehmen – fügt der schockierte Chronist hinzu⁴⁶. Gleichzeitig war in Prag ein satirisches Gedicht *Cantio de Rokycano et eius sectariis* im Umlauf: „Rokycana fälscht die Heilige Schrift, er versucht die heiligen Absichten zu ändern, die von Doktoren für die römische Kirche angenommen wurden“⁴⁷.

42 J. Grygiel, *Życie i działalność Zygmunta Korybutowicza. Studium z dziejów stosunków polsko-czeskich w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław 1988, S. 86ff.; J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1378-1437...*, S. 92.

43 F. Šmahel (*Husitská revoluce. Kronika...*, III, S. 185) bemerkt, dass die anfänglich tätige Gruppe der gemäßigten Konservativen aus dem Jakoubeks Kreis die Absichten des Prinzen nicht richtig verstanden habe, der den Erzbischof Konrad von Vechta und die Universitätsmeister dazu aufforderte, dass sie sich von den Wyclifs Fehlern distanzieren. Die Mitglieder dieser Gruppe haben auch die neue, von Přebram vorgeschlagene Auslegung der Eucharistie anerkannt, wobei Petr Payne der einzige war, der sich dagegen erklärte. Der nächste Schritt Přebrams war der Angriff gegen Jakoubek, indem er ihn in der Öffentlichkeit daran erinnerte, dass er vor 19 Jahren während des Zusammentreffens der böhmischen Nation im Hause Zur Schwarzen Rose den Wyclifs Artikeln entsagte. Dies soll Jakoubek kompromittieren und die Verantwortung dafür auf ihn abwälzen, dass die taboritischen Priester zum Praktizieren der fehlerhaften Lehre ermuntert wurden.

44 Ibidem.

45 J. Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 52.

46 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 104.

47 F. Šimek, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany*, S. 31.

Die gegen Rokycana eingestellten Chronisten erkannten in ihm den Initiator des Sturzes des Prinzen Korybut, indem sie behaupteten, er war der Urheber der Verschwörung, wobei sie auch unter den Ratsherren und Rokycanas Höflingen die Mitschuldigen an dieser verräterischen Tat fanden: Svojš von Zahrádky und Jan Rozvoda von Stakor, die Rokycana über die Beziehungen Korybuts mit Katholiken informierten und die mit dem Attentat verbundenen Handlungen leiteten⁴⁸. (Jedenfalls erwiesen sich die Kontakte Rokycanas mit dem Bürgertum und den Ratsherren, für die allerart theologische Subtilitäten um den Kelch weniger wichtig waren, als das im Kampf um den Kelch erworbene Vermögen, als sehr nützlich.) F. Šmahel bestreitet dagegen die Rolle Rokycanas als Führer. Nach seinem Ermessen gab es viel mehr Verschwörer, und diejenigen, die das Attentat organisierten, nützten lediglich die Geistlichen bei der Bezähmung der Emotionen der Menschenmengen aus⁴⁹. Auch wenn das Attentat kein Vorschlag Rokycanas war, spielte er seine Rolle richtig meisterhaft: Ohne in den Vordergrund zu rücken blieb er jedoch bemerkbar, als er mit der Monstranz in der Hand das Blutvergießen zu verhindern versuchte. Er erinnerte sich wohl an die Geschehnisse des Jahres 1422. Nicht alle kannten aber das Szenarium des Umsturzes und Rokycana musste die Meister vor der Selbstjustiz der verärgerten Bürger retten, die beabsichtigten, die Verräter des Kelchs in die Moldau zu stürzen. Auf diese Art und Weise gelang es Rokycana „auf einen Schlag“ den unlauteren Prinzen Korybut sowie die Konkurrenz in Person von Křišť’an von Prachatice, Petr von Mladoňovice und Prokop von Pilsen loszuwerden. Die Meister konnten sich der neuen Situation unterordnen, sie entschieden sich jedoch dafür, Prag zu verlassen⁵⁰.

48 F. Šmahel, *Pražská města mezi dvěma převraty 1427-1483*, „Documenta Pragensia“ IV (1984), S. 11-17; *O zajetí Zikmunda Korybuta*, [in:] *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, hrsg. B. Havránek, J. Hrabák, J. Daňhelka, I-II, Praha 1963-1964, I, S. 328, 330; J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 72. Die Schuld Rokycanas galt als doppelte Schuld: Zuerst übergab er dem Prinzen Kirchengüter und dann verriet er ihn. Im weiteren Unterkapitel der Beschwerden, unter dem Titel „12 Gebote Jan Rokycanas, nachdem er Korybut aus Prag verbannte“, verbot man zu behaupten, dass das, was Korybut zugestoßen war, durch einen Verrat zustande gekommen sei, dass es verboten sei, dem Papst gegenüber gehorsam zu sein, dass es verboten sei zu behaupten, dass diejenigen, die Kirchengüter ausplünderten beziehungsweise beschlagnahmten als Heiligenschänder gelten, es sei weiterhin verboten, die alten Zeremonien wiederherzustellen. Rokycana verletzte das Kirchenrecht, indem er damit einverstanden war, dass ein aus Geistlichen und Laien bestehende Gericht über Ehesachen entscheiden kann.

49 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kronika...*, III, S. 189.

50 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 103-104; Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká*, S. 936-937; F. Šmahel, *Pražská města mezi dvěma převraty...*, S. 11-17; J. Kadlec, *Námětky M. Jana z Příbramé proti M. Janovi z Rokycan*, „Vlastivědný sborník Podbrdská“ XIV (1978), S. 15-21; F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kronika...*, III, S. 189.

Ein vergleichbares Licht wirft auf die Person Rokycanas ein Ereignis vom September desselben Jahres. In Kolín, wo Herr Diviš Bořek von Miletínek als Hetman tätig war, kam man auf die Idee, die Stadt Prag von den Herren Hynek Kolšteinský und Jan Smiřický, den Anhängern Sigismunds Korybut, zu erobern. Die Verschwörer teilten ihren Plan Herrn Vilém Kostka von Postupice mit, der – obwohl er Befürworter der jagiellonischen Kandidatur war – weder eine dritte Chance für Korybut noch eine Ebene für eine Verständigung mit Katholiken sah. Deshalb informierte er heimlich die altstädtischen Bürger über dieses Vorhaben. Die Prager konnten sich vorbereiten und trotz der zahlenmäßigen Überlegenheit der Eindringlinge, die am 6. September in die Stadt eindrangen, verteidigten sie sich erfolgreich und entschieden, indem sie beinahe einhundert Menschen fallen ließen, darunter auch die neustädtischen Bürger, die zum Kreis der Korybuts Anhänger gehörten. Im Kampfgetümmel schützte Rokycana die Angreifer mit seiner Kasel vor der Lynchjustiz, die die entschlossenen Bürger üben wollten. Auf diese Weise gelang es ihm, einige Adelige, darunter auch Jan Smiřický, vor dem Tode zu retten⁵¹. Diese Haltung Rokycanas rentierte sich dann, und man vergaß ihm nie, dass er das Vergießen des ritterlichen Blutes vorbeugte⁵². Zehn Jahre später, nach dem Streit mit König Sigismund von Luxemburg, ermöglichte Diviš Bořek Rokycana Prag zu verlassen und gewährte ihm Unterschlupf in seinen Gütern⁵³.

Jedenfalls wurde die Position Rokycanas als Verwalter der kalixtinischen Kirche in der Altstadt nach den Geschehnissen des Jahres 1427 gefestigt, wobei sich sein Handlungsspielraum erweiterte, als sich die beiden Prager Städte unter Führung eines Bürgermeisters und eines Stadtrates vereinigten. Als Verwalter handelte Rokycana gestützt auf das noch 1421 von den Gemeinden beider Prager Städte einberufene Amt zur Bestrafung schwerer Sünden, an dem sich sowohl Laien als auch Geistliche beteiligten. Zu den Kompetenzen des Amtes gehörte die Erörterung der Probleme der Glaubens- und Sitten-

51 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 105-106. Hynek Kolšteinský kam während der Unruhen ums Leben, wobei sein Todschläger verhaftet und mehrere Monate später hingerichtet wurde.

52 S. Bylina (*Rewolucja husycka*, II: *Czas chwaly i czas zmięzchu*, Warszawa 2015, S. 32) setzt hinzu, dass der Mut und die Barmherzigkeit Rokycanas zur Stärkung seines Ansehens und seiner Popularität beitrugen.

53 Rokycana war, gegen alle künftigen Beschuldigungen, entschiedener Gegner allerart Gewalt und, was im 15. Jahrhundert äußerst selten vorkam, sprach sich gegen die Todesstrafe aus. In einer seiner zahlreichen Predigten schrieb er, die Menschen verlangen gerne nach einer Todesstrafe für die anderen. Sie erinnern sich aber nicht daran, dass Herr Jesus keinen Menschen steinigen ließ, weil jedem Sünder das Recht zustehen soll, sein Leben zu verbessern. Siehe J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 18; O. Halama, *Pojmy pokoje a miru u mistra Jana Rokycany*, [in:] *Hledání nové Evropy. Projekt krále Jiřího*, hrsg. J. Boubín et al., Praha 2015, S. 117-123.

reinheit. Am wahrscheinlichsten funktionierte das Amt noch bis zum Ende der 30er Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts, wobei seine Zusammensetzung um die weiteren 12 Priester sowie um das Recht erweitert wurde, über Ehesachen zu entscheiden. Erst nach der Wahl Rokycanas zum Erzbischof entstand das Amt für Kirchenrecht, das heißt ein Substitut des Konsistoriums⁵⁴.

Wegen des Streits um die Teilung der den Anhängern Korybut's konfiszierten Güter dauerte leider die Versöhnung zwischen den Prager Städten nicht lange. Kontroversen rief auch die Person Rokycanas hervor, dem sich die neustädtischen Geistlichen nicht unterordnen wollten. Letzten Endes schloss man im September 1428 einen Kompromiss, die Güter wurden proportional geteilt, und Rokycana musste sich mit dem Misserfolg abfinden und die Besonderheit der neustädtischen Kirche unter Führung Jakub Vlk's anerkennen⁵⁵. Die Hauptstadt Böhmens war von ihren eigenen Problemen stark in Anspruch genommen und beteiligte sich nicht an dem äußerst wichtigen Ereignis, wie es das Zusammentreffen der Hussiten mit Sigismund von Luxemburg in Bratislava war. (Die Hetmane, und vor allem Prokop Holý, residierten in Kutná Hora, sodass manche politischen Trends beziehungsweise Initiativen nicht immer rechtzeitig in Prag eingetroffen waren.) Die Niederlage des vierten Kreuzzuges gegen Böhmen fiel mit den Misserfolgen Sigismunds von Luxemburg im Kriege gegen die Türkei zusammen. Als die christliche Ritterschaft im Mai 1428 an der Festung Golubac in Serbien besiegt wurde, wandte sich der König, der keinen Krieg an zwei Fronten führen wollte, an die Hussiten mit dem Vorschlag ein Bündnis zu schließen. Nach F. Kavka handelte es sich hierbei um einen Akt außergewöhnlichen Mutes, wenn man die unnachgiebige Stellungnahme der Kirche Böhmen gegenüber wie auch die nicht besonders guten Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Papst berücksichtigt⁵⁶. Der in Český Brod beratende Landtag nahm den

54 B. Zilynská, *Kališnická církev*, [in:] *Husitské století*, hrsg. P. Cermanová, R. Novotný, P. Soukup, Praha 2014, S. 596.

55 *Ibidem*. S. Bylina, *Revoluční husycka*, S. 35. Im Winter 1428/1429 entbrannte der Konflikt aufs Neue, diesmal ging es aber um städtische Privilegien. Den städtischen Partikularismus nutzten geschickt die hiesigen Bruderschaften aus, vor allem die Waisen, die versuchten, ihren Einfluss in der Neuen Stadt zu stärken. Beide Gemeinden bereiteten sich zum Krieg vor, man festigte die Häuser, zäunte die Straßen ab, es wurden zwei Hetmane berufen, um schließlich (möglicherweise unterm Druck Prokop Holý's) die Waffe beiseite zu legen und allerart Streitigkeiten dem Kommissionsgericht zur Entscheidung zu übergeben.

56 Außer mangelnder Erfolge im Kampf gegen Hussiten ist als die Ursache der Verschärfung dieser Beziehungen auch die Tatsache anzusehen, dass Sigismund auf die Einberufung des Konzils drängte, dessen Termin bereits in Konstanz festgelegt wurde, indem man darauf rechnete, dass es gelingt, die Reformen erfolgreich durchzusetzen. Der Papst zögerte jedoch, weil er richtig voraussah, dass es zu einem heftigen Kampf mit den Konziliaristen kommen muss. Ähnliche Stellungnahme formulierte auch das Kardinalkollegium, das in erster Reihe reformiert werden sollte. Gleichzeitig musste Sigismund eine abgewogene Stellung dem Papst

Vorschlag des Königs an, wobei es zu einem Zusammentreffen im Mai 1429 in Bratislava gekommen war. Die erste Beratungsrunde, trotz der geistreichen Verteidigung des hussitischen Programms von Petr Payne, endete in einem Fiasko. Sigismund verweigerte sich, die *Vier Artikel* zu akzeptieren. Man lehnte auch das Postulat ab, über die religiösen Probleme öffentlich zu debattieren, die aufgrund der Argumente der Heiligen Schrift und nicht kraft der Autorität der Kirchenväter entschieden werden sollten. Trotzdem wurden die Verhandlungen nicht abgebrochen, man ließ lediglich die Debatte hierüber auf einen Sommertermin verschieben. Einen Monat später erstattete die böhmische Delegation auf dem Forum des Landtags ihren Bericht über das Zusammentreffen mit dem König und legte die Vorschläge dar, die sie künftig vorlegen wollte⁵⁷. Der an der Sitzung teilnehmende Rokycana formulierte hieraus zwei Schlussfolgerungen: Angesichts der Unnachgiebigkeit des Papstes ist ein Vergleich mit der Kirche ohne Hilfe des Königs unmöglich. Sigismund von Luxemburg, der nach Böhmen zurückkehren wollte, neigte dagegen zu einem Kompromiss mit gemäßigten Hussiten. Auf dieses Moment musste man jedoch länger warten⁵⁸. Zunächst einmal, das heißt gegen Ende 1429, verursachten die Hussitenreisen nach Schlesien und ins Reich, dass sich Friedrich von Hohenzollern der Kurfürst von Brandenburg bereit erklärte, Vermittlungen zu beginnen, indem er versprach, eine Debatte über Religionsfragen im Reichstag in Nürnberg zu organisieren. Dieser Plan scheiterte (angesichts des Widerstands des Papstes und Sigismunds, der behauptete, dass die böhmischen Angelegenheiten zu seiner und nicht zur Kompetenz des Markgrafen gehören), obwohl die aus 30 Personen bestehende böhmische Delegation unter Führung Prokop Holýs, gewählt im März 1430, auf die Einladung wartete. (Unter den an der Wahl teilnehmenden Personen waren auch Jan Rokycana und Křišťan von Prachatice anwesend.) Trotz des Misserfolgs weist F. Šmahel auf die Zusammensetzung der Delegation hin, die die damalige Kräfteverteilung bestens widerspiegelt: Nur ein einziger Geistlicher und elf Herren, unter denen auf erster Stelle Menhart z Hradce (Meinhard von Hradec) und ein Kalixtiner seit Neuestem – Herr Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna⁵⁹.

gegenüber nehmen, weil er – obwohl er bereits seit 18 Jahren römischer König war – immer noch keine kaiserliche Krone innehatte.

57 Der Landtag bewilligte den Vorschlag, den Frieden mit Sigismund und den anderen, zur Krone gehörenden Landen zu schließen. Man lehnte dagegen die Möglichkeit ab, ein Bündnis mit Bayern und Meißen zu schließen, die als das Gebiet der hussitischen Reisen galten.

58 S. Bylina (*Rewolucja husycka*, S. 37) bemerkt im Zusammenhang mit dem Zusammentreffen in Bratislava, dass gegen Ende der 20er Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen, sowohl im Kreise der Geistlichen als auch der hussitischen Hetmane, diejenigen Personen zu Worte kamen, die sich von den politischen Argumenten leiten ließen und in denen die Entscheidung reifte, sich mit der katholischen Partei zu günstigen Bedingungen zu versöhnen.

59 M. Šandera, *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna. Opomíjený vítěz husitské revoluce*, Praha 2011, S. 21. Der Autor verknüpft den Beitritt Herrn Hynce den Kalixtinern mit der Zeit nach 1427, das

Es sind kaum drei – vier Jahre vergangen, und die beiden Herren trafen sich mit Jan Rokycana in Brno (Brünn), wo sie mit dem König und den Legaten über die Bedingungen der Rückkehr Sigismunds nach Böhmen und seine Akzeptanz für die *Vier Artikel* verhandelten. Diese politische Bekanntschaft mit Herrn Hynce, obwohl wir nicht wissen, ob sie bereits im Frühling 1430 begann, sollte dann große Bedeutung für die Rolle haben, die Rokycana in den Jahren 1439-1444 zu spielen hatte.

Die Position, die Jan Rokycana seit 1427 sichtbar behielt (vor allem die Übernahme der Kirche der Jungfrau Maria vor dem Teyn), verlangte von ihm, die höheren Priesterweihen und den Titel des Meisters zu erlangen. Es war gar nicht einfach, weil der Konflikt mit der Kirche das Spenden der Priesterweihe an die neuen Geistlichen weitgehend beschränkte, die Universität wurde ihrer Rechte enteignet und die Meister der Theologie wurden verbannt. Wahrscheinlich erhielt Rokycana seine niederen Weihen noch von Hermann von Mildenheim, sie erwiesen sich aber für die Karriere in der neuen Kirche nicht ausreichend⁶⁰. Der Erzbischof Konrad von Vechta, der im Sommer 1420 auf die hussitische Seite übergang und den Priestern, die das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt reichten, die Priesterweihe spendete, wurde vom Papst mit dem Bann belegt. Gegen Ende der zwanziger Jahre erkrankte er schwer⁶¹. Trotzdem sollte unter den von Konrad von Vechta eingeweihten Priestern auch Jan Rokycana gewesen sein, wobei Jan Bosák⁶² meinte, diese Priesterweihe wäre eben wegen des Gesundheitszustands des Erzbischofs nicht kanonisch. Rokycana, gemeinsam mit Martin Lupač und Bedřich Stražnický, „begaben sich, durch dasselbe Bedürfnis gezwungen, zum Greis Konrad, der bei Herrn Smiřický in Roudnice im Bett lag, schwach, mit ketzerischen Fehlern verpestet und durch Lähmung erdrückt. Sie haben den im Geiste und Leib gelähmten Greis gebeten, gedrängt und aufgefordert.

heißt nach dem Sieg bei Tachov (Tachau) und mit dem Übergang der Hussiten zu offensiven Feldzügen außerhalb der böhmischen Grenzen. Menhart z Hradce entschied sich – nicht zuletzt aus politischen Gründen – die Katholiken 1425 zu verlassen (obwohl er es nie endgültig getan hat), als er in Gefangenschaft der Taboriten geriet.

⁶⁰ J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1378-1437...*, S. 164. Bereits vor dem Ausbruch der hussitischen Revolution ließ Herr Čeněk z Vartenberka, Burggraf von Prag, um eine Konfrontation zwischen der Loyalität katholischer Geistlicher dem Erzbischof gegenüber und dem Bedarf der Gläubigen an „neuen Kräften“ zu vermeiden, in seinen Gütern (wie auch in den Gütern der Rožemberks, für die er wegen der Minderjährigkeit ihres Erben Oldřich sorgte) das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt spenden. In dem ihm gehörenden Dorf Lipnica berief er Hermann von Mildenheim zum Titularbischof, der den hussitischen Priestern die Priesterweihe spendete. Eben dort sollte Jan Rokycana die niedere Priesterweihe erhalten.

⁶¹ Nachdem Konrad von Vechta in die hussitische Seite wechselte, wurden allerart Angelegenheiten der katholischen Kirche von den Verwaltern mit dem Sitz in Žitava erledigt.

⁶² J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 74-76. Außer den Beschwerden der Katholiken gegen Jan Rokycana veröffentlichten J. Boubín und J. Zachová eine Biographie Jan Rokycanas, ein kurzes Werk Jan Bosák Vodňanskýs (1460-1534).

Da sie sahen, dass der Sterbende dies nicht tut, weil er nicht imstande ist, dies zu tun, ließen sie heilige Öle bringen. Sie haben selbst den Finger des Erzbischofs in Öle eingetaucht und mit der bischöflichen Hand haben sie selbst ihre Hände gesalbt. Vom Bischof erhielten sie lediglich Fluchworte zu hören: Ich sehe, dass ihr Missetäter seid und als Missetäter lasse ich euch durchgehen“⁶³. Diese Geschichte, so Jan Bosák, „erzählte mehrmals mit eigenem Munde in der Generalversammlung der Hochgeborenen der bereits erwähnte Stražnický, einst der Hetman der Orebiten, der – nachdem er heiratete – aus der Priesterschaft austrat“. Bedřich Stražnický hatte zahlreiche Gründe hierfür, über Jan Rokycana schlecht zu reden, weil sie sich in den vierziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts entzweiten, nachdem sie sich für zwei gegensätzliche Parteien des hussitischen Lagers ausgesprochen haben.

Obwohl die Gerüchte über die illegale Priesterweihe Rokycanas in ganz Prag kursierten, war die Position Rokycanas gut fundiert. Davon zeugt die Tatsache, dass er zum Pfarrer der Kirche der Jungfrau Maria vor dem Teyn einberufen wurde, und zwei Jahre später (1429) wurde er vom Erzbischof Konrad von Vechta zum Verwalter der kalixtinischen Kirche ernannt. Es fiel mit dem Tode Jakoubeks ze Stříbra zusammen, was Rokycana ermöglichte, sich mit den älteren Meistern zu versöhnen, die nach dem Zwischenfall mit Korybut in der Verbannung lebten. Ihre Rückkehr erlaubte Rokycana das Meisterdiplom zu erlangen, als der Erzbischof 1430 den Rektor Martin Kuneš im Amt des Vizekanzlers bestätigte und der Universität das Recht aufs Promovieren zuerkannte⁶⁴.

Der Erwerb des Magistertitels festigte die Position Rokycanas, der sich der Vorbereitung des Hussitenprogramms für künftige Konzilsverhandlungen annahm, weil man von dessen Berufung bereits in Bratislava während des Treffens mit dem König diskutierte. Diesem Zweck sollte auch die weitere religiöse Debatte dienen, organisiert im Karolinum (Karlova kolej) am 30. April 1431. Als erster Vortragender trat Jan Rokycana mit einem Beitrag über Eucharistie aus, in dem er postulierte, den Glauben von allerart Fehlern zu reinigen, was eine deutliche Anspielung auf den im Auditorium anwesenden Mikuláš z Pelhřimova vom Tabor war, der als nächster Redner Grundsätze der taboritischen Glaubenslehre vorstellte. Die Diskussion, ähnlich wie alle vorherigen, endete damit, dass die Parteien an ihrem Standpunkt beharrten und es war klar, dass man nur die *Vier Artikel* zur Grundlage eventueller Verhandlungen akzeptiert⁶⁵.

63 Ibidem, S. 74.

64 M. Svatoš, *Kališnická univerzita 1415-1556*, in: *Dějiny univerzity Karlovy 1347/1348-1622*, I, Praha 1995, S. 207. Auch die persönlichen Beziehungen Rokycanas mit den Meistern erwiesen sich so weit einwandfrei, dass sich Jan z Příbrami 1437 und Petr von Mladoňovice 1446 in Basel, und dann in Rom bemühen werden, die Wahl Rokycanas zum Erzbischof zu anerkennen.

65 S. Bylina, *Revolution husycka*, S. 64-65.

Das Fiasko der Bratislaver und der gescheiterten Nürnberger Verhandlungen, sowie die ökonomischen Bedürfnisse der Bruderschaften, ließen die Häufigkeit der hussitischen Feldzüge nach Schlesien und ins Reich steigern, sie brachten jedoch auch eine Reaktion mit sich: Es war die letzte, große Mobilisation der Katholiken, das heißt der fünfte Kreuzzug. Sigismund von Luxemburg war Gegner dieses Kreuzzuges, indem er meinte, falls er überhaupt nötig ist, dann nur zu diesem Zweck, dass man dadurch Dickköpfe innerhalb der Kirche endgültig davon überzeugt, sie müssen Zugeständnisse den Böhmen gegenüber machen. Alles endete so, wie der König vorsah: Am 14. August 1431 wurde das Kreuzfahrerheer bei Taus (Domažlice) geschlagen. Viel schlimmer ging es dagegen den Bruderschaften außerhalb böhmischer Grenzen. Als im Herbst 1431 das Feldheer während des Zuges gegen Österreich und die Slowakei eine Niederlage erlitten hatte, entschied sich Prokop Holý (vorläufig) den Streit in die diplomatischen Bahnen zu lenken.

Zwei Monate später lud das Konzil, durch Vermittlung Herrn Oldřichs von Rožemberk, die Böhmen nach Basel, und Jan Rokycana, als Verwalter der kalixtinischen Kirche handelnd, bestätigte die Annahme der Einladung. Obwohl diese Nachricht allgemeine Freude auslöste, war der Grundton der Antwort Rokycanas – angesichts des Konflikts zwischen Taboriten und Waisen sowie wegen der Befürchtung, ob man imstande ist, eine gemeinsame Stellungnahme überhaupt zu formulieren – viel mehr zurückhaltend⁶⁶. Diesen Konflikt wusste Rokycana geschickt auszunutzen, indem er den gemäßigten Flügel der Bewegung durch eine Umwendung der Bündnisse stärkte. Die Prager Altstadt, die bisher mit den Taboriten zusammenarbeitete, war nun nach deren misslungenen Herbstzügen ins Reich und in die Slowakei viel mehr geneigt, die Waisen zu unterstützen, was die Bruderschaften entzweite. Als gegen Ende 1431 der Erzbischof Konrad von Vechta gestorben war, so F. Šmahel, „wurde Rokycana, nachdem er den Schatten der zweiten Kirche losgeworden war, zum Haupte der Prager Hussitenkonfession“. Als Konzilsvorsitzender manövrierte er geschickt mit Personalien, indem er sich der taboritischen Radikalen entledigte, wobei er deren Stellen den neustädtischen Geistlichen anvertraute, was die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen den Bruderschaften noch mehr verschärfte⁶⁷.

Angesichts der sich nähernden Konzilsdebatte gehörte die Vorbereitung des Hussitenprogramms zu den wichtigsten Aufgaben Rokycanas. Unter

66 Ibidem, S. 67.

67 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny...*, III, S. 247-249; J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1378-1437...*, S. 93-94; S. Bylina (*Rewolucja husycka*, S. 66) meint, dass Rokycana die Abwesenheit Prokop Holýs nutzte und gemeinsam mit den Waisen und der Prager Neustadt einen anti-taboritischen Block schuf, den er geschickt an Konzils- und Landtagssitzungen auszunutzen wusste.

seiner Führung arbeitete man an einem 13 Punkte beinhaltenden Programm, aus dem Rokycana aus taktischen Gründen allerart Elemente der taboritischen Kirchenlehre beseitigte. Dieses Provisorium galt als Ausgangspunkt für die Verhandlungen in Cheb (Eger), wo im Frühling 1432 die Legaten und die Bruderschaften die grundsätzlichen Festlegungen für die künftigen Verhandlungen mit dem Konzil vorbereiteten. Es handelte sich dabei um den ersten Auftritt Rokycanas in der Eigenschaft des Fürsprechers der hussitischen Delegation auf der internationalen Ebene⁶⁸. Man erzielte zwar eine vorläufige Übereinkunft in Bezug auf die *Vier Artikel*, indem man Gottes Ordnung, gestützt auf die Lehre Christi, die Lehre der Apostel und die Praxis der Urkirche für den Ausgangspunkt annahm, die Parteien konnten sich aber nicht über die Autorität einigen, die zur Grundlage der Entscheidung über die strittigen Probleme werden könnte. Die Hussiten wollten ausschließlich die Heilige Schrift für diese Grundlage anerkennen, wobei die katholischen Theologen diese Basis um die Schriften der Kirchenväter, Dokumente der bisherigen Konzile und Päpste wie auch um die Kirchenpraxis erweitern wollten. Schließlich, unterm Druck der Situation und damit rechnend, dass die Hussiten dem Waffenstillstand zustimmen, gaben die Legaten nach und deklarierten, dass das Konzil die Bemühungen um die *Vier Artikel* gestützt auf „die Gottes Ordnung, die Praxis Christi und der Apostel wie auch gestützt auf die Urkirche gemeinsam mit Konzilien und Gelehrten, die sich darauf [auf die Heilige Schrift] aufrichtig stützen“ weiter führen wird⁶⁹.

Trotz der kritischen Beurteilung dieser Zugeständnisse von manchen Hierarchen wurden die in Cheb getroffenen Vereinbarungen, dank der entschlossenen Haltung Julian Cesarinis, im Juli 1432 durch das Konzil für die Grundlage weiterer Verhandlungen mit den Böhmen angenommen. Die Vereinbarungen wurden auch durch den Landtag in Kutná Hora akzeptiert, indem er die Zusammensetzung der Konzilsdelegation bewilligte⁷⁰.

⁶⁸ Die *Vier Prager Artikel* unterschieden sich von deren erster Auffassung nach Jakoubek ze Stříbra (1417) und dann von der während des Landtags in Čáslav (1421) aufgeschriebenen und im Jahre 1433 in Basel präsentierten Version durch die Reihenfolge der Postulate. Während der Konzilsdebatte verteidigte man die folgenderweise geordneten Forderungen: das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt, Bestrafung der Todsünden, die Freiheit für die Predigt, arme Kirche.

⁶⁹ F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kronika...*, III, S. 252. Gleichzeitig, um den Eindruck zu vermeiden, dass das Konzil die letzte Instanz sei, sicherte man sich in der Anweisung für Delegierte mit der Festlegung ab, dass das Konzil, weder autonom noch gestützt auf eine andere kirchliche Autorität, die Grundsätze der Gottes Ordnung anzweifeln darf.

⁷⁰ Nicht alle gewählten Delegierten fuhren nach Basel. Sehr bedeutsam war die Abwesenheit Herrn Menharts z Hradce. Für das Konzil war es ein deutliches Signal, dass es unter den Hussiten keine Einigkeit gab sowie dass die sich des größten Ansehens erfreuenden Herren sich von den *Vier Artikeln* distanzieren. Während der Konzilsberatungen in Basel suggerierte Cesarini Herrn Vilém, dass das böhmische Programm eine Chance auf Erfolg nur

Ein halbes Jahr später, da die Verteidigung des religiösen Programms auf die geistlichen Delegierten stützen musste, wurde Jan Rokycana auf natürliche Art und Weise zum Vorsitzenden der Delegation⁷¹. Inhaltlich gesehen war es für Rokycana eine richtige Herausforderung, weil er lediglich Magister der Philosophie war, wobei die Konzilstheologen als gefährliche Gegner galten, die viel besser ausgebildet waren, als all diejenigen, gegen die er bislang anzukämpfen hatte. Deswegen wollte er, indem er sich der Reihe nach mit allen Delegierten zusammentraf, auf Schwach- und Streitpunkte der Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Bruderschaften hinwies, nach der Festlegung einer gemeinsamen Stellungnahme strebte, alles tun, damit die Böhmen noch vor dem Konzil mit einer Stimme sprechen. Noch bevor die Böhmen in Basel eintrafen, bat Cesarini das Konzil, sich mit den *Vier Artikeln* bekannt zu machen, wobei er mit der kritischen Beurteilung der einzelnen Artikel die herausragenden Theologen beauftragte: Jan von Dubrovnik – über das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt, Heinrich Kalteisen – über die Freiheit für die Predigt, Aegidius Carleri – über die Bestrafung der Todsünden und Jan Palomarov – über die weltliche Macht der Geistlichen.

Ähnlich tat auch Rokycana, indem er die schwierigsten Aufgaben den am besten vorbereiteten Theologen anvertraute: Oldřich ze Znojma verteidigte das Recht auf die freie Verkündung des Evangeliums, Mikuláš z Pelhřimova erörterte das Problem der Bestrafung der Todsünden und Petr Payne das Gebot der Armut für Priester⁷². Bei der Wahl der Delegierten aufs Basler Konzil richtete sich Rokycana, wie es sich zeigte, nicht nur nach deren theologischer Vorbereitung und Lateinkenntnissen, sondern auch nach deren Kenntnis der

dann hätte, wenn es von den Wohlgeborenen unterstützt würde. Siehe P. Čornej, *Lipanská křižovatka*, Praha 1992, S. 38.

71 Am Konzil nahm Eneas Piccolomini teil, der bei dieser Gelegenheit zum ersten Mal Jan Rokycana und die meisten hussitischen Delegierten kennen lernte. Wahrscheinlich wurde seine Abneigung gegen Hussiten, die er aufgrund dessen, was er von ihnen hörte, verspürte, noch dadurch verstärkt, was er in Basel sah. Seine Meinung über Rokycana war von starken negativen Emotionen geprägt, obwohl er auch dessen List und Schläue bewunderte. Und die Vorstellung der böhmischen Delegation von Eneas (*Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 150-151) war eindeutig: „Vilém Kostka von Postupice: mehr wegen Plündern von Kirchen als wegen seiner ritterlichen Ehre bekannt, Prokop – dank seinen großen Siegen für groß anerkannt und dank seinen groben Verbrechen legendär geworden, Jan Rokycana – der falsche, selbst ernannte Prager Apostel [...], Petr Payne [Peter Englisch] – nachdem er aus seinem Lande geflüchtet war, gab er sich dem inhaltslosen Geschwätz hin“.

72 F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh...*, S. 29-33. Als Fürsprecher des zweiten Artikels über das Recht auf die Freiheit der Verkündung des Wortes Gottes sollte zuerst Petr Žatecký auftreten, wegen der Zeitknappheit wurde jedoch diese Aufgabe Oldřich ze Znojma anvertraut. Petr Žatecký haben wir dagegen das sorgfältig geführte Diarium des Aufenthalts der Böhmen in Basel zu verdanken, das als wertvolle Quelle für die Wiederherstellung des Auftritts der hussitischen Konzilsdelegation erhalten wurde.

deutschen Sprache, so dass man sich leichter verständigen und bei dieser Gelegenheit das böhmische religiöse Programm propagieren kann. Dies führte zu einer entschlossenen Reaktion von Kardinal Cesarini, der persönlich bei Rokycana in der Sache der agitierenden Delegierten intervenierte (eine Gelegenheit hierfür boten die kurzen Reisen in die nahe liegenden Dörfer, die der Beschaffung von Pferdefutter dienen sollten, wie auch das Zelebrieren von Messen mit dem Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt und ohne Messgewänder, die die Neugierigen herbeilockten). Rokycana wies die Vorwürfe zurück, indem er behauptete, die Brüder können nicht predigen und seien der deutschen Sprache nicht kundig⁷³.

Der erste Auftritt der Böhmen im Konzil fand am 10. Januar 1433 statt. Die Sitzung begann mit der Rede Kardinals Cesarini, der an die Grundsätze erinnerte, die als grundlegende Regeln der Regierung über die Kirche und die Gläubigen gelten: Wer erlöst werden will, muss rechtgläubig sein. Der Glaube (die Rechtgläubigkeit) stützt auf die Heilige Schrift und die Lehre der Kirchenväter. Um die konträre Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift zu vermeiden, erklärt sie die Kirche als unfehlbar. Sollen Widersprüche beim Lehren auftauchen, so versammelt sich die Kirche zum allgemeinen Konzil und entscheidet darüber. Die in Basel versammelte Kirche, vom Heiligen Geist angeregt, entscheidet über die Rechtgläubigkeit der Lehre und alle Christen müssen diese Lehre annehmen. Zum Abschluss wandte er sich an die eingeladenen Gäste, dass es gut wäre, wenn sie sich wieder im Glauben vereinigen könnten⁷⁴.

Als der Kardinal seine Rede beendet hatte, erhob sich Jan Rokycana und, indem er an das jüngst gefeierte Fest der Epiphanie anknüpfte, begann seinen Vortrag mit Matthäus' Worten: „Wo ist der neugeborene König der Juden? Wir haben seinen Stern aufgehen sehen und sind gekommen, um ihm zu huldigen“. Er wollte damit an die wichtigste Botschaft seiner Rede anknüpfen: Die Suche der Böhmen nach Christus in der Wahrheit des Evangeliums und des Lebens der Apostel. Dann präsentierte er seine Definition der Kirche (als Gemeinschaft der zum Heil Prädestinierten) und die Notwendigkeit, das Abendmahl unter beiderlei Gestalt zu empfangen, so wie es Christus empfohlen habe und wie es seine Schüler im Evangelium aufgeschrieben haben.

Rokycana war Mittelpunkt der im Konzil geführten Diskussionen, unermüdlich in seinen mehrere Stunden dauernden Reden, treffsicher in seinen Attacken und wörtlichen Provokationen, wenn nötig – entschlossen, höflich – wenn ihm an Argumenten fehlte. Er wusste die Stimmung mit versöhnlicher Bemerkung, Entschuldigung, rascher Entgegnung beziehungsweise einem

73 Ibidem, S. 28; A. Krchňák, *Čechové na basilejském sněmu*, Svitavy 1997, S. 20.

74 A. Krchňák, *Čechové na basilejském sněmu*, S. 25.

Scherz zu entschärfen und dadurch einen Ausweg aus heiklen und schweren Situationen zu finden.

Am Anfang der Beratungen behandelten sich die beiden Parteien kritisch und misstrauisch, so dass Kardinal Cesarini, wenn er nur einen Schatten der Unzufriedenheit auf dem Gesicht Herrn Viléms Kostka von Postupice, des Vorsitzenden der böhmischen Delegation, sah, die Feuerköpfe schnell zu kühlen versuchte⁷⁵.

Mit der Zeit, innerhalb von 55 Tagen, die die Böhmen in Basel verbrachten, verbesserte sich die Atmosphäre, obwohl keine der Parteien auf ihre eigene Stellung verzichtete. Die meist spektakulären Dispute über Eucharistie führte eben Jan Rokycana mit Jan Stojkovič von Dubrovnik, er ergriff aber das Wort bei jeder Gelegenheit, indem er sowohl den Konzilsvätern als auch den Böhmen ins Wort zu fallen pflegte. Jan Stojkovič vertrat die Meinung, das Konzil sei unfehlbar und die Kirche habe das Alleinrecht auf die Auslegung des Evangeliums. Alle, die damit nicht einverstanden waren, nannte er Häretiker, wogegen die Böhmen sehr empfindlich waren, zumal man in Cheb festsetzte, dass man die Böhmen nicht der Häresie anklagen darf, sofern man ihnen kein Abfall vom Glauben beweist. Nach einem weiteren regen Meinungsaustausch, am 7. Februar 1433, rief Rokycana theatralisch auf: „Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich selbst und meine Kameraden mehr die Häresie als den Tod befürchten. Niemand kann beweisen, dass ich Häretiker bin“⁷⁶. Man muss aber auch hinzufügen, dass die wörtlichen Gefechte mit Stojkovič Rokycana viel Vergnügen bereiteten. Er behauptete, dass wenn der Meister auch zwanzigmal seine Lehre widerlegen würde, dann ist er damit sehr zufrieden, weil es ihn zu weiteren vertieften Studien anspornt⁷⁷.

Da die steten Kontroversen um die *Vier Artikel* dem Konzil nicht erlaubten, eine gemeinsame Stellungnahme zu formulieren, wobei sich die Diskussi-

⁷⁵ Ibidem, S. 152-155. Trotz der Garantien von Eger wurde die gute Stimmung der Böhmen durch die Anschuldigungen Petr Paynes seitens der Engländer verdorben: Er sollte die Wyclifs Thesen verkündigen, er beabsichtigte, ein Attentat auf den König verüben und statt sich vor Gericht zu stellen, flüchtete er auf den Kontinent. Herr Vilém Kostka von Postupice war der erste, der Petr Payne verteidigte und daran erinnerte, dass Payne sich an der böhmischen Botschaft bei Sigismund von Luxemburg in Bratislava beteiligte, wo niemand gegen ihn Vorbehalte äußerte. Rokycana reagierte viel schärfer: „Wir sind verwundert, wie Dr. Perdix [Mitglied der englischen Delegation] dem böhmischen Königreich dienen will und deswegen versucht, Payne zu beschuldigen. Wir glauben an diese Einwände nicht. Von ihm selbst haben wir niemals etwas Schlimmes gehört. Die ganze Sache legen wir dem böhmischen Königreich vor und das böhmische Königreich soll euch eine Antwort geben“. Die Anschuldigungen wie auch die früheren Androhungen, dass England nach der Extradition Paynes verlangen wird, erfüllten nicht nur die Böhmen, sondern auch Kardinal Cesarini mit Angst, der befürchtete, die Böhmen könnten die Beratungen verlassen. Diese Unglückssitzung schloss er deshalb auf diplomatische Art und Weise und ließ sie ohne Kommentar.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, S. 67.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, S. 126.

on in einen persönlichen Streit zwischen den Fürsprecher der böhmischen Delegation und den Konzilsexperten verwandelte, fiel der Vorschlag, die böhmische Delegation soll ins Konzil einbezogen werden, wo sie als dessen Teil an Problemen der Kirchenreform arbeiten könnte. Beinahe sofort, lediglich nach kurzer Beratung unterm Einfluss Rokycanas, äußerten die Böhmen ihren Widerspruch, und dies aus dreierlei Gründen. Erstens würden sie sich lächerlich machen, dass sie so schnell dem Gegner unterlagen: Sie kämpfen doch um den Glauben, und der Kampf ist noch nicht entschieden. Außerdem, falls sie sich geeinigt hätten und ihr Programm – das Empfangen des Abendmahls unter beiderlei Gestalt – realisieren wollten, würden sie sich sofort dem Widerstand des Konzils aussetzen⁷⁸.

Die Stellungnahme Rokycanas war bestimmt richtig, insbesondere wenn man die Tatsache berücksichtigt, dass sie – indem sie sich dem Konzil anschließen – daran als Minderheit teilnehmen würden (die Laienmitglieder der Delegation könnten nicht daran teilnehmen). Die *Vier Artikel* könnten dann entweder nicht gebilligt oder von der Tagesordnung gestrichen werden. Über die Frage nach der Einbeziehung der böhmischen Delegation entschied endgültig Prokop Holý, indem er meinte, dass es zur Verletzung der Egerer Abkommen führen würde, wo man festsetzte, dass die Grundlage allerart Entscheidungen über die *Vier Artikel* eindeutig die Heilige Schrift sein soll⁷⁹.

Dass sich die Böhmen dem Konzil unterordnen sollen meinte auch Nikolaus von Kues indem er die Böhmen überzeugte, dass das Empfangen des Abendmahls unter einer beziehungsweise unter beiderlei Gestalt nicht das Wichtigste sei. Am wichtigsten sei es, die Einheit zu behalten und die Kirche nicht in Sekten zu teilen. Dem, der sich von der Kirche trennt, helfe beim Erlangen der Erlösung der Empfang des Abendmahls nicht, und dies unabhängig davon, unter welcher Gestalt es gespendet wird. Dasselbe gilt für die harte Stellungnahme der Böhmen in Bezug auf die Autorität der Heiligen Schrift. Die Böhmen müssen sich dessen bewusst sein, dass Christus seine Apostel mit der Aufgabe schickte, den Menschen das Evangelium zu verkünden, wobei er die Sachen des Glaubens der Kirche überwies. Die Kirche gab es noch vor dem Evangelium. Das Evangelium wurde zufällig aufgeschrieben, und auch wenn es nicht aufgeschrieben oder vernichtet würde, würde die Kirche weiterhin existieren (...) Alle Gläubigen müssen die Lehre der Kirche annehmen, die die Botschaft des Evangeliums exakt vorträgt⁸⁰.

Zum Schluss schlug Nikolaus von Kues Folgendes vor (es war das erste konkrete Versprechen nach zwei Verhandlungsmonaten): Sollten sich die Böhmen der Kirche unterordnen, so erlaubt ihnen das Konzil, das Abendmahl

78 Ibidem, S. 112.

79 Ibidem.

80 Ibidem, S. 116.

unter beiderlei Gestalt zu spenden. Die übrigen drei Artikel haben keinen religiösen Rang, sie können aber für die gesellschaftliche Ordnung gefährlich sein. Deshalb muss die böhmische Delegation über die Einführung jener Regelungen weiterhin mit dem Konzil verhandeln.

Nach Ostern, das 1433 auf die Hälfte April fiel, machte sich die böhmische Delegation, trotz der Bitte Sigismunds von Luxemburg, dass sie ihre Ausreise verzögert, auf den Rückweg. Eigentlich erzielte man in Basel keine Übereinkunft, man kehrte jedoch in hoffnungsvoller Stimmung. Das Konzil äußerte den Willen der Versöhnung und als Beweis hierfür galten die die Böhmen begleitenden Legaten.

Die von den Legaten in Prag vorgefundene Situation begünstigte die Vorhaben Rokycanas, der den Gästen gegenüber als der Wirt, Führer, Dolmetscher und Fürsprecher der böhmischen Postulate erschien. Im Juni 1433 versammelte sich der böhmische Landtag. Nachdem die Legaten zur Sitzung gekommen waren, so F. Kavka, konnten sie ihre Überraschung nicht verbergen, als sie sahen, auf welche Weise die Vertretung eines von der christlichen Welt ausgeschlossenen Landes die ausländischen Botschaften empfing: Die Botschaft des Reiches, die den Waffenstillstand verlängern wollte und die polnische Botschaft, die wegen der Hilfeleistung seitens der Bruderschaften angesichts des Krieges Jagiellos gegen den Deutschen Orden in Prag ankam.

Nachdem die Landtagsteilnehmer das Lied *Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist* gesungen hatten, begrüßte Rokycana die anwesenden Legaten, wobei er seinen Basler Bericht recht provozierend begann: „Brüder, wenn es überhaupt ehrliche, aufrichtige, gerechte, reine, gute und rechtschaffene Sachen gibt, so sind es die *Vier Artikel*“. Das Ziel wurde erreicht, da der sonst äußerst vorsichtige Jan Palomar die Böhmen angriff, indem er ihnen das Blutvergießen und Raubüberfälle vorwarf, worauf Prokop Holý scharf antwortete, dass sie zum Kampf gezwungen wurden⁸¹. Das spannungsvolle Klima begünstigte die Vorhaben Rokycanas, der versuchte, den zur Kirche neigenden Kalixtinern die Unnachgiebigkeit des Konzils und den Legaten die Unnachgiebigkeit der Böhmen in der Sache der *Vier Artikel* zu zeigen. Jan Palomar war sich dessen bewusst, dass der hussitische Adel, trotz der taktischen Maßnahmen Rokycanas, zum Kompromiss neigt, wobei das eigentliche Hindernis hierbei das Spenden des Abendmahls und das Problem der während der Revolution beschlagnahmten Kirchengüter darstellen. Würde sich das Konzil offiziell mit dem Postulat der Kelchkommunion und still mit dem bestehenden Besitzstand für einverstanden erklären, so seien die Kalixtiner bereit, auf die restlichen Postulate zu verzichten⁸².

81 F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého*, I-V, Praha 1968, III, S. 516.

82 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny...*, III, S. 271-272.

Indem Palomar die günstige Atmosphäre nutzte, bemühte er sich, Rokycana zuvorzukommen. Er drängte den böhmischen Landtag, wo es an gemäßigten Delegierten nicht fehlte, möglichst schnell dessen Postulate schriftlich zu formulieren. Auf diese Art und Weise wurde im Juli 1433 die erste schriftliche Auffassung der *Vier Artikel* niedergeschrieben, und dies nach der Auslegung Rokycanas, Mikuláš' z Pelhřimova, Oldřichs ze Znojma und Petr Paynes. Es galt als Muster der Prager Kompaktaten, obwohl diese Bezeichnung offiziell noch nicht benutzt wurde. Nachdem Palomar die Formulierung erhalten hatte, behielt er sich sofort vor, dass er nicht imstande ist, im Namen des Konzils das Spenden des Abendmahls unter beiderlei Gestalt zu garantieren. Unter diesen Umständen beschloss der böhmische Landtag die Debatte über die *Vier Artikel* nach Basel zu übertragen. Diese Aufgabe wurde Martin Lupáč und dem Meister Prokop von Pilsen anvertraut. Ihr zweiwöchiger Aufenthalt in Basel um die Wende August/September 1433 ließ jedoch angesichts der Stellungnahme des Konzils nicht viel ändern, zumal die Kelchkommunion stets als Streitpunkt wahrgenommen wurde, an dem alle weiteren Diskussionen scheiterten. In dieser Situation beschloss man, die Konzilslegaten wieder nach Prag einzuladen. Ihre Ankunft in Prag fiel mit dem zum Heiligen Martin einberufenen Landtag zusammen. Auf diesem Forum wurden drei Dokumente (Zedülen) niedergeschrieben: A) Das von den Legaten vorgestellte Verzeichnis der Zugeständnisse; B) Beschlüsse im Zusammenhang mit der Vorlage von vier Postulaten durch den Landtag und die Stellungnahme des Konzils; C) Fragen und Auslegungen der Konzilsvertreter in Bezug auf unverständliche und Streitpunkte, um deren Klärung die Böhmen gebeten wurden. Die Zedülen galten als Kernteil der Kompaktaten, auf die sich insgesamt zehn Dokumente zusammensetzten⁸³.

Schließlich, nachdem Rokycana die genannten Texte mit dem Vorbehalt bestätigt hatte, dass der Friedensabschluss und die kirchliche Einheit als Grundlage der Akzeptierung des Abkommens gelten, wurden die Dokumente, später als Prager Kompaktaten bekannt, am 20. Dezember 1433 nach Basel versandt. Zehn Tage später nutzte Rokycana die Tatsache aus, dass die Kompaktaten während der vorweihnachtlichen Landtagssitzung nicht gebilligt sondern nach Basel versandt wurden. Rokycana äußerte seine Vor-

83 Alle Dokumente, die sich auf die Basler Kompaktaten zusammensetzten, wurden von F. Palacký herausgegeben in *Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské z archivů domácích i cizích*, III, Praha 1844, S. 398-444, obwohl man nicht weißt, ob es tatsächlich alle Akten sind, von denen die Kompaktaten ursprünglich bestanden. F. Šmahel meint, es gab 10 solche Dokumente, dazu gehörten auch entsprechende Anweisungen, Empfehlungen, Vollmachten für vier böhmische Geistliche, die die Einigung mit der Kirche schwören sollten. Siehe F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta, jejichž zpísemnění a ratifikace*, „*Studia mediaevalia Bohemica*“ I (2009), S. 187-229.

behalte angesichts deren Wichtigkeit, da nicht alle mündlichen Versprechen in Bezug auf die Kelchkommunion erfüllt wurden. Es wurde unter anderem nicht niedergeschrieben, dass die Kelchkommunion in Böhmen und Mähren gültig sein soll, und dies sowohl für Erwachsene als auch Kinder, da es für die Erlösung nützlich ist. Sollten die Kompaktaten ohne diesen Vorbehalt in Kraft gesetzt werden, so gäbe es dann weniger Rechte als bisher – argumentierte Rokycana⁸⁴.

Die von Rokycana unternommenen Aktivitäten waren nur scheinbar inkonsequent. Indem Rokycana gegen das auftrat, was bereits scheinbar vereinbart wurde, wobei er den Konflikt zwischen dem Papst und dem Konzil aufmerksam beobachtete, rechnete er auf eine Verschärfung dieses Streits, was den Handlungsspielraum des Königs beschränken und ihn zu Zugeständnissen zwingen konnte. Bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt versuchte Rokycana die Böhmen mit der Kirche zu versöhnen, wobei die Zeit der Versöhnung mit Sigismund von Luxemburg erst kommen sollte und dies konnte auch zusätzlichen Nutzen bringen. Diese Taktik wurde aber durch die sich im Frühling 1434 verschärfende Situation im Lande durchkreuzt, die durch die Konfrontation zwischen dem konservativen und dem radikalen Flügel der Revolution verursacht wurde. Rokycana wartete diese Turbulenzen, die sich auch in Prag bemerkbar machten, ab⁸⁵. Er zog sich diplomatisch aus dem öffentlichen Leben wegen plötzlicher gesundheitlicher Verhinderung zurück. Nach der Schlacht bei Lipan vom 30. Mai 1434 ließ zwar der Sieg der Konservativen die Position Rokycanas schwächen, wobei sich gleichzeitig der Kampffeld um die *Vier Artikel* zum Vorteil der gemäßigten Hussiten beschränkte, weil man keine Rücksicht auf die Bruderschaften zu nehmen hatte. Rokycana erhielt jedoch das Vertrauensvotum der Prager Geistlichen, die an der Julisynode 1434 laut Rokycanas Absicht nach einer Erweiterung der Kompaktaten um neue Sicherungen verlangten⁸⁶.

Mit solch einer Unterstützung setzte Rokycana seine Bemühungen um die Kommunion Erwachsener fort und beginnt mit dem kontroversen Spiel um die Kommunion für Kinder⁸⁷. Er tat es nicht ohne Grund, abgesehen von

84 F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh...*, S. 50.

85 Eneas (*Aeneae Silvi Historia...*, S. 156-157), im Zusammenhang mit dem Konflikt zwischen den neu- und altstädtischen Prager Hussiten im Frühling 1434, weist auf Rokycana – als Feind Jakub Vlks – als diejenige Person hin, die für die Anspornung der Herren zur Auseinandersetzung mit den Waisen und Taboriten in der Prager Neustadt verantwortlich war.

86 F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh...*, S. 50.

87 J. Salij, *Główne kontrowersje teologiczne wokół komunii niemowląt*, Warszawa 1982, S. 42-69. Die früher praktizierte Kommunion der Kinder schwand aus kanonischen Gründen im 12. Jahrhundert und wurde sogar bei der Taufe nicht gespendet. Thomas von Aquin, indem er den Säuglingen die Kommunion verweigerte, hielt die These von deren Heilsnotwendigkeit aufrecht, wobei er dieser Rolle der Kommunion den neuen Sinn zuschrieb. Die Kinder erhalten

den theologischen Gründen. Hätte er die Einwilligung für die Kommunion lediglich für diejenigen, die sie bereits empfangen, akzeptiert, könnte es sich zeigen, dass es ein Privileg lediglich für eine Generation sei. Alle Probleme versucht Rokycana während der dritten Regensburger Legation zu lösen, die im August 1434 stattfand und an der sich der Kaiser und Jan Palomar beteiligten. Der Letztere verteidigte die Auffassung der Kompaktaten vom Herbst 1433, wobei Rokycana eine neue Formulierung vorschlug, die um die Grundsätze der Bischofswahl, die Kinderkommunion, die von katholischen Priestern gespendete Kelchkommunion sowie die automatische Zustimmung des Konzils in Bezug auf den Kommunionsempfang von denjenigen, die in die hussitische Kirche eingegliedert werden. Es führte zu einer Stockung bei den Verhandlungen mit den Legaten, die behaupteten, sie erschöpften das ihnen durch das Konzil anvertraute Mandat. Im Zusammenhang damit wandte sich Herr Vilém Kostka von Postupice an Sigismund von Luxemburg mit der Bitte, damit die Böhmen wegen der Zeitknappheit in Erwartung der Stellungnahme des Konzils unmittelbar mit dem Kaiser verhandeln könnten. Sigismund war damit einverstanden, aber er beurteilte die Situation recht realistisch: Das Konzil wird keine weiteren Zugeständnisse zulassen, und vor allem diejenigen, die nach der Gründung einer autonomen Nationalkirche streben. Er riet Rokycana, dass er sich an die Prager Vereinbarungen weiterhin hält. Davon, wie wichtig diese Sache war, zeugte die Tatsache, dass man dem König keinen Vorschlag darreichte, damit er nach Böhmen zurückkommt. Man tat es erst am Anfang des Jahres 1435, das sich nicht nur für das böhmische Reich und die Kirche, sondern auch persönlich für Jan Rokycana als bahnbrechend erwies. Die Folgen der von den radikalen Bruderschaften bei Lipan erlittenen Niederlage widerspiegelten sich in der Umwandlung der Konfiguration politischer Kräfte, die einerseits die Kalixtiner stärkte (Eroberung der taboritischen Städte Lomnice, Kolín, Božejovice, Přeběnice und Ostromeč sowie der Übergang Bedřichs von Stražnica auf die Seite des Königs) und andererseits die mit dem Konzil Verhandelnden

bei der Taufe die *res sacramenti* der Eucharistie, das heißt die Zugehörigkeit zum mystischen Leib Christi, wessen Konsequenz die Kommunion sei. Die muss gar nicht sofort empfangen werden, es reicht, wenn das Kind die Kommunion empfängt, wenn es das nötige Unterscheidungsalter erreicht. Die Hussiten reichten zunächst die Kommunion den Kindern nur bei der Taufe. Dann, insbesondere nach den riesigen religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Manifestationen „auf den Bergen“ (Juli 1419, Tabor), wurde dieser Brauch auf alle Gelegenheiten erweitert, wo man die Kommunion den Erwachsenen spendete. Dies erweckte einen heftigen Widerspruch der Gemäßigten. Deshalb ermahnte Křišťan von Prachatice im Jahre 1416 den Priester Václav Koranda von Pilsen, damit er es nicht tut. Jakoubek ze Stříbra und Petr Payne förderten die Notwendigkeit, den Säuglingen die Kommunion bei der Taufe zu spenden, indem sie behaupteten, dass die Eucharistie allen Sakramenten die nötige Kraft verleiht und zur Erlösung notwendig ist. Das getaufte Kind darf ohne Kommunion nicht erlöst werden.

schwächte. (Den Feldzug gegen die Taboriten finanzierte das Konzil, wobei Mähren – dank Palomar – den Landfrieden mit Albrecht von Habsburg schloss⁸⁸). Die Verhandlungen, die diese neue Situation in Ordnung bringen und die alte (Kompaktaten) schließen sollten, führte in Brno zwei Monate lang im Namen der Ständevertretung Jan Rokycana, unterstützt von Menhart z Hradce. Seine Taktik, die auf anstrengender Obstruktion und Multiplizierung von Forderungen beruhte, trug einerseits zur Versteifung der Position des Konzils, was eine Sackgasse in der Beziehung zwischen den Böhmen und dem König, aber auch zwischen dem Konzil und dem König entstehen ließ, andererseits aber zwang sie Sigismund zu den erwarteten Zugeständnissen. Nach F. Kavka gehörten diese Verhandlungen zu den höchst dramatischen Ereignissen der böhmischen Geschichte, weil das Konzil die Kompaktaten rückgängig machen wollte⁸⁹. Da den nächsten Schritt König Sigismund machen sollte, gewährte er den Böhmen, ohne dass er Proteste der Legaten berücksichtigte, das Recht auf die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt sowie mehrere ständische Privilegien, das heißt die so genannten kaiserlichen Kompaktaten⁹⁰. Unter diesen Umständen konnte Palomar nicht länger zögern: Er musste die Arbeiten am Vergleich mit den Böhmen beschleunigen.

Während der dramatischen Brünner Legation vergaß Rokycana seine Anliegen nicht. Im Interesse der seine Kandidatur zum Erzbischofsamt fördernden Herren bemühte er sich um eine Änderung der Niederschrift in Bezug auf Kirchengüter: Die Formulierung „darf von anderen nicht gehalten werden“ sollte durch „darf ungerecht nicht gehalten werden“. Dies beunruhigte das Konzil. Die Legaten befürchteten, dass diejenigen, die das Gut „ungerecht“ halten, wegen des Relativismus dieser Formulierung die Chance haben, die Aneignungen infolge der Revolution zu legalisieren⁹¹.

Der Streit um Kompaktaten sowie die Erfahrungen der bisherigen Legationen bewiesen, dass das Konzil und der Papst mit dem hussitischen Erzbischof nicht einverstanden werden, deshalb beschloss man, die vakante Stelle noch vor der Rückkehr in die Kirche zu bekleiden. Dies in Betracht ziehend wählte der böhmische Landtag im Oktober 1435 durch Vermittlung seiner

88 Das Konzil unterstützte die Verteidiger Pilsens mit 1800 Dukaten, wogegen die in Brno 1435 anwesenden Herren eine „Vergütung“ für ihre Gunst erhielten: die Herren Menhart z Hradce und Oldřich von Rožemberk in Höhe von je 600 Gulden, Herr Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna – 400, und Herr Aleš Holický ze Šternberka – 300.

89 F. Kavka, *Poslední Lucemburk na českém trůně. Králem uprostřed revoluce*, Praha 1998, S. 186.

90 J. Válka, *Kompaktáta a kapitulace. Charta stavovských svobod?*, S. 19-43; idem, *Zikmund a husité. Jak zakončit husitskou revoluci*, „Časopis matice moravské“ CXXVIII (2009), S. 3-33.

91 F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh...*, S. 62.

16 Wahlmänner Jan Rokycana zum Prager Erzbischof. Gegen seine Kandidatur sprachen sich die konservativen Geistlichen mit Křišť'an von Prachatic, die taboritischen Geistlichen sowie manche hussitischen Herren aus, die die Hartnäckigkeit Rokycanas im Kampf gegen das Konzil störte, weil es die Normalisierung des Lebens im Lande blockierte. Im November 1435 begaben sich zu Sigismund nach Ungarn die Herren Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna und Menhart z Hradce mit der Nachricht über die Wahl Rokycanas und die Chancen des Königs auf die Rückkehr nach Böhmen. Sie trafen dort die Konzilslegaten an, die versuchten, den Kaiser zu überreden, die so genannten kaiserlichen Kompaktaten zu widerrufen, die unter anderem das Recht auf die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt festsetzten, das heißt das Hauptwerk Rokycanas. Die Herren warnten die Legaten vor den Konsequenzen solcher Handlungen, die zur entschiedenen Verschlechterung der Situation des Königs in Böhmen beitragen konnten. Angesichts der von den Böhmen mit großer Entschlossenheit demonstrierten Unzufriedenheit bestätigte Sigismund am 6. Januar 1436 seine früheren Versprechen. Der Bericht Herr Hynces über den Standpunkt des Konzils brachte den böhmischen Landtag dazu, die zusätzliche Bedingung zu stellen: Die böhmischen Stände nehmen keine Kompaktaten (auch diejenigen Sigismunds) an, falls das Konzil die Wahl Rokycanas und der weiteren zwei Suffragane nicht bestätigt⁹².

Sigismund von Luxemburg, obwohl er selbst keine Ausnahme war, wenn es sich um das unlautere politische Spiel handelte, hielt Rokycana für einen äußerst gefährlichen Menschen (es war wohl die beste Empfehlung seiner Fähigkeiten) und wollte ihn gerne aus dem Lande loswerden. Der Versuch, Rokycana nach Basel herauszulocken, scheiterte aber an seiner sarkastischen Absage, er wolle das Schicksal Hus' nicht teilen. Ähnliche Meinung über Rokycana äußerten auch die Legaten, die sich mit der von Sigismund vorgeschlagenen Wahlweise des Bischofs zu Olomouc (Olmütz) und Litomyšl für einverstanden erklärten, wogegen sie mit dem Amt des Erzbischofs zögerten, da sie wussten, dass dieses Amt eben Rokycana bekleiden sollte⁹³. Bereits Anfang Februar 1436 drängte Sigismund, von den Böhmen gezwungen, in der Sache Rokycanas erfolglos auf die Legaten, die die nötigen Vollmachten nach Jihlava (Iglau) bringen sollten. (Sie taten es bewusst nicht, da sie behaupteten, der Kaiser versprach, in die Kirchensachen nicht einzugreifen.) Mit ähnlicher Auswirkung bat er darum Papst Eugen IV., der in seinem Brief an

92 M. Šandera, *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna...*, S. 33-34.

93 Sigismund allein, der sich nur scheinbar um die Anerkennung Rokycanas bemühte, weil ihn hierzu die mit den Ständen geschlossene Vereinbarung verpflichtete, bestärkte die Legaten in der Überzeugung, dass man Rokycana keinesfalls bewilligen sollte. Er habe sich darum zu bemühen, aber die Legaten können zögern, so dass die Böhmen selbst auf die Kandidatur Rokycanas verzichten.

die böhmischen Herren abstrus schrieb, „dass diese Sachen zur Beruhigung vorbereitet werden“⁹⁴.

Trotz fehlender Akzeptanz des Konzils erfüllte Rokycana das ganze Jahr die Funktion des legalen Hauptes der böhmischen Kirche. Schließlich, indem er den Lauf der Sachen nicht stören wollte, verzichtete er selbst auf den Vorschlag des Landtags, dass man die Vereinbarung mit dem König verschieben sollte, bis er auf dem Amt bestätigt worden ist. Bis zu dem letzten Moment, das heißt bis zur Versammlung des Landtags von Iglau, überprüfte er – wegen seines Misstrauens gegen das Handeln der Legaten – die Mandate, Vollmachten, Intitulationen der Urkunden, er bemühte sich darum, dass die böhmische Sprache mit der lateinischen, deutschen und ungarischen gleichberechtigt war, und vor allem überprüfte er das Szenarium der Aussöhnung. Er stimmte nicht zu, dass die Böhmen wegen ihres Weggangs von der Kirche Gehorsam schwören, zumal sie es zu dem Moment tun sollten, wenn sie sich mit ihr zusammen tun wollten. Er verlangte nach der Formulierung: Die Böhmen kamen nicht vom Glauben ab, sondern kämpften um die Wahrheit⁹⁵.

Nach der symbolischen Rückkehr zur Kirche, etwa einen Monat später, anerkannten die böhmischen Stände die Thronrechte Sigismunds, indem sie dagegen die Bestätigung aller Vorrechte erhielten, die auch die Kompaktaten beinhalteten. Die Wahl Rokycanas bestätigte der König separat. Der letzte freundliche Moment der gegenseitigen Beziehungen des Königs und der Erzbischofs war die Begrüßung Sigismunds in Prag mit den Worten: „Herr, erlöse den König und erhöere uns an dem Tage, an dem wir Dich anrufen“⁹⁶. Trotz der Warnungen der einflussreichen Kalixtiner erlaubte der König Bischof Filibert die katholische Ordnung wieder herzustellen sowie die Bestimmungen der Kompaktaten zu missachten, was den Streit zwischen dem König und dem Erzbischof mächtig verschärfte⁹⁷. Keine Beleidigungen wurden Rokycana erspart. Er wurde nicht zur Krönungsfeier der Königin Barbara eingeladen, er wurde auch angeklagt, dass er die Bestimmungen der Kompaktaten überschreitet, Reliquien sowie Abbildungen und Skulpturen der Heiligen von den Kirchen beseitigt⁹⁸. Gleichzeitig verlangten die Lega-

94 F. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce. Kořeny...*, III, S. 198.

95 F. Šmahel, *Basilejská kompaktáta. Příběh...*, S. 67.

96 P. Čornej, *Zikmundův boj o otcovu korunu*, [in:] *Lucemburkové. Česká koruna uprostřed Evropy*, hrsg. F. Šmahel, L. Bobková, Praha 2012, S. 745.

97 B. Zilynská, *Svěcení kněžstva biskupem Filibertem v Praze v letech 1437-1439*, „*Documenta Pragensia*“ IX (1991) 2, S. 361-388.

98 Herr Hynce Ptáček (der höchste Hofmeister und Mitglied des königlichen Rates) war gegen die konservative Politik des Königs und die Wiederherstellung der katholischen Ordnung (M. Šandera, *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna...*, S. 37). Bis 1436 ließ Rokycana eine Innen-einrichtung der Kirchen zu. Erst nach seiner Rückkehr, das heißt in den 50er Jahren, setzte er

ten danach, die alten, noch vor der Revolution amtierenden Pfarrer wieder einzustellen, die nach der Bestätigung die Kelchkommunion spenden könnten. Indem die Legaten das Gefühl der Unzufriedenheit erwecken wollten, behaupteten sie, dass die nicht bestätigten Geistlichen (darunter auch die hussitischen) nicht absolvieren dürfen. Die benötigte Bestätigung konnten wohl unter diesen besonderen Umständen lediglich die Legaten erteilen. Es war selbstverständlich, dass Rokycana hierfür keine Zustimmung äußert, deshalb verlor er das Recht auf die Pfarrkirche der Jungfrau Maria vor dem Teyn⁹⁹. Es ging auch nicht ohne absurde Verleumdungen ab, dass Rokycana ein Attentat gegen den König oder eine neue Revolution vorbereitet¹⁰⁰. Nachdem Rokycana, indem er diese Verleumdungen kommentierte, öffentlich gesagt hatte: „Es gibt zwei Bestien in der Welt: den Kaiser und den Papst“, blieb ihm nichts mehr übrig, als Emigration nach Hradec Králové unter die Obhut Herrn Diviš', wo er aktiv elf Jahre verbrachte, ohne dass er auf die Leitung des hussitischen Konsistoriums verzichtete¹⁰¹.

In Hradec Králové lauschte Rokycana nach allerart Nachrichten aus Prag, wo das Jahresende – nach dem Tode Sigismunds von Luxemburg (9. Dezember 1437) – stürmisch zu werden versprach, und dies angesichts der Kandidatur Albrechts von Habsburg, der zum böhmischen Thron prätendierte. Sollten die böhmischen Stände Albrecht wählen oder die Thronrechte Elisabeths (der Tochter Sigismunds und Ehefrau Albrechts) anerkennen, so erwartet die Kalixtiner der Kampf um die religiösen Freiheiten und Rokycana das Ungewisse. Weil – so pflegte Sigismund von Luxemburg zu sagen – die Probleme des Glaubens und des Königreichs miteinander eng verflochten sind, und dies auf die Art und Weise, dass das, was den Glauben betrifft so lange nicht erfolgreich gelöst werden kann, bis die Probleme des Königreichs

den Mittelpunkt zwischen dem Reichtum und der Strenge fest. Die Reliquien ließ er erhalten, wogegen er sämtliche Bilder und Skulpturen einschränkte, damit sie – so Rokycana – die Aufmerksamkeit der Gläubigen vom Wort Gottes nicht ablenken (siehe Z. V. David, *Nalezení střední cesty. Liberální výzva utrakoistů Římu a Lutherovi*, Praha 2012, S. 78).

⁹⁹ F. Kavka, *Poslední Lucemburk na českém trůně...*, S. 243-244.

¹⁰⁰ P. Čornej, *Zikmundův boj o otcovu korunu...*, s. 746. Eneas (*Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 167) meinte, dass zur Verlassung Prags unmittelbar der folgende Zwischenfall beitrug: Nach der Rückkehr des Königs nach Prag ermahnte er Rokycana, dass er sich der Kirche unterordnen soll, weil er andernfalls im Amt nicht bestätigt wird. Rokycana, „dieser arrogante und eingebildec, Tag für Tag immer schlechtere, jeden Tag mehr giftige [Mensch], konnte die Rückkehr der Mönche kaum ertragen, und dies aus Angst davor, dass ihre Predigten lieber gehört werden als seine eigenen. Immer, wenn er in den Predigten das Problem der Orden erwähnte, sagte er: Jeden Tag kommen die neuen Teufel zu uns, die man Mönche nennt und die versuchen, uns von der Wahrheit abzubringen. Seien wir aber mutig, lieber vergießen wir unser Blut. Wenn es der König erfuhr, sagte er: Ich hoffe, dass wir das Blut Rokycanas auf dem Altar mal opfern können“.

¹⁰¹ Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká*, S. 951.

nicht gelöst worden sind¹⁰². An der Versammlung des Landtages vom 26. Dezember 1437 überwogen die Anhänger Albrechts (Oldřich von Rožemberk und Menhart z Hradce). Deswegen bedienten sich seine Gegner mit Herrn Hynce Ptáček, als eine Minderheit, der Methode der Obstruktion, indem sie den Sitzungssaal verließen und die Wahl zu verzögern versuchten. Als die Wahl zur Tatsache geworden war, spielte Herr Hynce mit der „polnischen Karte“, was ihm erlaubte, günstige Zugeständnisse in Bezug auf Glaubensfragen zu erreichen, obwohl Herr Ptáček bereit war, auf eine Bedingung zu verzichten: Es handelte sich um das Erzbischofsamt für Rokycana, den ein anderer hussitischer Geistlicher ersetzen konnte¹⁰³. Zu Beginn des Jahres 1438 starb Diviš Bořek z Miletínka, der Vormund Rokycanas und Hynce Ptáček wurde zum Führer der ostböhmischen Hussiten. Es schien so, als ob Rokycana an einem toten Punkt angekommen wäre. Der Misserfolg der polnischen Kandidatur schwächte jedoch die Position Herrn Hynce Ptáčeks, insbesondere dass Albrecht von Habsburg, der die Unterstützung der böhmischen Katholiken und der konservativen Kalixtiner erwerben wollte, Ulrich II. von Cilli vom Amt des Statthalters abberief¹⁰⁴, wobei er seine Funktion an die Herren Oldřich von Rožemberk und Menhart z Hradce teilte. Da Herr Hynce bei der Zuteilung von Ämtern nicht berücksichtigt wurde, musste er jetzt seine eigene Partei stärken, indem er sich auf die gemäßigten Kalixtiner stützte. Hierfür brauchte er Rokycana, seine politische Basis, seine Bekanntschaften. (Man weiß nicht Bescheid, ob Rokycana die politische Zerrissenheit seines künftigen Schutzherrn ihm gegenüber kannte.) Man kann argwöhnisch feststellen, dass ihnen das Schicksal begünstigt: Zunächst sterben während der Epidemie die ideologischen Gegenparte Rokycanas: Bischof Filibert, Křišť'an von Prachatice, Priesters Ambrož von Hradec und Jakub Vlk ehemals von der Prager Neustadt. Am 27. Oktober 1439 starb selbst König Albrecht II. Die Rolle der Habsburger wurde immer schwächer. Es eröffnete sich nicht nur ein weites Feld für das Handeln Herrn Hynces, der nun zum ungeschriebenen Führer der Kalixtiner wurde, sondern auch die neue Chance für Rokycana¹⁰⁵.

102 J. Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 47.

103 J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1437-1526*, I: *Mezi Zikmundem a Jiřím z Poděbrad (1437-1471)*, Praha 2010, S. 30; M. Šandera, *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna...*, S. 50.

104 Ulrich von Cilli war der Neffe der Königin Barbara, Sohn ihres Bruders, des Grafen Friedrich II. von Cilli und Elisabeth von Frangepán. 1436, während der Abwesenheit Friedrichs IV. von Habsburg, ließ Sigismund von Luxemburg die Verwandten seiner Ehefrau – die Grafen von Cilli – bis auf den Rang von Reichsfürsten erheben. Ulrich II. starb, von den Hunyadis getötet, im Jahre 1456 in Ungarn.

105 Eneas (*Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 187) schrieb wie immer kritisch und spöttisch über Rokycana, der als er vom Tode des Königs erfuhr, „nach Hause zurückkam und wütend, wie er es gewöhnlich tat, die römisch-katholische Kirche, Kardinäle, Patriarchen und alle Bischöfe der Welt beleidigte, indem er sagte, dass nur die Böhmen die einzige Wahrheit über

Die künftige Strategie besprach Herr Hynce mit Hetmanen der ostböhmi-schen Landfrieden auf der Versammlung in Mělník im Herbst 1439. Auf der Versammlung erschien auch Jan Rokycana, wo er höchstwahrscheinlich zum ersten Mal Georg von Poděbrad traf. Auf dem Landtag, der im Januar 1440 in Prag einberufen wurde, schlossen die Parteien den politischen Kompromiss, der in einem aus 14 Punkten bestehenden Friedensbrief zusammengefasst wurde¹⁰⁶. Man einigte sich über die vom künftigen König (Albrecht III. aus dem Hause Wittelsbach, Herzog von Bayern) zu erfordernden Bedingungen der Kapitulation, die unter anderem folgende Punkte beinhalteten: Die Bestätigung von Kompaktaten sowie die Bestätigung Jan Rokycanas in der Eigenschaft des künftigen Erzbischofs¹⁰⁷. Das Interregnum verlangte nach der Sicherung der inneren Ordnung, insbesondere durch die Organisation von Landfrieden, was Herrn Hynce erlaubte, die ostböhmi-schen Länder: Hradecký, Chrudimský, Čáslavský und Kouřimský zusammenzubringen und diese sich selbst und den vertrauten Hetmanen zu unterstellen. Da-durch wurden auch die Grenzen des Handlungsbereichs Rokycanas klar festgesetzt¹⁰⁸.

Die Situation wurde jedoch durch die Geburt Ladislaus Postumus', Sohn von Albrecht, kompliziert. Der Säugling (aus Furcht vor der Partei Jan Hunyadis, die die jagiellonische Kandidatur für den ungarischen Thron förderte) wurde heimlich, mit den gestohlenen Insignien zum König von Ungarn gekrönt. Die katholische Partei stimmte zunächst der bayerischen Kandidatur zu, wobei sie nun, angesichts der Geburt des Thronfolgers Albrechts, die Wahlen verzögern wollte. Herr Hynce setzte jedoch auf dem Landtag am 15. Juni 1440 die Wahl der Wahlmänner durch: 18 Herren, 14 Ritter und gleich so viel Städtevertreter sowie Jan Rokycana als Erzbischof. Dieser Erfolg verflocht sich mit dem Beschluss der katholischen Synode, die Roky-

die Eucharistie kennen; das allertuerste Blut Christi spendete er den Säuglingen und den Geisteskranken. Er verbannte die Priester, die seine Berechtigungen nicht anerkannten, er verbot diejenigen kirchlich zu beerdigen, die sich weigerten, die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt zu empfangen. Es kamen wieder die verbrecherischen Zeiten, jeder handelte nach seinem Willen und Verstand“.

106 Wie groß die Unklarheit der politischen Lage nach dem Tode Albrechts und wie stark der Druck beider politischen Gegner – Herrn Ptáček und Herrn Oldřich von Rožemberk – auf Prag waren, widerspiegelte der Bericht des Chronisten. Am Neujahrstag, 1. Januar 1444, vereinbarten die Prager Ratsherren, Herren und Städter, dass die Herren Ptáček und Rokycana Geleitbriefe erhalten, damit sie sicher ankommen und über die Wahl des Königs raten können. Als Herr Oldřich von Rožemberk gekommen war, nahmen ihn die Prager mit allen Anzeichen enger Freundschaft an. „Wer könnte all dem folgen!“ – schlussfolgert *Starý letopis*. Siehe *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 139.

107 *Ibidem*, S. 146.

108 Das Problem der neuen Ermächtigung Rokycanas bespricht der früher zitierte M. Šandera in seinem älteren Beitrag *Mistr Jan Rokycana...*

cana die Stellung des Erzbischofs wegen der nicht kanonischen Wahl entzog und im August 1440 einen Bürger, den durch das Konzil bestätigten Probst von Mikuláš zum Erzbischof wählte. Glücklicherweise (für Rokycana) hielt weder dieser noch der folgende Kandidat Prokop von Kladruby auf diesem Amt aus, und dies wegen der Unkenntnis böhmischer Verhältnisse und mangelnder Unterhaltsmittel¹⁰⁹.

Als der Wahlplan sich als ein Schlag ins Wasser erwies, da sich Albrecht III. von Wittelsbach weigerte, die böhmische Krone anzunehmen, wechselte Herr Hynce auf die Seite Ladislaus Postumus'. Ladislaus verweilte jedoch nicht mehr in Ungarn, da umsichtige Elisabeth, aus Furcht vor Jagiellonen und der Partei Hunyadis, ihren Sohn in die Obhut des neuen deutschen Königs Friedrich III., des Vetters ihres verstorbenen Ehemannes übergab, was die böhmisch-habsburgischen Beziehungen stark komplizierte. Jene fernen Spiele um den Thron, obwohl es kaum zu glauben sei, hatten eine Bedeutung für Rokycana. Als die gemäßigten Kalixtiner die bayerische Kandidatur lancierten, verzichteten die radikalen Taboriten: Jan Kloda z Žampachu, Beneš Mokrovous und Petr Stražnický nicht auf Jagiellonen. Im Zusammenhang damit, indem sie angeblich auf die Unterstützung der Bürger rechneten, versuchten sie Prag zu erobern. Das Vorhaben endete mit einem Misserfolg, und zahlreiche Bürger, unter denen es viele ehemalige Anhänger Rokycanas gab, bezahlten es mit ihrem Leben¹¹⁰.

Das Interregnum begünstigte die Verstärkung mancher politischen Lager: Des konservativen, des katholisch-kalixtinischen (Oldřich von Rožemberk, Menhart z Hradce), der gemäßigten Kalixtiner (Hynce Ptáček, Georg von Poděbrad) sowie des taboritischen (Petr Stražnický, Jan Kloda z Žampachu). Herr Hynce, um seine Position zu stärken, versuchte, sich die Stadt Tabor zu unterwerfen, und dies durch den Krieg mit Kloda z Žampachu, wie auch seinen Einfluss in den zum Mitgift der Königin Barbara gehörenden Städten zu gründen, mit der er freundschaftliche Beziehungen pflegte. Diese Beziehungen wurden dann 1442 und in den darauf folgenden Jahren noch enger, und zwar im Zusammenhang damit, dass Herr Hynce die Königin in ihren Beziehungen mit diesen Städten unterstützte und zu Gunsten ihres Enkelsohnes Ladislaus Postumus', des Kandidaten für den böhmischen Thron, handelte. Dadurch wurde auch eine weitgehende Stabilisierung der Situation Jan Rokycanas möglich, der in Hradec Králové eine Pfarrei und die Heilig-

109 J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1437-1526*, I, S. 227; J. Macek (*Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 57) meinten, dass die beiden Kandidaten kein Ansehen der böhmischen Katholiken erlangten, da sie durch das Konzil und nicht vom Papst ernannt wurden.

110 M. Šandera, *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna...*, S. 71; J. Čornej, *Světla a stíny husitství...*, S. 182.

Geist-Kirche übernahm, wo seit zwanzig Jahren sein politischer Gegner Jan Žižka z Trocnova begraben ist¹¹¹.

Soweit Herr Hynce militärische Aufgaben zu lösen hatte, gehörte die Konsolidierung der gemäßigten Kalixtiner wie auch das Gewinnen der Konservativen für die politischen Zielsetzungen seines Schirmherrn zu den Aufgaben Rokycanas. Dem sollte die Verbesserung Rokycanas Status' dienen, der nun zum „höchsten und wichtigsten geistlichen Verwalter“ der östlichen Landfrieden werden sollte, was auch im August 1441 „mit Zustimmung der Herren und der Städte“ zustande kam. Zu den Befugnissen des neuen Verwalters gehörten die Angelegenheiten der Judikative sowie die Bekämpfung der Häresie. Diese formelle Nominierung erlaubte Rokycana die Synode der hussitischen Geistlichen in Kutná Hora einzuberufen, die dessen „laienartige“ Wahl zum geistlichen Verwalter bestätigte. An der Versammlung nahmen etwa 350 Priester teil, ausgenommen die taboritischen Geistlichen, die die Einladung wegen steter doktrinärer Missverständnisse aber auch wegen der Anwesenheit Jan Přibrams ignorierten, der sich taktisch mit Rokycana versöhnte. (Man rechnete darauf, dass man dank den Beziehungen mit dem konservativen Přibram den Kreis seiner ehemaligen Anhänger sich aneignen könnte.) Indem Herr Hynce die allgemeine Versöhnung zu organisieren versuchte, wollte er sein eigenes Ziel erreichen. Da es sich bemühte, Ladislaus Postumus auf den Thron zu bringen, brauchte er zusätzliche Trümpfe in der Hand haben. Hierzu zählte das konsolidierte hussitische Lager unter seiner Führung. Er rief deshalb die Taboriten auf, sich unterwerfen zu wollen. Mikuláš z Pelhřimova spielte jedoch auf Zeit, indem er nach einer religiösen Debatte und einem Vergleich wie vor zehn Jahren in Cheb verlangte. Es trennte sie nicht nur ihre Doktrin, sondern vor allem die Person Rokycanas, den er seit ihrem gemeinsamen Aufenthalt in Basel vor zehn Jahren des Verrats hussitischer Ideale im Tausch gegen das Amt des Erzbischofs beschuldigte, und die Kompaktaten, sein Erfolg, waren „lediglich ein Bruchteil des Programms, mit dem sich der unersättliche Rokycana befriedigen ließ“¹¹².

111 Jan Žižka starb am 11. Oktober 1424 während der Belagerung Přebislavs. Die Nachricht über den Tod des Hetmans und seine Grabstätte wurde von zahlreichen Quellen erwähnt. Nach der *Kroniký Starého Kolegiáta*: „Gestorben ist Žižka, verdammter Verräter, man brachte ihn nach Hradec Králové und dort wurde er in der Heilig-Geist-Kirche vor dem Hauptaltar begraben“. Darüber berichteten die *Kronika velmi pěkná o Janovi Žižkovi* und die meisten *letopisy (Jahrbücher)*. Die ewige Ruhe Žižkas störten die Autoren der genannten *Jahrbücher* (Version G, H, R), die in den Jahren 1470-1515 niedergeschrieben wurden, indem sie darüber informierten, dass die sterblichen Überreste Žižkas in einem näher unbestimmten Moment von Hradec Králové nach Čáslav verlegt wurden. Literaturübersicht hierzu: A. Paner, *Jan Žižka z Trocnova*, Gdańsk 2002, S. 236-247.

112 J. Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 48.

Nach zahlreichen Verwirrungen, und vor allem nach der verlorenen Präsentation des taboritischen Programms auf dem Landtag in Prag, sowie nach der weiteren Synode in Kutná Hora im Sommer 1443, äußerten die Hetmane der einzelnen taboritischen Städte, auf die Empfehlung des Landtags, mit Bedřich Stražnický beginnend, ihre schriftliche Zustimmung für den Beitritt zur Rokycanas Kirche¹¹³. Nicht ohne Grund war diese Synode mit der Versammlung der Hetmane und Ritter aus den ostböhmisches Landfrieden verbunden – meinte M. Šandera. Eine Demonstration militärischer Kraft galt als überzeugendes Argument für diejenigen, die noch nicht überzeugt wurden. Der Vergleich mit dem Tabor stärkte nicht nur politisch und militärisch die gemäßigten Kalixtiner, sondern er erweiterte zugleich die Jurisdiktion Rokycanas. Bedauerlicherweise gelang es zeitweilig nicht, diesen Sieg zu diskontieren. Erstens scheiterte der Plan Herrn Hynces: Friedrich III. von Habsburg lehnte die Forderung der böhmischen Herren ab, ihnen Ladislaus Postumus auszuliefern. Zweitens starb Herr Hynce im Laufe der Realisierung seines weiteren Ziels: Er wollte nämlich zum Statthalter im Lande werden, das bereits seit fünf Jahren ohne den Monarchen verblieb. Er starb auf dem Wege zum Landtag und wahrscheinlich auf dem Wege zur Konfrontation mit Katholiken. Es wäre recht schwer, die Konsequenzen dieser unerwünschten Wendung der Dinge für Jan Rokycana vorauszusehen, falls es sofort keinen Sukzessor gäbe, der das Werk Herrn Hynces fortsetzte: Es war Georg von Poděbrad¹¹⁴. Nach der Rückkehr Sigismunds von Luxemburg, trotz der erhaltenen Ämter, sprach sich Georg für Jagiellonen und später gegen Albrecht aus, somit er sich fürs Lager Herrn Hynces entschied. Er übte das Amt des Hetmans des Boleslavschen Landes und verweilte häufig auf dem Hof der Königin Barbara von Cilli, die ihn zu ihrem gesetzlichen Vormund benannte. Eben in Mělník traf er auf dem Landtag nach dem Tode Albrechts zum ersten Mal Jan Rokycana zusammen. Nun, im Jahre 1444, übertrug der Landtag der utraquistischen Partei die höchste Hetmanschaft dem Herrn

113 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 152. Den Nachklang dieser religiösen Diskussion zwischen den Geistlichen hörte man noch in den 60er Jahren im Verzeichnis der gegen Rokycana gerichteten Beschwerden, dem man vorwarf, dass er damals und später oftmals Diskussionen mit Laien über Glaubensprinzipien und Funktionierung der Kirche zuließ. Siehe J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 69.

114 M. Plaček, P. Futák (*Páni z Kunštátu. Rod erbu vrchních pruhů na cestě k trůnu*, Praha 2006, S. 382) berichteten, dass die von den Herren von Kunštát bekleideten Ämter und Würden sich aus ihrer vermögensrechtlichen Situation ergaben, wobei ihre ideologischen Überzeugungen – d.h. das Engagement der Häuser Poděbrad und Jevišovice für die Hussitenbewegung für die Gesellschaft um die Jahrhundertwende 14./15. typisch waren. Diese Linie vertraten Boček und Viktorin, Georgs Großvater und Vater, die die grundlegenden Reformgrundsätze zu beachten wussten. Sie empfangen die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt, obzwar sie gleichzeitig die alten gesellschaftlichen Strukturen akzeptierten.

von Poděbrad, und zwei Jahre später (1446), dank den Beziehungen Georgs von Poděbrad, bestätigte der Landtag zum Heiligen Martin (am 11. November) das Recht Ladislaus Postumus' auf die böhmische Sukzession und die Kompaktaten sowie er meldete die Kandidatur Jan Rokycanas zum Erzbischof an¹¹⁵. Man könnte sagen, es wiederholte sich die Situation von vor zehn Jahren: Rokycana wurde wieder gewählt, jedoch nicht bestätigt, weil die Bemühungen Georgs von Poděbrad in dieser Angelegenheit auch in diesem Fall mit einem Misserfolg endeten. Der Papst Eugen IV. verschob diese Entscheidung, indem er sich rechtfertigte, er kenne die Sache nicht. Er wollte keinen Streit in Böhmen entfachen lassen, der zugunsten des Konzils ausgenutzt werden konnte¹¹⁶. Die Kandidatur Rokycanas als des eventuellen Erzbischofs erweckte stets heftige Emotionen, wovon die Debatte auf dem früher erwähnten Landtag zum Heiligen Martin zeugte. Während der Wahl der Delegation, die sich um die Bestätigung Rokycanas bemühen sollte, kam es zu einem Streit mit den Kanonikern des Prager Kapitels, die die Unterzeichnung des Dokuments verweigerten, indem sie erklärten, dass sie erstens nicht ausreichend zahlreich erschienen und zweitens – über kein Siegel verfügten. Es gab eine allgemeine Verwirrung und gegenseitige Anschuldigungen, die Rokycana selbst unterbrach, indem er verlangte, damit diejenigen, die protestieren (Kanoniker und Meister), aufstehen und sagen, was sie an seinem Leben und seinen Sitten störte oder stört, was der Wahl widerspricht. Niemand erhob sich gegen ihn und man stellte fest, es gäbe keine bekannten Hindernisse. Dann forderte Rokycana die Landtagsschreiber auf, das gegenständliche Dokument auszustellen¹¹⁷. Es handelte sich aber nur um eine scheinbare Übereinkunft, die durch die Anwesenheit der Anhänger Rokycanas erzwungen wurde, weil bereits zu Beginn des nächsten Jahres die Kanoniker einen Mönch mit einem Brief nach Rom delegierten, in dem man Rokycana beschuldigte, worüber die Prager Ratsherren von Herrn Přebík Klenovský benachrichtigt wurden. Ein weiterer Brief mit ähnlichem Inhalt wurde dem Papst von Lukas Hládek zugestellt¹¹⁸.

Mit einem Skandal endete jedoch der erste offizielle Besuch des Legaten Juan Carvajals im Frühjahr 1447 sowie das Zusammentreffen mit Jan Rokycana, der um die Bestätigung von Kompaktaten, wie auch mit Georg von Poděbrad, der um die Bestätigung Rokycanas bat. In beiden Fällen sagte der Legat ab, indem er vorgab, er habe kein Mandat hierfür, obwohl die Kalixtiner sehr auf die Regelung dieser Angelegenheiten zählten. Zum Schluss, als

115 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 154. Der Autor fügte hinzu, dass man bereits 1444 beschloss, dass Meister Rokycana frei predigen darf, soweit er sich in Prag aufhielt.

116 J. Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 57.

117 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 158.

118 *Ibidem*, S. 160-161, 482.

ihm in gutem Glauben die Originaldokumente der Kompaktaten vorgelegt wurden, versuchte der Legat, diese Originale aus Böhmen wegzubringen. Nur dank der wachsamen Intervention der Herren Petr von Šternberk und Přebík Klenovský konnte man diese kostbaren Urkunden retten, die dem Legaten beinahe mit Gewalt in Benešov weggenommen wurden¹¹⁹.

Der weitere Wendepunkt im Rokycanas Leben war der 3. September 1448, als Georg von Poděbrad Prag eroberte, wo sich drei Tage später, nach elf Jahren Abwesenheit, Jan Rokycana wieder in seiner ehemaligen Pfarrei der Jungfrau Maria vor dem Teyn niederlassen konnte¹²⁰. Er hatte schon keine Verbindlichkeiten gegen Jan z Příbrami (insbesondere, dass sie sich zum Schluss wegen der Liturgie in der böhmischen Sprache entzweiten), weil der Letztere im Dezember desselben Jahres starb. Seine Handlungen wurden auch momentan von den konservativen Kalixtinern nicht gestört, weil ihr Einfluss nach der Verhaftung und dem Tode Herrn Menhart z Hradce (1449) geschwächt wurden. Es war jedoch recht schwer, seine Stellung aufrechtzuerhalten, wenn man keine kirchliche Legitimierung für die Ausübung des Amtes wie auch für die Leitung der zu beiden Konfessionen gehörenden Gläubigen besaß und wenn man lediglich ein enigmatischer „Verwalter aller böhmischen Gemeinden, die der Gottesordnung gegenüber wohlgesinnt sind“ war. Deswegen wandte sich der verzweifelte Rokycana, als alle Vermittler versagten, persönlich an den Papst und schließlich entschied er sich für eine Reise nach Rom. Er gelangte nur nach Salzburg, weil der weitere Weg zu gefährlich war¹²¹.

Der fehlende Titel war nicht nur wegen des Ehrgeizes Rokycanas sehr schmerzlich. Es erschwerte ihm auch das formelle Handeln und führte zur Vertiefung der religiösen Teilung. Die Katholiken waren dem Verwalter des Prager Erzbistums unterordnet, der eine separate Synode einberief, wogegen die Kalixtiner Rokycana unterstellt waren, der (seit 1452) sein Amt als *administrator spiritualibus consistorii archiepiscopatus Pragensis sede vacante* ausübte. Er entschied über die Angelegenheiten der Geistlichkeit, des Kirchenvermögens und die Ehesachen. Georg von Poděbrad bezeichnete dieses Amt allgemein

119 Ibidem, S. 164-167.

120 Eneas (*Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 192) berichtete, dass die Eroberung Prags von Georg dank der wohlgesinnten Einstellung der Prager – der Anhänger Rokycanas möglich war. Die Häufigkeit der bestätigten Aufenthalte Rokycanas in Prag wie auch sein Zusammentreffen mit dem Legaten Carvajal berücksichtigend, wo er als offizieller Oberhaupt der Kirche in Böhmen auftrat, kann festgestellt werden, dass diese Besuche ein bestimmtes politisches Ziel hatten und zur Erneuerung der alten Beziehungen und Bekanntschaften führten. Es scheint jedoch, es war unmöglich, dass die Aktivitäten Rokycanas allein solche Folgen mitbringen konnten. Es musste wohl eine Bürgergruppe geben, die Georg unterstützte, da die Eroberung der Stadt lediglich ein tödliches Opfer zur Folge hatte.

121 J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1437-1526*, I, S. 68.

als „Rokycanas Gericht“¹²². Die Synoden der Katholiken und der Utraquisten versammelten sich gleichzeitig, jedoch an zwei verschiedenen Orten (eine Ausnahme waren die Synoden vom 1454 und 1462, als sie gemeinsam tagten). Obwohl Rokycana wollte, die beiden Synoden zu vereinigen, gab der König keine Genehmigung hierzu¹²³.

Ein zusätzliches Problem bereitete die geringe Zahl der hussitischen Geistlichen, die in Böhmen nur Bischof Filibert bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1439 weihte. Es führte, wie es die tschechischen Historiker zu sagen pflegen, zur so genannten Ordinationstouristik (vom lateinischen *Sacri Ordines*) nach Rus', Byzanz, Italien oder Deutschland, obwohl man sich dort öfters weigerte, wenn man wusste, dass der Kandidat aus Böhmen kommt oder unter beiderlei Gestalt empfängt¹²⁴. Der Kandidat, der im Ausland oft gegen Entgelt geweiht wurde, musste zunächst den Kelch verleugnen. Nach seiner Rückkehr hatte er den Eid zu leisten, dass er das Abendmahl den Gläubigen unter beiderlei Gestalt spenden wird. Auf diese Weise begingen die hussitischen Priester den Meineid und die Sünde der Simonie, die sie selbst so stark kritisierten und was ihnen ihre Kritiker vorhielten¹²⁵. Es gab unter ihnen auch die ordnungsgemäß geweihten Priester, die aus irgendwelchen Gründen verbannt wurden, es gab aber auch zahlreiche verheiratete Männer und Bigamisten, mehrere Polen, die niemals Priester waren. „All diese Leute nimmt Rokycana auf, indem er dabei Böhmen mit Schuften besiedelt“ – liest man in den gegen Rokycana geschriebenen Beschwerden¹²⁶.

Das dritte Problem der utraquistischen Kirche war das Eingreifen der Laien-Gewalt in ihre inneren Angelegenheiten, Finanzen, Besetzung von Pfarreien und Ämtern. Die hussitischen Herren entschieden sich manchmal, in ihren Gütern einen katholischen Priester anzustellen, da die zu dieser Konfession gehörenden Gläubigen eine Mehrheit darstellten. Was aber hierbei noch wichtiger erschien, war die Tatsache, dass die Laien-Gewalt über die Glaubensfragen entschied, was Sigismund von Luxemburg angesichts des Streits mit dem Konzil einleitete und was nun die Stände nachahmten und fortsetzten. Es reicht hierbei an die Versammlung des ostböhmischen Adels im Jahre 1443 sowie an den im nächsten Jahr einberufenen Landtag zu erinnern,

122 B. Zilynská, *Kališnická církev*, S. 590.

123 Ibidem, S. 594.

124 *Ze starych letopisů českých*, S. 156. Die böhmischen Bakkalare, Meister und Studierenden begaben sich nach Meißen, um dort von dem in Stolpen residierenden Bischof geweiht zu werden. Er verweigerte ihnen die Weihe, es sei denn, dass sie den Empfang unter beiderlei Gestalt widerrufen. Es kam dazu wegen eines Warnbriefes, den das Prager Kapitel nach Meißen übersandte.

125 J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 59.

126 Ibidem.

als das Ergebnis der religiösen Debatte der Beurteilung der Herren unterstellt wurde, die sich der theologischen Auslegung Jan Rokycanas beipflichteten.

Außer den hier erwähnten Schwierigkeiten begleitete die ultraquistische Kirche der Geist der Kompaktaten, die zum Werkzeug des politischen Kampfes zwischen den böhmischen Parteien und zum Druckmittel des Papstes auf Böhmen wurden. Die religiösen Praktiken, die aufgrund der Kompaktaten eingeführt wurden, sowie die Ideen der Urkirche ließen die Gläubigen der beiden Konfessionen unterscheiden. An dieser Teilung und Emotionen beteiligte sich auch Rokycana, der – indem er die neue Kirche zu erbauen versuchte, die auf dieselben Glaubensquellen und Autoritäten stützte und aufgrund ähnlicher organisatorischen Regeln funktionierte – diese neue Kirche eindeutig durch das neue Zeremoniell von der katholischen Kirche „unterscheiden“ musste. Die Atmosphäre der Konfrontation verlangte nach einer Eile, insbesondere bei der Einführung von Änderungen, was die Gläubigen desorientierte. In der polemischen Literatur der 30er Jahre, in der im Jahre 1436 veröffentlichten Sammlung der Jan Rokycana zugeschriebenen Verschulden, der darin bösartig als Jan z Rozkydla benannt wurde, als politische Waffe für Bischof Filibert gemeint, haben wir lediglich mit 20 aus den vorigen Jahren bekannten Beschwerden zu tun: Er verbreitet Wyclifs Lehre, handelt als Verbündeter der Taboriten und der Waisen, in seinen Predigten beleidigt er Priester, er hasst Mönche, durch seine Schuld wurde das Klostervermögen von den Laien übernommen, er missachtet das alte Zeremoniell, das Weißen von Bildern, Wasser und Nahrung zu Ostern, er will, dass man das Evangelium in der böhmischen Sprache singt und vorliest¹²⁷.

Mit der Zeit vergrößerte sich die Liste der „Verbrechen“ Rokycanas, und in den sechziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts erreichte sie beinahe 200 Einwände¹²⁸. Die schärfsten Vorwürfe bezogen sich darauf, dass sich Rokycana

127 Ibidem, S. 23. Eigentlich handelt es sich hier um alte und allgemein bekannte Meinungen, wobei der Autor von manchen Schulden Rokycanas gar nicht überzeugt ist, indem er schreibt: „Er ist verdächtig, dass er die Remanenz des Brotes verteidigt“, „Man sagt überall, dass er und seine Anhänger das Beichtgeheimnis verletzen“. Nicht alle teilten diese Meinung, weil die Handschrift mit einem Kommentar eines zeitgenössischen Lesers versehen wurde, der einige Vorwürfe klipp und klar kommentierte: „Er lügt! Auf keinen Fall, Esel! Lügerei!“. Bei dem Vorwurf, dass er die Meister verbannte, notierte er: „Gut gemacht!“.

128 J. Boubín, J. Zachová (*Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 24-72) behaupten, dieses Verzeichnis entstand 1461, und zwar zu Beginn des Kampfes des Papstes gegen König Georg, und soll als „Sammelwerk“ verstanden werden, redigiert anhand der Beiträge Václavs z Krumlova, Prokops von Pilsen und Jans z Příbrami. Am Anfang der siebziger Jahre (1. Januar 1471) vollendete sein Werk *Spravovna* Pavol Židek, indem er es Georg von Poděbrad widmete. Es ist unbekannt, ob der König schaffte, das Werk durchzulesen. Die Ratschläge wurden vom Gesichtspunkt eines Katholiken formuliert, man soll sich deshalb nicht wundern, dass der Autor schreibt: „Lasse die Rokycanas Priester die festgesetzte Ordnung nicht stören“ oder

in die Politik einmischte, das heißt über die Zusammensetzung der Stadträte in Prag aber auch derjenigen, die dem König unterstellt waren, entschied. Es wurde in einem Straßenlied zum Ausdruck gebracht: „Böhmen, seht nur, was Rokycana der römischen Kirche hinzufügt! Was für ein Teufel brachte ihn auf seinen Hörnern nach Prag! Als Räuber handelte er, die Leute entzweite er, so dass einer dem anderen nicht mehr glaubt. Prager, ihr seht und tuet nichts! Priester beherrschen euch, es sind nun eure Herren!“¹²⁹.

M. Nodl bemerkte, dass das gemeinschaftliche Gefühl der inneren Zerrissenheit infolge der konfessionellen Konflikte wie auch die persönlichen Eigenschaften Rokycanas und seine politischen Ambitionen die schärfste Kritik erweckten¹³⁰. Insbesondere stark empfand es der Kalixitiner Vaněk Valečovský z Kněžmostu, der Kämmerer Georgs von Poděbrad, der die Sittlichkeit und das Handeln der Geistlichen aus dem Rokycanas Kreis (die Vorsorglichkeit um irdische Angelegenheiten, das Auspressen von Spenden, die Übernahme der Güter von Witwen und Waisen in ihre Verwaltung, der Widerwille in Bezug auf den geistlichen Dienst außerhalb der Städte, das Missachten der Gewalt) in einer kritischen Abhandlung darstellte, und an der Wand seines Hauses ließ er eine Allegorie der zeitgenössischen Kirche vorstellen, und dies als einen Wagen, der mit den an den gegenseitigen Wagenseiten bespannten Pferden gezogen wird. Jedes Pferd und jeder Kutscher fahren in entgegengesetzte Richtung, und die Leute sind verängstigt, sie schreien und prügeln sich, weil sie von den Pferden dorthin geschleppt werden, wohin sie gar nicht fahren wollen¹³¹.

Außer den doktrinären Fehlern in der Wahrnehmung der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit, bei der Verehrung Marias, der Bedeutung und Rolle der Heiligen und des Fegefeuers irrte Rokycana auch deswegen, dass er Pilgerfahrten, Ablässe, Spenden, Bilder, Totengebete, Verehrung von Reliquien ablehnte, die böhmischen Heiligen durch Hus und Hieronymus ersetzte, Kirchen, liturgische Gewänder und Geräte nicht weihen ließ, keine wahren Öle benutzte und die Beichte ablehnte, indem er dieses Sakrament als Zischen ins Ohr und eine Teufelerfindung bezeichnete und gar nicht nötig für das Menschenheil ansah. Bei der Kritik der Beichte hielt der Autor länger an, und – obwohl er die Meinung Rokycanas nicht teilte – er zitierte zwei Bemerkungen Rokycanas über die Rolle der Beichte und der Buße. Wenn man auch vielmals beichtet

„Gehorche Rokycana nicht“ und „Wirst du den Priestern (Rokycanas) gehorchen, dann gibt es in Böhmen keine Gans, kein Ferkel, keine Henne mehr“, da sie alles wegnehmen (*Pavla Židka Spravovna*, hrsg. Z.V. Tobolka, Praha 1908, Nr. 33, S. 2-9).

129 Ibidem, S. 16.

130 M. Nodl, *Země vírou rozt'atá...*, S. 10-11.

131 Ibidem; *Traktát podkomořího Vaňka Valečovského proti panování kněžskému*, hrsg. J. Čelakovský, Praha 1881.

und die Gebote Gottes nicht hält, so ist die Beichte bedeutungslos, da sie die Sünden nicht hinweg nimmt. Auch die geheime, individuelle Beichte führt dazu, dass die Menschen den Mut haben, stets zu sündigen, wobei die Sünden dank der Buße leichter werden. Es reicht einen zu warnen: Sündigt nicht!¹³². Starke Emotionen weckte auch der Streit um das Wesen und die Rolle des Fegefeuers, das Rokycana in seinen Debatten mit den Taboriten verteidigte, und dies als die zum Heil notwendige Voraussetzung. Gleichzeitig warnte er die Gläubigen davor, Sündenvergabe noch zu ihren Lebenszeiten zu kaufen, um auf diese Weise das Fegefeuer zu vermeiden. Die Ablässe lassen die Priester reicher werden, wobei sie den Gläubigen gar nicht helfen. Man muss sich noch während seines Lebens entlasten¹³³.

Einer scharfen Kritik unterzog er den neuen Brauch der Sonntagsprozession mit der Monstranz vom Palmsonntag bis zur Oktave des Fronleichnamfestes: „Sie schlendern mit unserem Herrn wie mit einem Kumpel durch die Straßen, wo sich Diebe, Sünder, Ehebrecher und sonstige von der Kirche ausgeschlossene Menschen befinden“. Gott und die Monstranz werden öfters gekränkt – diese Leute stört es aber nicht. Sie trugen doch mal die Monstranz mit sich im Kampf, wo sie die anderen töteten und verwundeten¹³⁴. Selbstverständlich erweckte die meisten Emotionen das Empfangen der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt. Nach der Meinung des Autors der Beschwerden verstehe Rokycana nicht das eigentliche Wesen der Kommunion, die auf der Transsubstantiation im Moment der Konsekration beruht, und gar nicht auf der Art und Weise deren Empfangs. Rokycana behauptete aber, dass die Kelchkommunion ihre Begründung in der Heiligen Schrift findet. Die Priester spendeten das Abendmahl nicht unter beiderlei Gestalt aus reiner Faulheit, und auf diese Weise wurden sie zu Kirchenschändern, indem sie sich ein Teil der den Gläubigen gebührenden Heiligkeit aneigneten. Zur Kommunion ließ Rokycana alle zu: Diebe, Ehebrecher, Leute, die von der Kirche bestraft wurden. Er behauptete dabei, dass diese dank dem Kelch Absolvierung bekommen. Außer den doktrinären Fragen machte sich der Autor der Beschwerden darum Sorgen, dass das Spenden der Kommunion unter Weingestalt das Blut Christi unbewusst zu schänden droht: Da sich eine große Menge menschlicher Munde am Kelch zusammentrifft, fließt der Wein mächtig am Gefäß herab, und die Priester, indem sie versuchen den Wein wieder ins Kelch zurückzubringen, berühren den Wein mit ihren Fingern und auf diese Weise gelangt das heilige Blut dorthin, wo es niemals gelingen sollte. Auch das Trinken aus einem Gefäß sei für die menschliche

132 J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 65.

133 M. Nodl, *Středověk v nás*, S. 233-234.

134 J. Boubín, J. Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan...*, S. 68-69.

Gesundheit gefährlich, weil es von den gesunden und reinen wie auch von den kranken und schmutzigen getrunken wird. In die Gefäße gelangen Reste aus dem Munde und – wenn es kalt ist – aus der Nase, im Sommer fällt das Ungeziefer hinein, die Männer lassen darin ihren Schnurrbart und die Frauen ihre Haare und Gewänder tränken, so dass es wirklich gefährlich sei, aus dem Kelch zu empfangen – fügt der Autor hinzu.

Am anstößigsten scheint jedoch, die heilige Kommunion den Kindern zu spenden, die sich verschlucken und ausspucken, wobei die geweihte Flüssigkeit in die Windeln einsickert. Manchmal reicht man die Kommunion gleichzeitig mit der Mutterbrust, so dass der Säugling die Kommunion zusammen mit der Muttermilch einsaugt. Die älteren Kinder laufen dagegen von einer Kirche in die andere, um zu prüfen, wo man den süßeren und schmackhafteren Wein spendet. Wäre der Glaube Rokycanas und dessen Bekenner tatsächlich wahr gewesen, hätten sie nicht so unbesonnen mit einer Heiligkeit umgehen dürfen, die kostbarer als die ganze sündige Welt sei – fasst der Autor zusammen¹³⁵.

Auch den sittlichen Vorwürfen gelang es Rokycana nicht zu entgehen. In den dreißiger Jahren, als er noch jung war, erzählte man sich, er beginge Ehebruch. Unter dem Vorwand frommer Belehrung lockte er die ehemaligen Nonnen zu sich, und infolge dessen kamen die Kinder zur Welt. (In Prag sollten angeblich alle seine Söhne kennen.) Er habe auch eine Dame herzlich geliebt, ihr Briefe und Geschenke mit einem Bild des verletzten Herzens versehen, geschickt¹³⁶. Man weiß nicht Bescheid, ob Rokycana den Reizen der Frauen erlag, er kannte jedoch eine Methode, die den Gläubigen helfen sollte, den „tierischen Leidenschaften des ungehorsamen Leibes“ zu entgehen. Er riet ihnen dann witzig, damit sie ihre Begierde „mit einem Besen fegen und mit kaltem Wasser aus einem Eimer begießen“¹³⁷. Und der letzte Vorwurf,

¹³⁵ Ibidem, S. 60-63. Noch nach 100 Jahren, zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts, als Václav Hájek z Libočan seine Chronik niederschrieb, erinnerte man sich an die Kontroversen und Emotionen, die mit der Spendung der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt verbunden waren. Nachdem sich die Priester orientiert haben, dass diese Neuigkeit den Gläubigen gefällt, reichten sie das Abendmahl so, wie die Leute empfangen wollten – so der Chronist. Die Katholiken konnten es nicht dulden und beleidigten im Schutz der Dunkelheit diejenigen, die unter beiderlei Gestalt die Kommunion empfangen, indem sie dabei schrien: „Wyclif, Hus“. Die Hussiten zahlten ihnen mit gleicher Münze heim, indem sie scharf entgegneten: „Papež sněd etcetera kus“, was auch heute für vulgär gelten würde.

¹³⁶ Ibidem, S. 72.

¹³⁷ J. Macek, *Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 52; M. Nodl, *Středověk v nás*, S. 95-96, 100. Große Aufmerksamkeit schenkte Rokycana der ehelichen Sittlichkeit, wobei er im Bereich der Verbote in Bezug auf die Sexualsphäre viel rigorosser war, als Jan Hus. Er wies auch auf das Problem des Alters der Eheleute hin, so dass die Ehe tatsächlich ihrer Aufgabe, das heißt der Nachwuchszeugung dient und nicht dem Vergnügen oder, angesichts der Krankheit beziehungsweise des hohen Alters eines der Eheleute – der Suche nach der Sinnenfreude woanders. Siehe Mistr Jan Hus,

der ihm seit seinem Aufenthalt in Kloster nachhing, war der Alkoholmissbrauch¹³⁸.

Die Eroberung Prags, die mit einem Kompromiss abgeschlossene Konfrontation mit der katholischen Opposition – der sog. Strakonitzer Allianz (*strakonická jednota*), die Bekleidung des Amtes des Reichsverwalters und die damit verbundenen Ermächtigungen des Kurfürsten erwiesen sich unzureichend, damit Georg von Poděbrad seine politische Überlegenheit der Opposition gegenüber halten konnte. Als Garant seiner Position galt der Monarch, wobei sich Ladislaus Postumus für diese Rolle ideal eignete, insbesondere, dass er katholisch war. Dies ließ die Strakonitzer Allianz entwaffnen und erlaubte Georg von Poděbrad seine eigenen Ziele zu realisieren, obwohl es bei den Utraquisten eine Beunruhigung und einen entschiedenen Drang nach der Beachtung der Kompaktaten erweckte. Der König hielt sich in Böhmen lediglich zweimal auf (1453-1454 und 1457), aber für den unter orthodoxen katholischen Verhältnissen erzogenen Ladislaus war es ausreichend unangenehm. Auf Anweisung des Königs wurden die hussitischen Priester aus dem St.-Veits-Dom hinausgetrieben und sie wurden durch das Kapitel mit Václav von Pilsen ersetzt¹³⁹. Rokycana sollte die Abneigung des Königs persönlich gespürt haben, indem er öffentliche Affronte erleiden musste, was mit großer Genugtuung Eneas beschrieb. Der erste Vorfall fand bereits bei der Begrüßung statt, als König Ladislaus sich einmal kaum zur Antwort auf die Worte Rokycanas herabließ. Der zweite Zwischenfall geschah während der Fronleichnamsprozession. Der König wurde danach gefragt, warum er vor der von Rokycana getragenen Monstranz nicht niederkniet. Drauf sollte der König antworten: Ich verehere den *Corpus Christi*, aber nur dann, wenn er von einem katholischen Priester getragen wird¹⁴⁰.

O manželství, [in:] Magistri Iohannis Hus Opera omnia, IV: Drobné spisy české, hrsg. A. Molnar, Praha 1985, S. 297-311; J. Šimek, Postilla Jana Rokycany, I, S. 203-204, 208-209.

138 J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1437-1526*, I, S. 65.

139 Davon, wie sehr eine konkrete Kirchenstruktur brauchbar wäre, zeugte die Tatsache, dass es Václav z Krumlova gelingen würde, sich 80 utraquistische Priester zu unterordnen, falls er für diese Geistlichen ein Erlaubnis zur Kelchkommunion erzielen könnte. Mehr hierzu V. Macháčkova, A. Mařík, *Praha v činnosti administrátorů pod jednou v letech 1450-1550*, „Dokumenta Pragensia“ IX (1991) 2, S. 407-415.

140 *Aeneae Silvii Historia...*, S. 245-247. Diese Ausfälligkeiten veranlassten Rokycana zur Vergiftung des Königs, wobei ihm Georg von Poděbrad half. Über alle möglichen Anzeichen einer Vergiftung berichteten die Wiener Ärzte, die den sterbenden Ladislaus behandelten. Es wurde ihnen jedoch verboten, diese Nachricht zu verbreiten, so dass der fremde Tod nicht zu ihrem eigenen beiträgt. Eneas zitiert auch eine Geschichte, die in Breslau während des Besuchs des Königs und des Hofes passieren sollte. Der Hofnarr Kilian soll Georg von Poděbrad danach gefragt haben, warum er lieber Rokycana hört, als die Fürsten und den König, die die Kommunion unter einer Gestalt empfangen. Er fragte auch, warum er behauptet, dass eine Handvoll Böhmen klüger sei, als die Kirche Christi.

Der Tod Ladislaus' und die darauf folgende Machtübernahme von Georg von Poděbrad trug sicher zur Stärkung der Position Jan Rokycanas bei, und dies sowohl formell als auch persönlich, es festigte jedoch kaum die kalixtinische Kirche. Früher verlangte niemand von Georg als Reichsverwalter, dass er den hussitischen Glauben verleugnet, weil der katholische König sein Banner war. Jetzt, als der von den katholischen Bischöfen (von Matthias Corvinus aus Ungarn delegiert) gekrönte Herrscher, hatte er persönliche Verpflichtungen der Kirche gegenüber, der er Gehorsam schwor. Gleichzeitig musste er über einen konfessionell in zwei Teile zerteilten Staat regieren (aus zweierlei Volk bestehend), wo die Hussiten zahlenmäßig in Böhmen und Mähren überlegen waren und in den übrigen Länder der Krone die Katholiken dominierten.

Der Beginn schien viel versprechend zu sein und Rokycana agitierte von der Kanzel für Georg, indem er predigte, es sei nun die Zeit eines Herrschers gekommen, der sich zu ihrem Glauben bekenne. Tatsächlich entschieden über den Wahlerfolg die politischen Vereinbarungen mit der katholischen Partei, als die fremden Kandidaturen endgültig abgelehnt wurden¹⁴¹. Den Beratungen der Stände über die Wahl des Königs vom 2. März 1458 wohnte eine große Menge Prager bei, die – von Rokycana mobilisiert – das Prager Rathaus belagerten. Nachdem die Katholiken ihre Entscheidung – vorgeführt von Herrn Zdeňek Konopištský ze Šternberka – getroffen hatten, bedankte sich Georg für die Wahl und begab sich vom Rathaus in die Teynkirche, wo sich nun Rokycana den Ständen dafür bedankte, sie haben dank dem guten Gott den böhmischen König zur Stärkung und Wahrung des Glaubens gewählt. Der Kirchenchor sang das Lied *Dich, Gott, loben wir*, und die in der Kirche versammelten Gläubigen sangen: „Heiliger Václav, Herrscher des böhmischen Landes“. Sehr interessant erscheint der Bericht des Chronisten (*Staré letopisy*) über die Reaktion der Prager auf die Wahl des aus dem böhmischen Volke stammenden Königs: „Alle Böhmen freuten sich darüber, viele weinten vor Freude, dass sie der barmherzige Gott von der Macht deutscher Könige befreite, die die Böhmen – und insbesondere diejenigen, die nach der Heiligen Schrift handelten, verfolgten“¹⁴².

Während der Krönungsfeier schwor Georg die Rechte der Vorfahren und die bisherigen Privilegien zu behalten, obwohl kein Wort über Kompaktaten gefallen ist. Es gab auch keinen Hinweis auf die Bestätigung Rokycanas, weil keiner an diese Möglichkeit glaubte. J. Čechura schrieb, es reiche aus, die Zusammensetzung des an der Zeremonie teilnehmenden Gremiums zu betrachten (Zdeňek ze Šternberka, der die Krone hielt, Jan von Rožemberk – mit dem Zepter und Jindřich z Michalovic mit dem Apfel in der Hand – alle

141 R. Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský*, S. 266.

142 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 182.

Katholiken, mit der Ausnahme des Schwerträgers, der Kalixtiner war), um zu sehen, dass der neue König für den Preis der Krone zum Geisel seiner politischen Gegner wurde¹⁴³.

Eine Gelegenheit für die Erneuerung des Kirchenkonflikts bot die Obediensverfahren, mit dem die böhmische Diplomatie bis zum Ende 1462 zögerte, als Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini – der sich Pius II. nannte – zum Papst gewählt wurde. Er war guter Kenner der böhmischen Geschichte und zugleich der entschiedene Feind der Kompaktaten und der persönliche Feind Rokycanas. Anfänglich handelte Pius II. nach allen diplomatischen Regeln, wahrscheinlich wegen seiner persönlichen Bekanntschaft mit Georg von Poděbrad wie auch wegen guter Kenntnis der konfessionellen Situation in Böhmen. Er verlangte nicht nach einer Obediensprozedur, er stärkte jedoch die Katholiken in kleinen Schritten durch die Erneuerung der Institutionen des religiösen Lebens, was wiederum eine begründete Beunruhigung bei Rokycana und den Kalixtinern erweckte¹⁴⁴. In den frühen sechziger Jahren kam es – und zwar gar nicht zufällig, weil im Zusammenhang mit den Kompaktaten – zu einem Streit darüber, wer an der Prager Universität studieren darf. Unverzüglich nach der Wiedereinführung der vollständigen Berechtigungen (1447) mussten die fremden Studierenden bei ihrer Immatrikulierung ihre Zustimmung abgeben, dass sie die Kompaktaten beachten werden. Zehn Jahre später verlangte man eine derartige Erklärung von allen, wobei man in einem Studentenheim nur dann einen Platz erwerben durfte, wenn man diese Zustimmung abgegeben hat. Die Katholiken durften demnach das Studium an der Prager Universität nicht unternehmen. Sie sahen darin das vorsätzliche Handeln Rokycanas und reichten eine Beschwerde an den König. Weder der König noch die Universität verzichteten jedoch auf diese Regeln¹⁴⁵.

Im Jahre 1462 erhielt die böhmische Obediensgesandtschaft eine abschlägige Antwort auf ihre Bitte um die Bestätigung der Kompaktaten. Die Antwort wurde mit einem Kommentar des Papstes Pius II. versehen, aus dem zu lesen war, dass der Papst als wachsamer Hirt die Böhmen hüten muss, damit sie vom Wege des Heils nicht abkommen¹⁴⁶. Aus diesem Grund hatte der im August 1462 einberufene Landtag einen höchst dramatischen Ablauf. Nachdem die Information der Gesandten über die Abberufung von

143 J. Čechura, *České země v letech 1437-1526*, I, S. 95.

144 J. Smolucha, *Polityka kurii rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458-1469) wobec Czech i krajów sąsiednich. Z dziejów dyplomacji papieskiej w XV wieku*, Kraków 2008, S. 219-220. Der Autor führt als Beispiele der Rekatholisierung die Tätigkeit Gabriels von Verona an, der von Pius II. zum Inquisitor für Böhmen ernannt wurde, wie auch die Gründung von vier neuen Konventen der Franziskaner und eines Observantenkonvents sowie die erneute Bestätigung der Privilegien des Vyšehrader Kapitels.

145 M. Svatoš, *Kališnická univerzita...*, S. 207.

146 J. Smolucha, *Polityka kurii rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II...*, S. 248.

Kompaktaten angehört wurde, stellte der König fest, dass er alle mit seiner Krönung verbundenen Verpflichtungen erfüllte, indem er als Beweis dessen den Text des Gelübdes vorlas. Danach erklärte er, dass er mit seiner ganzen Familie auf der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt beharrt und deshalb in der Sache der Kompaktaten nicht nachgibt. Unter diesen nervösen Umständen kam es zu einem Vorfall mit dem dabei anwesenden Nuntius Fantinus de Valle, der den König des Meineides beschuldigte¹⁴⁷. Einen Monat später, auf der letzten gemeinsamen Synode der ultraquistischen und katholischen Geistlichen, angesichts der Abwesenheit des Breslauer und Olmützer Bischofs, gelang es nicht, irgendwelche Vereinbarung zu erarbeiten. Es geschah auch wegen der Einstellung des erzbischöflichen Verwalters Hilary von Litoměřice, der behauptete, sie können über die Kompaktaten nicht diskutieren, weil diese für Katholiken unbrauchbar seien¹⁴⁸. Trotz jener Spannungen schritt die Restitution des Katholizismus mit stiller Zustimmung des Königs fort, was aber zur Abkühlung der Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Erzbischof führte. Der König verharrte recht lange bei den Kompromissen, was auch durch den Streit mit Rokycana um das vom Kapitel verlassene Schloss (1467) bewiesen wurde, das der Erzbischof besetzen wollte. Der König soll mit folgenden Worten abgesagt haben: „Meister, Sie haben schon lange genug gemeistert, jetzt werde ich meistern. Seit dieser Zeit erlebte der König zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten, eine nach der anderen. Und Meister Rokycana besuchte ihn nicht mehr so häufig“¹⁴⁹.

Die Abberufung der Kompaktaten bestätigte der Nachfolger Pius' II. – Paul II. Der scharfe Kursus des Papsttums dem König gegenüber verlieh den Geschehnissen einen dramatischen Verlauf. Im Jahre 1465 gründeten 16 böhmische Herren eine Allianz in Zelená Hora. Ein Jahr später entthronte Paul II. den König und befreite seine Untertanen von der Verpflichtung des Gehorsams. Im Jahre 1467 bestätigte der Papst den Bann über den König und Rokycana als Häretiker, wobei er zum Oberhaupt des Kreuzzuges gegen Georg Herrn Zdeňek ze Sternberka ernannte. Ein Jahr später gesellte sich dem Krieg gegen den König Matthias Corvinus zu. Der Bürgerkrieg sowie der Krieg gegen den ungarischen König ließen die Fragen nach dem Glauben und den Kompaktaten in den Hintergrund drängen. Rokycana erkrankte gegen Ende der sechziger Jahre und bedauerte alles Böse, das in seinem Leben

147 Ibidem. Der Autor stellt detailliert den Verlauf der Mission des Legaten dar, dessen Verhaftung im Auftrag des Königs und den Widerhall des „Attentats“ auf den Vertreter der Kirche.

148 1461 ernannte Papst Pius II. Hilary von Litoměřice zum Verwalter, der über erzbischöfliche Berechtigungen verfügte und der hemmungslos einen scharfen Kampf gegen den König und Rokycana führte, obwohl er einst zu den Schülern des Letzteren gehörte und die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt empfing.

149 *Ze starých letopisů českých*, S. 194.

geschah, er fühlte sich schuldig und niedergeschlagen, was seine Feinde als Schuldbekennnis interpretierten. Er starb am 22. Februar 1471 und wurde in seiner Kirche der Jungfrau Maria vor dem Teyn bestattet.

Die Verdienste Jan Rokycanas für die hussitische Kirche mit der Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt und der Liturgie in der böhmischen Sprache wie auch seine Bemühungen um die Sicherung deren Status' berücksichtigend, muss man feststellen, dass er sicher der richtige Kandidat für die Zeit des Kampfes gegen den Papst und das Konzil war. Seine Aktivität in der letzten Dekade der Revolution bewies seine außerordentliche Energie, Ambition und Effizienz. Er war ein richtiger Politiker, der sogar in Glaubenssachen vor den nötigen Kompromissen nicht zurückschreckte. Am besten sieht man es anhand der Statistik: In Konstanz verteidigte Jan Hus 45 Thesen, in Basel verteidigte man vier Artikel, und Rokycana kämpfte letztendlich nur um einen Punkt – um die Kommunion unter beiderlei Gestalt¹⁵⁰. Der Kampf um den Kelch und umso mehr um die Kinderkommunion scheint heutzutage wenig bedeutungsvoll zu sein. Damals war er aber notwendig: Seine Aufgabe war es, die in ihrer Eigenartigkeit gefährdete und neben dem starken Katholizismus funktionierende Bewegung stark zu unterscheiden. Er musste der neuen Kirche ihre Zukunft sichern, indem er die neue Generation der Gläubigen zu erziehen hatte, die unter beiderlei Gestalt das Abendmahl empfangen¹⁵¹. Trotz fehlender Zustimmung des Papstes und des Konzils für die Kompaktaten entschied sich Rokycana nicht, eine separate Kirchenorganisation aufzubauen. Es resultierte nicht aus Mangel an Mut, sondern aus dem Wirklichkeitssinn: Der Abbruch der Beziehungen mit Rom war wegen der Laienschirmherren unmöglich, wie zum Beispiel Georgs von Poděbrad, der über das Land zweier Konfessionen herrschte. Rokycana versuchte das Gesetz der apostolischen Gehorsamkeit zu beachten, indem er sich um legale Priesterweihe von Bischöfen bemühte, er anerkannte den Wert der patristischen Literatur, der Konzildekrete, der Gesetze der kanonischen Gesetzgebung, sofern deren Inhalt mit der Heiligen Schrift übereinstimmte, er lehnte die radikale taboritische Lehre über die Eucharistie, Sitten, Bilder und Reliquien ab. Für Kalixtiner, die das Bedürfnis nach Einheit mit der Kirche verspürten, war es deswegen sehr wichtig, über das Recht auf legale Wahl des Erzbischofs zu verfügen, was Rokycana jedoch innerhalb von 36 Jahren nicht erzielt hatte¹⁵².

150 F. Šimek, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany*, S. 47 und die eingehende Beurteilung Jan Rokycanas S. 275-280.

151 J. Salij, *Glównie kontrowersje teologiczne...*, S. 62-66; J. Kadlec, *Přehled českých církevních dějin*, I, Praha 1991, S. 280.

152 J. Macek (*Jiří z Poděbrad*, S. 49) schrieb im Zusammenhag damit über die Kirche Rokycanas: „Sie haben stets nicht genügend Mut, um die geistliche Gehorsamkeit aufzugeben,

Indem man die letzten Tätigkeits- und Lebensjahre Rokycanas betrachtet, gewinnt man den Eindruck, ähnlich meinte wohl auch selbst Rokycana, dass man angesichts der politischen Widrigkeiten, wie fehlende Bestätigung des hussitischen Erzbischofs durch die Kirche, wenige geweihte Priester, scharfe Kritik seitens der Katholiken. Verzicht der Gläubigen auf den Kelch, Abberufung von Kompaktaten und Bürgerkrieg – alles verloren hatte. Mit der Zeit erwies sich jedoch, dass es lediglich ein momentaner Misserfolg war und die böhmische Nationalkirche die geschichtlichen Verwirrungen überstand.

übersetzt von Dorota Fałkowska

ABSTRACT

Jan Rokycana (1396-1471) Sohn eines Schmiedes im Dorf Rokycany; allem Anschein nach anfänglich Mönch im hiesigen Augustinerkloster. Nachdem er das Kloster verlassen hatte, studierte er in Prag, wo er 1415 den akademischen Grad eines Baccalaureus in freien Künsten erwarb. (Den Meistertitel erwarb er erst 1430.) Zur Zeit der Revolution schloss er sich dem Kreis gemäßiger Hussiten an und zu seinem Meister wurde Jakoubek ze Střibra, der Initiator des Abendmahls unter beiderlei Gestalt und der Mitbegründer des Programms der künftigen Revolution der sog. *Vier Prager Artikel*. Die selbständige Karriere begann Jan Rokycana um die Mitte der zwanziger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts, als er als Verhandlungsführer mit Jan Žižka hohes Ansehen erlangte. 1427 übernahm er die Pfarrkirche der Jungfrau Maria vor dem Teyn in Prag und 1429, dank der Unterstützung des konservativen Bürgertums, wurde er zum Verwalter der kalixtinischen Kirche. 1435 wurde Rokycana durch den böhmischen Landtag zum Prager Erzbischof gewählt, diese Funktion wurde jedoch durch die Kirche nicht bestätigt. Zu den wichtigsten Leistungen Rokycanas gehören die Kompaktaten, das heißt der Vergleich der böhmischen Stände mit dem Konzil von Basel, der die religiöse Freiheit gewährte. Nach der Rückkehr König Sigismunds von Luxemburg nach Böhmen sowie infolge der unternommenen Versuche, die katholische Ordnung in Böhmen wieder einzuführen, verlor Jan Rokycana alle bisher bekleideten Ämter und zog sich für die nächsten elf Jahre aus dem öffentlichen Leben zurück. Nachdem Georg von Poděbrad 1448 Prag erobert hatte, kehrte Rokycana nach Prag zurück. Bis zu seinem Tod (1471) wirkte er aktiv als Verteidiger der Kompaktaten, agierte für den Gebrauch böhmischer Sprache in der Liturgie sowie für den Aufbau der Strukturen der hussitischen Kirche.

jene Beziehung, die die kalixtinischen Priester mit den Kirchenpredigern, Kirchenvätern und Aposteln verknüpft. Deshalb lassen sie so entschieden die Wahl des Erzbischofs in den Vordergrund stellen, der als Oberhaupt der Gläubigen und der Geistlichen gilt“.

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STUDIES OF NUMISMATICS IN BELARUS AND LITHUANIA



Interests in numismatics and collecting coins in Belarus and Lithuania were related, like in other countries, to the activity of feudal lords and magnates, who amassed rich private collections. In the territory in question a priceless collection of this kind was the treasury of the Nesvizh line of the Radziwiłł (Radvila) family, originated by Nicholas “the Black” Radziwiłł in the mid-16th century¹. This important numismatic and phaleristic legacy of the Radziwiłłs, enlarged by their subsequent generations, numbered at the close of the 18th century almost 13 thousand items. They included not only antique coins collected by the Radziwiłłs during their travels in Western Europe, but also a rich collection of money from the whole territory of the Commonwealth². The number of old coins, being part of the collection which also included paintings, sculptures etc., was diminished during the wars of the 17th-18th centuries. During the Napoleonic wars in 1812 the monetary relics were carried away to the state of the tsars and given the university in Kharkov³.

During the partitions impressive numismatic collections became the spoils of the partitioning powers. In this way a collection of coins was amassed by Russian diplomat, patron of the arts and the owner of Gomel – Nikolay Rummyantsev, which was after his death taken to Saint Petersburg, then to Moscow, where the first Russian public museum was established – the Rummyantsev Museum. After Rummyantsev’s death Gomel was taken over by his

1 K. Filipow, *Skarbiec Radziwiłłów z Nieświeża – źródło do dziejów numizmatyki i falerystyki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2010, p. 453.

2 Ibidem, p. 457; A. Więcek, *Dzieje sztuki medalierskiej w Polsce*, Kraków 1972, pp. 73, 75.

3 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Нумизматика Белоруси*, Минск 1995, p. 6.

successors, who sold it to general Ivan Paskevich. He also created a precious numismatic collection.

Other signs of interests in numismatics were observable in the circles of Vilnius. When in 1832, following the order of Tsar Nicholas I the Imperial University of Vilnius (former Stephen Báthory University and later the Main Lithuanian School) was closed down as punishment for the participation of its students and lecturers in the November Uprising, efforts began to be made to open an academic institution, which would comprise a museum and a library for the support of the scholarly work of historians and archaeologists. The originator and executor of this enterprise was an illustrious researcher of the Vilnius region and patron of the arts, count Eustachy Tyszkiewicz⁴. Thanks to his endeavours, in 1855 the Russian authorities permitted the opening of the Museum of Antiquities and the Archaeological Commission in Vilnius⁵. Tyszkiewicz donated to the museum more than 3 thousand coins. The Archaeological Commission conducted excavations, ran scientific investigations and collected archaeological relics till 1865, when it was dissolved after the collapse of the January Uprising. Its collections were taken to Moscow and given to the Public Library and the Rumyantsev Museum⁶.

In the last two decades of the 19th century the activity in the domain of numismatics was transferred from private individuals to the museums attached to statistical committees of the provinces: the Vilnius, Minsk, Grodno and Mogilev. In that period the Waclaw Ferodowicz Museum and next also the Orthodox-Archeological Museum were opened in Vitebsk⁷. From 1911 the town also had an active branch of the Moscow Archeological Institute, which dealt with describing monetary finds. In the early 20th century the Minsk Orthodox-Archeological Museum and the museum of the Minsk Society of Naturalists, Ethnologists and Archeology were established. Both institutions survived till World War I, when they were partly evacuated to Russia and returned to Minsk in 1922. They formed the basis for the foundation of the Belarusian State Museum in Minsk, which in 1927 housed 14 thousand coins. Extremely damaging for the numismatic Belarusian collections was the time of World War II, when they were almost completely destroyed. In the post-war period work actions were taken to rebuild the collections, which resulted in amassing more than 100 thousand coins representing different epochs.

4 In the Vilnius milieu interests in numismatics were broadened by Teodor Narbutt, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Joachim Lelewel, Tadeusz Czacki, Ignacy Zagórski and Adam Kirkor.

5 H. Cehak-Hołubowiczowa, *Muzeum Starożytności Wileńskiej Komisji Archeologicznej a Muzeum Archeologiczne Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego*, "Światowit" XVII (1936-1937), pp. 9-14, here p. 10.

6 Ibidem, pp. 10-11.

7 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Нумизматика Белоруси*, pp. 7-8.

As museums began their activities scholarly publications dedicated to the history of money began to be released. Among the scholars dealing with this subject Marian Gumowski occupied an important place⁸. In 1927 by Pavel Kharlampovich published his works in which he described the hoards housed in the Belarusian State Museum in Minsk. He also examined the system of the functioning of Prague groschen on the basis of the Belarusian collections of coins⁹. In the 1930s Polish archeologist, Józef Jodkowski, scrutinized the hoards found in western Belarus¹⁰. Especially precious and novel yet unpublished were the works by Belarusian researcher, Nikolay Shchekatikhin, presenting the history in outline of the Lithuanian coin in the 16th-17th centuries and describing the finds of coins made in Belarus in the second half of the 1920s¹¹. Till the mid-20th century regional research on numismatics of the Lithuanian and Belarusian Soviet Republics was practically nonexistent in the Soviet Union. It was run by Soviet historians based in Moscow and Leningrad (Saint Petersburg).

A turning point came in the 1960s. Apart from the scholars from Moscow and Leningrad considering research into numismatics as part of a wider study of the money of the nations within the Soviet Union¹², Lithuanian and Belarusian scholars appeared. Their academic achievements laid the foundations for the development of numismatics. In the first place one should mention Valentin Rabtsevich (1934-2008) – the founding father of Belarusian numismatics¹³. This scholar was initially linked with the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. Having moved to Minsk to settle permanently, he first co-operated with the team organizing the State Museum of Belarus and next worked, till the end of his academic career, at Belarusian State University, in the Faculty of History, then in the Chair of Ethnology, Ethnography and Auxiliary Sciences of History.

8 M. Gumowski, *Numizmatyka litewska wieków średnich*, Kraków 1920.

9 П.В. Харламповіч, *Манетныя скарбы, знойдзеныя ў Беларусі, у зборах Беларускага дзяржаўнага музея, "Гістарычна-археалагічны зборнік" I (1927)*, pp. 305-343; idem, *Пражскія грошы ў беларускіх манетных скарбах*, *ibidem*, pp. 295-302.

10 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Нумизматика Белоруси*, p. 8.

11 Н.Н. Щекотихин, *Очерк истории литовских монет XVI-XVII вв., 1932-1936*, I; idem, *Топография кладов с древними литовскими монетами на территории древнего Литовского государства, 1933-1934*, II. The manuscripts of these works are housed in the department of old coins in the library of the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, XV.2.51. в/1 по 129052, pp. 1-63 + map; В.Н. Рябцевич, *Нумизматика Белоруси*, p. 8; В. Какареко, *Чумизматыческое движение в Беларуси, "Банкаўскі веснік" XXXI (2003)*, p. 33.

12 Д. Федотов, *Монеты Прибалтики XIII-XVIII столетий*, Таллин 1966, p. 9.

13 А.А. Егорейченко, *Заснавальнік беларускай нумізматыкі: Да 70-годдзя з дня нараджэння Валянціна Навумавіча Рабцэвіча, "Беларускі гістарычны часопіс" XII (2004)*, pp. 49-50.

Already in the first years of his academic career he put into the academic circulation 283 new finds of coins, and thanks to his research the knowledge of coins was broadened by approx. 600 items. One of Rabtsevich's first works was connected with his study of the presence of Scottish coins on the territory of the Commonwealth till the end of the first half of the 17th century. In this book he questioned the credibility of the opinion on the lack of presence of copper coins in eastern areas of the Polish-Lithuanian state¹⁴. The scholar localized between ten and twenty hoards on the territory of the Grand Duchy, which included, among others, Scottish copper coins. Their appearance in the excavated area was related to the policy of rulers, who used the services of Scottish mercenaries. Of great significance was the activity of the Calvinist Radziwiłł family, thanks to whom churches of this denomination appeared in the Ashmyany Land, Slutsk, Kėdainiai, Shkloŭ, in the Brest Voivodship, Navahrudak and Minsk, which the Scots chose to settle¹⁵. Once again he carried his research into the money of the borderland between the Commonwealth and Muscovy indicating changes in kinds of coins depending on the changes of the border. He also supplemented knowledge of the locations of finds of coins in the Chernihiv-Siversk Land containing, among others, West European coins¹⁶.

The evidence of Rabtsevich's wide scientific interests are his numerous and original works dedicated, among other things, to ancient and medieval coins discovered on the territory of Belarus, and also to all foreign coins in circulation in Ruthenian duchies¹⁷. In this field he focused his most attention on the Prague groschen, emphasizing its rapid expansion as a means of

14 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Шотландские монеты первой половины XVII в. в кладах Белоруссии и соседних районов*, "Нумизматика и эпиграфика" IV (1961), p. 252.

15 Ibidem, p. 254.

16 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Монетные клады XVII и первой четверти XVIII вв. на территории Чернигово-Северской земли и Восточной Белоруссии*, "Нумизматика и сфрагистика" I (1963), pp. 152-202 (pp. 160-161 – map of finds). See also idem, *Денежное обращение и клады на территории Чернигово-Северской земли и восточной Белоруссии в XVI в.*, "Нумизматика и сфрагистика" III (1968), pp. 168-187; idem, *Монетные клады второй четверти XVIII – первой половины XIX в. на территории Чернигово-Северской земли и Восточной Белоруссии*, "Нумизматика и сфрагистика" V (1974), pp. 114-126 (p. 126 – map of finds).

17 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Два монетно-вещевых клада IX в. из Витебской области*, "Нумизматика и эпиграфика" V (1965), pp. 121-160 (p. 123 – map of finds); idem, *Находки античных монет на территории Белоруссии*, in: *Вопросы истории: Сборник статей молодых ученых и аспирантов*, Минск 1968, pp. 187-192; В.Н. Рябцевич, А.А. Стуканов, *Манеты Арабскага халіфата на тэрыторыі Беларусі*, "Помнікі гісторыі і культуры Беларусі" IV (1973), pp. 33-39; В.Н. Рябцевич, *Дирхамы Арабского халифата в денежном хозяйстве Полоцкой земли (IX-X вв.)*, in: idem, *Славяне и их соседи (археология, нумизматика, этнология)*, Минск 1998, pp. 66-80; idem, *Имитация куфических дирхамов в кладе, найденном у деревни Козьянки Полоцкого района*, in: *Гісторыя навукі і гістарычнай адукацыі ў Рэспубліцы Беларусь: Стан і перспектывы развіцця*, Мінск 1999, pp. 207-209.

payment and domination on the market of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania till the end of the 15th century¹⁸. Contrary to the findings made by older generations of historians, assuming that the Prague groschen had reached Eastern Europe through Lithuania and further east, onto the Ruthenian territories incorporated to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rabtsevich proved that this Czech coin had made its way to Ruthenia through Kraków, Red Ruthenia, and its other route was through the Chernihiv Land. For this reason the Prague groschen strengthened on the markets of south-west Ruthenia earlier than on the north-east territories. These claims were supported by the topography of hoards and individual finds of the Prague groschen, which in their majority, more than 2 thousand coins, were localized in south-west Ruthenia (the Brest district) and south-east (the Gomel and Mogilev districts). Half of these numbers were found on the remaining territories of Ruthenia, while the most in the Vitebsk and Grodno districts¹⁹. Rabtsevich's interests also included issues connected with the history of precious metals designated for minting coins, as well as the development of the monetary turnover on the territory of the Commonwealth²⁰. He was the author of the first academic book for the general public published in Belarus and dedicated to numismatics²¹.

The fall of the Soviet Union and the whole period of the 1990s became both for Rabtsevich and the whole numismatic milieu of Belarus the period of intensified activity and development. At that time fundamental works on numismatics were published. Some of them were significant scholarly achievements of Rabtsevich. In 1993 an encyclopedia of archaeology and numismatics was published, which was the summary of the achievements to date in both disciplines. Rabtsevich's contribution was, apart from the preface, almost 200 entries on different kinds of coins and hoards found on the territory of Belarus, among others, to ternars (*ternarius*), Prague groschen

18 В.Н. Рябцевич, *К вопросу о денежном обращении западнорусских земель в XIV-XV вв.*, "Нумизматика и сфрагистика" II (1965), p. 122.

19 Ibidem, pp. 124-125; see В.Н. Рябцевич, Г.В. Штыхов, *Денежное обращение Белоруссии в IX-XIII вв.*, "Очерки по археологии Белоруссии", II (1972), pp. 150-187.

20 В.Н. Рябцевич, В.А. Титков, *Русская монетная медь XVII в. в кладях Белоруссии и Украины*, in: *Древности Белоруссии: Доклады к конференции по археологии Белоруссии, Минск 1969*, pp. 427-435; В.Н. Рябцевич, *Денежный счет на рынках Великого княжества Литовского в XVI в.*, in: *Всероссийская нумизматическая конференция, посвященная 90-летию И.Г. Спасского и 270-летию Петербургского монетного двора. 6-8 апреля 1994 г. Тезисы докладов*, Санкт Петербург 1994, pp. 32-34; idem, *Certains problèmes de la circulation de la monnaie de cuirre sur le territoire de la Pologne*, in: *I Międzynarodowy Kongres archeologii stowiańskiej: Warszawa, 14-18. IX. 1965*, IV, ed. W. Hensel, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1968, pp. 292-300; idem, *Skarby monet z XVI i XVII wieku na terenie obwodu brzeskiego i grodzieńskiego Białoruskiej SRR*, "Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi" VI (1986 [1988]), pp. 211-239.

21 В.Н. Рябцевич, *О чем рассказывают монеты*, Минск 1977.

and ducats, the hoards from, among others, Rahachow, Wielkosielsk, Zadruck, Zaczepice, the finds from Pinsk, Polotsk, Kalinkawice, Maroskaws, Nowy Dwór, Rakowiec²².

Rabtsevich's most important oeuvre, first of its kind in Belarus, was *Numizmatika Belarusi* ("Numismatics of Belarus")²³, published in 1995. This work is a detailed, in places too rich in factual material, description of the history of money from the 9th to the 20th centuries. Here one can find a discussion about the non-monetary period, the shaping and changing of the monetary turnover in the Middle Ages, which was facilitated by the development of trade and the economic standing of some centres, such as Veliky Novgorod, Vitebsk, Smolensk and Polotsk, which in that period established their first links with German countries and Riga²⁴. For south-east Ruthenia Kiev was the key centre influencing monetary markets on the territories of northern Ruthenia. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the legal tenders which dated from the 13th century (grzywna, ruble, poltina – half a ruble) were joined by silver coins – Lithuanian denars and foreign, e.g. Prague groschen and ducats. Clearance terminology developed. Numbers such as a threescore and half a threescore appeared. As the Grand Duchy of Lithuania developed and maintained its union with Poland, Vilnius and Krakow became monetary centres. Vilnius benefited from Polish practices, which resulted in the release of groschen in the mid-16th century. In his book Rabtsevich showed the fortunes of the financial reforms from 1659-1666, and also the transformations which took place following the reforms from 1752, 1787, 1794. This thorough work ends with the analysis of the Soviet monetary system. Rabtsevich devoted subsequent years of his academic career to individual finds of coins and issues of coins from the times of Tsar Peter the Great²⁵.

22 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Энциклапедыя Археалогія і нумізматыка Беларусі*, Мінск 1993, pp. 16-19, 34, 63-64, 120-121, 164-165, 175, 196-200, 211-212, 221, 228-229, 231, 243-244, 247, 259, 268-270, 276-277, 279, 282, 285-287, 293, 296, 307-309, 314-315, 318, 331-333, 343, 346, 351, 356-357, 359-360, 366, 370, 372-373, 380-381, 387, 391, 394-402, 404-407, 409-417, 428, 455-456, 470-474, 479, 485-491, 499, 510, 522-523, 529, 532, 542, 549, 563-564, 567, 578-579, 584-585, 589, 602-608, 613, 615, 623, 630-631, 644, 648-649, 651-652, 661, 663-664.

23 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Нумизматика Беларусі*, p. 686.

24 Ibidem, p. 130.

25 В.Н. Рябцевич, *Российско-“польские” монетные эмиссии эпохи Петра I*, in: *Славяне: адзінства і мнагастайнасць: Міжнародная канферэнцыя, 24-27 мая 1990*, Мінск 1990, pp. 61-63; idem, *Севский чех (к истории атрибуции)*, “Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины” XXI (1990), pp. 179-200; idem, *Российско-“польские” монетные эмиссии эпохи Петра I*, Тольятти 1995; В.Н. Рябцевич, И.Г. Добровольски, *Козьянковский клад куфических дирхамов (основные результаты исследования)*, in: *Другая міжнародная навукова-практычная канферэнцыя “Ісламская культура татараў-мусульман Беларусі, Літвы і Польшчы і яе уземадзяянне з беларускай і іншымі культурамі”*, Мінск, 19-20 траўня 1995 г. *Да 600-годдзя татарскага асідніцтва на землях Беларуска-Літоўскай дзяржавы, распачатага пры*

In his private life Rabtsevich collected old coins himself. Only in the 1960s he bequeathed his collection to the Belarusian State University, which became the nucleus of the Numismatic Cabinet – a university museum of coins open to the public. The collection of the Cabinet was restored and re-opened to the public already after Rabtsevich's death, in 2010. The exhibition includes, among others, drachms, denars, Prague groschen, different coins from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Commonwealth, as well as exhibits from the 19th and 20th centuries²⁶.

Another important link in the chain of Belarusian numismatic research activities are works by Shchamil Bektineyev, a scholar in the Institute of History of the Belarusian Academy of Sciences. In 1994 a small but important book, being the first work of its kind in the country, was published. It focused on the monetary turnover on the territory of contemporary Belarus in the 12th-15th centuries²⁷. The author presented a new periodization of the monetary turnover in Belarus in the 12th-15th centuries. He also provided evidence for the claim that from the 1260s to mid-1380s there was a separate monetary and weighing system for Vitebsk and Polotsk²⁸. Bektineyev based his views on numerous numismatic finds from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He was first to use town books of Mogilev from the 16th century for the study of its coins²⁹. In his latest work Bektineyev continued his discussion of the monetary market in Belarus in the 9th and 16th centuries, emphasizing regionalisms of Ruthenian principalities noticeable in minting coins, which were facilitated by the periods of their political and economic power, and independence. He revealed the presence on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of several small monetary systems (among others the Lithuanian and Tartar one), which intermingled with some transitional periods creating

Вітаўце Вялікім, Мінск 1996, pp. 35-37; В.Н. Рябцевич, *Манетныяклады Браслаўшчыны*, in: *Браслаўскія чытанні: Матэрыялы IV навукова-краязнаўчай канферэнцыі*. 24-25 красавіка 1997 г., Браслаў 1997, pp. 41-44; idem, *Козьянковский клад куфических дирхамов*, in: *Rozwój muzealnictwa i kolekcjonerstwa numizmatycznego – dawniej i dziś – na Białorusi, Litwie, w Polsce i Ukrainie. Materiały z II Międzynarodowej Konferencji Numizmatycznej, Supraśl 5-7.IX.1996*, ed. K. Filipow, Warszawa 1997, pp. 27-30; idem, *Денежные депозиты Полоцкой земли конца X - начала XIV вв.*, "Гістарычна-археалагічны зборнік" XV (2000), pp. 66-72; idem, *Клад конца IX в. с Брилевского поля*, in: *Клады: состав, хронология, интерпретация*, Санкт Петербург 2002, pp. 164-175.

²⁶ <<http://www.hist.bsu.by/numizmatychny-kabinet.html>> (last accessed: 14.11.2016).

²⁷ Ш.И. Бектинеев, *Денежное обращение Великого княжества Литовского в XIII-XV в.*, Минск 1994.

²⁸ He discussed this issue in detail in the work *Полоцко-Витебская днежно-весовая система XIII-XV в.*, "Lietuvos archeologija" XVIII (1999), pp. 153-163.

²⁹ Ш.И. Бектинеев, *Денежные системы по материалам Могилевских магистратных книг 1578-1580 гг.*, "Магілёўская даўніна" VII (1999), pp. 5-12.

favourable conditions for the formation of statewide monetary structures³⁰. In his voluminous work the author provided a reader with the amount of information previously unprecedented in Belarusian historical studies concerning kinds of coins on the territory in question. He also determined the value and conversion factors for the coins usually in circulation, both those indigenous and foreign, e.g. Byzantine and Indian. The study is supplemented with numerous annexes, maps, lists of numismatic finds, though the latter were described quite accurately in *Archaeology of Belarus*.

Quite modest look those Belarusian publications which include the catalogues of coins. In 2005 the work by Victor Kakareko and Iliia Shchtalenkov was published. It comprised all coins known in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1492-1707³¹. The catalogue was written in the chronological order, and the authors tried to determine the chronology of each of 103 kinds of the coins.

The transformations which took place in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union originated the period of revival of numismatic research also in Lithuania. Among the most valuable are the works by Stasys Sajauskas, physicist and lecturer at the Technological University and a staff member at the Čiurlionis Museum in Kaunas. In 1993, following the scientific investigation carried out by him and Domininkas Kaubrys, the work entitled *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės numizmatika* was published. It was a survey of Lithuanian coins collected in Lithuanian museums³². At that time it was the first, definitely the biggest and the most comprehensive catalogue of coins of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the 14th-18th centuries. In 2006 the second volume of this work was published, which revealed new finds³³. In particular, it included the descriptions of coins from the times of Skirgaila, which were discovered during the excavations in the lower castle in Vilnius. From the point of view of the Lithuanian numismatics, of some value was also the authors' stance on the discussion concerning the oldest Lithuanian coins and their support for the argument which ascribed minting coins to the Lithuanians before the baptism of Lithuania. There is a difference of opinion regarding this matter both among numismatists in Lithuania and Poland³⁴. However, there is a significant increase of the supporters of the view more favourable for Lithuania within this former group. Some scholars avoid such

30 Ш.И. Бектинеев, *Денежное обращение на территории Беларуси в IX-XVI веках*, Минск 2015, p. 289.

31 В.И. Какареко, И. Шталенков, *Монеты Великого Княжества Литовского 1492-1707: Каталог*, Минск 2005.

32 S. Sajauskas, D. Kaubrys, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės numizmatika*, Vilnius 1993.

33 Ibidem, II, Kaunas 2006, pp. 19-24.

34 The opinions of older generations of Polish historians were supported by E. Kopicki, *Monety Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1387-1707*, Warszawa 2005, p. 28.

a discussion³⁵. The second volume was published much better than the first. It was provided with perfect photos, better utilized specialist literature and a clear design of legends. Some controversies were aroused by the fact that the authors ignored the Lithuanian numismatic terminology and drew it from Russian (*dirham* instead of *dirhamas*)³⁶.

Sajauskas indicated in his very informative study *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Monetų Legendų Studija* propaganda elements of Lithuanian coins, which reflected the Polish and Lithuanian union ideas and also signaled social and economic problems during the reigns of Sigismund III Vasa and John Casimir³⁷. He was the first among Lithuanian numismatists to pose the question about the models for coins in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He analyzed the coins existent on his territory from the times of Alexander Jagiellon until August II and finally decided that what hampered the appearance of uniform models for coins was that the issuing was no longer justified, there were technological faults during the minting process, and because of the mistakes of engravers³⁸. He also embarked on the polemic against Polish numismatists, particularly Ryszard Kiersnowski, and also Lithuanian, providing subsequent pieces of evidence in the defence of the numismatic achievements of the Lithuanians. He considered to be unfair the theory whose authors claimed that minting coins in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania did not start until after 1386 (marriage between Jogaila and Hedwig and his baptism)³⁹. He argued that the Lithuanians minted coins already during the rule of Olgierd, which was proved by the existence of the *pečat* type of coins, minted on behalf of the grand duke. He rejected the argument whose authors ascribed the origins of the hearts minted on coins during Jogaila's rule to the Golden Horde. According to the Lithuanian scholar, they were taken from the Coptic symbolism, which had reached Lithuania through the agency of Germans and Vikings. Sajauskas also conducted research into the legacy of collectors of old coins⁴⁰.

35 В.И. Какарекко, И.Н. Шталенко, *Монеты Великог княжестн Литовског 1492-1707*, Минск 2005.

36 Review by V. Smilgevičius, "Pinigų studijos" (2007) 1, p. 111.

37 S. Sajauskas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Monetų Legendų Studija*, "Pinigų studijos" (1999) 2, pp. 38-43.

38 S. Sajauskas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės bandomosios monetas*, "Pinigų studijos" (2000) 4, pp. 63-68.

39 S. Sajauskas, *Pirmųjų Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Monetų ypatybės*, "Pinigų studijos" (2004) 2, p. 79; R. Kiersnowski, *Najdawniejsze monety litewskie*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" XXVIII (1982) 3-4, pp. 129-169. He also polemicalized with the supporters of Kiersnowski's views: E. Ivanauskas and E. Remecas.

40 S. Sajauskas, *Aleksandro m. Račkaus numizmatinių knygų Biblioteka Nacionaliniame M.K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejuje*, "Numizmatika" IV-V (2003-2004), pp. 319-357.

Among the leading Lithuanian numismatists is historian and archeologist, Eugenijus Ivanauskas. He published together with Robert J. Douchis *Coins of Lithuania 1386-1707*⁴¹. In Vilnius the catalogue of Lithuanian coins and tokens from 1387-1850 was released in 2001. It was edited by Ivanauskas. It constitutes the first and most comprehensive collection of information concerning this type of finds from tombs on the territory of Lithuania, and also describes the tradition of placing coins in graves. The most extensive part of the work is the catalogue presenting finds in the alphabetical order, detailed information on the discovery, and a thorough bibliography of specialist works, starting from the 19th century till 1998. Judging by the choice of material, one can say that Ivanauskas conducted his research in the stores of all Lithuanian museums housing sepulchral relics⁴².

Among the scholarly achievements of Ivanauskas one should include also several works presenting hoards of coins found in Lithuania, research into the material for the production of money, and also the history of forgeries of coins in the Lithuanian state⁴³. He is the author of a valuable work showing first Lithuanian coins including Christian symbolism related to Christ, which appeared during the times of Jogaila (1387), and Mother of God used by Lithuanian monarchs for the ideological fight and known from the finds in Polotsk and Smolensk dating to 1398-1401⁴⁴. Deserving recognition is the study originated by him and Jurij Borejsza of the coins from Smolensk which date to the times of Vytautas and his governor Roman Mikhailovich Briansky, where four types of coins previously unconnected with Smolensk as well as previously undescribed exhibits with the images of leopards and lions have been revealed⁴⁵. Both scholars conducted research into the finds from the environs of Mstislav discovered in 2007-2008, which contain previously unknown coins with the symbolism of Lithuanian dukes and money of Tartar origin. They determined a relatively wide range of the issue of this coin from Mstislav as far as the territories of north-west Ukraine. They argued that the coin had been minted for a rather short period of time. They connected

41 E. Ivanauskas, R.J. Douchis, *Coins of Lithuania 1386-1707*, Vilnius-Columbia 1999; iidem, *Pocket Catalogue of Lithuanian Coins 1386-1938*, Kaunas 2004.

42 E. Ivanauskas, *Monetos ir žetonai Lietuvos senkapiuose 1387-1850 m.*, Vilnius 2001; review by L. Kvizikevičius, "Lietuvos archeologija" XXIV (2003), pp. 313-314.

43 E. Ivanauskas, M. Balčius, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės lydiniai ir monetos: nuo 1387 iki 1495 metų*, Vilnius 1994; E. Ivanauskas, *Lietuvos pinigų lobiai, paslėpti 1390-1865*, Vilnius 1995; E. Ivanauskas, R.J. Douchis, *Lietuvos monetų kalybos istorija 1495-1769*, Vilnius 2002.

44 E. Ivanauskas, *Krikščioniškieji simboliai Jogailos ir Vytauto monetose*, "Numizmatika" I (2000), pp. 49-51.

45 Э. Иванаускас, Ю. Борејша, *Смоленские монеты Витовта и Романа Михайловича*, Каунас 2008; see E. Ivanauskas, *Działalność mennicy tykocińskiej*, "Zapiski Numizmatyczne" II (1997), pp. 102-107.

its appearance with the events from the early 1480s and the conspiracy of the dukes Mikhailo Olelkovich, Teodorikas Bielski, and Ivan Jurevich Olshanski against Casimir Jagiellon in order to put the former on the throne as Grand Duke of Lithuania. They saw in the “Mstislav coins” the last act of political separatism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 15th century⁴⁶. Ivanauskas also worked on monetary relics coming from the burial mound in Šeimyniškiškėliai (1990-2001), located in eastern Lithuania, asking questions about their dating and origin⁴⁷. The relics were dated to the period from the close of the 13th century till the early 15th century. Among them particularly interesting were five specimens which had marking ascribed to Jogaila, minted on the coins issued after 1386, i.e. the pahonia, crosses, and the image of the monarch. The relics were dated to the period of the final years of the rule of Jogaila and the beginning of the rule of Vytautas, and their occurrence in that region was justified by the presence of the Polish troops in Lithuania.

Lithuanian numismatic studies were enriched by the works by Eduardas Remecas, who researched coins from the times of John Casimir and Hungarian coins in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He analyzed already known finds and made new discoveries, which formed the collection of 95 Hungarian coins found on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of whom the majority had come from archaeological excavations⁴⁸. He dealt with the image of Jogaila on coins minted in Vilnius in 1386-1387 proving that his image was not different from the representations of other monarchs in medieval Europe⁴⁹. He put into scholarly circulation his analysis and information concerning seven newly-discovered old coins with the portrait of Jogaila, found in 2002-2004. The symbolism placed on them contained Lithuanian and Tartar elements which were evidence that the Lithuanian ruler claimed the right to all Ruthenian principalities, including those subjugated by the Tartars⁵⁰.

46 Э. Иванаускас, Ю. Борейша, “Мстиславские монеты”: Монеты заговора Михаила Олельковича 1481 г., Minskas 2009, p. 20; iidem, “Мстиславские монеты”: Монеты заговора Михаила Олельковича 1481 г., “Банкаўскі веснік” (2009) 10 (447), pp. 69-70.

47 E. Ivanauskas, G. Zabiela, *Ankstyvosios Lietuviškos monetos iš Šeimyniškiškėlių*, “Numizmatika” II-III (2001-2002), pp. 175-176. On Lithuanian coins in the German hoard from Kornöd E. Ivanauskas, *Kornödo (Vokietija) lobio (1640/1956) Lietuviški ketvirtokai Michaelio Kunzelio duomenimis*, “Numizmatika” II-III (2001-2002), pp. 189-191.

48 E. Remecas, *Vengrijos monetos lietuvos didžiojoje kunigaikštystėje*, “Numizmatika” IV-V (2003-2004), pp. 21-37; see idem, *Jogailos ir Vytauto monetų datavimo problematika naujų radinių duomenimis: Vilniaus žemutinės pilies monetų kompleksas (apie 1402/2005)*, “Numizmatika” VI (2007), pp. 64-78; idem, *O datovani starych minci litevkego vel'kokniežestva (konec 15. storočia)*, “Numizmatika” XIX (2004), pp. 85-91.

49 E. Remecas, *Lenkijos karaliaus ir Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Jogailos portretinės monetos*, “Istorija” LIX-LX (2004), pp. 22-32.

50 Ibidem, pp. 29-31.

Remecas participated in the discussion about markings on Jogaila's coins from 1387, supporting the thesis concerning the presence of a lion (leopard) as a symbol of Christianity and a double cross on the shield. He supplemented knowledge of those coins by reconstructing their legend, i.e. Latin inscriptions containing the elements of the titles and the name of the ruler (although it is difficult to decide whether this referred to his pagan or Christian name)⁵¹. He also spoke in the discussion on dating coins from the period of Jogaila and Vytautas.

Some of the studies performed by Remecas were related to the excavations carried out in the lower castle in Vilnius⁵². In his work *Monetų kompleksai, rasti tiriant Vilniaus Žemutinės pilies teritoriją* he analyzed the content of the hoard which numbered 22 coins from the 14th-17th centuries⁵³. It included three previously unknown coins from the 14th and 15th centuries, Russian brass money, unparalleled in other Lithuanian hoards, from the times of Alexey Mikhailovich, most probably from the period of the Russian occupation of the town in the second half of the 17th century, and also single specimens of forged coins. In his study of the activity of the Vilnius mint in 1652-1653 Remecas concluded that it was established because of an economic crisis of the state, the lack of silver and gold being sent abroad, the flooding of the market with foreign coins, a limited supply of Polish coins, as well as financial problems of the authorities, who needed funds to maintain mercenaries⁵⁴. The Vilnius mint, which may have had two locations, either in the vaults of the royal palace, or in the place of the old mint in German Street. It minted six kinds of coins, including denars which were not associated with it before. According to Remecas, the cause of closing down this mint was not the breaking of the minting standards but the epidemics in 1653. The resumption of its activity was effectively hampered by imminent wars against Russia and Sweden.

Eduardas Remecas is the author of works on money circulation on the territory of today's Lithuania in the modern period. He established the duration of issuing coins which appeared on the Lithuanian market in the 16th century as the product of Polish and Lithuanian mints (from 1495)⁵⁵.

51 E. Remecas, *Jogailos monetos su liūtu (leopardu) ir dvigubu kryžiumi skyde*, "Numizmatika" IX-XII (2008-2011), p. 45.

52 E. Remecas, *Vilniaus žemutinės pilies pinigų lobis*, Vilnius 2003; idem, *Vilniaus žemutinės pilies numizmatiniai radiniai (1999-2001 m.)*, in: *Vilniaus Žemutinė pilis XIV a.-XIX a. pradžioje: 2005-2006 m. tyrimai*, ed. L. Glemža, Vilnius 2007, pp. 283-299.

53 E. Remecas, *Monetų kompleksai, rasti tiriant Vilniaus Žemutinės pilies teritoriją*, "Lietuvos pilys" V (2009), pp. 116-129.

54 E. Remecas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės monetų kaldinimas Vlniuje 1652-1653 m.*, "Vilniaus istorijos metraštis" I (2007), pp. 55-66.

55 E. Remecas, *XVI a. monetų apyvarta dabartinės Lietuvos teritorijoje*, "Pinigų studijos" (2002) 2, pp. 58-77.

Finally, more popular in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania became those coins which were minted in Vilnius. From the end of the 15th century till 1544, Prussian, Silesian and Czech coins appeared in addition to the two previously mentioned kinds. In the 1520s, among the relics of foreign origin the most frequently appeared coins from Riga, supplanted by the Polish ones in the next decades. In the following century money circulation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was in most cases related to the processes taking place on the whole territory of the Commonwealth. It was again distinguished, however, by a strong presence of shillings from Riga, which resulted from intense trade relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and this town. For the next time the coins from Riga made their presence felt in the second decade of the 17th century, when they formed the majority of the shillings in Lithuania⁵⁶. At that time the Vilnius mint issued mostly groschen and denars. Of great importance on the money market were Hungarian denars. Unique to Lithuania was the presence of kopecks from Moscow. Coins from more remote countries, such as Spain and Holland reached Lithuania through the agency of Poland and German countries. The author also determined the duration of the circulation of individual coins in the 18th-century Lithuania⁵⁷. Furthermore, Remecas devoted a handful of his works to the problems of dating Lithuanian old coins⁵⁸.

Among Lithuanian numismatists one should mention Daiva Misiukaitė, who studied the origins of denars found in Lithuania in the mid-20th century. They were discovered, first of all, in Vilnius (the Cathedral Square, Arsenal, Home for Seminarists), because it was where archaeological excavations, carried out by Lithuanians, concentrated, and also in its environs (Daržininkai) as well as in the west of the country – Šilalė. The oldest and most numerous coins of this kind came from Hungary. They were dated to the mid-15th century. More recent coins (from the 18th century) arrived from the United Provinces of

56 E. Remecas, *XVII a. pirmosios pusės monetų apyvarta dabartinės Lietuvos teritorijoje*, "Pinigų studijos" (2010) 2, pp. 53-68.

57 E. Remecas, *XVIII a. monetų apyvarta dabartinės Lietuvos teritorijoje*, "Pinigų studijos" (2000) 2, pp. 53-69.

58 Э. Ремекас, *О датировке древнейших монет Великого Княжества Литовского (конец XIV в.)*, "Нумизматика" XIX (2004), pp. 85-91; idem, *Удельные монеты великого князя Витовта*, "Нумизматический сборник ГИМ" XVII (2005), pp. 112-119; idem, *Об атрибуции монет Великого Княжества Литовского с надписью «ПЕЧАТЬ»*, "Нумизматика" (2011) 1 (28), pp. 24-27; idem, *Новые данные о Киевских монетах Владимира Ольгердовича (по новым находкам монет в Литве)*, in: *Pieniądz i systemy monetarne, wspólnie dziedzictwo Europy. Studia i materiały: Białoruś, Bułgaria, Litwa, Łotwa, Mołdawia, Polska, Rosja, Rumunia, Słowacja, Ukraina*, eds. K. Filipow, B. Kuklik, Warszawa 2012, pp. 94-107; idem, *Новые данные о Киевских монетах Владимира Ольгердовича (по находкам в Литве)*, "Средневековая нумизматика Восточной Европы" IV (2012), pp. 188-201.

the Netherlands, from Holland and Utrecht⁵⁹. Linas Kvizikevičius examined the matter of minting silver coins in the final years of the reign of John Casimir. In 1664 the Vilnius Commission signed a contract with Tito Livio Burattini for minting copper shillings, and also silver and golden coins⁶⁰. The report from 1667 of the Szym Commission included only the information that as a result of this contract a 15 thousand zlotys' worth of coins were minted. It did not, however, reveal what coins had been minted, what was the value of their separate kinds. The Lithuanian scholar, applying data in possession to mathematical values, concluded that in the period in question five kinds of coins were minted, a 3 thousand zlotys' worth of each kind. Their straight majority were silver, while only a few golden coins were minted.

Among the most important events in the Lithuanian numismatic milieu in recent years was the release of two books, published under the auspices of the Bank of Lithuania. The first, *Lithuanian coins*, also available as an e-book, is an English-Lithuanian catalogue, the synthesis of the history of money in Lithuania from the times of Mingaudas till the 1990s⁶¹. The first part, edited by Alūnas Dulkys, contains the description of the technology of producing coins in Lithuania. The second chapter, written by Statys Sajauskas, is the presentation of knowledge of Lithuanian money through the oldest coins, reforms of the monetary system in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Jagiellons, the reforms by Stephen Báthory, the times of the fall of the Commonwealth, till the 1940s. The final part, written by Juozas Galkus concerns the history of the litas, as an element of the Lithuanian numismatic tradition, history and culture. In 2015 the catalogue of Lithuanian coins by Vincas Ruzas, *Lietuvas Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės monetos Lietuvas banko Pinigų muziejuje*, was published, on numismatic relics collected by the Bank of Lithuania from 1985⁶². The catalogue refers to the coins known in Lithuania from the times of Jogaila to August II, and is rich in illustrations and facts.

Interests in numismatics on the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania have had an old tradition, dating back to the modern epoch. However, they had come a long way, influenced by the history of those territories, before in the 20th century numismatics transformed itself into an auxiliary science of history. A new stage in the development of this type of studies was the collapse of the Soviet Union, which resulted in the establishment of independent Lithuania and Belarus. This was an incentive

59 D. Misiukaitė, *Dukatai Lietuvoje*, "Numizmatika" I (2000), pp. 101-103.

60 L. Kvizikevičius, *Paskutinių lietuviškų Jono Kazimiero sidabrinių ir auksinių monetų kalybos apimtys*, "Numizmatika" II-III (2001-2002), pp. 9-13.

61 *Lithuanian Coins*, ed. R. Maciene, Vilnius 2006.

62 V. Ruzas, *Lietuvas Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės monetos Lietuvas banko Pinigų muziejuje*, Vilnius 2015.

to develop local scientific investigations, thanks to which first monographs related to the history of money were written. New information was provided by archaeological excavations. As a consequence of the research conducted to date, many new monetary finds have started to be the subject of interest among scholars. They have been aptly inscribed in policies of rulers in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the whole Commonwealth.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

ABSTRACT

Interests in numismatics on the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania have an old tradition which originated in the modern epoch. A significant contribution to the studies was made by scholars associated with the milieu of the University of Vilnius. After the partitions of the Commonwealth representatives of the partitioning powers became collectors. For a long time during the Soviet Union, because of its stormy history and, first of all, its specific national policy, Lithuanian and Belarusian numismatic studies were actually non-existent. Some changes were brought by period of the Khrushchev "thaw". It was not until the fall of the Soviet Union that the liberated nations could begin to follow their own way to research their numismatic heritage. The founder of numismatics in Belarus was Valentin Rabtsevich, scholar at the University of Minsk, indirectly the founder of the numismatic museum attached to this institution. Rabtsevich's achievement was the first *Numismatics of Belarus*, which was the first work of this kind in this country, and a number of studies of different hoards found on the territory of Belarus. He also greatly contributed to the release of the encyclopedia *Archaeology and Numismatics of Belarus*. In important contribution were also works by Shchamil Baktineyev, who wrote the first monographs dedicated to currency circulation in Belarus. The catalogue of coins in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was published by Victor Kakareko and Iliia Shchtalenkov. Nowadays, a much wider group of scholars deal with numismatics in Lithuania. Stasys Sajauskas was the author of the first catalogues of Lithuanian coins. He was joined by Eugenijus Ivanauskas and Vincas Ruzas. Discussions in this group often return to the problem of the earliest Lithuanian coins. Contrary to the Polish historians, the Lithuanians argue that the first coins were minted even before the baptism of the country. On the basis of numismatic sources, the Lithuanians have begun their studies of the union and relations with Poland, as well as the elements of the political propaganda in Lithuanian coins. Very informative are studies concerning regionalisms in producing money on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

V. BOOK NOTICES

Maddalena Betti, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858-882): Papal Power and Political Reality*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, XXIV, Brill, Leiden 2014, 264 pp., maps, bibliography, index.

This is an expanded version of a Ph.D. dissertation presented at the University of Padua in 2008. It appeared as volume XXIV in the *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* series, which is to present highly regarded scientific studies – or their translations – monographs, collected articles, source editions, translations – dealing with archaeology and history and focused on the culture, economy, and societies of Eastern Europe from the Hun invasion to the fall of Constantinople, with particular attention paid to relations between the external and domestic impacts on selected problems. The purpose of the reflections was to follow the history of the mission of St. Methodius in Great Moravia and the establishment of the local archdiocese. Although this topic has been discussed in scientific writings upon numerous occasions the author decided to cast additional light from a viewpoint different than the one accepted until now (i.e. the papal policy relating to 9th-century Central and South-Eastern Europe) as well as to propose a new way of deciphering familiar sources. This is also an attempt at inserting the conducted reflections into a wider debate on the actual site of Great Moravia and the range of the local archdiocese. The fundamental source – albeit not the exclusive one since the author used a considerable number of Latin and Old Slavonic sources as well as the results of archaeological research – consists of papal correspondence, i.e. fragments dealing with assorted questions connected with the Moravian mission. Consequently, the author obtained an image of the conflict of competences and interests between the papacy, members of the Bavarian Church hierarchy, and Byzantium. As a result, it proved possible to enhance and to supplement existing knowledge about the Christianisation of the Great Moravian state and the way in which the papacy endeavoured to guarantee its supremacy over terrains recently won over for Christianity. The publication is composed of three fundamental parts, the first being a survey of historiography about the mission of St. Cyril and St. Methodius as well as Great Moravia conceived as a region of the activity of the Slav Apostles. The author started by examining the onset of research about St. Cyril and St. Methodius and their legacy by studying works from the 15th century to the 19th century, with particular attention paid to the impact exerted by emerging and rapidly developing Slav nationalisms upon historical writings. Next, and in analogous manner, she traced a controversy lasting from the 18th and 19th centuries, and involving the location of Great Moravia and the ideological “usage” of a given stand (e.g. a depiction of inter-war Czechoslovakia as an ideological continuation of Great Moravia comprehended as a strong state playing an essential civilizational role in Central Europe). A further part of the book, based on papal correspondence, describes the stand of the bishops of Rome towards the Cyril-Methodius mission as ambivalent. On the one hand, Nicholas I, Hadrian II, and

John VIII fervently supported the mission, but on the other hand, Stephen V, the successor of John VIII, withdrew the earlier backing of the Apostolic See for the use of Old Church Slavonic in Christian liturgy and aspired to retain papal influence in the Great Moravian state through the intermediary of the Frankish clergy, hostile towards the activity of the Solun Brothers. The second chapter compares Roman and Slavonic sources about Nicholas I and Hadrian II, with special concern for the Slavonic lives of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, which confused the accomplishments of the two popes and never even mentioned John VIII. Finally, chapter three focuses on the question of the Pannonian-Moravian diocese in the correspondence of John VIII. In this way, the author showed a broader historical context, i.a. the missionary undertakings of the papacy from the 6th to the 9th century, the papal diplomatic network at the time of John VIII, and the ecclesiastical careers of those who conducted Christianisation missions with a papal blessing.

Piotr Goltz

Bogusław Czechowicz, *Böhmische Erbfolge und Breslau in den Jahren 1348-1361: Kunst und Geschichte auf Wegen und Holzwegen der Historiographie*, transl. Jadwiga Sucharzewska, Pavel Mervart, Cervený Kostelec 2013, 275 pp., summaries in Czech and Polish, illustrations, bibliography, index.

In the first of the two basic parts of this publication from the borderline of history and the history of art the author decides to discuss historiography dating from the 14th century to the 21st century and dealing with the inclusion of Silesia into Bohemia (1348-1361). In doing so, he pays particular attention to indicating chief disagreements between researchers and to the resolving of their disputes. The second part is an attempt at explaining the reasons why during the second half of the 14th century numerous symbols connected with the Kingdom of Bohemia appeared in the public space of Wrocław. Sources used by the author include, primarily, monuments of foundations by Charles IV in Wrocław as well as seals and documents. The author claims that the purpose of "the ideological offensive launched by Charles IV" was to depict members of the Luxembourg dynasty as the sole and unquestioned heirs of the Wrocław Piast. The book also examines the significance of succession to the Świdnica-Jawor duchy for the inheritance of rights to Wrocław (in 1353 Charles IV married Anna of Świdnica, thus rendering the duchy closely aligned with the Bohemian Crown). Finally, the author mentions the absence of a male heir of Charles IV Luxembourg until the birth of his son, Wenceslas (the future Wenceslas IV), in 1361, which means that his heir continued to be his brother, John Henry, as well as the fact that in accordance with the so-called Golden Bull of Sicily from 1212 the Bohemians enjoyed the right to elect their ruler.

Piotr Goltz

Zoltan Gyalókey, *Rzeźby Marii z Dzieciątkiem o francuskiej proweniencji stylowej w Małopolsce i na Spiszu w pierwszej połowie XIV wieku (Sculptures of Madonna and Child of French Stylistic Provenance in Lesser Poland and Spiš in the First Half of the 14th Century)*, *Studia z Historii Sztuki Średniowiecznej Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, VI, Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków 2015, 215 pp., illustrations, summary, index.

Another volume of *Studia z Historii Sztuki Średniowiecznej Instytutu Historii Sztuki UJ* is about a relatively small group of artworks originating from 14th-century Spiš) and Lesser

Poland and depicting the Virgin and Child. This particular group is composed of seven works representing uniform iconography – full-figure statues showing a crowned Mary, in the majority of cases with Her left hand holding the Infant Jesus bestowing a blessing. In every statue Mary's right hand is damaged – in all likelihood it originally grasped a sceptre. The folds of the robes worn by Mary and Child are arranged identically, indicating a common model for the group. Particular statues are not well-preserved and in time lost their original context. The author indicated numerous figures from Spiš and Lesser Poland also dating from this period but less connected with the model in question.

The major part of the publication is a comparative and stylistic analysis, with the author evoking numerous examples from Paris and Île-de-France and showing that the models emulated in 14th-century Spiš and Lesser Poland had assumed shape earlier, already during the reign of Saint Louis IX of France, and became disseminated at the time of Philip IV of France. Due to the propagation of the Gothic cathedral style these models were replicated across Europe: Gyalóky listed statues from Normandy, Upper and Lower Rhineland, Burgundy, Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, Silesia, Austria, and Italy.

The next chapter attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the sculptures and their functions. Apart from indicating assorted contexts of the 60 preserved European realisations of this iconographic type the author also drew attention to an essential feature of some of the objects from the Lesser Poland-Spiš group: the head of the Child was installed in such a way that it could be rotated. This solution, highly unusual against the background of European sculpture of the period, might suggest that the artworks were used in various liturgical drama.

The closing chapters try to familiarize the reader with questions associated with the foundation of the sculptures and hence present the author's reflections concerning the pilgrimage movement, Marian devotions, and the activity of Queen Elżbieta Łokietkówna (Elizabeth of Poland, Queen of Hungary) and King Charles I of Hungary, all envisaged as phenomena that could have contributed first to the dissemination of the French models and, secondly, to the emergence of the Lesser Poland-Spiš figures, but without pointing out concrete founders or establishing precise dates of the origin of the examined statues.

Marcin Bogusz

František Hoffmann, *Středověké město v Čechách a na Moravě (Medieval City in Bohemia and Moravia)*, second edition, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2009, 712 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index.

This publication (issued for a second time as an expanded and completed edition; the first edition appeared in the late 1980s) is volume XX in the *Česká historie* series, whose premises have not been formulated in detail. The book is an attempt at taking into consideration all possible aspects of urban life in Bohemia and Moravia from the 13th century to the 16th century, and contains a detailed description of the origin and evolution of Bohemian and Moravian towns as well as their significance for the history of the country. The new edition added, i.a. sub-chapters about women and children in towns. The text has been divided into 11 chapters, with the first discussing the origin of the phenomenon of the town and the second depicting the development of towns in Bohemia from castle-towns, the *locationes* of assorted medieval urban centres and their history during the successive stages of Bohemian history to the reign of Jiří of Poděbrady and members of the Jagiellonian

dynasty. The third chapter is about the town within the context of the natural environment: geographical and landscape conditions as well as rivers and water in the life of an urban centre. The next text focuses on the architectural configuration of a town and its spatial relations with the closest surrounding. Successive chapters examine the defence systems, propose an economic characteristic of towns and their communication and economic ties with the surrounding region, and discuss towns fulfilling dominating functions (important centres, upper towns, and resorts), social questions (the social configuration of towns, Bohemian-German and Bohemian-Jewish relations), legal issues (town law, town insignia, royal and private towns, relations with the gentry), and culture (the role played by the Church, schools, hospitals, workdays and holidays, visions of the world and society, the crafts and music). The final part of the book considers the heritage of the medieval town in the succeeding centuries all the way to the present day.

Piotr Goltz

Dobrosława Horzela, *Późnogotycka rzeźba drewniana w Małopolsce około 1440-1470* (Late Gothic Wood Sculpture in Lesser Poland circa 1440-1470), *Studia z Historii Sztuki Średniowiecznej Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, I, Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków 2012, 291 pp., illustrations, summary in English, index.

Dobrosława Horzela writes about an insufficiently examined period in the history of wood sculpture in Lesser Poland, a time unpopular in older literature and one described in Wilhelm Pinder's monumental work about German visual arts in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as the Dark Ages, an era of a simplification of forms and a partial deterioration of the resultant works. The same holds true for historiography dealing with art in Lesser Poland – the first topics to be discussed in scientific studies were the activity of Veit Stoss and his workshop as well as the produce of early 16th-century workshops.

The author attempts to successfully fill this gap. Horzela enlarged the catalogue of works from Lesser Poland from the period in question by adding such essential examples as the figure of The Man of Sorrows identified with a similar portrayal on a retable on display in the Corpus Christi church in Kraków. The author indicates the most crucial functional types of sculptures from Lesser Poland and placed them in time; by way of example, she shows the increasing demand for such altar retables during the third quarter of the 15th century and the partial decline in their production from the middle of that century. The conducted research entails, apart from formal stylistic analysis, also an analysis of written sources thanks to which an historian finds Horzela's efforts aimed at distinguishing workshops in Lesser Poland much more lucid and justified.

The work consists of six chapters about successive foremost examples of the culture of the period. After an introduction about the reception of examples of *ars nova* in Lesser Poland the author went on to analyse a triptych from Zasów. The next part of the texts brings us closer to links between sculptors from Lesser Poland and the circle of Hans Multscher; here, Horzela presented in detail the *oeuvre* of the Master of the Crucifix in Szaniec. Chapter four is about works from the circle of the Master of the Dominican Crucifix. An historian will find questions connected with the workshop of the Master of the Holy Trinity Triptych extremely interesting. This retabulum in the Holy Cross chapel in Wawel cathedral is regarded as a royal foundation. Horzela shows its formal models and briefly describes the iconographic and meaning strata of painted altar panels. The

last chapter is dedicated to works executed within a circle of the imitators of the Master of the Holy Trinity Triptych.

The book is, therefore, a panorama of sculptures made in a period that so far has not been described as a whole. A division into particular workshops may seem to be not necessarily justified, but the author meticulously arranged the presented objects in order and pointed to their formal features, making it possible to classify them as belonging to given workshops. Finally, the publication contains a great number of excellent photographs, a feature that nowadays is by no means a standard.

Marcin Bogusz

Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, *Tu ergo flecte genua tua. Sztuka a praktyka religijna świeckich w diecezjach pruskich zakonu krzyżackiego do połowy XV wieku (Tu ergo flecte genua tua. Art and Religious Practice of Laity in the Prussian Dioceses of the Teutonic Order till Mid-15th Century)*, Bernardinum, Pelpin 2014, 724 pp., summaries in German and English.

The author declares that the purpose of this extensive monograph was “to take a look at religious phenomena in the Teutonic Order state analysed through the prism of images”. A thus formulated objective demanded that Jakubek-Raczkowska should not only analyse preserved likenesses from the discussed dioceses but also different types of extant written sources from the period. A guide of sorts to varied devotion practices is St. Dorothea of Montau, whose life the author cites as extraordinary testimony of faith originating from the region in subject. Reflections about the condition of this holy recluse are rather succinctly summed up: “There is no space here to ponder – especially in view of the beatification and confirmation of the cult in 1976 – the questions posed in literature, asking about the actual condition of Dorothea: saint or insane? Mystic or witch?”. It seems, however, that the life of the saint, conceived as a *sui generis* creation, is not the best evidence of devotion practices in Prussia.

Nevertheless, the book by Jakubek-Raczkowska is a monumental venture divided into three parts: the formation of the piety of seculars in the Teutonic Order state in Prussia, connections of religious practices in towns with art, and sacral art in the countryside. The first part comprises a copious introduction defining such concepts widely applied in the whole book as: piety or the devotional painting. Much attention has been paid to describing the division of the discussed area into dioceses and to reflections about a recreation of the most prominent directions of late medieval piety in the Teutonic Order state. This part concludes with deliberations about the place of *devotio* practices in the life of the inhabitants of Prussia and the functions fulfilled by paintings in medieval religiosity.

Part two, in which the author concentrates more on analysing preserved monuments, commences with Prussian towns, the importance of the burghers, and the role performed by particular groups of the clergy in *devotio* practices. The significance of the outfitting and decoration of town parish churches are discussed in great detail. These topics are placed within a broad context of religious practices so as to demonstrate the assorted functions of depictions, which, in turn, makes it feasible to define the functions of particular parts of church interiors. Numerous cited examples confirm the theses proposed by the author.

The third part brings us closer to the iconosphere of rural churches, whose iconographic programme was, as a rule, limited to decorating the choir. Although such a programme could be not totally legible for the congregation it was usually very simple

(in contrast to the iconography in town parish churches) and evoked the emotions of the faithful: here, the author recalls the Pietà and bowls containing the head of St. John the Baptist as motifs frequently occurring in village parishes.

The complex book makes use of all sorts of sources allowing the reader to understand devotion practices upon all levels of the society of the Teutonic Order state. Differences between particular social groups and questions associated with the cult are indicated. Apparently, the long first part of the publication was not indispensable for analysing the research problem formulated in the introduction, but it did contribute to an even more thorough inclusion of the theme into the context of the transformation of the Order state and *devotio* practices in late medieval Europe.

Marcin Bogusz

Libor Jan, *Václav II. Král na stříbrném trůnu (1283-1305)* (Wenceslas II. King on a Silver Throne /1283-1305/), *Ecce homo*, XXI, Argo, Praha 2015, 771 pp., summary in German, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index.

This work was published as volume XXI in the *Ecce homo* series, which according to the intentions of the publishers was to bring a wide group of readers closer to biographies of persons from Czech and world history. At the same time it is a successive work by Jan about this particular ruler (cf. *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci*, Brno 2006). Wenceslas II (1271-1305) was the penultimate representative of the Přemyslid dynasty, who commenced his reign in a situation of the rather close feudal submission of Bohemia *vis a vis* Germany. Thanks to an active and bold policy he won the title of the duke of Kraków, became the king of Poland, to whom several Silesian duchies paid homage, and for several years ruled over a considerable part of Meissen. His reign witnessed an unprecedented growth of the prestige of the Kingdom of Bohemia and a monetary reform (the introduction of the Prague groschen). Wenceslas was a patron of the arts and a lover of chivalric culture, ardently supporting its development at his court and making it possible for poetry written at the time in Middle High German to survive to this day. The book is composed of three basic parts, the first being a biography of Wenceslas II outlined against a backdrop of a widely outlined context of domestic and foreign policy. The author devotes most attention to the youth of Wenceslas, once again portrayed against a broad political background of Central Europe, and often embarks upon a polemic with opinions voiced in older historical writings. The next part of the book shows the foundations of royal power: the court and assorted aspects of its life within the domain of culture, the ruler's advisors, the governance of the state, the royal demesne, the extraction of ores, and monetary reforms. Finally, in a summary of his reflections Jan intends to execute a portrait of Wenceslas II as complete and multi-aspect as possible, indicating that this ruler was the grandfather of Charles IV and that both shared a number of goals, especially the establishment of a university (here Wenceslas failed) and bringing holy relics over to Bohemia.

Piotr Goltz

Tadeusz Jurkowlaniec, *Nagrobki średniowieczne w Prusach* (Medieval Gravestones in Prussia), Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 2015, 416 pp.

This study by Jurkowlaniec is the first complete monograph about the sepulchral art of Prussia to appear in Polish historiography of art. The publication is composed of two large parts: several monographic articles studying particular cases, with the author considering

selected questions associated with commemoration sites, and an extensive catalogue encompassing both preserved and non-extant tombstones from Prussia. Collections of Prussian medieval gravestones are extremely uniform: this region was known for exclusively rectangular slabs placed on church floors and usually made of limestone or, more rarely, other material, and at times decorated with metal.

The volume starts with an article introducing the reader to Prussian sepulchral art. In the first part – about the state of the preservation of medieval slabs in the discussed area – Jurkowlaniec analyses reasons for the lacking preservation of a large part of such objects. Further on he writes about the location of the burials; the text is divided into three parts: the first is about the graves of secular dignitaries (grand masters of Teutonic Order, knights, and members of the gentry), while the second part is to introduce the reader to the inhumation of the bishops of Prussian dioceses; the last fragment is about the interment of the burgess. The article concludes with an extensive sub-chapter on the typology and building material of Prussian gravestones.

Successive texts focus on selected monuments, with attention to the collection of tombstones from the church of the St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk. Although this group of preserved monuments is one of the largest extant collections of slabs set in the floor, only about 20 are medieval. In a fragment of the text about sepulchral art in the Gdańsk parish church as well as in the remaining articles about assorted epitaphs and tombstones the author benefitted from copious sources preserved in archives. The analytical part ends with a chapter about the symbols of the first Evangelists, often featured in the corners of the slabs.

The second, larger, section of the book is a catalogue of 298 objects divided in accordance to the place of their location, and within particular groups – according to the date of their origin. Each note includes information about the material used for making the slab, its size, and location in space. These data are followed by a description of the slab and the inscription. All notes end with a bibliography of the given monument and photographic documentation. It must be stressed that the catalogue written by Jurkowlaniec is both valuable and much-needed, since it mentions not only preserved monuments but also those, which had been destroyed and now are recreated upon the basis of written sources.

Marcin Bogusz

David Kalhous, *Anatomy of a Duchy: The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, XIX, Brill, Boston-Leiden 2012, 331 pp., maps, bibliography, index.

This is the first edition of a study that appeared as volume XIX in the *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages*. The author focuses on the history of the Early Přemyslid monarchy and specifically on indicating and describing the significance of the varied factors that formed the basis – particularly socio-systemic – of the early medieval state. The study is composed of two fundamental parts, with the first accentuating the role played by violence, the manner in which the Přemyslids imposed their rule upon the elites – especially the elimination of rivalling families – and upon their subjects in general. The point of departure for the presented reflections involves the conditions in which the Přemyslids established their state as well as its territorial expansion and inner consolidation. The author also analyses relations between the central authorities and the peripheries, together with the development of the Church organisation. In the next part he examines evidence – frequently controversial and making it difficult to draw unambiguous

conclusions and thus creating considerable problems for researchers – of the existence of numerous mounted men in the Přemyslid armies and of communication within the elites (relations between the duke, the elite of the lords, and the Church). The mentioned motifs served a wider portrayal of this sphere of social relations in which violence could not function as a fundamental and constantly applied instrument of wielding power. The author also compares the concept of “alieness” observed in Saxon chronicles with the one encountered in assorted traditions associated with St. Wenceslas and Great Moravia and in the liturgy of the Christian Slavonic rite. Through the prism of those sources he demonstrates the importance of the creation of Bohemian identity for the construction of the Přemyslid monarchy.

Piotr Goltz

Katalog dokumentów i listów królów polskich z Archiwum Państwowego w Gdańsku (do 1492 roku) (Catalogue of Documents and Letters of Polish Kings in the State Archive in Gdańsk /to 1492/), eds. Marcin Grulkowski, Beata Możejko, Sobiesław Szybkowski, Gdańsk 2014, 460 pp., index.

The catalogue correlates royal documents and letters originating from the Middle Ages (to 1492), found in the resources of the State Archive in Gdańsk. This is the first part of a planned two-volume publication encompassing this particular category of documents issued to 1506. The volume is based on documents in a fond dealing with the town of Gdańsk, supplemented with archival material in the fonds of other towns (i.a. Malbork, Elbląg, and Puck), villages, and Church institutions (e.g. the monastery in Żarnowiec).

The catalogue is composed of the regesta of 490 letters and documents issued by Polish kings and arranged in chronological order. Each copy is described in detail, with the place and date of its issue, index numbers (both old and present-day), a thorough physical description, the formulas used in the document, and a collation of heretofore editions of the given source, if the latter had been issued. A small but significant supplement consists of the regesta of six letters and documents issued by Prince Kazimierz Kazimierzowic. The regesta are accompanied by numerous footnotes containing biographical data of the occurring persons and explaining to the reader the names of localities.

The catalogue is preceded by a brief introduction, a bibliography of used printed sources and pertinent literature, as well as a concordance of the index numbers. Finally, the catalogue also includes an index of persons and places mentioned in the collected letters and documents.

Aleksandra Girsztowt

Piotr Kitowski, *Sukcesja spadkowa w mniejszych miastach województwa pomorskiego w II połowie XVII i XVIII wieku. Studium prawno-historyczne* (Inheritance Succession in the Small Towns of Pomeranian Voivodeship during the Second Half of the 17th Century and the 18th Century. A Legal-Historical Study), Neriton, Warszawa 2015, 320 pp.

Although the author concentrated predominantly on a period from the mid-17th century, the presented publication has a great value also for researchers dealing with the Middle Ages. Particular attention is due to the first part of the book, discussing inheritance within the Chełmno Law system, derived from the privilege of Chełmno issued in 1233. The author presents the development of the law in question and the principles of inheriting,

from the above-mentioned privilege and Old Chełmno Law to its successive, corrected versions. The study also describes regulations pertaining to inheritance and binding in the Magdeburg Law.

The first part of the publication considers the formal construction of testaments – the most often used formulas, the principles of employing such documents, and inheritance proceedings as well as the principles of custody concerning widows and orphans.

The author dedicates the next part of the book to the elements of a material culture in the small towns of the voivodeship of Pomerania, discernible in sources dealing with inheritance. A comparison of information obtained from testaments, inventories, and estate distributions takes into account real estate (houses, land, utility buildings) and chattel (cash and items of value, but also farm animals or foodstuffs).

Aleksandra Girsztowt

Jan Klápště, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation*, transl. Sean Mark Miller, Kateřina Millerová, ed. Philadelphia Ricketts, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, XVII, Brill, Boston-Leiden 2012, 681 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index.

This is an English-language edition of a work that originally appeared in Czech (*Proměna českých zemí ve středověku*, Praha 2005). It was issued as volume XVII in the *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* series. In this publication Klápště presents a number of questions from Bohemian history, placed at the same time within a wider European context. The prime motif of his reflections involves transformations in 13th-century Bohemian lands, consisting of an implementation of solutions devised in the western part of the Continent. The changes pertained predominantly to the commencement of land grants to knights and the ensuing emergence of the gentry, a transformation of the rural environment, and the beginnings of towns conceived as a distinct category in medieval society. The author makes use of diverse sources including written ones, archaeological findings, and monuments of architecture. Inspired by methodology borrowed from micro-history, he attempts to avoid the creation of general schemes and instead carefully examines evidence of the transformations in question and their differentiation. The publication has been divided into five chapters, of which the most important from the viewpoint of the topic – and the most copious – is the second chapter (on transformations of the ruling elites and relations between the ruler and the knights [gentry]), the third (the transformation of the rural environment, i.e. colonisation based on German law and resultant economic and social changes), and the fourth (about a long process that resulted in the emergence of towns as a separate economic-legal-social category).

Piotr Goltz

Jiří Kuthan, *Benediktinské kláštery střední Evropy a jejich architektura* (Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Europe and Their Architecture), Opera Facultatis theologiae catholicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis. Historia et historia atrium, XVIII, Katolická teologická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, Praha 2014, 360 pp., summary in German, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index.

This book was published as volume XVIII in the *Opera Facultatis theologiae catholicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis. Historia et historia artium* series, whose premises have not been formulated in detail. Its appearance was conceived as one of the elements

accompanying the *Otevři zahradu rajskou. Benediktini v srdci Evropy 800-1300 / Open the Gates of Paradise: the Benedictines in the Heart of Europe 800-1300* exhibition on show in 2015 at the Wallenstein Palace, part of the National Gallery in Prague. Kuthan assumes that a considerable part of the extant pearls of architecture and artworks of the Early Middle Ages is composed of Benedictine monasteries and the monuments either stored or created within. The abbeys also acted as key centres of education making it possible for the heritage of previous centuries to survive. According to such an interpretation the material culture of the Benedictine order is one of the foundations of European civilisation. The author intended to present Benedictine monastic architecture in Central Europe, both in the former Empire and in Hungary and Poland, with particular emphasis placed – owing to Kuthan’s research interests – on the monasteries of Bohemia. The reader is brought closer to each monastery thanks to a discussion of its history and architecture, with special mention of the monastic church. The greatest asset of the publication are its numerous colour photographs – the majority taken by Kuthan – together with maps and plans, especially those marking the sites of the most significant Benedictine monasteries, including non-extant ones, and computer models. Some of the photographs feature details that only a skilled observer would notice and an expert would be capable of assessing properly. The fundamental part of the study is composed of 12 unnumbered chapters. The author writes, first and foremost, about the beginnings of Benedictine architecture and its progress in the Carolingian and German monarchies and the role performed by Cluny Abbey in shaping models of monastic life and forms of monastic architectural premises. Next, the book focuses on the most important examples of Benedictine architecture (Hirsau, Königslutter, Maria Laach Abbey in the Rhineland, Great St. Martin church in Köln, Lorsch Abbey, Regensburg, Niederaltaich, and Salzburg). Finally, the author considers the history and forms of Benedictine monasteries in various countries, with the closing chapter describing the burials of rulers and their spouses in the Benedictine monasteries of the Reich, Bohemia, and Hungary.

Piotr Goltz

Jiří Kuthan, Jan Royt, *Karel IV.: císař a český král – vizionář a zakladatel* (Charles IV: Caesar and King of Bohemia – Visionary and Founder), Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2016, 1059 pp., summaries in German and English, maps, illustrations, facsimiles, bibliography, index.

The Czechs regard Charles IV Luxembourg, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Bohemia, as their most popular historical figure. This esteem was reflected in the place awarded in a national plebiscite for the greatest Czech in history, held in 2005 by Czech Television – with Charles IV coming first before Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (first President of Czechoslovakia in 1918-1935) and Václav Havel (third place). The year 2016 marks the 700th anniversary of the birth of Charles (1316-2016) reflected in, i.a. numerous special-occasion publications, both academic and popular. Two Czech historians of art – Jiří Kuthan (born 1945) and Jan Royt (born 1955) – wrote a highly competent, copious, and lavishly illustrated work about a ruler who became a *sui generis* symbol of the Czechs and their icon, especially abroad. A total of 28 chapters – unnumbered and undivided into thematic sections – contain a summary of present-day knowledge about the monarch and his era. First and foremost, the authors provided exhaustive biographical information concerning Charles’ politics and personality, with particular attention paid to his zeal as a constructor and his spirituality. At the same time, both authors did not

intend to propose yet another biography of Charles. Instead, they aimed at portraying an outstanding historical figure by means of the most conspicuous elements of his heritage, i.e. historical monuments: buildings, paintings, sculptures and more significant artefacts, especially examples of goldsmithery (e.g. coronation insignia, reliquaries). Charles was an extremely generous patron of artists and architects, and the network of the contacts and links he established was the largest in Europe, making it possible to bring over the best specialists, produce, and material. A separate paragraph deals with the foundations of Arnošt of Pardubice, bishop and first archbishop of Prague. The third part of the publication discusses the organisation of the realm of Charles IV – which, after all, was not restricted to Bohemia alone – from the viewpoint of its administrative and Church aspects as well as policies pursued in the Reich. Yet another domain of the monarch's activity, expressing his personal piety, were the numerous holy relics brought over mainly to Prague and the promotion of the cult of St. Charlemagne, in particular in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and of St. Wenceslas outside the realm. The closing chapters present mainly the territorial growth of Bohemia during the reign of Charles IV (with each chapter considering a given territorial acquisition).

Piotr Goltz

Jacek Maciejewski, *Adventus episcopi. Pozaliturgiczne aspekty inauguracji władzy biskupiej w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle europejskim (Adventus episcopi. Extra-liturgical Aspects of the Inauguration of Bishop's Authority in Medieval Poland against an European Background)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2013, 208 pp.

Maciejewski introduces the reader to the ceremony of a bishop's entry (*adventus*) into his capital by describing the phenomenon within a wide context of analogous ceremonies held in Western Europe. This is the first attempt made in Polish historiography at a holistic approach to the title event, which, although extremely popular in medieval Europe, was never interpreted within a concrete legal framework. The question of the *sui generis* spontaneity of a new bishop's ceremonial entry into his capital is also the outcome of the condition of the sources, the majority of which only mention the event itself and do not concentrate on its exact course. This is why Maciejewski's approach to recreate different models of bishops' entries and their eventual scenario is so important.

The study starts with reflections about the origin of the ceremony, with the author seeking the roots of royal or bishops' entries in antiquity. In doing so he pointed to imperial entries, regarded as inspirations for subsequent bishops' *adventi*. The same chapter evokes the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, described in the Gospels and envisaged as an occasion adding importance to the ceremonies. Mention is made of modifications introduced at the time of the Gregorian reform, when the authority wielded by the bishops grew stronger. Chapter two examines the appearance of the medieval *adventus* and provides a detailed description of the preparations – a time of negotiations coordinating particular details. A further part of this chapter takes a closer look at assorted problems connected with the duration of the ceremonial inaugurations and their participants. Finally, numerous examples taken, as a rule, from Italy or the Reich, are cited.

Chapters three and four describe the *adventus* rite in medieval Poland. The former describes the reception of the ceremony till the beginning of the 15th century; the author claims that such events were known already at the time of the first Piast monarchy,

when the ceremonial *adventus* of a new bishop did not as yet take place. He also places first ceremonies of this type at the end of the 14th century (with the sole exception of Wrocław, where they were sought in the middle of that century). That situation, Maciejewski maintains, was the result of the excessively weak position of the bishops against the secular rulers, which led to avoiding conflicts with the latter. Chapter four focuses on entries in the Polish Kingdom known from diverse sources: those making it possible to recreate the course of the ceremony did not appear until the 15th century. The author did not discover any details of the course of the rite that could distinguish the Polish ceremony from those conducted in other areas.

Marcin Bogusz

Magdalena Michniewska, *Rośliny w małopolskim gotyckim malarstwie tablicowym 1420-1540* (Plants in Panel Gothic Paintings in Lesser Poland 1420-1540), Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków 2014, 145 pp., illustrations, summary in English, index.

Michniewska chose a topic rather marginal from the viewpoint of the history of art – she was interested primarily in depictions of plants featured on panels executed in Lesser Poland during the Late Middle Ages. The book is composed of six chapters, the first of which comments on the history of research into the presence and significance of plants in panel paintings from the title region. The most popular depictions show species often encountered locally. The second chapter examines in greater detail transformations in the portrayal of plants, with the author introducing the location of plants into the commonly accepted chronology of panel painting in Lesser Poland, thus showing differences between paintings from the first half of the 15th century and those executed in 1440-1460, i.e. in the most celebrated workshops of Jan Wielki and Veit Stoss. The following chapter is about portrayals of trees, while chapter four introduces a typology of plants shown in the Kraków canvases. The author divided these presentations into a flowering meadow, garden plants, plants in assorted vessels, and wreaths. The thus separated plants are then discussed in each chapter from the viewpoint of their functions within the depiction as a whole. The text encompasses not only the symbolic meanings of particular species or their role and implication combined with other elements of the depiction, but also the symbolic of colours. Plants in panel paintings also fulfil a function enabling an identification of the portrayed figure and sometimes are an inseparable element of a narration scene. The interpretations proposed by the author refer to numerous medieval legends, giving credence to beliefs connected with particular plants. The closing chapter concerns sources of knowledge about the appearance of plants portrayed by the painting workshops of Lesser Poland. The author recalled assorted herbaria and illuminated manuscripts containing depictions of plants, pattern books or, finally, artistic impact, asking at the same time what exerted the greatest influence upon presentations of plants in Lesser Poland. In her opinion, the likenesses of particular plants were affected the most by workshop pattern books. There still remains, however, quite a number of depictions combining several easily identifiable and popular species or those that could be regarded as entirely a figment of the artist's inventive imagination.

Summing up, the book is an interesting supplement of knowledge about the iconography of late medieval workshops in Kraków and introduces a number of essential observations about the painting workshops of Lesser Poland.

Marcin Bogusz

Martin Nejedlý, *Středověký mýtus o Meluzíně a rodová pověst Lucemburků* (Medieval myth of Melusine and family legend Luxemburg), expanded second edition, Scriptorium, Praha 2014, 531 pp., summaries in English and French, illustrations, bibliography, index.

This publication, issued for the first time in 2007 and composed of 12 chapters, attempts to find an insight into medieval mentality *via* a mythical tale about the beginnings of the Luxembourg dynasty, and in particular the foremost protagonist of the narration, i.e. Melusine, a female figure from the sphere of legends and folklore. By resorting to a comparative analysis Nejedlý followed literary sources in which Melusine appeared from the 12th century to the turn of the 14th century, the time of the origin of the best-known versions of the tale. The first was recorded in 1387-1393 by Jehan d'Arras, a courtier of Duke John de Berry, and the second was written by Coudrette in 1401-1405. One of the motifs considered in the book is the tendency of medieval society to perceive sorceresses as symbols of goodness and evil, salvation and condemnation. At the same time, the titular issue has been presented within a wide global context by resorting to a vast literature on the subject – as a phenomenon unlimited both geographically and temporally, a motif of love between an imaginary creature and a mortal, encountered in diverse cultures and on different continents. Turning his attention to details the author examines the Luxembourg and Bohemian episode of the legend. Jehan d'Arras was commissioned to write his version of the story of Melusine by the three grandchildren of John I the Blind (Luxembourg): Duke John de Berry, his sister, Marie de Valois, and cousin, Jobst of Moravia, nephew of the famous Charles IV. Wenceslas IV was a debtor of the aforementioned Jobst, who in 1388 presented him with Luxembourg as a lease. Due to those and other events Jobst surrounded himself with a strong group of lords (*L'union seigneuriale*, *Panská jednota*). In 1394 he temporarily incarcerated Wenceslas IV and for a year wielded actual power in the realm. In 1410 Jobst was chosen by a group of German electors to be the king of Germany, a rival of Sigismund Luxembourg, the heir of Wenceslas IV, but died in 1411. In those circumstances the legend of Melusine became not merely one of those tales, which every respectable family in medieval Europe boasted of, but also an argument in political strife, as can be seen in the history of the two sons of Melusine: Anthony, future count of Luxembourg, and Renaud, winner of the Bohemian royal crown. The fantastic setting of their arrival in Bohemia – the two Luxembourg brothers were described as intending to render help to the Bohemian monarch at a time when Prague was besieged by Saracens – carried yet another important message: the existence of close connections between the Luxembourg dynasty and Bohemia. Nejedlý additionally examines medieval iconography and symptoms of the Melusine myth in heraldry in order to define who this protagonist was supposed to have been according to men of the Middle Ages. A successive current of reflections pursued by the author aimed at placing the genealogical treatise by Jehan d'Arras within a broad context of 14th-century French literary sources dealing with Bohemia and its rulers. Finally, he embarks upon the question of a return of the Melusine myth, observed in a rather free translation of Coudrette into the German by Thüring von Ringoltingen (1456) as well as a later translation into the Czech (1555). In Bohemia the von Ringoltingen text was published upon numerous occasions and assorted writings readily referred to it. The popularised Melusine myth not only became a symptom of dynastic memory but also an element of urban and rural folklore, ultimately making its way into the lines of the titular protagonist of Bedřich Smetana's opera *Libuše* (1881),

predicting the onset of hard times for the Czechs. Let us add that the myth in question also remains alive in the 21st century.

Piotr Goltz

Prolegomena do badań nad obrazami hodegetrii typu krakowskiego (Prolegomena to Research into Krakovian Hodegetria Paintings), collected work written under Jerzy Gadomski with the participation of Małgorzata Szuster-Gawłowska, Marta Lempart-Geratowska, Helena Małkiewiczówna, Małgorzata Nowalińska, Anna Sękowska, Wydawnictwo Akademii Sztuk Pięknych im. Jana Matejki w Krakowie, Kraków 2014, 152 pp., simultaneously in Polish and English.

Krakovian Hodegetria paintings (described in older literature on the subject as *Our Lady of Piekary*) were a phenomenon typical for panel paintings in Lesser Poland during the 15th century and the early 16th century. Over a hundred works representing this iconographic type are known. Such numerous of preserved likenesses testify to their extraordinary popularity both among founders of paintings and at workshops in Kraków and its environs.

The book starts with an introduction by Jerzy Gadomski, where this renowned art historian (recently deceased) brings the reader closer to studies concerning Krakovian Hodegetria paintings and briefly discusses their popularity up to this day. The next part of the publication describes the title iconographic type, evokes its formal models, and shows, as a rule, the slight modifications occurring in the second half of the 15th century. This fragment also considers the ideological meaning and significance of the Krakovian Hodegetria panels. Further on, Małgorzata Szuster-Gawłowska presents in detail the technology of panel paintings featuring this particular iconographic type. This problem is essential due to the fact that the type in question had always been executed on the golden background, thus forcing painters and gilders to cooperate. The author also shows examples of the replications of ornaments with the help of stencils, which considerably facilitated the task.

The reviewed publication is the first volume in a series entirely dedicated to Krakovian Hodegetria paintings. The authors of the series hope that successive volumes will bring the reader closer to other depictions, thus making it possible to show their popularity in the religiosity of Lesser Poland. The study ends with an exemplary text about a single painting, written by Helena Małkiewiczówna, and a catalogue containing brief descriptions and reproductions of almost the 40 oldest preserved Hodegetria compositions from Lesser Poland.

Marcin Bogusz

Juliusz Raczkowski, *Monumentalne zespoły kolegium apostołskiego na terenie państwa zakonnego w Prusach* (Monumental Groups of the Apostolic College in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia), Bernardinum, Pelplin 2013, 492 pp.

A complete presentation of sculpted groups showing members of the so-called Apostolic College preserved in the former Teutonic Order state. The first such group, placed on pulpits in a sacral interior, was executed for Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. The author describes six groups in Malbork, Königsberg, Brodnica (two groups), Chełmno, and Elbląg. The number of the preserved monuments and their association with the Teutonic Order is

treated as an evidence of, on the one hand, the strong ideological impact of the Parisian chapel and, on the other hand, of the equally intense influence exerted by members of the Order upon the culture of the region in question.

The publication is composed of eight chapters, with the first presenting complete research on architecture in the state of the Teutonic Order. The next chapter conducts a detailed analysis of the original model of the Apostolic College, interprets its relic-ecclesiological programme, and provides a list of the successive executions of such premises in France and the Reich. The author notes that the iconographic programme of the figures in Sainte-Chapelle is the most extensive among the discussed groups, with the Apostles holding medallions, which display crosses bringing to mind consecration signs, while the opulent polychrome was supposed to additionally emphasise the courtly character of the interior.

The ideological meaning of Malbork Castle and the significance of installing an Apostolic College in the castle chapel are considered in chapter three. Here, the author indicates the French roots of the premises, which was supposed to be not only a church-reliquary but also a church adjoining the political centre of the order state. Thanks to the presence of figures depicting not solely the Apostles but also the Holy Virgin, Christ, St. John the Baptist, and St. Paul as well as Ecclesia and the Synagogue in the chapel in Malbork turned into New Jerusalem. This part of the book also discusses the workshop in which the figures were created and the impact of the Marburg artistic milieu upon the ultimate shape of the Malbork figures. The following chapters are about the previously mentioned groups from the Teutonic Order state.

By analysing the title problem the author outlined the artistic panorama of the Teutonic Order state in the 15th century. Importantly, the presented Apostolic groups were not equivalent to the adaptation of a given ideological programme, but rather an emulation of the architectural outfitting of sacral space. Evidently, this was a highly tempting model – the last discussed execution in the parish church of St. Nicolas in Elbląg was already by no means connected with the Order's patronage.

The book ends with a catalogue of the described groups, a formal analysis of particular figures, a description of their links with architecture, and a thorough presentation of pertinent writings.

Marcin Bogusz

Ivan Ramadan, *Středověká arabsko-islámská medicína: dějiny interpretací* (Medieval Arabic-Islamic Medicine: History of Interpretation), Západočeská univerzita v Plzni, Plzeň 2015, 204 pp., summaries in English and German, illustrations, bibliography.

This publication is an updated and expanded version of a Ph.D. dissertation on the historiography of medieval Arabic-Islamic medicine, issued from 1890 to 2010. This chronological range was discussed in four fundamental parts of the book, each encompassing approximately thirty years. The study is based on texts by European, American, and Arabic-Islamic authors. Particular emphasis has been placed on showing diverse research approaches in the historiography of science, with pride of place given to sociological and cultural texts by authors specialising in historiography conceived as a framework within which concrete scholars lived and worked. A thus outlined approach is the outcome of premises assuming that the way in which a given historical phenomenon is analysed and described depends on the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions in which historiography is written. Ramadan intends to explain the reasons for diverse

interpretations of the history of medieval Arabic-Islamic medicine, stressing that pertinent knowledge is of enormous significance not only for specialists dealing with Islamic studies but also for Arabic-Islamic historiography about science, especially considering that both theoretical knowledge and practical medical procedures, together with the outcome of treatments, were an inseparable part of Arabic-Islamic culture.

Piotr Goltz

Grażyna Regulska, *Gotyckie złotnictwo w Polsce* (Gothic Goldsmithery in Poland), I: *Katalog zabytków* (Catalogue of Monuments), II: *Album ilustracji* (Album of Illustrations), *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej*, II/4, Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 2015, 346 + 693 pp.

This is the most recent volume from the *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej* series (which so far includes studies about Romanesque, Gothic, and 17th-century architecture, as well as a three-volume collection about Polish Gothic painting). The part on Gothic goldsmithery resigns from the up to now applied arrangement of the contents of the volumes; instead, it is composed of a catalogue of objects and a capacious volume containing 1365 photographs, but lacks an analytical part to discuss artefacts from each region. Just as in the previous volumes the geographical range of the publication is based on a contemporary boundaries of Poland, with the monuments arranged into groups originating from Lesser Poland, Silesia, Prussia, Greater Poland, and Mazovia. Just as interesting is the chronological scope of the catalogue, which contains artefacts originating from a period spanning from the end of the 13th century to the third decade of the 16th century. In the case of goldsmithery, in which Gothic forms remained very popular despite the fact that other branches of the crafts and arts no longer observed this aesthetic, it appears extremely difficult to establish a date on which the catalogue could end; nonetheless, it seems that the second quarter of the 16th century is a justified suggestion, even if only due to the secondariness of later gold artefacts.

Each catalogue note contains information about the place of storage and, eventually, the original purpose of the given monument, a description of the employed technology, and precise information about the monument's embellishment and size. The largest part of every note is a detailed description of the monument and information about its founders and history. All notes end with an account of the state of research regarding a given object and a bibliography. Since artefacts made by goldsmiths are small and thus mobile usually, the place of their storage changed already in the Middle Ages, when they were frequently treated as magnificent gifts or costly supplements of assorted foundations. For this reason it seems justified for the catalogue to situate them not on their present-day site but in the most probable place of origin.

Marcin Bogusz

Joanna Sławińska, *Kaplica ogrójcowa przy kościele św. Barbary w Krakowie* (The Agony in the Garden Chapel adjoining the Church of St. Barbara in Kraków), *Biblioteka Krakowska*, no. 160, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 2015, 208 pp.

The most recent volume of the *Biblioteka Krakowska* series is about the Ogrójec (*hortus Domini*) chapel adjoining the western facade of the St. Barbara church in Kraków. The monograph is composed of six chapters, with the author writing about the position of research, the history of the chapel and the condition of its preservation, as well as

analysing the architectural aspect of the premise and the sculpted *Prayer in Gethsemane* group contained within. The publication ends with reflections about the ideological programme of the chapel within the context of art from the southern parts of the Reich and the religiosity of the Late Middle Ages.

The discussed premise is in many respects a distinctive example of Late Gothic small architecture in Lesser Poland. Consequently, it has been examined in numerous publications dealing with the date and circumstances of its origin, the founder, the function fulfilled by the chapel, the original appearance of the sculpted composition and its formal models. In the first chapter the author guides the reader across a tangle of contradictory hypotheses and mutually excluding opinions and points out in sufficient familiarity with basic sources. One of the merits of this book is its extensive analysis of the sources, making it possible to render heretofore findings more precise and to propose new hypotheses. The author manages to discover a copy of Adam Szwarc's testament, who is regarded as the chapel's founder, which up to now has been absent in literature. Despite the monument's considerable damage, which makes it impossible to express definite opinions about it, the author was capable to confirm earlier findings about the attribution of particular parts of the premise. She thus sustains the supposition formulated by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, namely, that the group was originally a fragment of a freestanding and panoramic *Mount of Olives* and that it was not placed under an architectural "canopy" until the beginning of the 16th century.

The last fragment of the book is about the iconographic programme and ideological content of *Ogrójec*. This chapter is an attempt to find iconographic models for the Kraków depiction of Christ in Gethsemane; Sławińska identifies and analyses particular details of the whole composition as well as refers to the heraldic programme added to the group's architectural setting. The second part of the chapter deliberates on the architectural models of the title group, with the author willingly mentioning examples from Silesia and southern regions of the Reich. The chapter ends with a presentation of the functioning and meaning of cemetery *hortus Domini* premises against the background of the spirituality of the Late Middle Ages.

Marcin Bogusz

František Šmahel, *The Parisian Summit 1377-1378: Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France*, transl. Sean Mark Miller, Kateřina Millerová, Karolinum, Prague 2014, 478 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index.

This is an expanded English-language edition of a publication, which originally appeared in Czech (*Cesta Karla IV. do Francie: 1377-1378*, Praha 2006). In 1378 Paris was the site of a meeting of two most prominent European rulers of the period: King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV Luxembourg and his nephew, King Charles V the Wise of France. The book is divided into three fundamental parts, with the first outlining the broad historical context of the above mentioned event, and in particular the youth of Charles Luxembourg spent in Paris (he was educated and brought up at the court of Charles IV Le Bel), the policies of his father, John, and a biography of Charles V – presented just as meticulously as that of Charles IV – together with the first meeting of the aforementioned rulers in Metz in 1356. The second part is a English translation of fragments of *Grandes Chroniques de France* about the Paris convention – brimming with assorted details – as well as a discussion of its repercussions. Sources have been confronted with the contemporary state of knowledge. Finally, the third part is composed of numerous excurses (in the form of succinct paragraphs) in which the author attempted to make use of chronicle records so

as to cast light on as many as possible different aspects of reality, spanning from power and politics, culture, culinary issues, court customs, and the logistics of organising court banquets to long-distance journeys. The publication is supplemented with more than 170 colour illustrations, as a rule featuring depictions from 14th- and 15th-century sources. The study, excellently documented with sources and based on the widest possible current literature on the subject, has been written in a lucid style and can be successfully addressed both to specialists and readers without academic experience.

Piotr Goltz

Vratislav Vaníček, *Svatý Václav: panovník a světec v raném středověku* (St. Wenceslas: Ruler and Saint in the Early Middle Ages), *Historyka paměť. Velká řada*, XXIV, Paseka, Litomyšl-Praha 2014, 324 pp., summary in English, genealogical tables, illustrations, bibliography, index.

In this publication, composed of four basic chapters, Vaníček undertakes the extremely difficult task of writing a biography of St. Wenceslas. Research into studying the past upon the basis of evidence about this duke is able to determine, albeit with the greatest possible difficulty, whether we are dealing with facts or legends and tradition surrounding the life of the saint. Vaníček portrays Wenceslas as a powerful duke, a charismatic personality whose political undertakings aimed at establishing links between his state, on the one hand, and the culture, faith, and political powers of Western Europe, on the other hand. The personal drama of Wenceslas, who was probably murdered, became, i.a. one of the ideological foundations and patrons of the Christian identity of Bohemia and the dynastic tradition of the Přemyslids. The story of St. Wenceslas (chapter II) has been placed within a broad context of a period spanning from the 8th to the 12th century, when both Bohemia and Central Europe witnessed profound changes, especially within a setting of the emergence of new monarchies and Christianisation (chapter I). The author strove towards casting a new light on well-known sources and in certain cases also towards questioning (or outright rejecting) statements that appear to have been permanently accepted in world literature. This volume discusses not merely St. Wenceslas but all the more important protagonists in the history of 9th- and 10th-century Bohemia, such as St. Adalbert, St. Ludmila, Drahomira, and Dobrava (chapter III). The closing fragment of the study broaches the functioning of the tradition of St. Wenceslas during the 11th and 12th century (chapter IV). At the end of the volume Vaníček poses a number of questions about an alternative sequence of events, e.g. what could have happened if Wenceslas had not been assassinated? The above-presented publication appeared as volume XXIV in the *Historyka paměť. Velká řada*.

Piotr Goltz

Vladimír Vavřínek, *Cyrl a Metoděj: mezi Konstantinopolí a Římem* (Cyril and Methodius: Between Constantinople and Rome), Vyšehrad, second edition, Praha 2013, 375 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index.

The author of this work – whose basic part consists of nine unnumbered chapters – undertakes the task of describing the activity of Cyril and Methodius in Byzantium and Rome as well as during their missions, in particular in Great Moravia (whose history has also been brought closer for the sake of the reader). Narration about the strivings of the two missionaries has been situated against the backdrop of the prevailing political situation, with the author describing the milieu from which the missionaries originated

and attempting to explain the motives of their conduct and to define the impact of both clergymen upon the shaping of local societies and state organisations. Next, he considers the culture-creating aspect of the missionaries' accomplishments, i.e. participation in establishing the foundations of Slavonic literature and the introduction of the Slavonic tongue into liturgy in Great Moravia. The author also writes about the role of tradition concerning both saints at different stages of the history of the peoples on whose terrains they were active. The presented volume returned to reflections pursued already many years earlier (cf. *Církevní misie v dějinách Velké Moravy*, Praha 1963) in a study published to commemorate the 1100th anniversary of the arrival of the Solun Brothers in the Great Moravian state. The discussed work has been totally altered as regards the configuration of its contents, the latter being considerably expanded and brought up to date in comparison with the previous edition. The issuing of the volume coincided with the 1150th anniversary of the titular event.

Piotr Goltz

Łukasz Walczy, *Dzieje konserwacji ołtarza Wita Stwosza w kościele Mariackim w Krakowie* (History of the Conservation of the Veit Stoss' Altar in the Church of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven in Kraków), Biblioteka Krakowska, no. 157, Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 2012, 283 pp.

Although this is not a strict publication regarding medieval history it depicts one of the most important Late Gothic retables in Poland – the main retabulum of the parish church in Kraków. While describing the conservation of the altar Walczy concentrates his attention on the recent history of the monument and outlines attempts at saving it from damages caused by the passage of time – both – the first modern conservation and the complex work carried out in the 19th and 20th century. The publication also shows how the conservators' efforts were commented by their contemporaries, and stresses the importance of medieval heritage for the population of Kraków during the partition era.

The book concludes with an essay about the *oeuvre* of Stoss against the backdrop of 15th-century Kraków while depicting the development of the town at the end of the 15th century and the social and cultural foundations of processes transpiring in Kraków. In doing so, the author sums up heretofore discussions about the founders of the altar, the process of summoning its author to Kraków and his connections with the royal court. An analysis of the rather brief mentions found in sources, the iconography of the altar, and information about relations between the master from Nuremberg and the royal court led to the (controversial) conclusion that the entourage of Kazimierz Jagiellon participated in the initiation of Stoss' most important work accomplished in Kraków.

Marcin Bogusz

Martin Wihoda, *První česká království* (The First Bohemian Kingdom), *Česká historie*, XXXII, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2015, 438 pp., summary in English, illustrations, bibliography, index.

This publication was issued as volume XXXII in the *Česká historie* series, whose premises had not been rendered precise. In this study Wihoda embarked upon reflections concerning the first Bohemian "kingdoms", i.e. the reign of Vratislav II (died 1092), Wenceslas II (died 1174), and Přemysl Otakar I (died 1230). All three commenced their reigns as dukes and ended them as monarchs. The point of departure consists of the author referring to the

Ernst Kantorowicz's conception of the king's two bodies. Examples of the above-listed rulers were used to demonstrate the difficulty of transforming the Přemyslid monarchy from a duchy to a monarchy. It would seem that both the dynastic tradition of the Přemyslids and the memory of St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert predestined Bohemian rulers to achieve the royal title and found an archdiocese in Prague. The path – conceived as political – leading towards those two accomplishments was, however, winding and long. The endeavours made by the successive rulers to seize the royal crown and their concern with retaining it has been depicted within the context of the origin of Bohemian statehood (especially the myth of Přemysl the Ploughman) by thoroughly examining pertinent sources (e.g. the chronicle of Cosmas, which proposed a distinctly negative portrait of Vratislav II, although contemporary historians present a totally different likeness) and the relations between Bohemia and the Empire. The latter element is especially prominent, since in all three instances the royal crown was bestowed by the rulers of the Reich. It must be added that Vratislav II and Wenceslas II were granted crowns on a lifelong basis, and not until Přemysl Otakar I did the crown become hereditary (since 1203), although this ruler too, and his heirs, remained the vassals of Germany. Finally, Wihoda follows the symptoms of a transition from the ducal to the royal form of governance upon the basis of, i.a. changes affecting tradition, manners and morals, as well as heraldry and sphragistics.

Piotr Goltz

Josef Žemlička, *Království v pohybu: kolonizace, města a stříbro v závěru přemyslovske epochy* (The End of the Kingdom: Colonization, Towns and Silver at the End Přemyslid Dynasty), *České historie*, XXIX, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2014, 671 pp., summary in English, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index.

The author intended the book to be the fourth volume (first volume: *Čechy v době knížecí: 1034-1198*, Praha 1997; second volume: *Počátky Čech královských 1198-1253: proměna státu a společnosti*, Praha 2002; third volume: *Přemysl Otakar II. král na rozhraní věků*, Praha 2011) of a planned pentalogy: *Království v pohybu: kolonizace, města a stříbro v závěru přemyslovske epochy*, ending with the death of Wenceslas III in 1306 and the extinction of the main male line of the Přemyslid dynasty. The prime topic of the publication is the colonisation – which in the opinion of the author was described rather unfortunately as “German” – of urban and rural areas, and the resultant economic and social transformations, whose outcome included closer economic ties between Bohemia and the rest of Europe, especially the latter's western and southern parts. Attention has been focused on the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century conceived as a period witnessing a peak stage in the development of the Přemyslid monarchy. This was the time when Bohemian kings found themselves under the greatest impact of the migration movements that changed ethnic relations specifically in Silesia and to a lesser extent in Bohemia and Moravia. In order to better understand those changes the author describes their course as well as the relations between the “old” and “new” settlement movement, the economic ties linking towns and villages, and the development of a commodity-monetary economy. In doing so, he distinguishes two periods in the history of medieval Bohemia – ducal and royal – with the characteristic feature of the latter being the rapid progress of urbanisation and trade. Use was made primarily of written sources (in particular *Sachsenspiegel* [*Mirror of the Saxons*] and *locatio* documents) as well as iconography and the results of archaeological

excavations. The work is composed of seven fundamental parts, with the first suggesting a more precise definition of the concept of “medieval Europe”, the circumstances of its origin and early stage of development, forms of ownership, and life on the edge of satisfying basic needs (in the case of the peasants). The second part discusses the causes and characteristic features of the phenomenon of colonisation, the importance of fairs, and attempts at reconstructing the settlement network in Bohemia during the discussed period. The next fragment considers primarily technologies serving the maximalisation of crops and the types of laws on which town *locationes* were based. The fourth part is about the transformations of villages and rural settlements, the humanisation of urban life, and the division of town acreages into common and private land. Next, the author explained the effects of the discussed transformations: the needs and problems of towns and adjoining rural terrains, assorted property issues (transactions, bequests, leases, warranties, et al.) and monetary questions (the number of coins in circulation). Mining, mining rights, monetary reforms, and foreign trade constitute the topic of chapter six. The last chapter examines the ecological consequences of the transformations – the shrinking of forests, the disruption of the natural equilibrium – and depicts their far-reaching results (a legacy affecting medieval economy).

Piotr Goltz

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