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+ *CULTURE SAVANTE ET POLITIQUE*

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I. MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIA

(THE SECTION EDITED BY ANNA WAŚKO)

THOMAS LINDKVIST
GÖTEBORG

IRON AND THE MAKING OF SWEDEN



During the period from c. 1000 to the beginning of the 14th century the society of an eventual and emerging Sweden was radically transformed, as was the case elsewhere in Northern and Eastern Europe. This change has foremost been discussed as the gradual Christianization and the establishment of a Church organization, which implied a new and closer integration with Western Europe. The making of Europe in the High Middle Ages also meant an expansion of a rather homogeneous political, economic and cultural structure within the sphere of the Roman Church.¹ The emergence of Sweden as a Christian kingdom was a variant of the general development that implied the rise of other Christian polities like the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, Poland and Hungary.² These transformations and historical processes have been discussed, and they have been characterized and interpreted in different ways and from divergent perspectives. It was a Christianization, but also the transformation of the political, social and economic structure based upon a more systematic exploitation of resources, a more regular administration based upon literacy. Moreover, we are talking about the gradual development of a new hierarchic structure, legitimized not least by the Church. In some respect these transitions could be described as the origins of a state, or at least a pristine or an early state.

¹ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, London 1993.

² See foremost, *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*, ed. N. Berend, Cambridge 2007.

The medieval kingdom of Sweden was located on the north-eastern fringe of this Europe in making. Sweden became a frontier kingdom with the deliberate and systematic integration of present-day Finland into the kingdom of Sweden during mostly the 13th century. The formation of Sweden was, however, somewhat later and retarded in comparison with e.g. Denmark and Norway. One of the obstacles is due to the fact that Sweden was divided into provinces sometimes separated by forest barriers. It was due to difficulties in land communications difficult to control large territories. The Tiveden forest presented, e.g., a clear barrier between Västergötland and the provinces round Lake Mälaren. Västergötland faced the West with contacts to the Skagerrak and North Sea region, while most of medieval Sweden was a region on the Eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Therefore, the regional varieties were great within medieval Sweden. The title, known since the middle of the 12th century, was king of the Svear and the Götar, the inhabitants of Svealand with a focus on the areas around Lake Mälaren and those living in the Götaland provinces, where the great plains of Östergötland and Västergötland as the principal centers. In the second version of the law code of the realm it was stated in 1442 that Sweden should have once from “a heathen world” been Christianized and originated by a combination by two separate realms. Although such an unification is difficult, not to say impossible, to reconstruct confirm from the few sources available and thus has been subject for several and long-lived historiographical controversies, the idea anyhow reflect the circumstances that there were great discrepancies between the two parts of the kingdom of Sweden. Some of these discrepancies are about economic and social organization. They reflect divergent developments and alternative roads to the medieval kingdom.³

The monetary and measurement systems of medieval Sweden varied and the economic integration of different regions of the realm was weak. The taxations systems varied. In the provinces of Västergötland and Östergötland the taxes were mostly based upon the ancient duty of the peasantry to support the king and his retinue during their itineraries. In Eastern Sweden and particularly in the area around Lake Mälaren the taxes were based upon the *ledung*, the duty of the rural communities to provide the royal naval force with ships, men and victuals. These duties were transformed and replaced by fiscal taxes. Especially the transformation of the *ledung* into taxes took place rather precipitously and effectively during the second half of the 13th century. The dating of this fiscal transformation in the Götaland provinces is, however,

3 T. Lindkvist, *Regionalität und Staatlichkeit im mittelalterlichen Schweden*, in: *Regna firmit pietas. Staat und Staatlichkeit im Ostseeraum. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Jens E. Olesen*, eds. M. Krieger, J. Krüger, Greifswald 2010, pp. 57-71.

more difficult to fix. It was evidently a more prolonged and continuing transition than around Lake Mälaren.

It was in the 16th century, during the reign of Gustav I and the formation of a more absolutist state, that the crown acquired the administrative means to control the realm economically and to implement a fiscal homogeneity.⁴ The process of monetarization, i.e. the use of money within economic transactions, was different as pointed out in a famous study by Henrik Klackenbergh. This process could be described as a form of modernization of the economy and commerce started early in the provinces of Götaland, but notably later in Svealand as well as in the Northern and Eastern regions of the realm. The coins minted in Västergötland were rarely spread to other parts of the kingdom and this province can be described as a separate economic region and with different taxation systems.⁵

Another important and radical difference was the principles for valuation of land. There were two systems for the evaluation of land and consequently to calculate taxes, rents and other duties: one in the Lake Mälaren area and another one in Östergötland. During the second half of 13th century a system of valuating land was introduced in the Lake Mälaren area and probably based upon continental models. The basic unit was the *markland* with different subunits. This system was analogous to the monetary system. There were thus *markland*, *öresland*, *örtugland* and *penningland*. It was used for valuation of the land and to estimate the produce and to settle the amount of the rent. The *markland* could also be used for calculating some royal taxes. It facilitated for a landowner to have control over the land and the expected revenue.

There was a similar system in the province of Östergötland and some areas bordering to it. The *attung* as a unit of valuation of land is recorded from the 12th century and thus older than the *markland*. The *attung* was an ancient system to regulate duties and rights within village or other rural communities and neighbourhoods, but was in the 13th century transformed into an instrument for landowners and other representatives of the emerging

4 E. Lönnroth, *Statsmakt och statsfinans i det medeltida Sverige. Studier över skatteväsen och länsförvaltning*, Göteborg 1940, pp. 57-72; C.G. Andræ, *Några tankar kring sädesmått, myntråkning och riksenande i Sverige*, in: *Studier i äldre historia tillägnade Herman Schück* 5/4 1985, ed. R. Sandberg, Stockholm 1985, pp. 33-47; T. Lindkvist, *Fiscal Systems, the Peasantry and the State in Medieval and Early Modern Sweden*, in: *Genèse de l'état moderne. Prélèvement et Redistribution*, eds. J.P. Genet, M. le Mené, Paris 1987, pp. 53-64; idem, *Om ledung och statsbildningsprocess*, in: *Allt på ett bräde. Stat, ekonomi och bondeoffer. En vänbok till Jan Lindegren*, eds. P. Ericsson, F. Thisner, P. Winton, A. Åkerlund, Uppsala 2013, pp. 23-31.

5 H. Klackenbergh, *Moneta nostra. Monetarisering i medeltidens Sverige*, Lund 1992; K. Jonsson, *Övergångsskedet mellan vikingatiden och medeltiden och uppkomsten av den medeltida myntningen i Sverige ca 1050-1200*, "Hikuin", XI (1985), pp. 189-206.

new hierarchy to control producers and what was produced within the agrarian economy.

There was thus in eastern Sweden a systematic regulation of the land that facilitated the appropriation of rent and other fiscal duties, but also to facilitate transfer and accumulation of land. In other regions, like notably the province of Västergötland, there never developed such advanced evaluation system. The *markland* and the *attung* were part of an important and fundamental restructuring of the agrarian regime culminating in the second half of the 13th century. It was evidently in the Lake Mälaren region and in the province of Östergötland, that the most thoroughly control over land and the agrarian produce were established.⁶

The gradual process of Christianization also presents important regional varieties. The transition commenced much earlier in the provinces of Västergötland and Östergötland than further north, with early Christian burial practices, in some cases possibly dating back to the 8th century.⁷ The building of churches was in general earlier in the Götaland provinces than around Lake Mälaren.⁸ There are also indications of resistance against the new religion in the area around Lake Mälaren in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. This was probably more directed against the Church organization under royal support than against Christendom per se.⁹

The earliest wooden stave churches in Sweden have been dated by dendrochronology to c. 1065.¹⁰ The establishment of the Church was also gradual and with many regional variations. In 1164 Sweden became a province within the Roman church and with Uppsala as the see of the archbishop. That was far later than Denmark where Lund became an archbishopric in 1103 and Norway with Nidaros in 1153. The first

6 F. Dovring, *Attungen och marklandet. Studier över agrara förhållanden i medeltidens Sverige*, Lund 1947; S. Göransson, *De regelbundna strukturerna i Östsveriges bebyggelsegeografi. Ett försök till preciseringar och kronologi*, "Geografiska regionstudier / utgivna av Kulturgeografiska institutionen vid Uppsala universitet", XV (1985), pp. 65-82; J. Myrdal, *De medeltida jordvärderingarnas historiografi*, in: *Jordvärderingssystem från medeltiden till 1600-talet*, ed. A. Ericsson, Stockholm 2008, pp. 125-136; A. Ericsson, *Terra mediaevalis. Jordvärderingssystem i medeltidens Sverige*, Uppsala 2012.

7 C. Theliander, *Västergötlands kristnande. Religionsskifte och gravskicket förändring 700-1200*, Göteborg 2005, pp. 313-353.

8 A.C. Bonnier, *Kyrkor, dopfuntar och gravmonument*, in: *Kristnandet i Sverige. Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. B. Nilsson, Projektet Sveriges Kristnande. Publikationer, V, Uppsala 1996, pp. 181-214; E. Claesson, *Cuius ecclesiam fecit. Romanska kyrkor i Västergötland*, Lund 1989; M. Dahlberg, *Skaratraktens kyrkor under äldre medeltid*, Skrifter Från Skaraborgs Länsmuseum XXVIII, Göteborg 1998.

9 N. Blomkvist, S. Brink, T. Lindkvist, *The Kingdom of Sweden*, in: *Christianization and the Rise...*, pp. 186-187.

10 M. Ullén, *Kyrkobygge i trä och sten*, in: B. Nilsson, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, I: Missionstid och tidig medeltid*, Stockholm 1998, p. 200.

fixed bishoprics, which persisted during the Middle Ages, were Skara in Västergötland from the early 11th century and Linköping in Östergötland, the see of a bishop from latest in 1139.¹¹

Monasticism was late in Sweden in comparison and the first houses were founded in the Götaland provinces in the 1140s and 1150s. Then Cistercian houses of Alvastra in Östergötland and Nydala in Småland were founded in 1143. Alvastra was promoted by King Sverker I and Queen Ulfhild, while Nydala was under the auspices of the bishop of Linköping. From Alvastra another monastery was founded, Varnhem in Västergötland in the middle of the 12th century. During the period from c. 1130 and the century following there was a rivalry between two clans claiming the right to bear the title King of the Svear and the Götar. Alvastra became the burial place of the kings descending from Sverker I. The church of the Varnhem monastery served as principal sepulchral minster to the offspring of King Erik.¹²

A pre-Christian kingdom was in an eventual Sweden mostly associated with Uppsala and the region around Lake Mälaren in the Norse literary tradition, not at least in the *Ynglingasaga* of Snorri Sturluson. Uppsala was known as a political and religious cultic centre and no similar pre-Christian kingdom can be identified in The Götaland provinces. The area of Lake Mälaren was also known as a hub for martial sea-kings plundering in the Baltic Sea region and beyond. It was an important center of a predatory economic culture during the Viking Age.

When the conversion and transition to a Christian kingdom took place from around 1000 there was a clear spatial shift. The first baptism of a king in Sweden was according to a late tradition at Husaby in Västergötland. During the period up to the second half of the 13th century kings are mostly known to have resided there and in Östergötland. The early Christian monarchy evolved in the Götaland provinces and not in the Lake Mälaren area.

A remarkable and prompt shift took place during the second half of the 13th century with some focus during the reign of King Magnus Birgersson (1275-1290). It was a change of the political center to the region around Lake Mälaren. Before the middle of the 13th century the kings mostly resided in different parts of the Götaland provinces. From King Magnus reign and onwards the area around Lake Mälaren and along the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea became the center. It was there the kings mostly resided. Västergötland became more like a political periphery of the kingdom.¹³ As

¹¹ B. Nilsson, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria...*, pp. 79-82.

¹² Concerning the early Christian monarchy see latest N. Blomkvist, S. Brink, T. Lindkvist, *The Kingdom of Sweden...*, pp. 167-213 with references.

¹³ The itineraries of the Swedish kings are observed in J.B.L.D. Strömberg, *De svenska resande kungarna – och maktens centrum*, Uppsala 2013.

a result of this geographical reallocation King Magnus was buried at the church of the Franciscans in Stockholm and ending the tradition with royal burials at Cistercian monasteries in Götaland.

This shift of the geographical focus coincided with an institutional and administrative development of the kingdom. New instruments to rule and control society emerged. It was the rise of an administrative literacy; taxation and the land valuation system became more regular, efficient and important for the royal finances. The process of comprehensive legislation commenced. An incipient royal chancellery and archive emerged during the last quarter of the 13th century.¹⁴ Several royal statutes regulation not least the relations between the king and the aristocracy were issued. The privileges of the Church and ecclesiastical institutions were settled in statutes. Foremost of this normative literacy was, however, the vast corpus of provincial law codes. A first version of the law for Västergötland might be dated to the 1220s, but it was in the late 13th century most of these laws were compiled and issued. There has been a considerable debate about these laws and the degree to which they reflect customary law or were the result of the adaptation of foreign law, introduced or mediated through the Church with the support the King and the lay aristocracy. The legislation can be considered as the most essential part of the formation of a state. The kings were representatives of an emerging state and gained partial control over the jurisdictional and legislative systems. But this was also a matter of compromise. The Church and the kings were bound by well-established traditions of the different communities.¹⁵

Another transformation in Sweden during the late 13th century was a momentous urbanization. In the 12th century there were in the Swedish realms three places that could be considered as towns. Sigtuna on Lake Mälaren in Uppland emerged in the late 10th century as a base for kings and regional magnates. The other two towns were both in Västergötland: Skara with origins as a bishop's see and Lödöse on Göta Älv as a merchant town. The great urban transformation during the late 13th century was on the other hand concentrated to Eastern Sweden. It was the origins of the many commercial towns around Lake Mälaren and further south. One of these towns Stockholm was the most important located at the outlet of Lake Mälaren into the Baltic Sea. Hereby the trade from the vast hinterland of Lake Mälaren could be controlled from Stockholm. But several minor towns originated: besides the bishop's sees Uppsala, Västerås and Strängnäs the commercial towns

¹⁴ I. Larsson, *Svenska medeltidsbrev. Om framväxten av ett offentligt skriftbruk inom administration, förvaltning och rättsutövning*, Stockholm 2001, pp. 35-51.

¹⁵ T. Lindkvist, *Law and the Making of the State in Medieval Sweden: Kingship and Communities*, in: *Legislation and Justice*, ed. A. Padoa-Schioppa, Oxford 1997, pp. 211-228.

of Enköping, Arboga, Köping and Torshälla were established on the shores of Lake Mälaren. Other new towns in Eastern Sweden from the 13th century include Örebro, Nyköping, Söderköping, Jönköping and Kalmar.¹⁶ The area around Lake Mälaren and Eastern Sweden in general became definitely the most urbanized area and thus also a more advanced economic region. The towns are a clear indication of the rise of a more specialized and advanced economic structure and an increasing commercialization. From the economic point of view Västergötland remained a more static region from an economic point of view. There were no new towns founded there in the 13th century and at least Skara remained a small and economically rather dormant urban center.

The Christianization, the establishment of the Church's institutions and the Christian monarchy developed at first in Västergötland and Östergötland. It was an early reception of the European institutions. With an early Christianization followed a piecemeal social change. But when a far more organized and institutionalized administrative structure evolved rather precipitously in the second half of the 13th century this also meant a transfer of political power to Eastern Sweden: the area around Lake Mälaren and also Östergötland. That area became then the most dynamic region, not at least concerning the economy with an efficient land valuation systems and a high degree of urbanization.

The new social formation was based upon agriculture and the possibilities of the social elite to demand rent, taxes and other levies. An estate system based upon a rentier economy became dominant in the plain areas of Central and Southern Sweden. Land was possessed by the aristocracy and the ecclesiastical and monastic institutions but the production was controlled by the peasants. The emergence of this manorial system is rather obscure but from the written records it was well-established in at least the 13th century. The tenant peasants (*landbor* in Swedish and mostly termed as *coloni* in the Latin carters) had a noticeably favorable legal position and the ties of personal dependence to the lord of the land were rather weak. There were no manorial courts and the legal capacity of these peasants was equal to those of the allodial farmers, those who owned the land they cultivated and with inheritable rights.¹⁷

The relations within the agrarian society were regulated in the provincial law codes, not seldom in some detail, how the duties and the rights should be distributed, the rights to common land and resources. The subject of the

16 H. Andersson, *Städer i öst och väst – regional stadsutveckling under medeltiden*, "Bebyggelsehistorisk tidskrift", III (1982), pp. 55-65.

17 T. Lindkvist, *Landborna i Norden under äldre medeltid*, Uppsala 1979.

laws was always the *bonde*, which might be translated as farmer but actually meant the free householder, the principal of the farm and the household. The tenant peasant or farmer could also be a *bonde*. The majority of the population was involved in the agrarian production and it had, as elsewhere in the contemporary Europe an immense economic role. It was the material base for the aristocracy, spiritual institutions and the kingdom. Agriculture was expanding and growing. New technologies developed, mainly on initiative of the peasantry, and new arable land was colonized.

The agrarian economy is well recorded, not least through the laws and the many charters. Recording sale, donations, exchange and other transaction of lands is a substantial part of the breakthrough of literacy that has remained. But the expansion of agriculture does not explain the shift from Götaland to Svealand as the political and economic center of medieval Sweden.

Sweden was, however, not only an agrarian country, it was also a mining and metalworking one. Iron, copper and, although to a lesser extent, silver were all extracted in different parts of Sweden. Especially iron production was extensive. The medieval iron production and its relations to the social transformation and technological development have recently been studied in an interdisciplinary project. Results from metallurgical, vegetation studies, environmental studies, archaeology, economic history and history provides together a new understanding of the medieval iron production.¹⁸

Iron production was of great importance already in prehistoric times and expanded during the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages especially in southern Sweden. The method used for the production of iron was the so-called bloomery technology. The introduction of this technique is dated to the 9th century. Iron ore was reduced small furnaces. There were many small units of production and it has been estimated that a blow of six to ten hours resulted in ca 10 kg iron with a labour force of only four to six persons. The entire process of iron production was controlled by individual households.¹⁹ The iron production was thus very well integrated within the agrarian structure and was a vital part of the economy. The unit for production was the agrarian household or the community of the small villages. Archaeology records several thousands of bloomery furnaces in different parts of Sweden. Especially in the forest areas of the south-eastern part of the province of Småland they prevailed in great number. There are parishes where there are more than hundred of them. The technological improvements of agriculture

¹⁸ See the contributions in: *Järnet och Sveriges medeltida modernisering*, ed. B. Berglund, Stockholm 2015. See also *Swedish Mining and Metalworking. Past and Present*, eds. J. af Geijerstam, M. Nisser, Stockholm 2011.

¹⁹ G. Magnusson, *The Late Iron Age and the Middle Ages*, in: *Swedish Mining...*, p. 33.

and cultivation were great and important during this period and required a lot of iron for ploughs and other tools and utensils.²⁰ The production of iron, however, exceeded by far what was consumed locally and trade with iron must have been substantial. The rise of the town of Kalmar might at least partially be explained as a port for distribution of iron. "Kalmar iron" was later a concept used by the Hanseatic League, thus designating the origins of the iron.²¹

In the Middle Ages there was at least from the middle of the 12th century an important expanding mining in large areas of Sweden, not least in the district since then commonly known as Bergslagen, i.e. northern Västmanland, southern Dalarna and adjacent areas of Uppland, Gästrikland, Närke and Värmland, thus stretching over central Sweden. Bergslagen was bit further north of Lake Mälaren and its river and lake system. It was a forest region where land reclamation was significant during the Middle Ages and where most of the land was owned by farmers. Ecclesiastical and aristocratic landownership was comparatively rare and no manorial system like that on the plains around Lake Mälaren evolved. The mining and extraction of ore from the mountains expanded and replaces more ancient techniques based on e.g. bog ore and lake ore declined in importance.

The medieval iron production had its prerequisites in land colonization of previously sparsely populated and exploited. The districts where iron extraction took place were called *bergslag*, which most appropriately might be translated as mining districts. The wider geographical term Bergslagen is derived from this, probably indicated the area where there were many different mining districts. In the Middle Ages a new and more advanced technology developed, namely the blast furnace. It was a more complicated technology that involved much more of cooperation and needed investments. It required a larger labor force, not least since it also required providing the furnace with wood and charcoal. The introduction of the blast furnaces in Sweden is a much discussed topic. Previous research was almost entirely based upon the written sources, and they are indeed few, but later archaeological research has added new insights. There existed similar technology in other parts of Europe, e.g. in the Rhineland, Lorraine and Luxemburg as well as in Switzerland. Earlier it was supposed that the technology developed in Germany and from there introduced in the Swedish Bergslagen. Not least the archaeological examination of the blast furnace Lapphyttan in Norberg in the

²⁰ J. Myrdal, *Farming and Feudalism 1000-1700*, in: *The Agrarian History of Sweden from 4000 BC to AD 2000*, eds. J. Myrdal, M. Morell, Lund 2011, pp. 82-84.

²¹ G. Magnusson, *Järn i smålandet Möre. Kring teknik och bebyggelse i en medeltida skogsbygd*, in: *Järnet och Sveriges...*, pp. 369-397.

northern part of Västmanland, date it to the 12th-14th centuries and thus more ancient than previously assumed and deduced from written records. The more advanced technology of the blast furnaces evolved probably endogenously. A large scale import of knowledge is less plausible.²²

The project *Atlas över Sveriges bergslag*²³ has recorded the archaeological remains of 460 medieval blast furnaces for iron production in medieval Sweden; and in addition to that 160 copper production sites and 70 for production of silver. The numbers show thus that the iron production was vast and economically dominating in central Sweden. From the main production area in the Bergslagen region ore was transported along the rivers and ridges to the emerging towns on the shores of Lake Mälaren, including Lake Hjälmaren and Örebro.

Although the processes of production were entirely controlled by the direct producers, kings, bishops and members of the lay aristocracy strove to control this material wealth. Birger Persson, one of the leading aristocrats and lawman of Uppland, was one of the first magnates to have landed possessions in several provinces. In 1328 his properties were divided amongst his heirs and several iron furnaces in the mountains are mentioned as appendices to the manors, like “a curia cum colonis una cum hyttis in monte ferreo in silva [...] sitis”. In the charters of this period tenants’ holdings (*coloni*) are frequently mentioned as a part of the manorial economy. Possession of iron production sites evidently had as important role here and this is the oldest example of mentioning. A Latinized version of the Swedish word *hytta* was used for the terminology of this important material resource.²⁴ Birger was the father of Birgitta, the future saint, and in one of her *Revelaciones* she has a vision of the Purgatory that has been considered to be based upon the smelting of iron in a blast furnace.²⁵ Even if this interpretation is somewhat forced, iron production was far from unknown to the social elite and was an important source of wealth. There are many examples from the 14th century of how members of the lay aristocracy and spiritual institutions, notably monasteries acquired iron furnaces. The Cistercian nunnery of Riseberga in

²² I.M. Pettersson Jensen, *Norberg och järnet: Bergsmännen och den medeltida industrialiseringen*, Stockholm 2012; eadem, *Bergslagen modernt i alla tider – Gamla Norbergs bergslag och utvecklingen på Vikaberg och Garpenberg från förhistorisk tid till medeltid*, in: *Järnet och Sveriges...*, pp. 399-458.

²³ The project is a joint venture of Jernkontoret (Swedish Steel Producers’ Association) and Riksantikvarieämbetet (Swedish National Heritage Board) and has published reports for each *bergs slag* or mining districts recording the registered archaeological finds and observations and the written sources.

²⁴ *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, 1-11, eds. J.G. Liljegren et al., Stockholm 1829-2011.

²⁵ Sancta Birgitta, *Revelaciones*, IV, ed. H. Aili, Stockholm 1992, IV:7. See the discussion in A Götlind, *Technology and Religion in Medieval Sweden*, Göteborg 1993, pp. 157ff.

Närke e.g., was in 1388 by King Albert granted the right to construct a furnace. Iron production was important for the economy of many ecclesiastical and monastic institutions, although their role in technological innovations in uncertain.²⁶

The expansion of the iron production during mainly the 13th and 14th century also implied a great increase of population in the area and thus also a vast growth of settlements. What is importance here is that the iron production in this region required much more people and the organization was something different from being an economic activity integrated with the agrarian household economy. The technology and the increased level of production led to greater collaboration and required much more of additional labor force. The recruitment of labor to the iron production was evidently a great problem during. Sweden was a sparsely populated country.

New social environments around the *berg*, the “mountains”, emerged and that required by time specific regulations. The extensive provincial law codes regulated the agrarian relations. For the province of Dalarna there is a separate and unique provincial law code, probably from the early-14th century.²⁷ It was the law of the province where mining and iron production developed rapidly during that period, but there are no whatsoever regulations referring to that particular economic activity. This law, as well as all other contemporary provincial laws, is referring to an entirely agrarian society.

There was also an extensive legislative activity regulating other social relations. The emerging towns were granted certain privileges. The oldest preserved are those issued by King Magnus Birgersson for Jönköping in Småland in 1284 and 1288. Charters with privileges were, like the statutes, a kind a complementary legislation. This applied not least to the iron production in the region of Bergslagen. The production sites were hereby regarded as separate from the jurisdiction of the agrarian countryside.

Theses mountain charters are but imperfectly preserved. In the 17th century they were collected and registered systematically and then due to political reasons. In 1637 the Swedish Board of Mines (*Bergskollegium*), a government of agency, was founded controlling mining industry and metal processing and this involved accumulating ancient records. Another making of inventory took place in connection with the Great Reduction in 1680, when the Swedish Crown recaptured lands and privileges.

²⁶ A. Götlind, *Technology and Religion...*, pp. 75-99 discusses the importance of iron production in the monastic economy. *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartor över medeltidsbrev.* Riksarkivet. Electronic resource. <http://riksarkivet.se/sdhk>

²⁷ See the discussion in G. Hafström, art. ‘*Dalalagen*’ in *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, II, cols. 623-626.

The most ancient privileges of iron production preserved are those for Västra Berget (Western Mountain) in Närke from 1340.²⁸ Exactly where this was located is not known, but it was mentioned that similar rights had previously been granted to Östra Berget (Eastern Mountain). The copper production site of Kopparberg (Copper Mountain) in Dalarna received detailed privileges in 1347.²⁹ The iron production of Norberg were granted privileges in 1354 by King Magnus Eriksson, but they had been preceded by a later lost charter of King Magnus Birgersson.³⁰ These charters had to be renovated at shifts of regency and thus there are eight later and similar versions preserved for Norberg, the last granted by Gustav Vasa in 1528. Norberg in many ways served as a model or master copy for other “iron mountains”.³¹ The production of copper was mostly at the Kopparberget during the Middle Ages and its privileges were also renovated eight times.³² Concerning the iron production it was only the blast furnace production in central Sweden that was granted with similar privileges. Nothing was issued for the bloomery furnace production areas, like south-eastern Småland. This cannot be explained by a systematic loss of records from that region. Since that production was well integrated with the agrarian household economy its social organization was regulated through the provincial law codes as well as unwritten customary laws. The bloomery furnaces did not create new social settings as was the case with the blast furnace production.

The more specialized and large-scale production in Central Sweden required not least the rights of the iron producing communities to exploit the common land, which was necessary for especially charcoal making. The miners had according to the charter of Västra Berget in 1340 the rights to the common forest within a certain distance from the mountain.

The social relations of production had to be regulated and here neither the provincial law codes nor customary law were applicable. Of particular interest are the rights of asylum. Certain criminals could be allowed to work at the mountains; murderers, thieves and traitors were exceptions. At Kopparberget those who were convicted for violence against women were not allowed to have a sanctuary there. Later those who had committed outlaw crimes were also explicitly excluded. There are no equivalents to these regulations in the

28 Dipl. Suec. Nr 3526.

29 Dipl. Suec. Nr 4142.

30 Dipl. Suec. Nr. 5003

31 Dipl. Suec. Nr. 7539 (1367), Dipl. Suec. Nr. 7686 (1368), *Svenskt Diplomatarium från och med år 1401*, 1-3, ed. C. Silfverstolpe. Stockholm 1875-1904, Nr 2745 (1420), SDHK Nr 24446 (1444), SDHK Nr 25470 (1449), SDHK Nr 27155 (1458), SDHK Nr 33535 (1497) and SDHK Nr 39547 (1528).

32 Dipl. Suec. Nr 6235 (1360), Dipl. Suec. Nr 7379 (1366), Sv. Dipl. Nr 1709 (1413), SDHK Nr 24057 (1442), SDHK Nr 27157 (1458), SDHK Nr 33819 (1499), 1512 and 1525.

mining legislation in Central Europe. There were evidently difficulties to get the necessary labor force required.

Hired laborers who run away from the production sites had to be brought back. The charters stated the control of production should be upheld. There were also rules for training of future smiths. The apprentices had to work one year without a wage, but provided with food, shoes and homespun cloths; thereafter the apprentice had to work, and with a wage, in three years for his master. It was thus an equivalent to the system that existed within the urban craftsmanship.

The *berg*, mountain, i.e. the iron production sites had a separate administration with a bailiff or sheriff, in addition to twelve counselors. They acted as judges at the *thing* (the judicial assembly) of the mountain. The twelve men correspond to the twelve men of the council of a town, which was i.a. prescribed for Jönköping in 1288. The mountain production sites were in Central Sweden equal to the *härad*, the administrative and jurisdictional districts of the countryside according to the provincial law codes. The privileges made the iron production sites to their own legal communities. It is quite possible that the term originally meant the community of a mountain (*berg*) and defined as such by the involvement in iron mining and production but also by a certain jurisdiction and law (*lag*).³³ *Lag* was thus indicating both the community and the law.

The policy was from the Crown to have identical or similar rules for all mountains, but a general law code of mountains and mining was never accomplished, like the law code of the towns in the middle of the 14th century.

The mining legislation developed from customary rights, which was the general case in Europe. The legislation for one important site of production was transferred to others. The mountain legislation for the silver production at Jihlava (Iglau) in Bohemia from 1249 was the model for other silver mountains, notably Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg). In a similar way Norberg and Kopparberget were models for the Swedish iron and copper production sites respectively. While in Central Europe it was silver production was regulated by legislation it was iron and copper in Sweden. Mining legislation was thus a general European phenomenon during the High Middle Ages, but there was evidently no direct import of rules. The legislation was clearly adapted to local and regional circumstances and requirements. The iron production sites fostered a high degree of specialized production, separate and thus different from the traditional agrarian world. The iron and copper production created

33 See T. Andersson, *Bergslagen och andra områdesnamn på -lag'*, "Saga och Sed. Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademiens årsbok" XIV (2014), pp. 93-102, with references.

new forms of communities. The privileges and regulations were therefore necessary and created distinct administrative units and legal communities. Privileges and charters created a social identity and coherence for those who lived and worked there.

Around silver production in Central Europe originated special mining towns. Freiberg in Saxony emerged in 1218 as “mountain town” with extensive privileges. The “Free mountain” implied the right to prospect and extract ore. There was a parallel jurisdiction between the mountain town and that of the burghers and the city of Freiberg had by comparison more autonomous status versus the territorial prince. Other free “mountain towns” followed in Saxony, Bohemia and Moravia. There were no similar towns emerging in medieval Sweden, although Norberg and Kopparberg were a kind of semi-urban societies and with an administrative structure.

The expansion of mining and iron production, along with the copper production, might be one of the principal explanations of the shift of the political geography of Sweden. The iron mining and production was probably a driving force in a modernization of Sweden. Labor and production became specialized. Commodity production, trade and commerce increased. The urbanization in the area of Lake Mälaren and Eastern Sweden was a result of the Swedish variant of the commercial revolution where iron was essential.

The growing importance of mining also meant that certain judicial matters, not at least concerning possession, had to be settled. The technological development of the more advanced mining activities raised the problem about the rights to what was beneath the land surface. There should be the possibility to exploit ore and metals even if the owners of the land lacked the economic and technological resources. In the Middle Ages the doctrine of separate possession rights grew; at first it was forced through by the Emperor Frederick I at the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158 and later similar rules were amended by several Central European kings and princes. This doctrine of a *iura regni* meant the rise of the royal superior rights over all material resources within the realm. The adaptation in Sweden was, however, late and partly imperfect or limited. The royal administrative and legislative expansion in Sweden from the late 13th century meant that the kings acquired some sovereign rights. The provincial law codes mainly had the purpose to regulate the possession rights within the village. The rights to use common land for pasture and for wood followed the holding of land within the village or within a district. By the end of the 13th century it was evident that king had some right to parts of the common land at least in the Götaland provinces, which meant amongst other things the right to rents and dues from new settlements on common lands.³⁴

³⁴ K. Kumlien, *Bergsregale*, in: *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, I, cols. 494-497; J. Rosén, *Kronoavsondringar under äldre medeltid*, Lund 1949, pp. 37-41.

The privileges from the 14th century, reflecting probably an older tradition, evidence amongst other things royal control of common forests but reflect not the dual rights of what was above and beneath the land surface.

In a manuscript of the second version of the law code of realm from the 15th century it was declared that if ore was found on land that belonged to allodial and tax-paying farmers the owner had all the rights to this. If the landowner lacked the economic capacity to exploit it the king had the right to make an exchange of land. The owner should be compensated with land belonging to the royal demesne (*Uppsala öd*). This was confirmed by the council of the realm in 1485 and reflects possibly previous customary law.³⁵ The royal claims were thus rather restricted in medieval Sweden since the landowning farmer was compensated and no clear distinction between the two rights was made.

It has often been stressed that the growth of iron and copper mining and production was the result of a diffusion of foreign, especially German, knowledge, experience and technology. German entrepreneurs should thus have been the great promoters of Swedish iron during the 13th century and is found also in international textbooks.³⁶ This is based mainly upon the written records and before there were any more substantial archaeological investigations. The role of iron and copper production during the medieval process of transformation was great. The trade with iron meant that Sweden became involved in a more intense trade network dominated by the Hanseatic League. The commercial revolution, where iron and copper dominated, was the prerequisite of the rapid urbanization in central Sweden. There was a great German influence in certain important towns, like Stockholm, where e.g. half of the members of the town council were Germans. There was also a substantial German population in towns like Kalmar, Lödöse and Söderköping. The influence of Low German on the Swedish language, especially concerning the urban sphere, was considerable. It was also noticeable in charters and letters from the mining and iron producing sector.³⁷ It has, however, been pointed out that the administrative and political organizations of the Swedish towns were not based upon North German models entirely. Instead it has to be

³⁵ J.E. Almquist, *1485 års s.k. förordning om malmberg och dess betydelse för rättsutvecklingen. En rättshistorisk undersökning*, Uppsala 1929; B. Boëthius, *Kopparbergslagen fram till 1570-talets genombrott. Uppkomst, medeltid, tidig vasatid*, Uppsala 1965, pp. 96-99.

³⁶ E. Sommarin, S. Tunberg, *Stora Kopparbergets historia*, Uppsala 1922, pp. 50ff. See e.g. N.J.G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe 450 BC-1330 AD*, Cambridge 1973, p. 396; M. North, *Europa expandiert 1250-1500*, Stuttgart 2007, p. 288.

³⁷ E. Wessén, *Om det tyska inflytandet på svenskt språk under medeltiden*, Stockholm 1970; H. Wistrand, *Brevvat i Närke. Medellågtyska importord i fornsvenska brev ur regionalt perspektiv*, Uppsala 2006.

regarded as regional and local variants of a more general North European urban culture.³⁸

The evolution of the technically much more advanced blast furnaces in central Sweden took, however, place prior to the advent of German commercial interests. Sten Lindroth pointed out in a great study of Stora Kopparberget that written the records of copper extraction are from the 13th century, but the mine had been in use for a much longer period. There was a German influence in financing and noticeable from the 13th century, but the technology and the organization had their local and endogenous grounds.³⁹ The Hanseatics promoted a commercial revolution, but not a technological one. The commercial culture changed and the commercial networks became more intense and complicated. Mining with started in a large scale and with an innovative technology well before the Hanseatics achieved a substantial influence over trade.

Due to the demand of especially iron in the Europe of the High Middle Ages the production was intensified from the 13th century. Iron was needed in agriculture for improved plows and other tools. The intense building activity, not least in the many big towns in the region of the southern Baltic Sea required large amounts of iron. But there was also the military revolution that caused an enormous demand of iron for weapons and armory. Western Europe was a highly militarized society.

Sweden became from the late 12th century a kingdom amongst many in Western Europe. Iron production was accelerating a form of social transition or modernization. The demand of iron products both in Sweden but not least abroad caused an intensified production including the invention of the blast furnaces. This new economy dominated in the Bergslagen area. The older technology with bloomery furnaces was also vital and increased not least in South-Eastern Småland. The process of production was controlled by the direct producers. Here there were similarities with agrarian economy. It was throughout a feudal economy where a social elite like the kings, the lay aristocracy as well as the ecclesiastical and monastic institutions could be owner of production sites, but also and mostly to levy rents in iron. The production was specialized and wage-labor was important in the Bergslagen

³⁸ G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, Stockholm 1988, pp. 71-74; S. Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa. En komparativ studie av stadsorganisation och politisk kultur*, Stockholm 2006; A. Nedkvitne, *A Post-National Perspective on the German Hansa in Scandinavia*, in: *Contact between Low German and Scandinavian in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. L. Elmevik, E.H. Jahr, Uppsala 2012, pp. 17-37.

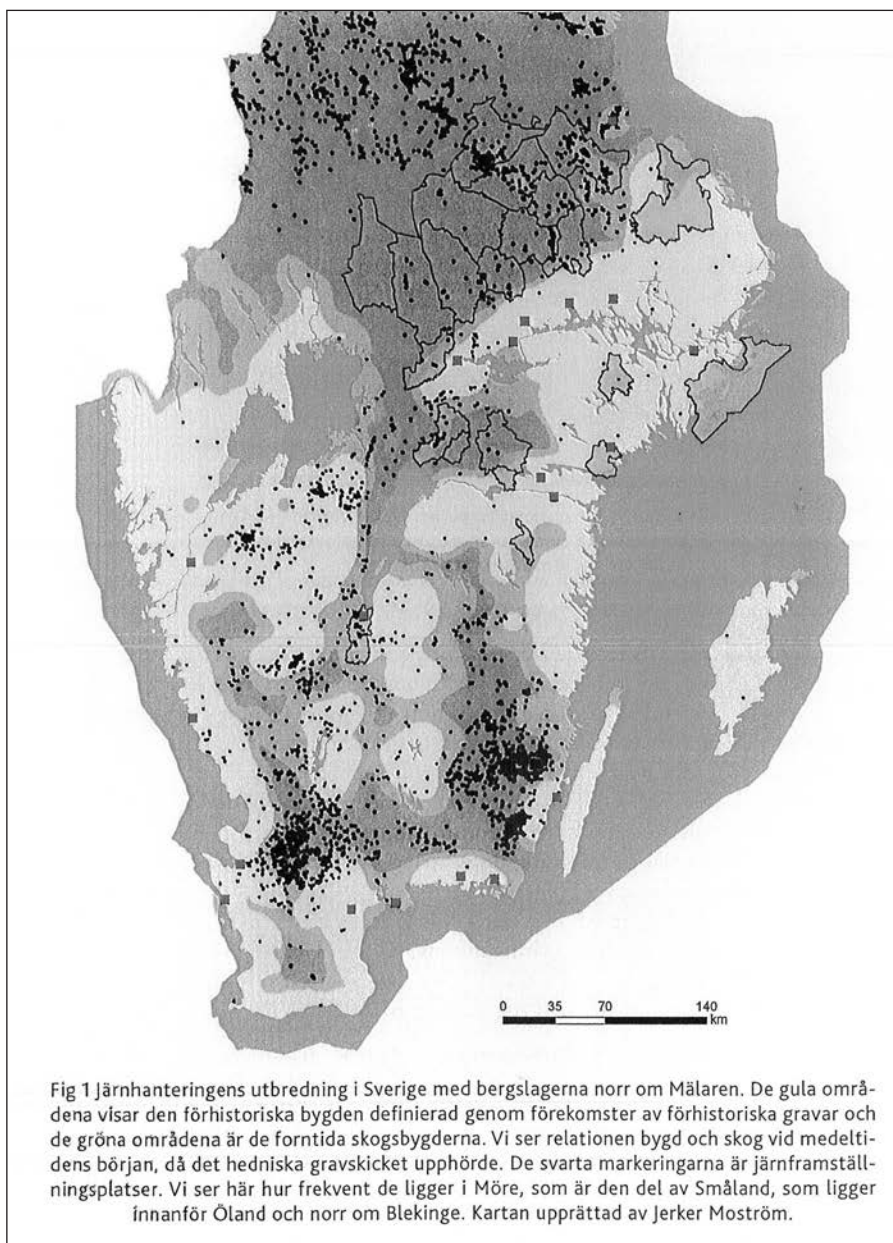
³⁹ S. Lindroth, *Gruvbrytning och kopparhantering vid Stora Kopparberget intill 1800-talets början*, I: *Gruvan och gruvbrytningen*, Uppsala 1955, pp. 24-28; K. Kumlien, *Järnberget och kronan*, in: *Norberg genom 600 år*, ed. K. Kumlien, Uppsala 1958, pp. 210ff.

region, but everywhere the iron production was well integrated within the agrarian economy of farmers and villages. The royal privileges granted the blast furnace production and integrated with certain rules them as separate units within the general legal framework. The trade with iron became vital and the intense urbanization in the Lake Mälaren region, and Eastern Sweden in general, was a consequence of this. The wealth of other emerging and growing towns like Kalmar and Söderköping depended on the iron trade and production. Trade was important to control and in this sphere German merchants and the Hanseatic League were important agents. It became also important for the Crown to exercise political and administrative control and influence in the region where production and trade with iron played an immense economic role. The iron contributed in a decisive way to the social and geopolitical changes and also the making of Sweden as a Christian and European monarchy.

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the making of Sweden as a kingdom during the Middle Ages. Regional differences between the two main regions of an eventual Sweden, Svealand and Götaland, were of substantial importance. The Christianization, the establishment of the Church's institutions and the Christian monarchy developed at first in Västergötland and Östergötland. It was an early reception of the European institutions followed by a social change. But when a far more organized and institutionalized administrative structure evolved rather precipitously in the second half of the 13th century this also meant a transfer of political power to Eastern Sweden: the area around Lake Mälaren and also Östergötland. That area became then the most dynamic region, not at least concerning the economy with an efficient land valuation systems and a high degree of urbanization.

This change is explained by the expansion of iron production from the 12th century onwards. The demand of iron products both in Sweden but not least abroad caused an intensified production including the endogenous invention of the blast furnaces. This new economy dominated in the Bergslagen area. The production iron and the trade with iron caused an urbanization in eastern Sweden.



The grey areas are the sparsely populated forest regions. The black dots are the bloomery iron sites or deposits of slag. The different *bergslags* with blast furnace production and their borders are marked (after *Järnet och Sveriges medeltida modernisering*, ed. B. Berglund, Stockholm 2015, p. 33; the map is made by Jerker Moström, Rikard Sohlenius and Gert Magnusson).

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THE NORWEGIAN KINGDOM IN THE MIDDLE AGES



The embryo of the Norwegian kingdom goes back to late 9th and early 10th Century. The Norwegian historian Sverre Bagge has called his seminal book on state formation in Norway c. 900-1350, for “From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom”.¹ It is an explanatory and incisive title. Based on many factors, among them concentration of resources and inspiration from kingdoms on the British Isles and the Continent, the three Scandinavian kingdoms Denmark, Norway and Sweden came out of the Viking Age. They have all existed ever since, but with changing boundaries and within different state compositions. Denmark was the oldest and most powerful Scandinavian kingdom during the Middle Ages. Sweden was lagging behind in many ways when it came to state building and Christianity in the first centuries of the Middle Ages, compared with the other two kingdoms, with Norway in a middle position.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM c. 880-1130

The first known Norwegian king was Harald Halvdansson Finehair (880s-c. 932) who seems to have controlled the Western parts of today’s Norway. He was considered the founder of the Norwegian kingdom already in the Middle Ages. All later Norwegian kings had to claim being descendants of Harald to be accepted as kings. Harald seems to have cooperated with the earl of Lade in Trøndelag (Mid-Norway) in controlling the long Norwegian coast from Hålogaland in the north to Rogaland in the south, while the Danish king seems to have controlled the south-eastern part of modern Norway, Viken, the

¹ S. Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom. State Formation in Norway, c. 900-1350*, Copenhagen 2010.

land on both sides of the Oslofjord. There was a striving for power in Norway between the Norwegian kings, earls of Lade and the Danish kings until mid-11th century when some kind of mutual Danish-Norwegian recognition of the two kingdoms seems to have been established. However, the Danish king still could claim to be Viken's formal overlord until c. 1200, and be a powerful ally to Norwegian claimants to the Norwegian throne.

The death of King Olav Haraldsson (1015-1030) at the battle of Stiklestad and later the establishment of the king as Saint Olav, Norway's patron saint, is a watershed in the history of the Norwegian kingdom in the Middle Ages. It marks Norway's final Christianization, the integration of the inland regions into the Norwegian kingdom and, as mentioned, the Danish king's acceptance of an independent Norwegian kingdom. Interior peace marked the next century where the Norwegian kingdom was being stabilized while some kings, especially Harald Sigurdsson Hådrada (1046-1066) and Magnus Olavsson Barelegs (1093-1103), but also Sigurd Magnusson the Crusader (1103-1130), conducted an offensive policy abroad. Dual monarchs more than once ruled the kingdom in this period without this leading to conflicts. Dual monarchs usually divided the kingdom between them. The royal administrative system was still rudimentary. The king travelled round the kingdom with his retainers (*hird*). The king had no regular taxes beyond that the population was obliged to feed him and his men. The king's main task was to uphold interior peace as best he could and to pardon or sentence people. One result of the establishment and growth of the Norwegian kingdom was the foundation of several towns in Norway during the 10th and 11th centuries. The first episcopal seats were also established in the period.

THE CIVIL WARS 1130-1240

Norway experienced periodically open conflict between different claimants to the throne between 1130 and 1240. The traditional name on this period is the Civil Wars. The name has been criticized being anachronistic because it signals too strong a state formation at the time. Nevertheless, in spite of inter-Scandinavian alliances and similar contemporary conflicts in Denmark and Sweden, the main goal for the combatants in Norway was to control the Norwegian throne and develop the Norwegian kingdom as a political entity. The struggles started as a conflict between different kings and their men, but developed into a situation where "parties" controlling different regions of the kingdom fighting each other. The lack of a formal law of succession, the end of the Viking Age and social tensions are among the most prominent causes put forward.

The Norwegian civil wars illustrate the dictum of war being productive and progressive when it comes to state formation. A Norwegian archdiocese

was established with the seat in Nidaros (Trondheim) in 1152 or 1153. Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson (1161-1188) and Earl Erling Ormsson Skakke, *de facto* ruler of Norway, made an alliance between the Church and the Kingdom to strengthen both. Magnus (1161-1184), son of Earl Erling, was crowned king of Norway, the first Scandinavian king to be so, in 1163 or 1164. In return, King Magnus swore an oath where he accepted the throne as a vassal of Saint Olav "Norway's eternal king". Further, a formal Law of Succession based on primogeniture and legitimate birth, both in accordance with the Church's doctrines, was adopted. The usurper Sverre (1177-1202), nevertheless, succeeded in tearing apart this apparently solid alliance. He claimed the throne on the legitimacy of the old tradition. Sverre declared himself to be a son of King Sigurd Haraldsson Munn (1136-1155) and refused to accept the concessions Earl Erling had made the Church in return for Magnus' coronation. Sverre and his men, the Birchlegs, won control over most of the kingdom. Viken, the south-eastern part of Norway, was once more the center of opposition. Besides, Sverre never managed to obtain a good relationship with the Church.

THE GOLDEN AGE 1240-1350

Nevertheless, Sverre was the founder of the Sverre Dynasty, that was to rule Norway through male line until 1319, and female to 1387. Out of the civil wars came a better and more effective royal administrative apparatus. Around fifty *systemenn*, all were the king's vassals, spread all over the kingdom, were the core basis of the apparatus. Regular royal taxes came into existence and a military management based on a combination of elite troops recruited from the aristocracy and popular mobilization in the so-called *leidang*.

King Håkon Håkonsson's reign (1217-1263) was an important and major step in Norwegian state building in the Middle Ages. Håkon ended the civil wars and was crowned by a papal envoy. The king issued a Law of Succession in 1260 based on mainly the same principles as the Law from 1163 or 1164. Norway as a hereditary monarchy was thereby stated clearly. King Håkon built monumental buildings, stimulated the import of contemporary European literature, like ballads, as part of a deliberated policy of creating a European aristocratic culture at the king's court and among the Norwegian political elite. Besides, Håkon Håkonsson succeeded in getting the Icelanders and the Norse Greenlanders to accept his rule.

Håkon Håkonsson's successors continued the state building process until the Black Death hit the country in 1349. Magnus VI the Law-mender (1263-1280) gave the country, as one of the first in Europe, a National Law in 1274 and a City Law two years later. The fact that Magnus Eriksson

(1319-1355/1374) became king of both Norway and Sweden in 1319 did not fundamentally change this Norwegian domestic state building process. The personal union between the two kingdoms was very loose. King Magnus obviously did not intend to fuse the two kingdoms into one entity, and the political elite in both countries acted political separately from each other.

THE ERA OF UNION 1350-1537

The Black Death and the following plague epidemics in the late Middle Ages caused major demographic and economic changes in Norway like in any other countries hit by the plague. Still, the political situation did not change at first. A domestic Norwegian king, Håkon VI (1355-1380), was in existence most of the second half of the 14th century. Due to inter-Scandinavian rivalries, wars and alliances since late 13th century, the Nordic dynasties were merged into each other. The Norwegian-Swedish union under King Magnus Eriksson was one of the results. When the German Mecklenburg dynasty succeeded in getting the control of most of Sweden by the reign of King Albrecht (1364-1389) and aimed at winning control over Denmark too, the Nordic political situation became even more complicated and tense. The Hanseatic League was another central actor in Scandinavian politics at the time.

The result of this complex political, economic and social situation was the Kalmar Union in 1397. This union between the three kingdoms Denmark, Norway and Sweden was a Scandinavian example of the political unions so typical for late Medieval Europe. The Union was original based on the principles of equality between the three kingdoms. Each kingdom should maintain its independence but have common king and being part of a military alliance. The reality was to become a growing Danish dominance of the union. Both Swedes and Norwegians opposed this state building process with center in Denmark. The outcome of the political rivalry was Sweden's final break with the union in 1523 when King Gustav Eriksson (Vasa) re-established a fully independent Swedish kingdom. Norway on the other hand, was subdued to Danish rule in 1537. Norway, a Kingdom under Danish dependency, was to be part of a typical early modern European conglomerate state until 1814. Then, because of the Napoleon wars, Norwegians regained their position as an independent Kingdom although in a personal union with Sweden until 1905.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS RESOURCES

A prominent Norwegian historian, Jens Arup Seip, once characterized the history of the Norwegian kingdom in the Middle Ages as an example of

two major problems in all historical studies, i.e. a kingdom's rise and fall². Seip warned against simplistic explanations for the fate of the Norwegian kingdom at the end of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, a prolonged and strong Norwegian historical tradition points out Norway's meager resources as the fundamental reason for the fall of the independent kingdom in 1537. The late medieval crisis simply meant an end to the necessary basis of resources for independence. Albeit the question of resources is important when it comes to state building and political independence, today's state of research opens for a less determined and more complex casual explanation for the fate of the Norwegian kingdom in the Middle Ages. An interaction of political, social, religious and economic structures over a long period made the country vulnerable when the Union King wanted to accomplish full control over Norway and eliminate Norwegian political opponents in the 1530s.

Norway is a mountainous country with much less agricultural land compared to Sweden and especially Denmark. Thus, one have to consider the long coastline and rich fisheries to understand why a Norwegian Kingdom could be founded and exist as an independent political unit for centuries. The main royal revenues were taxes, crown lands, fines and customs. The total of the King's revenues at its top in the High Middle Ages was at least 10 thousands marks burnt or probably more. When considering the material basis for a Norwegian kingdom in the Middle Ages, one should also have in mind the many tasks that were the duty of local societies, for instance building and maintenance of roads and bridges.

Norway's total population in the Middle Ages is difficult to estimate, but probably around half a million people lived in medieval Norway at the population peak just before the Black Death. Most likely, the population fell to approximately 200 thousands at the lowest around 1500. Most of the inhabitants in Norway lived in the countryside, not in villages but at separate farmsteads. The towns in Norway were few and small. Nevertheless, the towns played a growing significant role as residence and administrative centers for both the Kingdom and the Church. Nidaros (Trondheim), Bergen, Oslo, Stavanger and Hamar were episcopal seats; the first town becoming the archbishop's seat in 1152/1153.

Like any other kings in medieval Europe, the Norwegian king was ambulant. Nevertheless, we can discern a pattern where the king and the court stayed in certain towns for shorter or longer periods. Bergen was the largest town and became the most prominent royal residence after the end of the civil wars. The town upheld its position as one of Norway's most prominent royal residences as long as the country had a domestic king. Bergen's position as

² J.A. Seip, *Problemer og metode i norsk middelalderforskning*, "Historisk tidsskrift" XXXII (1940-1942), pp. 49-133.

Norway's largest town and important administrative center continued through the Middle Ages. Nidaros had been an important town for the Birchleg party and its Kings. This changed during Håkon Håkonsson's reign. Because of the archbishop's seat, Nidaros' position as the Norwegian church's major town grew rapidly and its royal importance fell simultaneously. Tønsberg and Oslo were the most prominent royal residences besides Bergen. Some would like to see Oslo as Norway's "capital" from King Håkon V's reign (1299-1319). While the king still was a duke (1284-1299), he declared the town as the "major town" of his duchy. King Håkon appointed the dean of Saint Mary's Church, a royal chapel, as his chancellor in 1314 and declared this a permanent combination in the future. He furthermore started to build Akershus Castle just outside medieval Oslo, which was to become one of Norway's most important royal castles. However, "capital" is an anachronistic term for the Middle Ages. Håkon V continued to ambulate and so did his successors until 1387 and the dean being royal chancellor was not always fulfilled.

Not only Bergen, but also even Tønsberg seems to be as important royal residences and administrative centers as Oslo for the rest of 14th century. In Bergen, you had the royal monumental buildings from the 13th century, like Haakon's Hall (*Håkonshallen*) and nearby Tønsberg was Tunsberghus Castle. Båhus Castle in today's Sweden, then a Norwegian border castle, was an important royal residence between 1319 and 1387. The Kalmar Union changed the situation when it comes to royal residences. With Queen Margareta (1388-1412) as partly an exception, none of the Union monarchs visited Norway regularly, despite promises made on demands from the Norwegians.

King Sverre was the first to build stone fortresses and castles in Norway. Both his royal successors until 1380 and the bishops built stone castles. We know few aristocratic stone castles. However, due to low interest and therefore little archaeological activity, we do not have a full picture of the aristocratic buildings in medieval Norway. There were presumably more aristocratic stone buildings than we know of today, but the most common aristocratic type of residence in medieval Norway was probably buildings of timber with foundation walls of stone. We can see parts of such a medieval building today at Aga in Hardanger, Western Norway.

Due to the landscape, economy, political and military situation Norway never got many stone castles. The royal castles Bergenhus (Bergen), Tunsberghus (Tønsberg), Akerhus (Oslo) and Båhus (Kongeliv) made up a sufficient administrative network for a royal military and administrative control of Norway, both for the domestic and later the union monarchs. Especially the archbishop, but even other bishops, continued to strengthen their castles and even built new ones in the late Middle Ages. The few royal castles and the even fewer aristocratic castles has made many to conclude that Norway never went through the so-called military revolution in the

Middle Ages, i.e. the military and administrative system of stone castles with garrisons of knights. The shortage of resources is said to be the basic reason for this. Yet, the Norwegians did have mounted troops, admittedly not numerous, and were able to both besiege and capture fortresses during military campaigns. Furthermore, the country had for the most interior peace after the civil wars. Besides, the mainly absent king after 1397 did not have the need to build many castles in Norway. On the contrary, as mentioned the union monarchs obviously considered the network of four royal castles with loyal captains from the west to the east, as sufficient for controlling the country. Therefore, a combination of landscape and resources with political and military circumstances probably explains the relative few castles in Norway.

THE ARISTOCRACY

An alliance between the king and the regional aristocracy based on landed property and Viking raids was a prerequisite for the unification of the Norwegian kingdom. The most prominent and powerful of these aristocrats were those who qualified for becoming the king's *lendmenn*, i.e. men who the king "lent" crown land. These men had already a powerful regional position, but became even more powerful by being the king's allies. The ruler, on the other hand, got loyal men throughout the country. He had in addition his retinue (the *hird*). King Sverre seemed to have felt many members of the old and powerful aristocracy, and promoted many of his own adherents to *lendmann's* status.

The experience from the civil wars created a long-lasting and strong solidarity among the king and members of the Birchleg party, as brothers-in-arms. The formal Norwegian lay aristocracy was still in second half of the 13th century organized in the *hird* even though the members did not constantly travel around with the king. Instead, the *hird* was at this time a nationwide organization of the king's vassals. One might explain the continuity of the name of *hird* in spite of the fundamental change in function for the members, with the Birchleg tradition of being brothers-in-arms. Only members of the *hird* and therefore vassals to the king could have a post as a local royal representative or servant, a *systemann*. The vassalage constituted both duties and rights for both the vassal and the patron, i.e. the king. The vassal had to fulfill qualified military service for the king, had the privilege to be sentenced by equals and enjoyed a minor tax redemption. They served at the court for shorter or longer periods. The king had to support, both material and legal, his vassals in return. This relationship between the king and his men, the vassalage as a prerequisite for royal posts, is the feudal element in the Norwegian Kingdom in the Middle Ages.

The *lendmenn* got the title of “baron”, after English model, in 1277. Members of the next rank got the title of “knight” and the common *hirdmenn* the title of “esquire” at the same time. The last two titles represented the European chivalry system. The change of titles illustrates how the Norwegian society and especially the aristocracy was becoming more exclusive and “European” at this time. From late-13th century, Norwegian aristocrats also started to use seals with their coat-of-arms. Due to the fundamental change the aristocracy underwent and the weakening of the Birchleg tradition, even the *hird* in its reformed organization as a corporation disappeared in the first half of the 14th century. The king withdrawn the title of “baron” already early in the 14th century. “Knight” and “esquire” were thereafter the titles for members of the formal Norwegian aristocracy, with “knight” as the most prominent and highest rank. Beyond this group of aristocrats with titles, you had a group of men without titles but with a privileged position due to their service for knights or esquires or because of their amount of landed property.

The formal Norwegian aristocracy was never numerous; and the upper ranks, what we might called the nobility, were always few, like in any other medieval European country. Due to various political and demographic factors and some coincidences, the numbers became extremely low in the beginning of the 16th century. The Kalmar Union implied an absent king in Norway. This made *Köningsnähe*, the fundamental institution for an aristocrat to promote his career, much more complicated and challenging for Norwegians. The Union king supported his favorites, who often were foreign men with strong loyalty to the king while the church in Norway strengthened its position including the total amount of landed property. This left the Norwegian aristocracy in a difficult situation to uphold its position. The nobility was the kingdom’s leading political elite and the weakness of this group at the time is one of the main reasons for Norway’s loss of independence in 1537. Nevertheless, even though the Norwegian aristocracy in contrast to their Swedish colleagues did not manage to hinder the Union kings’ undermining of their position in the long term, they were able to fill both their administrative and military functions as long as Norway existed as an independent kingdom.

OTHER ESTATES: PEASANTS AND TOWNSMEN

At least 90-95% of the Norwegian population must have been peasants in the Middle Ages. Norwegian peasants were free men, but the majority of them became tenants during the high Middle Ages. Slaves disappeared from the Norwegian society during the 12th century and beginning of the 13th century. Norway did not have feudal estates. Instead, the landowners got their incomes from different parts of estates and farms spread round the country. The decisive “material” criteria for being accepted as an aristocrat in

the Norwegian medieval society like elsewhere in Europe, was the capability of living only on land rent and not having to do the physical cultivating. The basic principle of the Norwegian landowning system was the oldest son inheriting the beneficial right and his "brother part" of the production, while brothers inherited their brother parts of production. This made the intestate successor at the same time both a landowner and a tenant. The social differentiation seems to have been substantial from farmers who aspired to an aristocratic status via the average peasant to land workers depending on working on other's land for a living.

Along the Norwegian coast and especially in the north, fisheries was important for the population. Stockfish was Norway's most important export commodity. The rich fisheries in Lofoten in northern Norway goes back to at least to the 12th century, probably even longer. The export was concentrated to Bergen where the German Hanseatic League established itself during the 13th century and founded one of its "Offices" in the late 1350s. The Germans managed to monopolize the export of stockfish from Norway by offering a stable market for the fish on the continent and importing corn during the late middle Ages. Even though one obviously grew corn in every possible areas of Norway in the Middle Ages until the Black Death, there was a need for import at least to some areas, especially in northern Norway.

The Hanseatic League also founded colonies in Tønsberg and Oslo in south-eastern Norway, but in less scale than in Bergen. The Hanseatic dominance of Norway's foreign trade probably hindered a national merchant group developing during the Middle Ages. The Norwegian merchants, at least in Bergen, seemed vivid as a group as late as first half of the 15th century, but ended up as mediators in the Norwegian trade system. Besides merchants, the towns had royal and ecclesiastical representatives, aristocratic residents, different artisans and workers. Shoemakers were one especially important artisan group. German immigrants seem to have dominated even her, but there were also native shoemakers. The Norwegian king tried to protect and stimulate the work of native shoemakers and other artisans and immigrants who had "connection to the kingdom". The king forbade the organization of guilds in Bergen in the 1290s, and later the authorities seem only to have accepted guilds for shoemakers. Norwegian authorities and the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen rivaled over the control of the German artisans in the town. King Magnus the Law-mender issued as mentioned earlier a separate Town Law in 1276, two years after his National Law Code.

THE CHURCH

As described above the Norwegian Church organization was founded and expanded during the late-11th century and first half of the 12th century. The

Nidaros archbishopric included at its most wide ranging the bishoprics of Bergen, Stavanger, Oslo and Hamar in Norway, the two Icelandic bishoprics, the bishopric of Faroe Islands, Greenland, the Orkneys and the Hebrides and Man. The pope transferred in 1472 the last two bishoprics to the new Scottish archbishopric in Saint Andrews (Man was placed under Canterbury). Different monastic orders also founded monasteries in Norway even though they were relatively few and small. Nevertheless, the monasteries symbolized the culmination of the Church organization in Norway in the Middle Ages.

The clerics were the educated in Norway as elsewhere in Europe during the Middle Ages. The king had clerics in his service. No university was founded in Norway, but the chapters and the schools at the episcopal seats educated clerics. A substantial part of Norwegian higher clerics also had university studies. The archbishop and the bishops suggested in the 1430s the use of one fourth of the tithe as scholarships for talented Norwegians to study at universities abroad. The motivation was to strengthen the native recruitment for ecclesiastical positions in Norway.

As elsewhere in medieval Europe the Kingdom and the Church both cooperated and rivaled as "state institutions". The conflict on where the line between royal and ecclesial authority in society was, reached its peak in the 1270s. King Magnus the Law-mender and Archbishop Jon Raude adopted the Concordat of Tønsberg (*Sættargjerden*) in 1277. The concordat gave the church substantial concessions from the king, but later kings and royal representatives did not accept all these concessions. The Union King Christian I ratified the concordat in 1458 in return for the Norwegian Council of the Realm accepting Christian's son, Hans, as Norwegian royal successor. The ratification in 1458 indicates among other things the Norwegian church's position as the dominant domestic political and economic institution in Norway at that time. This made the archbishop the most powerful domestic politician in Norway. The Church's dominant position came into reality because of the king being a Union king not a domestic king after 1397 and because of the decline of the upper strata of the Norwegian aristocracy especially after 1450. The Church's dominant domestic position in Norway continued to grow until the Reformation in 1537. The result was that when the Norwegian Catholic Church fell in 1537, Norway's political independence did the same.

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL SYSTEM

Several factors laid behind the fact that Norway became one of the few hereditary monarchy in medieval Europe, and the only among the Scandinavian Kingdoms. The civil wars strengthened the bonds between the king and the aristocracy. Furthermore, one has pointed out the balance of resources and power between different groups in Norway due to Norway's

landscape and natural resources. From the long perspective every group had the interest of cooperation within the institutional kingdom. The aristocracy maintained its position as political, social, economic and military elite through posts in the royal administration. The church, in spite of conflicts now and then, also saw its interests best taken care of by cooperating with the king. Even the peasants had interest of the services the Kingdom offered. All this gave the king relatively considerably personal power and influence. The first Law of Succession came, as mentioned above, in 1163 or 1164, the next one in 1260, then a new one in 1273 with revision in 1302. The King's Mirror, probably written around 1255, is a Norwegian example of *speculum* literature that deals with politics and morality. The unknown author probably wrote the text for the sons of King Håkon Håkonsson, among them the later King Magnus the Law-mender, and argues among many things for strong kingship and public justice. The Law of Succession was one factor that led the country into personal unions, first with Sweden in 1319, later with Denmark in 1380/1381. All the same, the Law of Succession did not prevent Norwegian politicians to derogate from the law if they saw this would earn their interests.

The hereditary monarchy and the balance of power within the society did not mean the Norwegian king had absolute power or that Medieval Norway was a "democracy". On the contrary, the king had to balance and satisfy the aristocrats' interests. The Church was the most developed organization and was part of the powerful medieval Catholic Church. The peasants were conscious about its interests and every infringement of the "rule of law and custom". Nevertheless, the few, i.e. the king and the lay and ecclesiastical elites extracted substantial amount of resources through taxes, duties and fees from the many, i.e. the peasants.

The peasants lost their political influence on national level concurrently with the state building. They were reduced to give the acclamation after decisions were taken by the political elites, for instance on royal succession. Nevertheless, the king cooperated with local societies in many ways that gave the last influence on their living conditions. The king had always counselors around him. The King's Council developed into a Council of the Realm during the first half of the 14th century. The Council claimed to represent the Realm and its inhabitants with the right to rule the Kingdom beside the king. The archbishop and all the other bishops along with the most prominent lay aristocrats were members of the council.

The Norwegian political and social construction was fundamentally changed and challenged after 1397 when the monarch no longer was domestic. The Union kings did not have the same interest in cooperating and stimulating the domestic elites as their Norwegian domestic predecessors. The primary political goal was to keep control over the union and lead a state building process with center in Denmark. As mentioned above the result

was a weakening of the Norwegian aristocracy overtime while the Church became the most important maintainer of Norway's political independence. The Norwegian Council of the Realm took a major and important political step when it changed Norway's constitutional principle from being a hereditary monarchy to an electoral one from the mid-15th century. The aim was to gain political control and influence over the king and the royal succession. The Norwegians upheld the electoral principle until 1537 while the dynasty continued to claim Norway as their hereditary Kingdom. The politics of the Union monarchs in the late Middle Ages could even lead both the Norwegian elites and peasants, often in alliance, to revolt against what they claimed was violence of Norwegian political system, law and customs. One major complaint was the use of foreigners in administrative posts in Norway. The Union monarchs considered them more inclined to be loyal to them than defend Norwegian political independence. Norwegian aristocrats saw these foreigners as competitors for the valuable administrative posts. These posts were important for the domestic aristocracy both economic and political. The peasants complained many foreigners for not knowing or following Norwegian law and customs.

NORWAY AS A EUROPEAN LATIN CHRISTIAN KINGDOM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Due to relatively scarcity of natural resources, the Norwegian political system was probably more vulnerable to challenges from a political union with neighbor countries than for instance Sweden. Nevertheless, when Norway lost its political independence in 1537, it had existed as a separate kingdom for over 500 years. This long period had made Norway into a European Latin Christian Kingdom, indeed in the European periphery, but fully integrated into the Western European medieval culture.

The fact is that Norway has never ceased to be a separate kingdom, even under Danish rule between 1537 and 1814. That is why one today can say that the modern Norwegian royal dynasty is relatively young, from 1905, but the kingdom is old.³

³ Suggestions for further reading in English: S. Bagge, *Cross and Scepter: The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms From the Vikings to the Reformation*, Princeton-Oxford 2014; R. Danielsen et al., *Norway: A History from the Vikings to Our Own Times*, Oslo 1995; *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, I: *Prehistory to 1520*, ed. K. Helle, Cambridge 2003.

ABSTRACT

During the Middle Ages, the Norwegian kingdom developed into a European Latin Christian Kingdom but entered the Kalmar Union with Denmark and Sweden in 1397. Norway's outcome of the union was loss of its political independence in 1537. Norway is a mountainous country. Thus, one have to consider the long coastline and rich fisheries to understand why a Norwegian Kingdom could be founded and exist as an independent political unit for centuries. The main royal revenues were taxes, crown lands, fines and customs. Norway's total population in the Middle Ages was probably half a million people just before the Black Death and approximately 200 thousands at the lowest around 1500. Like any other kings in medieval Europe, the Norwegian king was ambulant. We can discern a pattern where the king and the court stayed in certain towns for shorter or longer periods. Bergen was the largest town and became the most prominent royal residence after the end of the civil wars in 1240. Both domestic kings and the bishops built stone castles. We know few aristocratic stone castles. Due to the landscape, economy, political and military situation four royal castles made up a sufficient administrative network for a royal military and administrative control of Norway. The formal Norwegian aristocracy was never numerous; and the upper ranks (the nobility), were always few. The weakness of this group in the beginning of the 16th century is one of the main reasons for Norway's loss of independence in 1537. Norwegian peasants were free men, but the majority of them became tenants during the high Middle Ages. The Hanseatic dominance of Norway's foreign trade probably hindered a national merchant group developing. The Norwegian merchants ended up as mediators in the Norwegian trade system. Besides merchants, the towns had royal and ecclesiastical representatives, aristocratic residents, different artisans and workers. As elsewhere in medieval Europe the Kingdom and the Church both cooperated and rivalled as "state institutions". The Church's dominant position in Norway came into reality because of the king being a Union king not a domestic king after 1397. Norway became one of the few hereditary monarchy in medieval Europe. One reason was probably the balance of resources and power between different groups in Norway due to Norway's landscape and natural resources. Due to relatively scarcity of natural resources, the Norwegian political system was probably more vulnerable to challenges from a political union with neighbor countries than for instance Sweden.



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IN A QUEST FOR A FAME AND RECOGNITION –
ON THE ROLE OF ÚTANFERÐ MOTIF
IN MEDIEVAL ICELANDIC SAGAS OF WARRIOR-POETS



Studies on narratives of medieval sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendigasögur*) have their own long, almost two hundred year, history. It has featured, among others, a discussion on an motif of *útanferð*, a journey abroad undertaken by protagonist of given story, who after leaving Iceland was heading to various parts of the world, most notably either to Scandinavia or British Isles. Those, who have extensively studied the motif so far, first of all Lars Lönnroth,¹ Joseph Harris,² John Lindow³ and Diana Whaley,⁴ evenly underline its significance for those sagas and *þættir*, that feature a skald – ruler relation as the main theme.⁵ This literary perspective, focused on construction of particular narratives, cannot be forgotten. Moreover, as a proper starting point, it may lead into further considerations about position and role of skalds in early medieval Scandinavian society. The aim of this study is to analyse the *útanferð* motif

1 L. Lönnroth, *Njáls saga. An Critical Introduction*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1976.

2 J. Harris, *Genre and Narrative Structure in Some Íslendinga þættir*, "Scandinavian Studies" XLIV (1972) 1, pp. 1-27, particularly pp. 9-14.

3 J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas in their Literary Context, I: Other Icelandic Genres*, in: *Skaldsagas. Text, Vocation and Desire in the Icelandic Sagas of Poets*, ed. R. Poole, Berlin-New York 2001, pp. 218-231.

4 D. Whaley, *Representations of Skalds in the Sagas, I: Social and Professional Relations*, in: *Skaldsagas. Text, Vocation and Desire...*, pp. 290-308.

5 A. Finlay, *Kings and Icelanders in Poets' Sagas and þættir*, in: *Sagas and the Norwegian Experience. Papers of 10th International Saga Conference, Trondheim 3-9 August 1997*, ed. J.R. Hagland, Trondheim 1997, pp. 159-167; J. Morawiec, *Relacje skald-władca w islandzkich þættir jako reminiscencja kultury dworskiej w średniowiecznej Skandynawii*, in: *Kultura ludów Morza Bałtyckiego*, eds. M. Bogacki, M. Franz, Z. Pilarczyk, Toruń 2008, pp. 58-76.

not only as a literary construct but also as an reflex of real social and political developments in medieval North, marked also by ambitions of particular poets and exclusiveness of their art.

The motif in question plays significant role in *Hallfreðar saga*.⁶ The main protagonist of the story, Hallfreðr Ottarsson, is a young poet who fell in love in Kolfinna, a daughter of his father's best friend. Hallfreðr started to date her regularly but, contrary to what was expected from him, he did not intend to marry her.⁷ It was the primary reason of his further troubles ending up with his capture by certain Grís, who appeared as a successful suitor for Kolfinna's hand. Hallfreðr could not accept any competition in this aspect so it resulted with a series of poetic insults directed toward Grís, so the latter was additionally motivated to stand against the troublesome poet. This confrontation made Ottarr, skald's father, intervened. He managed to release Hallfreðr and, at the very same time, was encouraging him to leave the island. Words he was said to utter toward his son seem to be especially significant in a context of the whole story: "en þú, frændi, skalt fara útan ok leita þér meiri soemðar" ("but you should go abroad and look for a greater honour for yourself there").⁸ Hallfreð's mind however was totally occupied by a vision of further conflict with Grís. That's why both his father and Óláfr of Haukagil, skald's foster-father, "fýsti mjök Hallfreð útan at fara".⁹ Finally skald left Iceland and travelled to Norway. Thanks to his poetic talent he managed to find his place first at court of jarl Hákon of Hlaðir, then enter a retinue of the king Óláfr Tryggvason. What happened to Hallfreðr next was determined by both his relation with the king of Norway, culminating with skald's conversion,¹⁰ and ongoing search for personal happiness, temporally

6 *Hallfreðar saga*, ed. E.Ó. Sveinsson, Íslenzk Fornrit VIII, Reykjavík 1939 (henceforth: ÍF VIII); J. Lindow (*Skald Sagas*, p. 226) rightly indicates that a narrative of *Hallfreðar saga*, as perhaps any other saga, is exclusively based on *útanferð* motive.

7 Interestingly enough, stanzas that are attached to this part of the saga seem to point at poet's admiration of Kolfinna as potential... wife. See more: J. Morawiec, *Wielkie namiętności i ich społeczno-polityczne reperkusje na przykładzie Hallfreðar saga i Bjarnar saga Hitdaelakappa*, in: *Cor hominis. Wielkie namiętności w dziejach, źródłach i studiach nad przeszłością*, eds. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2007, pp. 151-168.

8 ÍF VIII, p. 149.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 150.

10 Hallfreð's conversion has been the subject of several studies: C. Wood, *The Reluctant Christian and the King of Norway*, "Scandinavian Studies" XXXI (1959) 2, pp. 65-72; M. Kalinke, *Stæri ek brag. Protest and Subordination in Hallfreðar saga*, "Skáldskaparmál" IV (1997), pp. 50-68; R. Poole, "The Conversion verses" of Hallfreð vandræðaskáld, "Maal og Mine" I (2002), pp. 15-37; D. Whaley, "The 'Conversion verses' in Hallfreðar saga: Authentic Voice of a Reluctant Christian?", in: *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society*, ed. M. Clunies Ross, Viborg 2003, pp. 234-257; J. Lindow, *Akkerisfrakki: Traditions Concerning Óláfr Tryggvason and Hallfreðr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld and the Problem of the Conversion*, "Journal of English and German Philology"

defined by his marriage with Ingibjörg and two sons he had with her. Ingibjörg's unexpected death made Hallfreðr come back to Iceland where both his love to Kolfinna and conflict with Grís were very quickly reignited. Quite expected end of these confrontations was disturbed by news of Óláfr Tryggvason's fall. It strongly affected the skald, who urging to avenge his lord, again set out from Iceland to Norway. A miraculous intervention by king Óláfr prevented Hallfreðr from plotting against jarl Eirík of Hlaðir. Instead, he moved to Sweden to visit his sons. Shortly after, on his way back to Iceland, he died on the sea.

There is no doubt that Hallfreðr's recognition as very talented poet, very closely connected with the missionary king Óláfr Tryggvason is the main factor that generated the origin of the saga. His artistic skills, ability to compose sophisticated poetry, not only made him famous but also resulted with his nickname, "a troublesome poet" (*vandræðaskáld*).¹¹ A poetic legacy of Hallfreðr, as far as we know it today, for example *erfidrápa* dedicated to king Óláfr, confirms both his artistic skills and close intimacy with the monarch. However, it was a role of the saga to develop and underline these elements. The *útanferð* motif, leaving its historicity a side for a while, fully served to achieve this.

Skald's departure from Iceland consequently led to meeting with the king.¹² Even if, in this context, one treats preceding Hallfreðr's stay at jarl Hákon's court as accidental, it, as documented by a separate *drápa*, couldn't have been left unnoticed though. Moreover, it is narrated in, considering a style of skalds' sagas narrative, very orthodox way: "Hallfreðr fór útan ok til Nóregis. Hann sótti á fund Hákonar jarls ins ríka, er þá réð Nóregi, gekk fyrir hann ok kvaddi hann" ("Hallfreðr sailed to Norway. He was aiming to meet jarl Hákon the Mighty, who ruled the country at that time. The skald came to him and greeted him").¹³ It creates an impression, that Hallfreðr, sailing to Norway, perfectly knew where he was heading to and how to achieve a goal of his journey, clearly defined by his father (*meirr soemd*). It is even

CVI (2007) 1, pp. 64-80; J. Morawiec, *Skipt es á gumna giptu. Hallfreðr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld i jeho poezja na tle przelomowych wydarzeń w Norwegii końca X i początku XI wieku*, "Studia Historyczne" L (2007) 3-4, pp. 276-277.

¹¹ ÍF VIII, p. 155. The motive of skald's nickname is slightly different way arranged in *Heimskringla*. See Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk Fornrit XXVI, Reykjavík 2002, p. 331; D. Whaley, *Representations...*, pp. 286-289, 294-295; J. Morawiec, *Skipt es á gumna giptu...*, p. 267.

¹² D. Whaley (*Representations...*, p. 294) is absolutely right when underlines a significance of a figure of the king for a narrative of *Hallfreðar saga*, especially when compared with other skalds' sagas.

¹³ ÍF VIII, p. 151. See also J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas...*, s. 227.

more striking when compared with a way the saga describes circumstances of Hallfreð's first meeting with king Óláfr. After winter spent at Hákon's court skald returned to Iceland (but not to his father) but decided to sail to Norway again few years later only hearing about political breakdown in the country when Óláfr Tryggvason became the king. In other words, the saga seems to suggest that, sailing *útan* for the first time, Hallfreð didn't care so much who exactly gains the power as long as he can fulfil his needs. The second journey is different. The skald is motivated exactly by a prospect of meeting particular ruler.

It is not surprising then, that their first meeting is marked by extraordinary circumstances. The poet and traders who were his companions, reaching Niðaross, faced very bad weather conditions that made safe anchorage extremely difficult. They managed to do it only thanks to help of mysterious man who presented himself as Akkerisfrakki (Anchor fluke). As the saga indicates: "ekki vissu kaupmenn, hvern þessi hafði verit, en síðar var þeim sagt, at konungrinn sjálf hafði hjálpat þeim" ("merchants did not know who was that man, only later they were said, it was the king himself who helped them").¹⁴ Such a scenario provided intriguing effect. It was King Óláfr himself who supported Hallfreðr on his way into his destiny and a source of fame, namely service for the monarch. Stanzas that both the poet and mysterious Akkerisfrakki directed to each other turned out to be the very first conversation between the king and his future skald. This part of the saga allows also to compare both Hallfreð's patrons. Óláfr is active and supportive, Hákon remains passive. The latter, despite precious gifts, had not been able to keep skald at his side long. Although relation between Hallfreðr and Óláfr, intimate and friendly, was born in pain and remained quite complex, it turned to much more solid, developed and influential for both, especially for the skald.

The motif of journeying abroad allows the saga author to feature in the narrative a catalogue of events, that were to constitute and portray specific relations between the skald and the king. The bond, symbolically initiated in a port of Niðaross, has its two climaxes. One is the skald's baptism, that took place at Óláfr's court,¹⁵ second is a night preceding a duel between Hallfreðr

¹⁴ ÍF VIII, p. 152. The motive in question has been analysed by J. Lindow (*Akkerisfrakki...*, pp. 64-80), who claims that the whole episode was created to present Óláfr Tryggvason as patron of Icelanders in general and Hallfreðr in particular. As such it was to oppose tradition of the king of Norway who forced Icelanders to accept Christianity and remained hostile towards those who were reluctant to follow his orders in this aspect.

¹⁵ ÍF VIII, p. 154. Hallfreðr proudly claims in the *erfidrápa*, that the king was his godfather; see *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas, I: From Mythical Times to c. 1035*, ed. D. Whaley, Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages, I, Turnhout 2012, p. 437.

and Grís, when the king appeared to the poet in a dream and ordered him to withdraw the fight and look for fresh news about his king.¹⁶ Royal protection, the king's luck, accompanied the skald to his own very end. It is clearly confirmed by the last scene of the saga, when Óláfr appears in dream to an abbot of Iona monastery and angrily reacts on undisputed act of profanation when the abbot's servants discovered a coffin with Hallfreð's body, broke it, stole goods deposited there and sank the body in a deep bog.¹⁷

The *útanferð* motif in *Hallfreðar saga* is not restricted only to the skald's stay in Óláfr Tryggvason's retinue. Visits to the Swedish king Óláfr sánski and jarl Sigvaldi, concluded by poems dedicated to both of them, are occasions to see that the protagonist is able to use his poetic talent in "proper" and "expected" way. It resulted with, equally "proper" and "expected" recognition and rewards that the skald benefitted from. The fact, that the saga provides no piece of this court poetry may mean that either those poems were already forgotten at time of composition of the saga or were found unnecessary as focusing on respective rulers not on the skald himself. It is visibly opposed by Hallfreð's numerous *lausavísur*, that reveal his personality and temper like either so called "conversion verses" or these stanzas that can be labelled as *niðvísur* and *mansöngur*.¹⁸

Similarly to others, the narrative of *Hallfreðar saga* focuses also on various artefacts, that symbolize relations between various characters. The *útanferð* motif created opportunities for their fluent implementation and better understanding of their role in various parts of the narrative. When Hallfreðr composed his first *drápa* for Óláfr, the king rewarded the skald with decorated sword, thus named *Konungsnautr* (King's Gift)¹⁹ When Hallfreðr decided to return to Iceland, Óláfr, presuming they won't meet again, gave the skald: "pellsskikkju, hring ok hjálm" ("a costly cloak, an arm-ring and a helmet").²⁰ Granting the poet with these treasures, the king ordered him: "lóga eigi gripunum, því at með þér skulu til kirkju fara, en í kistu leggja hjá þér, ef þú andask í hafi" ("do not part with the treasures for they must go with you to church or lie beside you in your coffin if you die at the sea").²¹ Artefacts listed above were not only a sign of royal generosity towards the skald. They were also to symbolize Óláfr's spiritual patronage of Hallfreðr, initiated on unsafe waters of Trondheimsfjord and confirmed by skald's baptism. Indeed, as

16 ÍF VIII, pp. 191-192. See also: D. Whaley, *Representations...*, p. 296; J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas...*, p. 228; J. Morawiec, *Wielkie namiętności...*, pp. 167-168.

17 ÍF VIII, p. 199.

18 D. Whaley, *Representations...*, p. 287.

19 ÍF VIII, pp. 164, 198.

20 Ibidem, p. 179.

21 Ibidem, p. 180.

Hallfreðr managed to give the *Konungsnaufr* to his son before passing away, the rest of royal gifts found its place in skald's coffin. Moreover, a will to grant Kolfinna with the cloak and the steal attempt on Iona were ineffective, partly due to miraculous intervention of the missionary king. Passing on the sword may be interpreted as Hallfreð's will to guarantee the king's luck for his son. The Iona incident may be, on the other hand, interpreted as an effort to break an exclusive bond between the king and his skald.

The *útanferð* motif plays important role in another saga of warrior-poet, namely in *Bjarnar saga Hitdaelakappa*.²² The story is concentrated on a conflict between two main characters, Björn Arngeirsson and Þórðr Kolbeinsson, who want to win a hand of the same woman, beautiful Oddny Þorkeldsdóttir.²³ Both opponents were acknowledged skalds, both in Iceland and in Norway. Thus, fighting fiercely against each other, they were not afraid to employ their poetic talents. It featured love stanzas dedicated to Oddny (especially by Björn) and lampoons directed toward the opponent. Despite numerous attempts to reconcile both poets, undertaken by their relatives and the king Óláfr Haraldsson, the conflict continued till the tragic end, it is a killing of Björn, ambushed by Þórðr and his people. The *útanferð* motive provides additional, important context of this rivalry. Björn and Oddny were engaged. He intended to leave Iceland for some time and Þorkell Dugfuson, Oddny's father agreed to keep his daughter unmarried for three years. Björn was supposed to return before this term expires. Otherwise, Þorkell could feel free to marry Oddny to anybody else.²⁴ Although the saga does not state it explicitly, one can easily assume why Björn planned to leave Iceland. It is enough to note reaction of Skúli, Björn's friend, on the latter's decision to *fara útan*: "miklu vǫru síðr á legg komnir enn hann" ("many less mature gained success this way").²⁵ Skúli's following words clearly show the way to gain the success: "Þá er þú kemr til Noregs Björn, ok finnr Eiríkr jarl, vin minn, þá ber honum kveðju mína ok orðsending till at hann taki við þér" ("When you get to Norway Björn, and meet my friend, jarl Eiríkr, carry to him my greeting and a message from me asking him to receive you").²⁶ There is no doubt, that a possibility to enter jarl's court was decisive for Björn's potential success in Norway. It was also important for a further development of the main plot of the saga, namely the rivalry between Björn and Þórðr as, one can read at the very beginning of the story, that the latter "var skáld mikit

²² *Bjarnar saga Hitdaelakappa*, eds. S. Nordal, G. Jónson, Íslenzk Fornrit III, Reykjavík 1938 (henceforth: ÍF III).

²³ See more J. Morawiec, *Wielkie namiętności...*, pp. 155-168.

²⁴ ÍF III, p. 114.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 113.

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 114-115.

ok helt sér mjök fram til virðingar. Var hann jafnan utanlands, vel virðr af meira háttar mönnum sakir mentanar sinnar. Þórðr varð hirðmaðr Eiríks jarls Hákonarsonar ok af honum vel metinn” (“was a considerable poet and did much to maintain his own reputation. He was always held in respect by important men abroad because of his skill as a poet. Þórðr was a follower of jarl Eiríkr Hákonarson and was much esteemed by him”).²⁷

The motif in question served an author of the saga to explain reasons of the conflict between two protagonists.²⁸ Staying at Eirík’s court, they often hang out together and discussed future plans. Björn was going, counting on jarl’s permission, to undertake some plundering expeditions, just to “afla mér fjár ok sæmdar” (“gain both fame and riches”).²⁹ Þórðr however kept urging the son of Arngeirr to come back to Iceland and marry Oddny. The latter only accepted an offer from Þórðr to deliver Oddny a ring as evidence of his undisturbed and continued feeling. That’s the way he explained his attitude: “enn ek þykkjumst enn of lítt reynt mik hafa í framgöngu ok óvíða kannat hafa góðra manna siðu, enn ef ek ferr þegar til Íslands, þá mun ek eigi nenna at fara svá skjótt frá ráðahag mínum” (“I think I have not tested myself in enough enterprises or explored widely the customs of good men, and if I go to Iceland at once, I will not be inclined to travel again so soon after my marriage”).³⁰

It was Þórðr who took advantage on Björn’s decisions. After his return to Iceland, he first started claiming that the Björn’s will was, in the case of his death, that Oddny would be betrothed to Þórðr. Indeed, the following summer, when he learned Björn was wounded, Þórðr announced that the former is dead and on that basis managed to marry Þorkell Dugfuson’s daughter.

Þórð’s treason and disloyalty were absolutely enough to justify eruption of fierce and tragically concluded conflict between two poets when they eventually met on Iceland. It was channelled also by series of *niðvisur*, composed by both skalds, a poetry found as “bad” and “forbidden”. Substantial number of stanzas, uttered by both opponents, did in fact much more damage than direct encounters and attacks arranged by both sides, affecting not only skalds themselves but also their families and friends.³¹ In the saga narrative *niðvisur* are set against „good” court poetry, composed

27 Ibidem, p. 111.

28 See J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas...*, p. 222.

29 ÍF III, p. 117.

30 Ibidem, p. 118.

31 See A. Finlay, *Monstrous Allegations: An Exchange of “ýki” in Bjarnar “saga Hitdaelakappa”, “Alvíssmál” X (2001)*, pp. 21-44.

by Þórðr during his own *útanferð* and dedicated to jarl Eiríkr and king Óláfr Haraldsson.

The motif in question features also series of artefacts and descriptions, present in the saga narrative. During his stay at king Óláfr's court, Björn was gifted cross-garters that he kept till his very last day. They were symbols of royal generosity. The king appreciated and respected Björn promising him his friendship ("hét honum sinni vináttu ok kallaði hann vera vaskan mann ok góðan dreng"),³² Although Óláfr Haraldsson tried to reconcile both poets,³³ royal gifts kept reminding Björn about king's friendship and motivated his determination in conflict with Þórðr,³⁴

It leads directly to another observation. Björn Arngeirsson is portrayed as especially related to Óláfr Haraldsson, whereas Þórðr Kolbeinsson remained linked with jarl Eiríkr of Hlaðir. Consequently the conflict between both protagonists of the saga accords with history of political encounters in 10th 11th-century Norway, with jarls of Hlaðir (Eiríkr in this case) and real or supposed descendants of Harald Fairhair as two main opposing sides. This intriguing analogy, underlined by the *útanferð* motive, is also revealed in scenes of the attack at Hvitingshjalli when Þórðr and his companions ambushed and killed Björn. The latter's conviction that honour and courage count the most, shown by his obstinacy to travel only in company of a small boy, resemble an attitude of king Óláfr just before the battle of Stiklastaðir. If such analogy reflects primary intentions of the saga author, one can identify them today mainly, if not only, through the way *Bjarnar saga* takes use of the *útanferð* motif.

One can find similar situation in another saga of poet, *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*.³⁵ Its protagonist, Gunnlaugr Illugasson, is said to be only twelve years old, when first asked his father for resources necessary to "fara útan ok sjá sið annarra manna" ("travel abroad and see how other people lived").³⁶ Illugi did not agree on that, extremely disappointing his son who decided to leave home. Living then in Borg, under protection of Þorsteinn Egilsson, Gunnlaugr met his daughter Helga, famous for her beauty. Both quickly fell in love with each other. The following plot focuses on Gunnlaugr's love affair that results with his tragic death. Similarly to *Bjarnar saga*, the *útanferð* motif let the saga author shape his narrative adequately. Gunnlaugr has two main desires that seem to be contradictory to each other. He wants both marry

32 ÍF III, p. 134.

33 J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas...*, p. 224.

34 D. Whaley, *Representations...*, p. 293.

35 *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, eds. S. Nordal, G. Jónson, Íslenzk Fornrit III, Reykjavík 1938 (henceforth: ÍF III).

36 ÍF III, p. 59.

Helga and go abroad to gain fame and riches.³⁷ Due to Illugi's intervention, Helga's father agrees to betroth his daughter to Gunnlaugr who was just about to depart from Iceland on condition that if he fails to return in three years time, Þorsteinn will be free to marry Helga to anyone else.

Gunnlaug's *útanferð* is marked by series of visits on various courts, where skald looked for a chance to present his poetry. Despite its classic frame, the motive provides some variations. Impertinence and lack of respect, shown at court of jarl Eiríkr of Hlaðir, point at particularly difficult character of the poet. Luckily for himself, skald was able to regain jarl's friendship during a dispute at a court of jarl Sigurðr of Västergötland. Visit at a court of Æthelred the Unready (Aðalráð) in England was undoubtedly the highlight of Gunnlaug's travels. As a reward for a poem, the skald was given a purple cloak and became a member of royal retinue. According to the saga author "Gunnlaugr fekk mikla frægð í Englandi ok víða annarstaðar" ("Gunnlaugr won great fame for it in England and beyond").³⁸

However, there is other element of Gunnlaug's *útanferð* that makes the motif crucial for the whole narrative. It is the poetic duel between Gunnlaugr and Hrafn Önundarson at a court of Olof, the king of Sweden. Both poets were supposed to deliver stanzas dedicated to the monarch. The latter, to make the duel even more spectacular, made both skalds review each other's poetry. The saga indicates both poems were excellent. However it was Gunnlaugr who managed to question Hrafn's intentions to praise the ruler asking rhetorically: "eðr hví ortir þú flokk um konunginn, eðr þótti þér hann eigi drápunnar verðr?" ("why did you compose only a flokk for the king, Hrafn? Did you not think he merited a drápa?").³⁹

It meant a victory of Gunnlaugr and awkward situation for Hrafn, resulting with a conflict between both poets. The latter, forced to leave Olof's court, warned Gunnlaugr that he is going to avenge this dishonour: "nú skal ek einhverju sinni eigi þik minnr vanvirða, enn þú vildir mik hér" ("sometime soon, I will cause you no less shame than you tried to heap on me here").⁴⁰

Hostile relations between Hrafn and Gunnlaugr accord with another crucial element of the protagonist's *útanferð*. Keeping Helga and the agreement with her father in mind, Gunnlaugr arrives in England. Serious Danish threat makes king Æthelred keep all his best retainers, including the skald. The critical situation takes place. Gunnlaugr asks the king for a permission to leave, but hears uncompromising response: "ei samir þér nú at fara frá mér, til slíks ófriðar sem nú horfir hér í Englandi, þar sem þú ert minn hirðmaðr"

37 See D. Whaley, *Representations...*, p. 289.

38 ÍF III, p. 73; See D. Whaley, *Representations...*, p. 290.

39 ÍF III, p. 80.

40 *Ibidem*, p. 81.

("since you are my follower, it is not appropriate for you to leave me when such a war threatens England, skald could only conclude that: that is for you to decide, my lord").⁴¹

The saga author lets an audience quickly realize, that king's order makes it impossible for skald to return to Iceland before the time agreed with Þorsteinn expires. It was a perfect situation for Hrafn who took advantage of Gunnlaug's absence and married Helga.

The *útanferð* motif served the saga author to show that since the very beginning the protagonist of the story was destined to fail in attempts to gain both the hand of beautiful Helga and fame and riches necessary for efficient social status. It is made very clear by following parts of the narrative. Gunnlaugr, when finally returned to Iceland, had an opportunity to meet Helga, already as Hrafn's wife, at wedding of Björn Moldasson and Hungerd Þoroddóttir. The saga stresses that Gunnlaugr, remaining very sad, was rather reluctant to take part in the wedding banquet, despite the fact that he "var þá vel búinn, ok hafði þá klæðin þau hin góðu, er Sigtryggr konungr gaf honum ok þótti hann þá mikit afbragðr annarra manna fyr margs sakir, bæði afls ok vænleiks ok vaxtar" ("was well turned out, and had on the splendid clothes that King Sigtryggr had given him. He seemed far superior to other men for many reasons, what with his strength, his looks and his figure").⁴²

Due to his *útanferð* Gunnlaugr experienced both undisputed prestige and loss of his beloved. The same prestige and honour made the skald fight against Hrafn just to regain Helga. The conflict ends with a duel with Helga's husband. Gunnlaugr was victorious but critically wounded, died shortly after.

Finally, the *útanferð* motif let the saga author introduce artefacts that symbolized tragedy of Gunnlaug's and Helga's mutual love. It features, among others, a purple cloak skald was given by the king Æthelred. Gunnlaugr decided to give it to Helga during the wedding of Björn and Hungerd. Helga is said to be moved by this deed and grateful to Gunnlaugr for the gift. She knew exactly what it means. According to the saga, Helga frequently made servants bring her the cloak that was supposed to lie before her, so she could contemplate it. It happened also when she got seriously sick being aware that the end of her life was coming.

The cloak, the royal gift, symbolically links two sides of the protagonist's plot: a court career and uncompromising desire to win the beloved. Gunnlaugr seems to be the only one who believed it is possible to agree both. Indeed, although reality appeared much more complicated for him, he was victorious: his poetry brought him fame and riches, Æthelred's cloak in Helga's hand approved her constant love to the poet.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 83.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 89.

Also in *Kormáks saga*⁴³, similarly to other stories of warrior-poets, the *útanferð* motif served to efficient development of particular elements of the narrative, that mainly refer to a love affair of the protagonist of the saga. Due to spell cast on Kormakr, he did not manage to appear at his own wedding. It was interpreted as a complete dishonour by family of his beloved, Steingerd Porkelsdóttir. Her marriage with Bersi of Saurbaer was their reaction to that. The spell cast on Kormakr made him, when Steingerd left Bersi and accepted marriage proposal by Þorvaldr Tintein, “lætr sem hann viti eigi” (“behave the way nothing happened”).⁴⁴ The only thing Kormakr managed to do was to lampoon Þorvaldr in a stanza dedicated to Steingerd. Her angry reaction reached skald just before he, together with his brother Þorgils “sigldu þeir á haf ok kómu við Nóreg. Í þann tíma réð Hákon Adalsteinfóstri Noregi. Þeir bræðr fóru skjótt á konungs fund, tók konungr vel við þeim, vóru þeir þar um vetrinn vel virðir” (“sailed out to sea and came to the Norwegian coast. In those days Hákon Adalsteinsfóstri was ruling in Norway. The brothers went speedily to visit the king, who received them well; they were held in high honour there over the winter”).⁴⁵

During their stay at the court of the Norwegian king both brothers focused on piracy that brought them *mikla frægð* (*great fame*).⁴⁶ They managed to enter a retinue of king Haraldr gráfeldr at the time when he took control over Norway and accompanied him on his expeditions to Ireland. Despite this, Þorgils could not note that his brother behaved strangely and barely slept. It did not take long Kormakr to admit that he is still thinking about Steingerd and intends to return to Iceland.⁴⁷ Both Þorgils and king Harald tried to make Kormakr change his mind, but the skald remained relentless.

Money, recognition and, first of all, king’s friendship, gained during his *útanferð*, visibly changed Kormakr’s attitude after return to Iceland. The skald started being very provocative towards Steingerd and her husband. He managed to kiss her few times, openly expressed his desire in stanzas dedicated to her. Finally, Kormakr managed to spend a night together with Steingerd, although, as the saga author indicates, they were sleeping in separate beds.⁴⁸ Þorvaldr, Steingerd’s husband, could not stand Kormakr’s

⁴³ *Kormáks saga*, ed. E.Ó. Sveinsson, Íslenzk Fornrit VIII, Reykjavík 1939 (henceforth: ÍF VIII).

⁴⁴ ÍF VIII, p. 264.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 266.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ See D. Sävborg, *Kormáks saga – en norrön kärleks saga på vers och prosa*, “Scripta Islandica” LVI (2005), pp. 81-82.

⁴⁸ For further studies on Kormakr’s poetry see E.Ó. Sveinsson, *Kormakr the Poet and His Verses*, “Saga-Book of the Viking Society” XVII (1966) 1, pp. 18-60; R. Poole, *Composition Transmission Performance: The First Tenlausavísur in Kormáks saga*, “Alvíssmál” VII (1997), pp. 37-60.

deeds. That's why he paid some poet to compose a *mansöngr* stanza, offensive towards Steingerd, that was supposed to be attributed to Kormakr. Finally, both Kormakr and Þorvaldr fought a duel but the latter did not manage to defeat the skald.

The last part of the saga provides a juncture of Kormak's *útanferð* motive and his love endeavours. The action takes place in Norway. Both Kormakr and Steingerd meet there making the skald act provocatively again. Any attempts of Þorvaldr to eliminate Kormakr failed as the king Harald gráfeld forced both opponents to follow his own verdict. It made Kormakr try to impress Steingerd with his own heroism when he managed to release her twice from pirates. Unexpectedly, when Kormakr saved the life of his beloved for a second time, Þorvaldr declared that he would let Steingerd stay with the skald. The latter however urged her to stay with her husband. It appeared to be their very last meeting.

It is quite visible that for the author of *Kormáks saga* the *útanferð* motif served to explain crucial change in the protagonist's attitude. It was the change from passive and spellbound beholder of his personal failure to an energetic suitor, full of masculine pride, actively trying win his beloved for himself. The *útanferð* plays a double role here. It allows an audience to assume that the evil spell lost its power during Kormak's stay at courts of Norwegian rulers. On the other hand, one can believe that only thanks to that skald decided to intensify his attempts to win Steingerd.⁴⁹

Fóstbræðra saga is my last example.⁵⁰ In this case, the motif in question is intertwined between plots of two protagonists of the story, Þorgeirr Havarsson and Þormodr Bersason who are sworn-brothers. Its main task is to link their endeavours with Óláfr Haraldsson (the Saint), the king of Norway. The monarch plays a role of moral authority. Moreover, the time of his reign serves as the main point of chronological reference for the whole saga: "á dögum hins helga Óláfs konungs váru margir höfðingjar undir hans konungdæmi, ekki at eins í Noregi, helldr í öllum löndum, þeim er hans konungdómur stóð yfir, ok váru þeir allir mest virðir af guði, er konungi líkaði bezt við" ("in these days when Saint Óláfr was king he had many chieftains under his rule, not only in Norway but in all the other lands over which he reigned, and God gave honour to all those whom the king favoured most").⁵¹

As the saga plot indicates, both Þorgeirr and Þormodr also managed to enter a distinguished group of the holy king's friends. Although, as an author

49 D. Sävborg, *Kormáks saga*, p. 95.

50 *Fóstbræðra saga*, eds. B.K. Þórólfsson, G. Jónsson, Íslensk Fornrit VI, Reykjavík 1943 (henceforth: ÍF VI).

51 Ibidem, p. 121. See also J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas...*, p. 224.

of the saga puts it, it was a time when “þá var ung kristni ok mjök vanger, svá at margir gneistar heiðninnar váru þá eftir” (“Christianity was a new and very undeveloped religion and many of the sparks of heathendom still flickered”),⁵² at least of one brother, Þorgeirr, is said to receive God’s grace, even if it was revealed sort of sophisticated way. When his father Havardr was murdered Þorgeirr “þá brá honum ekki við þá tíðenda sagn, eigi roðnaði hann, því at ekki rann honum reiði í hqrund, ekki bliknaði hann, því at honum rann ekki í bein reiði [...] því at ekki var hjarta hans sem fóarn í fugli, ekki var þat blóðfult, svá at þat skylfi af hræðslu, heldr var þat hert af enum hæsta hqfuðsmið í qllum hvatleik” (“he showed no reaction. His face did not redden because no anger ran through his skin. Nor did he grow pale because his breast stored no rage [...] for his heart was not like the crop of a bird, nor was it so full of blood that it shook with fear. It had been hardened in the Almighty Maker’s forge to dare anything”).⁵³ When Þorgeir managed to defeat Jodr of Skeljabrekka, an experienced warrior, “þó var þat ekki undarlegt, því at enn hæsti hqfuðsmiðr hafði skapat ok gefit í brjóst Þorgeiri svá qrugt hjarta ok hart, at hann hræddist ekki, ok hann var svá qruggr í qllum mannaraunum sem it óarga dýr (“and yet it was no great wonder since the Almighty Creator had forged in Þorgeir’s breast such a strong and sturdy heart that he was as fearless and brave as a lion in whatever trials or tribulations befell him”).⁵⁴ It is not surprising then, that such depicted Þorgeirr, after split with Þormodr, started his *útanferð*, that led him to the court of Óláfr Haraldsson. Þormod’s status is underlined by the fact the king knew exactly who visited him: “heyrte hefi ek þin getit” (“I have heard about you”).⁵⁵ The son of Havardr managed to enter royal retinue as “konungr lagði mikla virðing á Þorgeir, því at hann reyndist í qllum mannaraunum enn røskvasti maðr ok góðr drengr” (“the king held Þorgeirr in high esteem since he proved himself to be a brave and hardy champion wherever he went”).⁵⁶

Þorgeir’s *útanferð* plays additional role in the saga. It is a sort of prelude to history of Þormodr, the other sworn brother. After split with Þorgeir he was staying mainly at his father’s farm but felt it is not a way of life for him. Besides, he discredited himself when it came out that he tried to lure two different women dedicating them the very same love poem. His love affairs made him compose *Kolbrunarvísur* that are contrasted, as „bad” poetry” with fragments of another *drápa*, Þormodr composed to praise his sworn brother.

52 Ibidem, p. 125.

53 Ibidem, pp. 127-128.

54 Ibidem, p. 133.

55 Ibidem, p. 159.

56 Ibidem.

Þorgeir's death appeared to be a turning point in Þormod's life making him directly *fara útan*.⁵⁷ Mourning his friend, he travelled to Norway directly at the court of king Óláfr. When the latter learned that the visitor was Þorgeir's brother, he did not hesitate at all to invite Þormodr to his retinue saying: "njóta skaltu hans frá oss ok vel ertu hér komin" ("you shall enjoy our favour and you are welcome here").⁵⁸ According to the saga it was the king of Norway who defined and motivated further dealings of his new warrior, namely a vengeance of Þorgeirr. It was the reason of Þormod's travel to Greenland, where he acted as Óláfr's *hirðmaðr*, allied with those who considered themselves king's friends. Þormodr could constantly count on royal care, the king's luck. When one of Greenlanders, Þorkell Þorgrimsson intended to kill Þormodr, he was warned by one of his companions: "bráðlitit gerir þú á þetta Þorkell bóndi, ef þú vill drepa Þormoð, heimamann þinn, enn hirðmann ok skáld Óláfs konungs, mun yðr maðrinn dýrkeyptr verða, ef Óláfr konungr spyrr, at þér látið drepa hann" ("wanting Þormodr killed is a grave mistake Þorkell. He is your guest and the king's follower and poet. His life would cost you dearly if the king heard that you had killed him").⁵⁹ When Þormodr, during the same travel, was forced to avoid confrontation with bigger number of opponents, "rennir þá hugnum þangat er var Óláfr konungr ok vænti hans hamingju at honum mundi duga" ("then his thoughts turned to king Óláfr, and he hoped that the king's luck would assist him").⁶⁰ Thanks to miraculous intervention of the holy king, Þormodr remained in a shelter as long as was necessary to save life.⁶¹

Successful revenge on those who killed Þorgeirr Havarsson, let Þormodr fulfil his service for Óláfr completed at Stiklastaðir.

The examples analysed above allow to draw some conclusions. The motif in question played an important role in the sagas of warrior-poets and served saga authors to provide elements that were decisive for this group of *Íslendingasögur*. *Útanferð* was a time the protagonists spent on activities that were supposed to influence their further status and dealings, especially in Iceland. *Útanferð* was a time for acquiring status, fame and riches. The usual way to obtain it led through service for a monarch, a chance to reveal both poetic and warrior skills. That's why a belonging to royal *hirð* and composition of poems dedicated to a patron were typical components of the motif. Taken together, were to explain why a protagonist could aspire for or even achieve a special status, that had its own consequences for his personal goals, especially in Iceland.

57 See D. Whaley, *Representations ...*, p. 297.

58 ÍF VI, p. 213.

59 Ibidem, p. 228.

60 Ibidem, p. 240.

61 See also J. Lindow, *Skald Sagas...*, p. 225.

The motif in question points at a sort of stereotype of success, a young Icelander could obtain only abroad. It meant a perspective of social advancement relief mainly on personal skills and charisma rather than family and social bonds. It also meant lack of such a perspective once a *útanferð* could not have taken place. It corresponds for example with difficulties protagonists were founding when confronting with social norms in their homelands.

On the other hand, the same sagas let us assume that such a stereotype have been questioned. Examples of characters who were trying to question *útanferð* achievements of the protagonists seem to be relevant in this case. It featured critics of skalds' attitude and even stronger determination in attempts to their elimination. Tragic endings of most of these stories seems to be a literary consequence of this trend. Death was a price for big, often overrated, ambitions and self-convenience that hardly fit requirements of a social norm.

Apart from purely literary context, the *útanferð* motif seems to be relevant for discussion on real role of skalds and their art in medieval Scandinavia. It is connected with a crucial question of historical veracity of its basic components, namely character of relations between poet and the ruler and the former's poetry composed by at court of the latter and dedicated to him. Consequently, either these elements are result of 13th century authors' imagination or constitute an exclusive insight into conditions of existence of court skalds and their poetry during so called *saga age*. The *útanferð* motif usually reveals the protagonist as unconditionally ready to search for a court of some monarch and deliver a poetic praise for him. The skald enters a court with a poem already composed, a composition full of accurate references to ruler and his achievements. The accuracy, alongside a mastery of composition, is a key to royal grace and reward, that, consequently, give a chance for a place at the court. It may be found strange then, that narratives of skalds' sagas feature so limited number of court stanzas. On one hand, it might suggest that those pieces had not been preserved in oral transmission although the fact of their composition and attribution had been remembered. On the other hand however, it seems likely, that there were specific reasons not to feature this poetry. Firstly, it did not serve a main purpose of those narratives, focused on skald himself, whereas a court poetry naturally is concentrated on a ruler. Secondly, laconic references to court activity of given skald were sufficient to highlight successful spell at a court of given monarch. One can clearly see it in *Hallfreðar saga*, *Bjarnar saga Hitdaelakappa* or *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*. That's why even if skald's sagas provide us with a somewhat blurred depiction of skalds' profile at courts, it is possible to find some reliable elements there. Accuracy of poetic content, even if sophisticatedly hidden behind a mastery of art and status of the poetry in royal ideology and propaganda seem to be especially important in this context.

Special bond linking a poet with a ruler is another crucial element of the motif. Narratives of *Hallfreðar saga* or *Fóstbræðra saga* show how highly spiritual and exclusive this bond could have been. Skalds' sagas point at importance of this relation for both sides. Monarch not only needed poetry to channel their policy in the most appropriate manner. Service of talented skalds was creating opportunity for rulers to show their readiness to rule. Thus the key role of monarch in process of generating request for a poetry and provisioning skalds with proper content and conditions, necessary in process of composition. It explains ambitions of protagonists of skalds' sagas to play distinguished role at a court. Examples of 11th century poets like Sigvatr Þórðrson or Þjóðolfr Arnórsson suggest, that, again, in this very aspect the literary motif had been based on historical reality.

ABSTRACT

Studies on narratives of medieval sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendigasögur*) have their own long, almost two hundred year, history. It has featured, among others, a discussion on an motif of *útanferð*, a journey abroad undertaken by protagonist of given story, who after leaving Iceland was heading to various parts of the world, most notably either to Scandinavia or British Isles. The aim of this study is to analyse the *útanferð* motif not only as a literary construct but also as an reflex of real social and political developments in medieval North, marked also by ambitions of particular poets and exclusiveness of their art. The motif in question points at a sort of stereotype of success, a young Icelander could obtain only abroad. It meant a perspective of social advancement relief mainly on personal skills and charisma rather than family and social bonds. It also meant lack of such a perspective once an *útanferð* could not have taken place. It corresponds for example with difficulties protagonists were founding when confronting with social norms in their homelands. Apart from purely literary context, the *útanferð* motif seems to be relevant for discussion on real role of skalds and their art in medieval Scandinavia. It is connected with a crucial question of historical veracity of its basic components, namely character of relations between poet and the ruler and the former's poetry composed by at court of the latter and dedicated to him.

II. LITURGY

(CONTINUATION; THE SECTION EDITED BY ERIC PALAZZO)

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FROM A HIDING PLACE TO THE ETERNAL GLORY THOMAS AQUINAS'S SAINTLY PRESENCE IN DOMINICAN LITURGY



INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the relics of Saint Thomas Aquinas was welcomed with great celebration in Toulouse on 28th January 1369. The sumptuous festivities are reported by an eyewitness, Raymundus Hugonis, a Dominican friar and the secretary of Elias of Toulouse, Master of the Order of Preachers. The Master was the person who organized this *translatio*, i.e. transportation of the relics, and he had without doubt given the task of reporter to Raymundus.¹ Raymundus wrote the description of the event in his larger account on the history of Thomas' body after his death, the *Historia translationis corporis S. Thome de Aquino*.² This narration is by no means

¹ On Elias, his career and his efforts at Thomas' translation, see: B. Montagnes OP, *Le rôle du Midi dominicain au temps du Grand Schisme*, in: *Le Midi et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux XXXIX, Toulouse 2004, pp. 305-330; G.G. Meersseman, *Études sur l'ordre des frères prêcheurs au début du Grande Schisme*, "Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum" XXV (1955), pp. 213--257; D.A. Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs*, III: 1324-1400, Paris 1907, *passim*.

² Sources of this article, including the narrative of the *translatio*, are described in the next section. On the celebrations and the route to France, see E.J. Richards, *Ceremonies of Power: The Arrival of Thomas Aquinas's Relics in Toulouse and Paris in the Context of the Hundred Years War*, in: *Relics, Identity, and Memory in Medieval Europe*, eds. M. Räsänen, G. Hartmann, E.J. Richards, Europa Sacra XXI, Turnhout 2016, pp. 319-352.

a documentary text, but we believe that it vividly transmits emotions which profoundly affected the Dominican friars. They had eagerly been waiting to receive Thomas' body in their custody, away from his death place at the Cistercian monastery of Fossanova, in southern Lazio, Italy.³

The narrative was not the Master's only effort to praise Thomas' arrival in Toulouse. He also gave instructions to his fellow brothers to start preparing the Office of the *Translatio*. As the long narrative of the *Historia translationis* was aimed at Dominican friars, and remained in their use, a large part of its content was transmitted in the Office of *Translatio*, which was performed annually in Dominican churches open to the public. In Toulouse, the Office was aimed at introducing Saint Thomas to the citizens as a new saint who joined the choir of the patron saints of the town. Obviously, the Office was an important element in transforming the friars' identity in service of their new patron saint. Moreover, another central message of the liturgy was to emphasize such issues as affirming the Dominicans as the rightful possessors of the saintly relics and testifying that the remains were genuinely those of Thomas.

This paper focuses on one of the main features of the liturgy: making Thomas' presence real and vivid during the services of the Office. The presence of the saint was a notion that was central in elaborating the relationship between the saint, especially when he or she was a newcomer, and his or her folk. The presence should also be something that the saint him- or herself wanted. In Thomas' translation Office, his presence can be sensed by ears, eyes, nose, mouth and touch, and through such feelings as darkness and deepness, doubts, and joy.⁴ In this paper, we argue that the liturgical melodies and texts were in the core of experiencing the presence of a saint. The approach of cults of saints through analysis of modal and metrical structure of the Office as well as the overall composition of liturgical feast is still a novelty probably because this kind of multidisciplinary approach necessitates long-term collaboration of a group of scholars.⁵ The mode⁶ of a chant is the key

³ M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics as Focus for Conflict and Cult in the Late Middle Ages: The Restless Corpse*, Amsterdam 2017.

⁴ Numerous studies of Éric Palazzo have been an inspiration for our approach, among the most important the monograph *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2014.

⁵ We are thankful for the KONE Foundation for the support they have granted to us. The grants in 2015-2017 have enabled our collaboration and joint study on the liturgical feasts of Thomas Aquinas. On the whole project, see www.ossagloriosa.org.

⁶ A western music theorists, musician and philosopher Aristoxenus (4th century B.C.) reminds us that modes are not an invention of theorists but scales used in practice. According to him, the meaning of music is to evoke in us a certain kind of atmosphere which has a connection to the feeling we are sensing. These experiences arise from the relationships between musical notes and intervals, see *The Harmonics of Aristoxenus*, ed. H.S. Macran, Oxford 1990, pp. 3,

to interpreting the sensual or emotional meaning the melodies and the texts conveyed to the medieval audience in the Dominican church spaces. The metrical structure must be seen as a meaningful component of the poetry of the liturgy. In classical antiquity, it was commonly held that each poetic metre had its characteristic ethos. Although it can be disputed whether poetic metres in the Middle Ages became similarly “stereotyped”, it is obvious that certain metres were regarded as particularly appropriate for some genres and contexts and less so for others.⁷ In a larger contemporary context of the translation, we will see the power of emotionally loaded liturgy in transmitting political as well as religious ideologies.⁸

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The order to celebrate the Translation feast was first announced at the General Chapter of the Order held at Valencia in Aragon, at Pentecost 1370, but the Office proper was probably not yet completed, although the Acts do not make the case explicit.⁹ The idea of dating the Office *post* 1371 is supported by a sentence from lections for the Matin service: “Elias [...] came later to Rome, where Pope Urban V of saintly memory resided with his curia.”¹⁰ The words “saintly memory”, *sancte memorie*, indicate that the lections were not completed until the death of Urban V on 19 December 1370. Master Elias seems to have entrusted the task of writing the Office to Aldobrandinus of Ferrara, a Lombardian Dominican.¹¹ The first written evidence regarding

68. On Aristoxenus see also C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, Philadelphia 1994, p. 165. According to Timothy McGee, music theorists in medieval times used the term *mode* to describe a tonal structure of the melody. The singers were supposed to know exactly the modal rules of chanting, see T. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style according to the Treatises*, Oxford 1998, p. 20. On the modes see also H.L. Vuori, *Neitsyt Marian yrittiharhassa, Birgittalaisarten matutinum suuret sponsoriot*, *Studia Musica*, XLVII, Helsinki 2011, pp. 109-126.

7 For example, the Sapphic metre was deemed suitable for feminine and domestic subjects, the Alcaic metre for political themes and so forth; see e.g. L. Morgan, *Musa Pedestris: Metre and Meaning in Roman Verse*, Oxford 2011.

8 An excellent study close to our approach regarding relics, liturgy, and local politics is B. Brand, *Holy Treasure and Sacred Song. Relic Cults and Their Liturgies in Medieval Tuscany*, Oxford-New York 2014.

9 We are indebted to professor Constant Mews for many insights in regard to the history of the translation feast and its celebrations. Cf. *Acta capitulorum generalium* (henceforth: ACG) II, ed. B.M. Reichert, *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, IV, Romae-Stuttgartiae 1899, pp. 412, 414.

10 *Helia* [...] *Romam postea venit, ubi sancte memorie Urbanus papa quintus cum sua curia residebat* – Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, *Codice Cividale*, f. 110v.

11 On Aldobrandinus' career, see: T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, I, Romae 1970, pp. 38-39; IV, Romae 1993, p. 17; ACG II, p. 455.

the author of the feast comes from the Acts of the General Chapter in 1401.¹² Some manuscripts also contain information about its author. One of these is conserved at the Municipal Library of Toulouse and it gives the following rubric for the Office without the notes: *In festo translationis doctoris eximii sancti Thome de Aquino quod compilavit frater Aldobrandinus de conventu Ferrariensi provincie Lombardie inferioris*.¹³ It appears probable that Aldobrandinus finished his texts for the Office around 1372, after the death of Urban V, and before he was appointed as inquisitor of Ferrara in 1373 because that title is not mentioned in the rubric. Although the poorly documented General Chapters from this period do not specify when the liturgy proper was taken to use, we can draw a conclusion from the order of the General Chapter of Bourges in 1376. The record of the Acts insists that the Office should be copied “within a year [...] without any excuse”, doing so, it hints that the liturgy for Thomas’ feast of *Translatio* was well completed and in use.¹⁴

During the research project, we have observed that for the music of the Office of *Translatio*, Aldobrandinus used already existing melodies, undoubtedly beloved by Dominican friars, of Saint Dominic’s *Dies natalis*.¹⁵ It would be tempting to think that Pope Urban’s decision to allow the transfer of the saint’s relics to Toulouse took the Dominicans by surprise and

¹² ACG III, ed. by B.M. Reichert, *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, VIII, Romæ-Stuttgartiæ 1900, pp. 104-105.

¹³ Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610, p. 66a. See the edited sources in the fn. 18.

¹⁴ ACG II, pp. 430-431. See also the Acts of Carcassone in 1378, *ibidem*, p. 446.

¹⁵ The melodies of Vespers, Matins and Lauds in the liturgy for Saint Thomas’ translation are variations of those used in the feast for Saint Dominic’s *Dies natalis*, except for the 3rd great responsory and the hymns. See: Rome, Casanatense Ms. 4507, ff. 1-16 for the office of Saint Dominic; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273-279v for the offices of Saint Thomas. Variations of some of the melodies in the office of both saints are also found in the office of Saint Eric of Sweden, see Helsinki, National Archives of Finland, Gu I:3, ff. 55v-58v. For example an antiphon *Corpus quod* is in Saint Eric’s office the 2nd antiphon of Vespers *Correxit suecie leges seruire coegit Christo perfidie gentes quas ense subegit. Ps. Domine in virtute*, – Gu I:3, f. 56v. This antiphon is also as a text in *Breviarium Lincopence*, ed. K. Peters, Lund 1954, p. 652. According to Vincent Corrigan there is also an alternative Corpus Christi office in the manuscript Brussels Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 139, ff. 109-110, which contains the invitatory and nine great responsories to the service written with the melodies of the *Dies natalis* office for Saint Dominic. The alternative office is notated, but the Ms. includes melodies and texts only for the soloist verse-parts. For the response-parts there are the intonations of the chants. But even from the intonation can be detected the similarity to Saint Dominic’s great responsories as well as the similarity to the great responsories in the Translation Office of Saint Thomas. The manuscript is dated to 1269, although the Corpus Christi Office was added subsequently. According to the manuscript, it was written for the use of the sisters in Marienthal, see *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, eds. B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, Pennsylvania 2006, pp. 88-89. On the same topic, see the article of C.J. Mews in this volume of “*Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*” 22 (2017).

that there was simply no time to compose new music for the occasion. The meticulously crafted and well-thought-out texts with their sophisticated use of contemporary poetic technique obviously make this hypothesis invalid. At the same time, the polished metrical structure consolidates the dating of the liturgy around the year 1372. In melodies where the texts are different in content, the writer of the *Translatio* has taken great care to match his text to the affect of the melody. In the Middle Ages the habit of using the same melodies, or variations of them, for different texts of the chants was common. First of all, it was a sign of respect towards the saints and feasts to which the melodies refer.¹⁶ Moreover, as it will be suggested in this paper, the common melodies which already had their well-known meanings were effectively used to propagate new saints whose task was to respond to contemporary problems and political challenges.

As one of the central aims of the translation feast was to make Thomas a Toulousan saint, a role model for the townspeople and their protector by his own wish, it is quite obvious that the feast did not occur in other places than Toulouse and inside the Dominican Order – and even among the friars it came into use rather slowly.¹⁷ For several reasons Thomas Aquinas' older feast, his *Dies natalis* celebrated on the March 7th, seems to have gained a great popularity more or less at the same time as the Translation Office was made and should have been at the peak of its diffusion. As the aim of this paper is to study the emotional impact of the Office, celebrated on the day of Thomas' translation, it is necessary to compare it to two other Offices which both gave a certain model and idea for Thomas' Office of *Translatio*: these are the feasts of Saint Dominic's and Saint Thomas' own *Dies natalis*.

We use manuscript sources which derive from Western Europe from the very late fourteenth and fifteenth century. The *Historia translationis* has been edited several times, but we prefer to refer to the manuscript in Toulouse, which is, as far as we know, the only surviving example of the official legend.¹⁸

¹⁶ The composing could be described as arranging the music according to the modal formulas and for a certain liturgical use. See A.M. Nilsson, *On Liturgical Hymn Melodies in Sweden during the Middle Ages*, Göteborg 1991, pp. 26, 132.

¹⁷ The Dominican Acts urged several times to promote and adopt the feast for Thomas' translation day. See for example ACG II, pp. 430-431 (Burges in 1376), 446 (Carcassone in 1378).

¹⁸ Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610. The editions: *Acta sanctorum Martii I*, Antwerpen 1668, cols. 725-732. Also in later editions: 2nd ed., I, cols. 725-732; 3rd ed., I, 723-730; J.J. Percin, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, Tolosae 1693, pp. 211-218; C. Douais, *Les reliques de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Textes originaux*, Paris 1903. There exists another manuscript, but it is significantly different, and on which the official text is based: Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A. The earlier version is defined as "original" by C. Mews and M. Räsänen in their further coming article *The Translation of the Holy Body of Thomas Aquinas from Fossanova to Toulouse: The Original Narrative by Raimundus Hugonis*.

For the lections, which circulate more numerous in Europe, we have used two examples, both from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹ The translation Office apart from the lections survives in the libraries of Europe and beyond. We have selected a representing sample, the focus of which is in the earlier period of the time span, but the sources cover the whole fifteenth century. The youngest example is the Office in the Manuscript of Orvieto (1499).

The Office for the feast day of Saint Thomas contains thirty-one chants, as does the Office for the feast celebrating the translation of his relics. The liturgical celebrations start with Vespers on the eve of the feast days. In the manuscripts, there are usually two antiphons²⁰ for Vespers, the second being a *Magnificat*-antiphon. The service of Matins includes nineteen chants: the invitatory-antiphon, nine antiphons with psalms and nine great responsories.²¹ Before every great responsory, a lection was recited. The service of Lauds includes five antiphons with psalms and a *Benedicamus*-antiphon. On the evening of the feast days, the second Vespers are sung, including a second *Magnificat*-antiphon. In addition to all these chants, there are three hymns, the first of which issuing within Vespers, the second within Matins and the

¹⁹ Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, ff. 109v-112; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10153, ff. 34-36v. We use the first of these two as the principal Ms. in the article. The lections, i.e. liturgical readings are edited by the name *Alia historia translationis corporis S. Thomae*, in: *Acta sanctorum Martii*, I, pp. 737-738. The lections seem to be rather standardized in different manuscripts, and the edition gives the complete text.

²⁰ Antiphons are the most common type of chants in the Western liturgical chant repertory. The most typical and simple in style are the antiphons sung in the office hours. In the office for Saint Thomas there are nine antiphons with psalms and two antiphons connected with the *cantica* of Vespers and Lauds, the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*. See more D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook*, Oxford 1993, p. 88.

²¹ Great responsories of Matins consist of two parts, the response (*responsum*) and the verse (*versus*). It is possible that in the Middle Ages everybody sang the response-part (R) and a soloist or a small group sang the verse (V). After the verse, everybody sang the latter part of the response called *corpus* (C). A lesser doxology (D), that is, *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*, was sung after the third great responsory of Matins and after that the *corpus* once more. The structure of a great responsory is in this case R-V-C-D-C, see more: H.L. Vuori, *Neitsyt Marian...*, p. 24; D. Hiley, *Western...*, p. 70. The musical structure of the response-part is typically a free melody, which is still mainly composed with the musical formulas typical of a mode of the chant. The melody of the verse-part is often composed according to the melodic patterns of psalms or according to the typical melodic pattern of a certain mode. The structural difference of the response and the verse is reflected in the fact that the texts may have differing metres, see D. Hiley, *Western...*, pp. 66, 73. One of the great responsories of Matins was usually also sung in the first Vespers. In the manuscripts, there can be the initiation of the text of this particular great responsory. The MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 273 gives the information that the great responsory of Vespers was the 3rd great responsory *Corpus datur*. This is interesting, since it is the only chant in Matins of Translation that does not follow the modal order.

third within Lauds.²² This kind of structure is typical for the Office of a saint. There is an equal number of the chants in Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis*.

The chants in the Office follow the modal order starting in the hour of Matins with the first chant being in the first (I) mode and continuing in order from the first to eighth mode (I-VIII), and then starting again from the first (I) mode with the ninth chant.²³ This kind of modal order is typical for a rhymed office, which is often found in an office celebrated in the honour of a saint. Translation Office has an exception, as is the third great responsory of the Matins is not following the modal order.²⁴

As to the metrical structure, we can summarise that the number of metres used in the memorial liturgies of Saint Thomas is limited, but their use is remarkably studied and deliberate. Where the melodies are identical with, or similar to, those of the Office of Saint Dominic, the metres are understandably the same. The most easily recognisable metre is a rhythmic variant of the iambic dimeter (*o lux beata Trinitas*) which Saint Ambrose of Milan (c. 340-397) used in his hymns.²⁵ The other two of the most common metres, on the other hand, are not based on any classical model. Firstly, we have a verse type without any established name although it was very common throughout the Middle Ages. We may term it 10pp (*corpus sacrum/dum terrae tollitur*), as it is

²² Both feasts for Saint Thomas with notated chants are found in the MS Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273-290v. The offices are at the end of the codex (the last folio is on the back cover, f. 291).

²³ In medieval Latin liturgy, chants are usually written in eight modes. There are different verbal names for the modes, but the most common way in the chant books transcribed from the musical manuscripts is to number the modes with Roman numbers I-VIII. This practice is also used in this article.

²⁴ A rhymed office is formed with metrical and usually also rhymed antiphons, great responsories and hymns, which many times share a common theme, a veneration for a certain saint. A rhymed office flourished in the 13th-14th centuries. The term rhymed office derives from the 19th century, see I. Taitto, *Documenta Gregoriana*, Porvoo 1992, p. 225.

²⁵ *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (henceforth: PL), XVI: *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi opera omnia*, col. 1412. On medieval hymns, see *Analecta Hymnica* (on Saint Ambrose for example vol. XXVII, Leipzig 1897, pp. 48-52). If we use the shorthand of D. Norberg's *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington DC 2004), it can be defined as 8pp: eight refers to the number of syllables, and pp means proparoxytone, or an antepenultimate accent. The evolution of rhythmic verse has been a matter of much debate, but the most generally established view is that the rhythmic forms of iambo-trochaic metres emerged when clerics without knowledge of classical syllable lengths read, e.g., iambic lines with their prose accents and emulated the result in their own hymns, see: D.S. Avalle, *Dalla metrica alla ritmica*, in: *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, I: *Il medioevo latino*, eds. G. Cavallo, C. Leonardi, E. Menestò, Roma 1992, p. 392; D. Norberg, op.cit., passim; idem, *Les vers latins iambiques et trochaïques au Moyen Age et leurs répliques rythmiques*, *Filologiskt arkiv*, XXXV, Uppsala 1988, p. 2; S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation of Latin Metre: A Study of Bede's De arte metrica*, Helsinki 2012, pp. 192-194.

essentially a ten-syllable line with proparoxytone, or antepenultimate accent.²⁶ In Thomas' memorial liturgies, this metre is about as common as the iambic dimeter, but used quite differently: it occurs mainly in the responsories, but sometimes in the antiphons as well. It seems reserved for straight, prose-like narrative, although it, too, can be employed in a very florid fashion. And finally, we have the goliardic verse (*meum est propositum/in taberna mōri*), well-known to us from the *Carmina Burana*.²⁷ Although the origin of this verse form is probably ecclesiastical,²⁸ it was hugely popular in the secular verse, of the Late Middle Ages. In Thomas Aquinas' memorial liturgies, this verse form only occurs in antiphons (four instances in the *Dies natalis* and five in the *Translatio*), several of which are miracle stories of a fairly generic nature, which may reflect the fact that, despite its use in a religious context, it was perceived to be more "popular" than the other main verse types.

LIKE FATHER LIKE SON

Thomas Aquinas was the third officially canonized saint of the Order of Preachers. Before him, there were the canonizations of Saint Dominic, founding father of the Order, in 1234, and Saint Peter Martyr in 1253. The General Chapter of the Order of Preachers, which gathered a year after Thomas' canonization in 1324, ordered that the new saint should be called immediately after Saint Dominic in the saint's litanies in the Order's liturgy.²⁹

²⁶ As the first four syllables form a unit with a paroxytone, or penultimate accent, it could also be described as 4p+6pp. This verse form apparently evolved from a non-metrical refrain that appears in some Early Medieval hymns but eventually seems to have "run away" and become a verse form in its own right; see D. Norberg, *An Introduction...*, pp. 174-175. The form makes its first appearance as the refrain *In tremēdo/die iudicii in Apparebit repentina* (ed. K. Strecker, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, IV, 2, Berlin 1923, pp. 507-511), an Insular abecedary hymn cited for the first time in Bede's *De arte metrica* (ed. C.B. Kendall, in: *Beda Venerabilis: Opera Didascalica*, Turnhout 1975, p. 139). There are strong indications that the hymn may have been composed by Bede himself, see S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation...*, p. 202; the poem's provenance is discussed more extensively in Michael Lapidge's forthcoming *Bede's Latin Poetry* (Oxford University Press).

²⁷ The verse is also describable as 7pp+6p.

²⁸ One possible model is the refrain *Miserere Dōmine/miserere Chrīste* in an otherwise prose-form hymn by the fourth-century Marius Victorinus (PL VIII, col. 1142). Similar refrains (*Supplicanti pōpulo/Chrīste miserere*, etc.), which may have had a shared melody appear in Mozarabic and Merovingian hymnody. However, in the twelfth century, it re-emerges as a secular verse form in a poem by Hugh of Orléans, see K. Strecker, *Die zweite Beichte des Erzpoeten. Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, in: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften: Paläographische, kunsthistorische, literarische und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Degering*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 244-252; D. Norberg, *An Introduction...*, pp. 172-173.

²⁹ ACG II, p. 151.

While the translation of Thomas' body was under discussion, the saint's position in this holy trio became even more interesting. Both the *Historia translationis* and the translation Office seem to promote Thomas beside Father Dominic and sometimes Thomas even seems to replace him. The *Historia translationis* explains that Pope Urban V himself gave four reasons for transporting Thomas' body to Toulouse, the first of which was:

The first is based on fairness. It is, namely, certain that Dominic, who, being a Spaniard, was from beyond the Alps, founded the Order of Preachers in Toulouse. Therefore, his body should undoubtedly be in Toulouse. As it, however, in reality is in Bologna, which is a city of the church in Italy, I would not give it to you, even if you rightfully requested it, as I should not want to deprive a city of the church and Italy of such a great gift. However, in its place I give and grant to you the body of blessed Thomas for your sacred order's church in Toulouse.³⁰

One may ask whether moving Thomas' remains to Toulouse was a specific wish of Master Elias rather than the Pope. For Elias, to have a great Dominican saint in his own convent in Toulouse would probably have been very rewarding. Thomas' fame was comparable or corresponding to that of Father Dominic, and the citation given above practically declares that the house of Toulouse became the mother house of the whole Order with Thomas' remains. But some justifications sound more fitting to the Pope than to the Master. Among these there is a claim that Saint Dominic's body would have belonged to Toulouse, but it had remained in the papal town of Bologna instead. Giving Thomas' body to Toulouse would have been the most natural compensation if Saint Dominic could not have been removed from Italy. Pope Urban V, originally a Benedictine monk, was from southern France, where in Toulouse, he had founded a new faculty of theology.³¹ The regionalism the Pope felt may have been one reason why he was interested in the bones of the scholarly saint and their re-location.

The desire of the Dominican Order and especially Elias to posit Saint Thomas as equal to Saint Dominic comes strikingly to the fore in the Office of the translation feast: the most spectacular sign of this equality is in the melodies

³⁰ Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610, p. 17: "Prima fundatur in iusticia. Certum est enim quod beatus Dominicus fundavit predicatorum ordinem in Tholosa, qui fuit ultramontanus quia yspanus. Quare corpus suum deberet esse sine dubio in Tholosa. Attamen quia de facto est in Bononia, que est civitas ecclesie in Ytalia, eciam si illud peteres de jure, ego ipsum non darem tibi pro eo quod nollem expoliare civitatem ecclesie et Ytaliam tanto dono; set tamen loco illius do et concedo tibi corpus beati Thome pro ecclesia Tholosana ordinis tui sancti".

³¹ E. Delaruelle, *La translation des reliques de saint Thomas d'Aquin à Toulouse (1369) et la politique universitaire d'Urban V*, "Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique" III (1955), pp. 129-146.

which are the same as in Saint Dominic's Office. Both the melodies and the textual content of the translation liturgy emphasizes the respect for, and connection between, the two saints. The hymn for Matins says for example:

Whence Father Dominic
Received the message of life
There the Italian teacher
Received his hospitality.³²

Here the focus of praise seems to be Toulouse, where Dominic of Guzman received the first papal privileges for his activity in 1216. The privileges marked the beginning, "the message of life" of the Order of Preachers. The verse transmits the idea of the town as the cradle of the Order, and as such it was respected and praised by the Order. The cradle emphasizes continuity: the Father building it for the son who would be welcomed thereafter some decades of exodus, that is, the period when Thomas' body rested at the Cistercian monastery in Italy. The same idea of Saint Dominic the father and Thomas his son and of the son's return finally home, is explicitly formulated in the invitatory of Matins:

Let the faithful celebrate,
Delighting in a new joy;
Thomas returns to his father's bosom
Leaving his tomb behind.³³

As the melodies are identical, so inevitably is the verse form: the continuity of tradition is underlined by the use of the Ambrosian iambic dimeter, or its rhythmic counterpart, in both hymns. The hymn in Thomas' Translation Office, however, also looks backward in other ways: its incipit *letetur plebs fidelium* contains the much-used phrase *plebs fidelium* which we also encounter, for example in the memorial hymns of Saint Victorinus of Assisi (*exurgat plebs fidelium*) and Saint Clare of Assisi (*concinat plebs fidelium*).

To summarize, utilising the same melodies in two feasts emphasizes the respect for both saints and signals the wish to equalize Saint Thomas and Saint Dominic. If they are not exactly equal, the message is that they are the father and the son. Emphasizing the place, Toulouse, is also an interesting part of the liturgy. Toulouse had a special role in the history of the Dominican Order, but it did not yet have the primary position among the Dominican houses by its virtue as the place where Dominic received the first privileges.

³² "Unde pater dominicus sumpsit vite precomium illic doctor ytalicus suum legit hospicium" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 280-280v. Transliterations also in C. Douais, *Les reliques...*p.

³³ "Letetur plebs fidelium/Exultans novo Jubilo;/Thomas ad patris gremium/Relicto redit tumulo" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 273v. Cf. C. Douais, *Les reliques...*

The Dominican convent of Bologna certainly enjoyed the role of being Saint Dominic's burial place and as such was the leading house among the friars. From this viewpoint, selecting the melodies from Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis* for Thomas' translation Office seems again to equalize not only the saints but also their burial places.

In the next sections we will focus on sensory experiences and emotions aroused by liturgical reading and chant. The power of the liturgy can be grasped through examples from the offices of Saint Thomas and Saint Dominic. The extracts from the sources are presented to facilitate the reader's understanding of how melodies can carry the meaning of the text.³⁴

SENSING THE HIDING PLACE AND GLORY

The idea of hiding is a constant and powerful theme in Thomas Aquinas' memory from its earliest days. As Thomas died at the Cistercian house, and the Order of Preachers became interested in obtaining the corpse for a Dominican house, it caused a conflict between Fossanova and the friars. It can be seen that the conflict erupted, and it possibly also mostly remained, on a literary and a musical level. The earliest written evidence that speaks about the strong tension between different parties who were interested in being guardians of Thomas' body and memory is from the pen of Ptolemy of Lucca, a Dominican friar and Thomas' former student. Ptolemy's first text *Annales*, from the date 1303-1305, describes how Thomas' niece Francesca, the countess de Ceccano, hosted Thomas at the Castle of Maenza. As Thomas was ill, she decided to send him to recover in the monastery nearby, Fossanova. Unfortunately, Thomas died at the monastery and Ptolemy suggests that the first competitors over Thomas' body were Francesca and the Dominican friars: "the [Dominican] brothers wanted to transfer the corpse, the lady did not permit this for love and devotion towards Thomas. With the help of the monks she hid the corpse because she could not have it at that time."³⁵

In later texts, the competition was depicted as between the Dominicans and the Cistercians of Fossanova. The most influential text for the later hagiographical production on Thomas is probably *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino*, written by William of Tocco, a Dominican friar who was also a procurator of the canonization process. He collected the text during the

³⁴ "A song should be considered to express what the words express". The description of the modes is given by thirteenth-century Dominican music theorist Jerome of Moravia, and even by the theorists before him, see L. Weber, *Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth-Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia's "Tractatus de musica"*, Yale 2009, p. 167.

³⁵ Ptolemy of Lucca, *Annales* (recensio A), in: *S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes praecipuae*, ed. A. Ferrua, Alba 1968, pp. 371-373.

process and its draft was presented to the Pope when the petition for the canonization was given. William finished his fourth and last redaction right after the canonization in 1324.³⁶ Thus, William's *Ystoria* can be called the "official hagiography" because it went through the papal investigation among the other canonization documentary. Interestingly, despite its authoritative position among the texts written on Thomas, the *Ystoria* was not taken as the basis for the liturgy of Thomas' *Dies natalis*. This honour was given to another early text, Bernard of Gui's *Legenda sancti Thomae Aquinatis*, completed around 1326.³⁷ We can easily see the influence of William's *Ystoria* on Bernard's text: basically, Bernard follows the earlier model, but he has differences in details and uses simpler language. Both elements may have been the reason for selecting Bernard's text to guide the Office. If one compares the lections read in the Matins to Bernard's *Life*, it is easy to recognize that they derive directly from the longer legend, just in a shorter form.³⁸

A strong common point in both William's and Bernard's texts is an accusation against the monks of Fossanova for hiding Thomas' corpse in a secret place. According to both hagiographers the monks, hiding the body, tried to prevent the friars from coming to the monastery and from carrying the body away by papal permission. Thus, they emphasized the legal rights the Order had over the possession of the valuable corpse. Moreover, William and Bernard accused the monks of misleading the friars and other pilgrims: the monks showed Thomas' burial place to visitors of the monastery, although Thomas' body in reality did not rest there anymore but was hidden elsewhere. The writers appear to see this situation as an especially aggravating malpractice, as it was both against the saint and his devotees: the saint did not receive the veneration he would have deserved and the devotees remained without real contact to the saint and their prayers were vain.³⁹

The battle over the body appears to have caused a great trauma for the Dominican party. As Thomas' corpse had remained in the hands of the monks of Fossanova and the count of Fondi for almost a hundred years, the joy of the friars when they finally received the holy corpse was greater than

³⁶ William of Tocco, *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco*, ed. C. le Brun-Gouanvic, Toronto 1996. On the writing process of the *Ystoria*, see C. le Brun-Gouanvic's introduction to the edition.

³⁷ On dating see: the introduction of C. le Brun-Gouanvic in *Ystoria...*; E. Colledge, *The Legend of St. Thomas Aquinas*, in: *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974. Commemorative Studies*, I, foreword by E. Gilson, Toronto 1974, pp. 13-28.

³⁸ Moreover, Bernard was an influential and famous figure not just inside the Dominican Order but in the whole western Church, and also this fact could have had some value when the Office was under the preparation. More on Thomas' hagiographies and liturgical readings for *Dies natalis*, see M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, passim.

³⁹ William of Tocco, *Ystoria...*, cap. LXVI. See also M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, pp. 79-80.

if things had gone more easily. The trauma and joy are both overwhelmingly present in the Office of Thomas Aquinas' translation. The beginning of the Matins, the first nocturn, gives us a powerful idea of the dual emotions of the friars when they received Thomas' relics in Toulouse. The first nocturn refers several times to Thomas' body which was hidden in Fossanova. The body is described metaphorically as a jewel buried in the ground, but also more directly as an entombed corpse. As a counterbalance to concealment and the dark sentiments it caused, the next verses immediately change the topic: they depict rays of light, great miracles and general happiness.⁴⁰ With the second antiphon of the first nocturn we can grasp vividly the tremendous alternation of emotions as it states:

2. *Antiphona modus II.*

Corpus quod. Ps. Quare fremuerunt⁴¹

The body once lay hidden
In its tomb in Terracina;
Later it appeared to all
In Toulouse with wondrous signs.

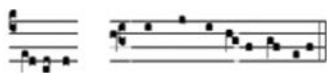


Cor-pus quod di-u la-tu-it in Terra-ci-na lo-cu-lo; mi- randis
signis cla-ruit post in Tholose patulo. Ps. Quare E u o u a e.

Table 1: The 2nd antiphon of Matins, *translatio* of St Thomas Aquinas.

⁴⁰ "Jam dudum lux abscondita/Fulget expansis radiis,/Et gemma terre condita/Effertur cum prodigiis" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 273v; Cf. also C. Douais, *Les reliques...*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 134, ff. 226-226v; 137, f. 308; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Poissy R66A 096.1, f. 426; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273v-274. In Vat. lat. 10771 there is a simpler melody in the word *loculo* and a different division of syllables in the words *post in Tholose patulo*. The transcriptions and translations of the text of the chants by S. Heikkinen. The transcriptions of the notated music by H.L. Vuori.



loculo *post in Tholose patulo* Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 273v-274r:

Here, the word *latuit*, or “lay hidden” is obviously a deliberate misnomer and utterly obscures the role of the local cult of Thomas’ relics and the community of Fossanova in the spiritual life of central Italy.⁴² The antiphon is in the second mode and its typical melodic formula appears in the words *mirandis signis claruit*. The formula is placed in the lower part of the *ambitus*, the range of a melody, thus bringing a character to the chant. It gives an idea how the melody functions in colouring the text and bringing forward the idea of depth: The grave is in the deepness of the ground, unfairly hidden, when the signs rise from the deepness strongly and with undoubtable clarity. The verse-form of the antiphon is the relatively prose-like 10pp, which underscores the text’s narrative nature.

If we compare the office for Thomas’ translation to the office for Dominic’s *Dies natalis*, the similarity between them is easily recognizable:

2. *Antiphona modus II*

Florem pudicitie. Ps. Quare fremuerunt.⁴³

Preserving the untainted flower of his chastity, he attained the wonderful celibacy.

The image shows a musical score for a chant. It consists of two staves of music with square neumes on a four-line red staff. Below the first staff, the Latin text is written: "Flo-rem pu-di-ci-tie ser-vans il-li-batum at-ti-git eximi-e vi-te". Below the second staff, the text continues: "ce-libatum. Ps. Quare fre. E u o u a e." The melody is in the second mode, characterized by a range of an octave with a half-step at the bottom.

Table 2: The 2nd antiphon of Matins for St Dominic’s *Dies Natalis*.

In the melody of the antiphon *Florem pudicitie* for Saint Dominic, there is only one minor difference in the word *illibatum* comparing to the melody from Saint Thomas’ office.⁴⁴ The typical formula of the second mode, which we observed above in the words *mirandis signis claruit* of the chant *Corpus quod* is arranged here with the words *attigit eximie*. Here one can also follow, even feel, how the music departs from the bottom, describing Dominic’s tormented mind. Despite the trial, he keeps his chastity and reaches the glory that is

⁴² M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas’s relics...*, passim.

⁴³ Rome, Casanatense Ms. 4507, f. 3.

⁴⁴ The chant *Corpus quod* has one extra note in the word *Terracina* when compared to the word *illibatum* in the chant *Florem Pudicitie*.

tangible and expressed by the music mounting sky-high.⁴⁵ In melodies that are connected with texts different in their content, the writer of the verses of *translatio* has taken great care to match his text to the affect of the melody. Curiously, the text has been composed in goliardic verse, arguably the most mundane of the verse types employed in the Office. This of course only shows that such distinctions were not set in stone; also, one must bear in mind the role of the goliardic verse as the default metre of the antiphons.⁴⁶

The second responsory of the translation Office gives a very good textual and musical summary of the Dominican sentiments in regard to the history of Thomas' corpse in the custody of the Cistercian monks and its return to the hands of the friars:

Our sacred faith rejoices,
Long deprived
Of its dearest treasure,
Now, at last, it has regained
The bones of the teacher whom it nourished
And perfected in his learning.

The verse continues:

It has now regained his bones,
Restored from their first grave
And received with joyful hearts.⁴⁷

The responsory and verse together appear to express a strong sensation of bodily exhaustion and the fulfilment of the friars. These emotions became a part of the collective identity of the new liturgy created for the Dominicans. The same responsory appears to transmit the message that was perhaps more understandable for lay people and justified for them why the Dominicans and not the Cistercians were the rightful custodians of Thomas' corpse: after all, it was the Order of Preachers who had nourished, nursed, dressed and instructed him in this world.

The other common way in the Middle Ages of making the justification more solid is to refer to the Bible. Aldobrandinus, the composer of the translation Office, uses biblical allegory in a rather pointed manner by drawing on the Old Testament. The ninth responsory of the third nocturn

⁴⁵ Cf. Jordan of Saxony, *Vita*, cap. 37, in: *Acta sanctorum Augusti*, I, Parisiis-Romae 1867, pp. 541-555, especially p. 546.

⁴⁶ Of the antiphons in the Office, nine, or nearly half, are in goliardic verse, and, as we remember, this verse type does not occur in the responsories at all.

⁴⁷ "R. Qaudet sacra religio/que spoliata caruit/prius thesauro proprio/dum doctoris quem aluit/et perfecit in studio/nuper ossa rehabuit. V. Restituta de primo tumulo/ac recepta cum cordis iubilo" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 274v.

serves as a good example of how he expresses the Dominican's rightful claim to Thomas' remains:

Joseph's twofold glory
Presaged the Doctor with prophetic signs,
The victory over the woman,
The holy bones left to his brothers
and transferred to Toulouse.⁴⁸

The passage plays on two episodes of scriptural history and their counterparts in Thomas' life and the subsequent history of his relics. Joseph's rebuttal of the advances of Potifar's wife is seen to anticipate the episode in Thomas' youth when he chased a prostitute from his chamber with a whip, whereas the translation of Thomas' bones to Toulouse is equated with Joseph's bones, which Moses brought from Egypt to the Holy Land. Although this, on the surface, may seem merely fanciful to the modern reader, it has an even more pointed accusation against the Cistercians of Fossanova, as their possession of Thomas' relics is equated with a form of exile. The twofold glory emphasizes Thomas' holy status as a virgin and confessor.

SENSING THE DOUBT OF GENUINENESS AND DISGUST OF SIN

The Cistercian monks also told openly that they had once hidden Thomas' corpse as they were afraid that someone might steal it (thus, they did not accuse the Dominican friars directly). These testimonies were collected in a canonization enquiry processed in Naples in 1319. The same Cistercian witnesses described several openings of Thomas' grave, the relocation of the body to a more sumptuous tomb in Fossanova and its division in reliquaries.⁴⁹ Moreover, from the mid-fourteenth century to the moment when Master Elias received Thomas' corpse, it had been twice at the Fondi Castle (about 20 kilometres from Fossanova) and finally transported to the Dominican Church of Fondi in 1368.⁵⁰

When the Dominicans finally obtained Thomas' body, the *Historia translationis* does not report any particular interest in regard to the questions of the authenticity of the relics, although this must have been an urgent question

⁴⁸ "R. Joseph duplex doctorem gloria/signis velut presignat vatibus/mulieris acta victoria,/ossa sancta legata fratribus/Tholoseque delata partibus" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 278.

⁴⁹ *Processus canonizationis S. Thomae Neapoli* (1319), in: *Fontes Vitae Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*, IV, ed. M.H. Laurent, "Revue Thomiste" XIX (1911), pp. 265-407. See also M. Räsänen, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

⁵⁰ Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, ff. 113-118v; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 610, pp. 1-23. See also M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, pp. 185-202.

at least in some circles. After all, such Dominican writers as William of Tocco and Bernard Gui had done their best to show the Cistercian malpractices towards the corpse. They had lavishly described in their legends, popular among the Dominican friars, the concealment and transportation of Thomas' body as well as its fragmentation at the Cistercian house. In addition, these tales of malpractices were commonly known through the liturgical readings and chants, which were a part of services open to the public in Dominican churches.⁵¹ This means that also the laity might have had doubts on Thomas' relics; where were they really? Were they transported to Toulouse or did they still remain in some hiding place in Fossanova?

Considering the nature of those questions and the wide range of people who asked them, it is not a surprise to find a discussion on the authenticity of the relics in the new translation liturgy. As we have already seen, the beginning of the translation Office again reminded people of the malpractice of Thomas' body, its concealment by the monks of Fossanova. But then it also started to give testimonies on how the listeners can be sure that the Dominicans of Toulouse were looking after Thomas' corpse and not some random bones. First, the antiphons of the Matin service praise the miracles, one sign of the authenticity of the bones. Then the second lection spells the same out by telling how the count of Fondi took Thomas' corpse from Fossanova and brought it to his own castle. The count's mother, together with the mother of the local bishop, was praying at the relic casket and pondering whether the coffin really enclosed Saint Thomas' corpse. They received an answer to their doubts when they saw that "in a clear vision, the aforesaid doctor, as if coming out of the coffin, verified the relics plainly and soon withdrew to whence he had come."⁵²

Afterwards, the count had to return the corpse to Fossanova. However, he apparently couldn't leave Thomas' remains there, but took the bones from the monastery for the second time and brought them again to his castle. This time, after keeping them for a while, the count is said to have decided to give the relics to the Dominicans. The corpse was transported to the local Dominican house. There, according to the fifth lection from the second nocturn, brother Raymundus, the author of the *Historia translationis*, expresses the concern of many: was the corpse they received really the bones of their brother saint? He is said to have prayed in front of a crucifix in the church of the convent

51 M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, passim.

52 "Prefatus doctor clara visione certificans easdem velud de ex theca progrediens ostensione monstravit. Moxque in locum unde exierat se recepit" – Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, f. 110. The edition as well as some manuscripts give this passage with more detail, but the Ms. A and Vat. lat. 10153 are similar. See *Alia historia...*, cap. 2.

when Thomas again appeared and verified the content of the relic box as Thomas' real corpse:

And then, a sudden joy overwhelming his mind, he raised his eyes to the image of the crucifix and saw between him and the crucifix the above mentioned [doctor] in the air, with a beautiful face and pleasing appearance, clothed in the Dominican habit [...].⁵³

According to the lection, Thomas himself as the highest possible witness authenticated the remains as his through the vision and the crucifix.

The structure of the liturgy seems to build up powerfully the importance of the fifth lection and its story of doubt and consolation as well as the authenticity. Usually, the great responsory reflects the preceding lection. In this case, already the fourth great responsory *Corpus sacrum* starts to draw the attention to the following as it gives the same content as the fifth lection. The metre is 10pp, the most prose-like of the metres in the Office, emphasizing, according to our analysis, the story-telling aspect of the responsory. The musical modality describes both doubt and consolation a way that resembles the content of the text. *Corpus sacrum* is in the fourth mode, the characteristic atmosphere of which is created especially in the interval between the basic tone and the second as well as in the movement of the melody around the fourth tone, the recitation height of the mode. One can verbalize the fourth mode as an expression of mystery and contemplation.⁵⁴

In the fourth great responsory, the central theme is the same as in the fifth lection, the doubt of the friar. The melody moves in small intervals around the basic tone and also around the fourth, the dominating interval. The atmosphere is restless. The first musical culmination falls upon the word *dubium*. After the long cadenza, the shifting melody changes to sureness with the words *Nam hoc corpus* which happens to mark in this chant also the *corpus* of the chant, that is, the body of the musical composition, which is the repeated latter part of the *responsum*-part. The musical highlight, and relief, comes with the word *redditur*, describing musically and textually how the brothers overcame their doubt. The change in the atmosphere of the melody expresses the feelings of the brothers: the relics of the respected brother were present, and they were real. Our interpretation stresses again the combined capacity of the music and the texts to express the authenticity of the presence of the saint during the liturgical service.

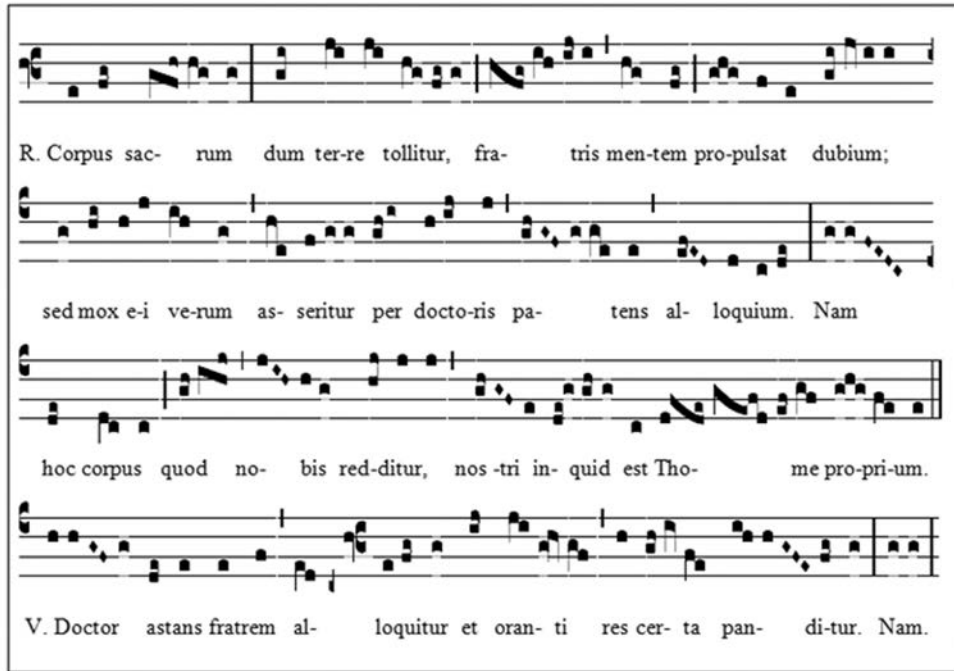
⁵³ "Et ecce subito inopinata mentis insurgente letitia, elevans oculos ad ymaginem crucifixi uidit inter se et ymaginem prefatam pulcra facie vultuque decoro in predicatorum habitu elevatum in aere" – Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. A, f. 111. See also *Alia historia...*, cap. 4.

⁵⁴ D. Saulnier, *The Gregorian Modes*, Solesmes 2002, p. 76.

4. *Responsorium prolixum IV***R. Corpus sacrum V. Doctor astans.**⁵⁵

R. When the sacred body is raised from the ground, doubt afflicts a brother's mind, but soon the truth is proclaimed to him through the doctor's clear words. For this body that is given back to us is truly that of our Thomas himself.

V. The doctor is present and speaks to his brother, and the certainty is revealed to him who prays.



R. Corpus sac- rum dum ter-re tollitur, fra- tris men-tem pro-pulsat dubium;

sed mox e-i ve-rum as-seritur per docto-ris pa- tens al- loquium. Nam

hoc corpus quod no- bis red-ditur, nos-tri in- quid est Tho- me pro-pri-um.

V. Doctor astans fratrem al- loquitur et oran- ti res cer- ta pan- di-tur. Nam.

Table 3: The 4th great responsory of Matins *Translation of St Thomas Aquinas*.

⁵⁵ Rome, Vatican City, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 275v-276; Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 134, ff. 227v-228; 137, f. 309v (no liquescent-neume in the word *certa*); 303, f. 180v (the *responsum*-part includes only *incipit*, the verse is all written out); Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Poissy R66A 096: The chant (the folio) is missing. R. refers to *responsum*-part (response) and V. versus-part of the chant (verse).

4. *Responsorium prolixum IV***R. Paupertatis ascendens V. Nocte celi.**⁵⁶

R. Ascending to the pinnacle of poverty, he calls out, detesting the sins of the world. He breaks his foe and drives back his troops; the saint remains undefeated in every battle.

V. Illuminating the heavenly abodes at night, he gives the seeds of the Word to the lands by day.

R. Pauper- ta- tis ascen- dens cul- mina clamat mundi de- tes- tans
 crimina fran- git ho- stes et fugat a- gmina nul- la
 sanctum fran- gunt discri- mi-na. V. Noc- te celi perlus-
 trans li- mina die terris dat ver- bi se- mina. Nulla.

Table 4: The 4th great responsory of Matins *Dies natalis* of St Dominic.⁵⁷

In order to emphasize the connectivity between Thomas the son, and Dominic the father, and also in order to make our argument valid, we analyse the parallel responsory from Saint Dominic's *Dies natalis* Office. The melody of the great responsory *Paupertatis* is similar with the fourth great responsory in the office of the translation. There are only minor differences. The words *ascendens* and *culmina* are lacking one decorative note in the chant for Saint Dominic when compared to the words *tollitur* and *mentem* in the chant for Saint Thomas. The differences are extremely small and only due to the length

⁵⁶ Rome, Casanatense Ms. 4507 ff. 7v-8. The key should be on the third line in the words *Nocte celi perlus[trans]*.

⁵⁷ The verse form of the text is 10pp.

of the syllables and the words. Small differences of this kind are also very common between the different versions of the same chant. It is matter of natural variation.

In the place where in *Corpus sacrum* we have *dubium*, in Saint Dominic's case we chant the word *detestans*. The modal atmosphere is strong, the negative feeling is experienced in both chants. In *Paupertatis* the melody reaches its climax on the word *sanctum*. At this point the atmosphere changes: the responsory expresses joy and respect. Now the feeling is positive and secure, and it can be compared to the chant for Saint Thomas Aquinas and to the point where we chant the word *redditur*. The consistency of the two responsories also relies on the metre, which is the same in both cases (10pp). Both responsories consist of several musical and textual elements, which offer meditative *loci* and make it possible to experience a wide range of emotions.

THE CONFIRMATION OF THE PRESENCE: THE SCENT AND LIGHT

Brother Raymundus prayed in the church where Thomas' relics were temporarily kept, and he received an impressive, almost tangible verification of the saint's presence in his bones and the place. When the corpse arrived Toulouse, Thomas' continuous presence was palpable at his monumental tomb, in a new reliquary and art works, such as panel and/or mural paintings, which were prepared to honour the saint.⁵⁸ This kind of palpability and materiality was important in keeping cults alive and making them successful in the Middle Ages. The reason for the conflict between the Cistercians and the Dominicans was the importance of saintly materiality. The tomb and the relics of a saint secured his or her active cult. The flourishing cult enabled devotional interests and economic prosperity of the community that guarded the precious body. Without the material testimonies sainthood, the welfare of the cult was less secure, or even unlikely.

The resolution of the Dominican Order regarding their lack of Thomas' relics was simple and obvious when taking into account the power of liturgy as a medium to convey emotions. After the canonization, the Dominicans composed the liturgy for Thomas' *Dies natalis*, full of lively description of Thomas' personality, normal for any medieval liturgy. In addition, Thomas' corpse, his relics and their activity are stressed in a way that is rather exceptional. For example, already the lections give a long account of the events after Thomas' death in Fossanova, and in these events the corpse has

⁵⁸ The Acts of General Chapters (1370) tell us how Master Elias demands money for Thomas' new tomb to be sent to Toulouse from all the convents of the Order, see ACG II, pp. 421-422. See also J.J. Percin, *Monumenta...*, pp. 225-226.

a main role.⁵⁹ Moreover, with the dead body, there is often present a good scent. The scent is a typical element of hagiographical narrations but it does not make it any less important to notice how efficiently it is used in the liturgy for Thomas' *Dies natalis*.

For example, lection eight emphasizes the sweet scent and uncorrupted condition of Thomas' corpse years after his burial. The responsory and verse continue the praise and give the following description:

the glory of the divine miracle shone for Blessed Thomas when the fragrant sweet odour flowed from the tomb. This happened because he lived the life of chastity and atonement.⁶⁰

In this case, the good perfume is underlined to have been an evidence of the non-contamination of the flesh. Thus, the perfume was the ultimate proof that Thomas had maintained his virginity until his death. In the church, the incenses, the words of the lection, the chants repeating the message of the lection and the candlelight most probably created a memorable experience of Thomas' *praesentia* for the audience.⁶¹

The eighth great responsory for Thomas' *Dies natalis*, which follows the previously described lection is musically highly interesting, as the melody seems to create a true effect of scent. The central words of the responsory are *odoris fragrantia*, "a sweet odour". Firstly, the words are given a musically describing melody: with the word *fragrantia*, the melody moves up as a fragrance in the air. Secondly, in the nine manuscripts used for this study, there are three different ways of phrasing these words. All the notes are the same in these versions except in the manuscript of Orvieto. This manuscript has one extra note in the word *fragrantia*, and it also has in the word *odóris* two porrectus-neumes, which makes a difference in phrasing the word. Even though these differences are small, they give an air of decoration to the chant. It could be argued that the version of Orvieto belongs to an older tradition, since more ornamented melodies are often considered to be earlier. But it can also simply indicate a preference for decoration, rather than the age of the

⁵⁹ M. Heinonen, M. Räsänen, *Pyhän tuntu. Aine ja aistimellisuus myöhäiskeskiajan uskontokulttuurissa*, "Historiallinen Aikakauskirja" II (2016), pp. 125-136; M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, pp. 217-233.

⁶⁰ "Beate Thome gloria diuino fulsit miraculo dum odoris fragrantia mira fluxit extumulo. Quia uita pudicitia uixit absque piaculo" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 289.

⁶¹ On liturgy, senses and the saint's *praesentia*, see É. Palazzo, *Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages*, "Viator" XLI (2010) 1, pp. 25-56. The praise of the miraculous odour is a constant theme over the whole Office of Thomas' feast day, as for example during the Lauds sung by the choir: "Manens doctrine ueritas et funeris integritas mira fragrans suauitas egris collate sanitas" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 290v. On saintly odour and Thomas' presence, see more M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics...*, passim, especially pp. 11, 230.

chant or manuscript.⁶² Indeed, in the case of the manuscript from Orvieto we know that the Office was copied in 1499,⁶³ whereas all the other sources we have used are earlier. Clearly, the older copies do not necessarily represent an older tradition than that of Orvieto. But if we consider the exceptionality of Thomas' cult in Orvieto, the interpretation according to which the local community preferred a more decorative, and simply more emphasized version of Thomas' presence in fragrance, becomes very plausible.⁶⁴

Considering the whole material of Thomas Aquinas' two Offices, the differences between the manuscripts are generally very small. In the case of *odoris fragrantia*, the variation is particularly rich. The differences in presenting the word *fragrantia* in the manuscripts from the Dominican convent of Colmar are not musical but variations of phrasing. These are small but significant details, as they are applied to the most important words of the chant. On one hand, the variations tell about love for the chant, a feeling expressed in the central words. On the other hand, eight out of nine sources share a musically similar variation, which tells about the practice of liturgy.

It is very likely that the repeated descriptions of fragrant sweet odour which diffused all around received a special place in the devotional life of the friars. The memory of the suggestive moment during the morning service enabled the friars to recall the words, the music and the scents as a meditative focus around the year and not only on the feast day. The memory of the moment when the real scents and melodic *fragrantia* had started to hover in the air, above the altar (i.e. a saint's tomb), did not only lead to Thomas' veneration, but strengthened the friars' own commitment to chastity and purity from sin. A reminiscence of this kind is suggested in William of Tocco's *Ystoria*, which relates that a Dominican friar was able to avoid sin when he meditated on the scent he had once experienced when he venerated Thomas' hand-relic.⁶⁵ The memory of the material presence of Thomas' relic was powerful enough to recreate a similar "perfuming" effect to avoid sin. Possibly, also the liturgical chant functioned in a similar manner as the meditative *locus*: remembering the chanting (and perhaps ruminating on the

⁶² About the Dominican liturgical development see J. Stinson, *The Poissy Antiphonal: A Major Source of Late Medieval Chant*, "The La Trobe Journal" LII-LIII (1993), pp. 50-59.

⁶³ "Iste liber illuminatus est per me fratrem Valentinum de Ungaria ordinis predicatorum 1499" – Orvieto, Archivio del Duomo, Ms. 190, f.120v. For a brief introduction to the illuminated manuscripts of the archives of the Cathedral, see L. Tammara Conti, *I codici corali dell'archivio dell'opera del Duomo di Orvieto*, "Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano" VIII (1952), pp. 18-19. This manuscript is number 4.

⁶⁴ On Thomas' cult in Orvieto, see especially M. Räsänen, *The Memory of St. Thomas Aquinas in Orvieto in the Late Middle Ages*, in: *Relics, Identity and Memory...*, pp. 285-317.

⁶⁵ William of Tocco, *Ystoria...*, cap. LXIX.

o-dó- ris fra- grántia
Col. 134 f. 224^R. Col. 309 f. 268^V. Col. 310 f. 231^R.

o-dó- ris fra- grántia
Ms. 190. Orvieto dia 0309.

o-dó- ris fra- grántia
Ms. *096.1 R66A f. 246^V. Vat. lat. 10771 f. 287^R. BL Add 23935 f. 6^V. Col. 137 f. 316^V. Ms. 2799 f. 58^V.

Table 5: The 8th great responsory of *Dies natalis* of St Thomas Aquinas.

chants again) as well as scents and other liturgical paraphernalia helped to achieve the sensory experience of Thomas' presence.

After the translation, Thomas' corpse rested in Toulouse. The basis of the translation liturgy was to honour Thomas' arrival and to rouse affection towards the saint both on a local level and within the Dominican Order. Thomas' presence is once again powerfully emphasized through his body and miracles, which were mediated by the relics. From a lay perspective, the function of the liturgy was to introduce the new saint to the Toulousan people, to stimulate people's veneration and to help them to adopt Thomas as one of their saintly patrons. Probably one element in which we can grasp rather concretely the important role of liturgy in lay devotion is the selection of the metres used in the chants. A good example is the use of the popular goliardic metre in the antiphons which tell us about Thomas' miracles in Toulouse. Here is one prime example:

He saves man and beast from assaults,
He frees the dying from fever.⁶⁶

The straightforward goliardic metre, on which a complex melody was superimposed, combined with the miracle story to produce a stimulating

⁶⁶ "Servat ab incúrsibus/virum cum jumentis/Liberat a fébribus/vitam morientis" – Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 276v-277.

and probably impassioned message, and certainly caught the attention of lay people.

Overall, the highlighting of the body throughout the translation liturgy, as we saw for example in the antiphon *Corpus quod diu latuit*, is a very interesting notion. We think that, in the same way as in the liturgy for *Dies natalis*, the desire of the Dominicans for the precious relics caused the excessive praise of the body. It was this very excess that made the presence of the relics palpable during the liturgical services and possibly in other occasions. The capacity of the translation liturgy to transmit the saint's presence was almost as urgent as in the liturgy for the *Dies natalis* feast: the friars had the need to feel Thomas in every single Dominican convent, also in those houses that did not possess any relic (the relics were guarded almost uniquely in Toulouse). The hymn for the Lauds expresses the idea perfectly:

Hymnus

Aurora pulchra rutilans I⁶⁷

Hymnus
Aurora pulchra rutilans I

Auro-ra pul-chra rutilans Splendorem deffert ro-seum, Noster-que chorus
jubil-lans Doctorem ca-nit laureum.

Table 6: The hymn of Lauds, liturgy for *translatio* feast of St Thomas Aquinas.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 10771, f. 280v; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, Poissy R66A 096, f. 428; Bologna, Archivio dei Predicatori, Ms. 39, ff. 251v-252. 2015. There is only small difference between the sources. In Vat. lat. 10774, f. 155, there is one extra note in word *chorus*.

Usually only the first verse of a hymn is written out with the melody. The same melody is many times used with different texts. For example in the offices for the translation and *Dies nativitatis* of Saint Thomas there are six different hymn texts, but only one melody. Vat. lat. 10771, ff. 279v-280v, 289v-290v. *Aurora pulchra rutilans* is a variation of a known hymn *Aurora lucis rutilat*, see Rome, Santa Sabina, Ms. XIV L1 (Codex Humberticus), f. 319v.

⁶⁸ "1. Aurora pulchra rutilans/Splendorem deffert roseum/Nosterque chorus jubilans/Doctorem canit laureum. 2. Claram dum lucem aperit/celeste sidus oculis,/Thomae figuram

The first verse praises the reddening dawn which brings its rosy splendour, giving the idea of the beautiful morning when the Dominican community, the brothers and sisters alike, are chanting the honour of their beloved saint and teacher. The second verse interestingly describes Thomas as a heavenly image enlightening the world:

2. Thereupon the star of heavens
 Opens its brilliant light to our eyes,
 Bringing us Thomas' image,
 Given as a light to the ages.

The second verse encourages the singers and listeners to look at the image of Thomas with their heart's eye. Thomas was tangibly present in the same space with his devotees, as he was brought there by the rays of the morning sun, chant and prayer. When this magnificently metaphorical hymn was sung, it was no longer necessary for the corpse or the relics to transmit Thomas' presence. He was present in roses, candles, images and rising sun. And his presence was important because he was the rays of light:

4. Mother Church sends all doubts
 To be cleared by this ray of light,
 Urging all
 To venerate Saint Thomas.

5. Testifying his true, solid
 Noble doctrine,
 Secure, firm and lucid,
 Sown by divine words.

The hymn is written in the rhythmic form of the iambic dimeter. It is an eight-syllable line where the antepenultimate, or third-last syllable is always accentuated. It is evident that this metre was regarded by the authors of the liturgies as the most lyrical, even sensual (while also being the most conservative): the hymns are invariably in the iambic dimeter, and it also predominates in the antiphons. The verse form is also the oldest, and, as it has been attested that the hymns of the liturgies largely circulate older and well-established melodies, it is only to be expected that this also applies to the texts, albeit with minor alteration.⁶⁹ The association of the metre with

ingerit/dati pro luce seculis. 3. Iam occidentem radiis/implere celum incipit,/dum multis vectum stadiis/Thomam Tholosa recipit. 4. Ad huius lucis radium/lustranda mittit dubia,/ ad sancti Thome studium/hortans mater ecclesia. 5. Veram protestans solidam/doctrinam eius inclitam, securam, firmam, lucidam,/divinis verbis insitam. 6. Eterno regi gloriam /letis canamus vocibus,/qui nobis prestat veniam/beati Thome precibus. Amen''.

⁶⁹ See above, the discussion on inventory of Matins of Thomas' *Translatio*.

Ambrose's hymns was obviously well recognised in the Middle Ages,⁷⁰ and the outward lack of originality of the hymns is certainly a deliberate gesture, intended to invoke the historical continuity of the church. In Thomas' case, it emphasizes the continuation but also the renewal of the Dominican Order its long-desired saint was returned to his home. The translation liturgy was produced in connection with the early Dominican reform. With the hymn *Aurora pulchra rutilans*, the Order directed their gaze to a new dawn which had started to reshape the Dominican order and the whole western Christendom under the saintly guidance of Thomas Aquinas.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of modal and metric structure of saints' offices has revealed to us a variety of otherwise partly concealed emotions. The richness of their utility solely in Thomas Aquinas' liturgical Offices is impressive, but when the liturgies are compared, the medieval culture of transmitting emotions through modes and metres become palpable. We have seen, for example, how parallel melodies with different texts can have similar modal and emotional impacts: when in the second antiphon of the Matins service in Thomas' *Translatio*, the melody culminates on the word *claruit* ("appeared" or "became famous"), the corresponding text in Dominic's liturgy has the word *eximie* ("excellent"). Both words have a similar emotional impact through their metric and modal position as well as their meaning although the textual content is otherwise remarkably different.

We argue that the emotions that the liturgy contained and expressed were not only intended to be experienced, but they really were felt by the audience. The examples of this paper show the possibilities of experiencing deep emotions through music and text, the mode of the chant and its poetic form. As the strategies of using modes and metres were partly centuries old, their universality made them an open – or partly open – system for medieval people. Their structural familiarity and transparency made liturgy a particularly comprehensible medium. We propose that the liturgical sources and the methodology presented in this paper are an excellent tool for grasping also the emotions of laity, often out of reach for medievalists.

⁷⁰ The term *Ambrosianus* is used, e.g. in the Benedictine Rule simply in the sense of a (possibly antiphonal) hymn, probably in the iambic dimeter. The Venerable Bede, in his eighth-century *De arte metrica* also uses it to allude to its rhythmic variant; see CCSL 123A, p. 139; S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation...*, p. 205. It is also plausible that the loose usage of the term led to the attribution of spurious hymns to Ambrose; see D. Norberg, *Au seuil du Moyen Age II: Études linguistiques, métriques et littéraires 1975-95*, Uppsala 1998, pp. 256-257.

From the viewpoint of hagiographical studies of Thomas Aquinas' cult, this multidisciplinary approach brings new elements to his image while strengthening older ones. On one hand, the musical enforcement of his resemblance with Saint Dominic is highly interesting. On the other hand, musical analysis sheds more light on our previous knowledge of Thomas' exceptional status in Orvieto. Altogether, the study demonstrates the necessity of analysing the cults of saints using also liturgical sources, and, in particular, the fruitfulness of multidisciplinary analyses of liturgy, especially when trying to recapture the emotions and experiences of medieval lay people.

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on one of the main features of the saint's liturgy: making his or her presence real and vivid during the services of the Office. The presence of the saint was a notion that was central in elaborating the relationship between the saint, especially when he or she was a newcomer, and his or her folk. The presence should also be something that the saint him- or herself wanted. In Thomas' translation Office, which is at the centre of our analyses, the presence of the saint can be sensed by ears, eyes, nose, mouth and touch, and through such feelings as darkness and deepness, doubts, and joy. In this paper, we argue that the liturgical melodies and texts were in the core of experiencing the presence of a saint. The approach of cults of saints through analysis of modal and metrical structure of the Office as well as the overall composition of liturgical feast is still a novelty. The mode of a chant is the key to interpreting the sensual or emotional meaning the melodies and the texts conveyed to the medieval audience in the Dominican church spaces. The metrical structure must be seen as a meaningful component of the poetry of the liturgy. In a larger contemporary context of Thomas' translation, we will see the power of emotionally loaded liturgy in transmitting political as well as religious ideologies. Altogether, the study demonstrates the necessity of analysing the cults of saints using liturgical sources, and the fruitfulness of multidisciplinary analyses of liturgy, especially when trying to recapture the emotions and experiences of medieval lay people.

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A MIRROR AND MEDIUM OF SANCTITY: IMITATION AND INTERNALISATION IN ANNA BRADE'S PRAYER BOOK



In the medieval all-encompassing pursuit of the holy, devotion to saints played the most central role. Through compassion and holiness conformed to the passion, Virgin Mary, the saints, and angels formed – in concert with Christ – the fundamental mediation of divine grace and protection.¹ Saints embodied and reflected the concept of sanctity and personified Christian moral and conduct of body and mind.² Saints epitomized the life of the true devoted Christian and were, thus, models for *imitatio pietatis*.³ Their holy *vitae* told us in the tales and images, and their sweet, sacred bodies contained and displayed in reliquaries and sacred shrines, inspired and affected the devotion of medieval men and women. Sanctity and divine protection was ultimately mediated through matter and accessible through devotional interaction with material stuff.⁴

The practice of prayer was one of several ways in which the grace and protection by Mary and the saints could potentially be mediated, and

¹ B. Hamm, *Types of Grace Mediality in the Late Middle Ages*, in: *The Materiality of Devotion in Late Medieval Northern Europe*, eds. H. Laugerud, S. Ryan, L.K. Skinnebach, Dublin 2016, p. 20.

² B.P. McGuire, *Sanctity. The Saint and the Senses: The Case of Bernard of Clairvaux*, in: *The Saturated Sensorium. Principles of Perception and Mediation in the Middle Ages*, eds. H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, H. Laugerud, L.K. Skinnebach, Aarhus 2014, pp. 63-111, especially p. 93f.

³ F.O. Büttner, *Imitatio Pietatis. Motive der christlichen Ikonographie als Modelle zur Verähnlichung*, Berlin 1983, especially Teil IV: *Weitere Modelle der Pietas*, pp. 133-194; H. von Achen, *Helgenikonografi og moralteologi. Kirkekunstens teologiske funksjoner i senmiddelalderen – en ikonologisk skisse*, in: *Tro og bilde i Norden i Reformasjonens Arhundre*, eds. M. Blindheim, E. Hohler, L. Lilli, Oslo 1991, pp. 9-27.

⁴ The material mediation of sanctity is investigated in *Saints and Sacred Matter. The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. C. Hahn, H.A. Klein, Washington 2015.

devotional books were particularly comprehensive media in this respect. Devotional books were often deliberately customized to fit the interests, preferences, and aspirations of their owners. They were personal and personalized objects, made to aid the devotional practice of an individual and to display, perform and constitute devotional conduct and identity. They illustrate medieval imaginations of the devout life, modelled on the devout lives of saints, a devotional and spiritual theology of sorts.⁵ The prescribed devotional practices – with their careful and often complex compositions of bodily and mental actions – were intended to bring grace, protection and sanctity at proximity. But the Medieval books were not merely a compilation of devotions, but complex multimodal media of grace mediating practices and signs that communicated on a semantic and textual level, but also through its physical and sensory presence. As Hans Henrik Lohfert Jørgensen has argued, the medieval book represented an opportunity to interact with God through word, image and body (*logos, imago* and *corpus*) at the same time.⁶

The present investigation will take as point of departure a specific Danish prayer book that originally belonged to Anna Brade (or Brahe), who commissioned it in 1497.⁷ Anna Brade was a Birgittine nun in the monastery of Maribo, Denmark.⁸ Her devotional book contains a large section of prayers dedicated to her name saint, Saint Anne, the popular late medieval patron of marriage, fertility and motherhood, celebrated as the ultimate model of *materfamilias*.⁹ Her saintly capacity was, however, far more polysemic. As will be argued in the following, the prayers to saint Anne in Anna Brade's book were decidedly appropriated to devotion in a Birgittine monastic context and focussed on a specific maternal ideal. The following reflections will focus on two questions: *how* is Saint Anne construed as a model for imitation in

5 A. Angenendt, K. Meiners, *Erscheinungsformen spätmittelalterlicher Religiosität*, in: *Divina Officia. Liturgie und Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*, Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek, LXXXIII, Wolfenbüttel 2004, pp. 25-35.

6 H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, *Den multimodale bog: logos-imago-corpus*, in: *All Media Are Mixed Media. Intersensorisk og intermedial analyse i kunsten*, eds. H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, A. Bryder Steffensen, C. Skovbjerg Paldam, Aarhus 2012, pp. 155-193.

7 *Thenne bogh lodh syxer Anna bradis datter scriffuel Aar effter dudz byrdh Mcdxcseptimo* – The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Anna Brades bønnebog, Thott 553,4° (henceforth: Anna Brades bønnebog), f. 241v. The prayers from the book have been transcribed and published in K.M. Nielsen, *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, II, København 1946.

8 The scribe has also written another extant Danish prayer book associated with the Birgittines in Maribo, see: The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Marine Issdatters bønnebog, GkS 1614,4° (henceforth: Marine Issdatters bønnebog); B. Langkilde, *Libri monasteriorum Danicorum mediae aetatis: Index ad tempus compositus. Danske middelalderklostres bøger: En foreløbig registrant*, Aarhus 2005, p. 31.

9 *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, eds. K. Ashley, P. Sheingorn, Athens-London 1990.

Anna Brade's book of prayers, as a *mirror of sanctity*; and *how* do the prayers to Saint Anne invite and facilitate internalization of the saintly mirror, as a *medium of sanctity*.

SAINT ANNE AS MIRROR OF SANCTITY

Monastic spirituality and devotion to saints was just as varied, as it was complex. Although Christ was the ultimate subject of spiritual affection, the saints who had followed him – sometimes even with the result of actual *conformatio* – represented a *way of life*. Saints were in themselves mirrors and media of imitations of the life of Christ. This devotional *imitatio sanctorum* or *pietatis* modeled on the life of saints played a major role in monastic contexts. Jeffrey Hamburger has identified a form of devotion among the nuns at Helfta, who followed certain “patters of imitation”: by imitating Gertrude, they automatically imitated Christ, a sort of *imitatio Christi* by proxy.¹⁰ To the nuns, Gertrude represented a mirror and model of mental and bodily practice that would ultimately lead to Christ.

Prayers to Christ and the Virgin Mary occupy not surprisingly the larger share of the two hundred thirty-one folios that constitute Anna Brade's prayer book. The order of the book differs from other extant Danish devotional books by the fact that prayers to female saints are positioned before prayers to male saints.¹¹ Thus, the section of prayers to Saint Anne and divine persons related to her immediately succeeds the prayers to the Virgin Mary. It consists of twelve prayers to Saint Anne, including a full Office, then one prayer to her husband Joachim, followed by three more to Saint Anne.¹² Then follows one to Saint Birgitta and her daughter Katherina and a prayer to Birgitta alone. The section concludes with an illustrated prayer to the daughters of Saint Anne, the sisters of the Virgin Mary (f. 182). The whole section spans folios 155v-182v. The remainder of the book is dedicated to various saints – female saints first – and they have consistently – except from Saint Birgitta – been allotted only one prayer each which just makes the owner's inclination towards her name Saint Anne stand out even more distinctively. Her select position is underlined in a prayer describing her as the most “beautiful and virtuous woman above all other women, and not only above all women, but you [Saint

¹⁰ J. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1997, p. 99.

¹¹ The other Danish Birgittine prayer book, Marine Issdatters bønnebog does not follow a similar scheme.

¹² The Office of Saint Anne is also included in a Danish prayer book originally belonging to the noble lady Karen Ludvigsdatter's, The Royal Library in Copenhagen, Ms.phot. 1,8°, Medeltidshandskrifter 35, Lund, Sweden (henceforth: Karen Ludvigsdatters tidebog).

Anne] surpass all holy men in heaven, second to your worthy daughter the Virgin Mary" (f. 167).¹³

The insertion of the prayers to Birgitta, the founder of the *Ordo Sanctissimi Salvatoris*, is of importance.¹⁴ Birgitta and her daughter Katherina are authorized as fundamental models of holy conduct in a prayer that adopt a well-established biblical metaphor of light as way and states: "O you two heavenly gemstones [...] O you two lights that shine godly and bright before God/Your brilliance rubs away the darkness of my sins" (f. 180). These two "heavenly gemstones" illuminate God and the way to a life without sin. The prayer also asserts that "You are those two in which God the father's only son with the Holy Spirit/Build his house/And in this house/In honour of your pronounced virtue/He is attracted to live [...] and declare his will to the whole world" (folios 180-180v). Birgitta and her daughter – and thus the Order – are a dwelling place of God and the instrument of declaration of the true will of God. A prayer dedicated to Saint Birgitta alone, "our dear mother" and "my most gentle, sweetest and dearest mother, Birgitta" underlines the maternal aspect of Birgittine monastic life (f. 181). The prayer echoes one of Birgitta's *Revelations* in which Christ informs her that when leaving the worldly life behind and entering monastic life, she will have to be mother of spiritual sons, instead of mother of physical sons.¹⁵ The prayer also accentuate Birgitta's spiritual marriage with Christ, and implore that "Birgitta, bride of Christ, fragrant as the sweetest myrrh, pity our aberration and be our merciful and gentle patron" (181v-182). Birgitta (and her daughter) is a saintly light, mother, patron and devotional habitat of the devotee.

The importance of Saint Anne as saintly model has to be understood on the background of the Birgittine context. Saint Anne – next to the Virgin Mary – seems to have been a pivotal figure of spiritual identification for Birgitta of Vadstena and the Birgittines, and their embrace of a specific way of life.¹⁶ Birgitta of Vadstena was married to Ulf Gudmarssøn, with whom

¹³ In other extant Danish prayer books from the medieval period Saint Anne is referred to in less praising tones as "above all women". Compare with Marine Issdatters bønnebog, f. 22v and Karen Ludvigsdatters tidebog, f. 100.

¹⁴ It should be mentioned that the Birgittine context of Saint Anne prayer book is also apparent from the fact that one of the prayers to the Virgin Mary – the final one before the section of prayer to Saint Anne commences, was according to the rubric given to Saint Birgitta by angel, ff. 154v-156r.

¹⁵ J. Nieuwland, *Motherhood and Sanctity in the Life of Saint Birgitta of Sweden: An Insoluble Conflict?*, in: *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.B. Mulder-Bakker, New York 1995, p. 320.

¹⁶ V. Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, Pennsylvania 2004, p. 76. For further reflections on the importance of various saints and Virgin Mary in a Birgittine context, see C.M. Waters, *Holy Familiars: Enclosure, Work, and the Saints at Syon Abbey*, "Philological Quarterly" LXXXVII (2008), pp. 136-162.

she had eight children. She received divine revelations throughout her life, but her spiritual conduct intensified after she was widowed in 1344. All in all, she received some seven hundred revelations.¹⁷ Many *Revelations* stressed and even elevated the states of motherhood and married life. Based on the model of Saint Paul who maintained a celibate marriage after he had become an apostle, Birgitta asserted that chastity of mind was more important than bodily virginity.¹⁸ In one of her *Revelations*, Christ tells Birgitta that

Virginity is good and most excellent, for it resembles the angelic state, provided it is maintained with wisdom and virtue. But if one is missing from the other, that is, if there is virginity of the flesh but not of the mind, then that virginity has been deformed. A devout and humble housewife is more acceptable to me than a proud virgin. A God-fearing housewife, who is in control of herself and lives according the rule of her state, can win equal merit as a humble and modest virgin.¹⁹

Living according to the rules of one's state in life was of greater significance than submitting to a prescribed bodily condition. In addition, the sexual act is sanctioned as Christ declare that "Those who unite sexually through divine love and fear for the sake of procreation are a spiritual temple where I wish to dwell as a third companion".²⁰ Marriage, motherhood and spirituality are tied closely together in the *Revelations* of Birgitta. The marriage of Saint Anne and Joachim appears to be an exemplary model.²¹ The "Queen of Heaven" reveals to Birgitta how she was conceived in a chaste marriage joined by God, and sanctified – body and soul – in the womb of Saint Anne.

He, my own Son, loved me before I loved him, since he is my Creator. He joined my father and mother in so chaste a marriage that there was no more chaste couple then to be found. They never desired to come together except in accordance with the Law, solely for the sake of procreation.²²

¹⁷ In the following all references to the *Revelations* of Birgitta of Vadstena are to the English translation: *The Revelations of St Birgitta of Sweden*, eds. and transl. D. Searby, B. Morris, I-IV, Oxford 2006-2015.

¹⁸ On the Birgittine appropriation of the model of Saint Paul, see *The Revelations...*, Book VIII, chap. 1. See also: B. Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, Woodbridge 1999, p. 42; J. Nieuwland, *Motherhood and Sanctity...*, pp. 297-329.

¹⁹ *The Revelations...*, Book IV, chap. 71:12.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, Book I, chap. 26.

²¹ B. Morris, *St Birgitta...*, p. 43; see M. Lindgren, *Altars and Apostles: St. Birgitta's Provisions of the Altars in the Abbey Church at Vadstena and Their Reflections of Birgittine Spirituality*, in: *In Quest of the Kingdom: Ten Papers on Medieval Monastic Spirituality*, ed. A. Härdelin, Stockholm 1991, pp. 245-282.

²² *The Revelations...*, Book 1, chap. 9 deals, among others, with the marriage of the Virgin Mary's parents. Birgitta's conception of the theological debate concerning the Immaculate Conception will not be discussed here.

The marriage and fertility of Saint Anne was of importance to Birgitta and the Birgittines. One of the most clear signs of Saint Anne's importance may be illustrated by the fact that the altar of the Blessed Virgin in Vadstena was dedicated *in honorem beate Marie et sanctarum Anne et Birgitte*.²³ Vadstena Church originally contained no less than five wooden statues of Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child, the so-called *Anne selbdrit* or *mettertia* – of which only three have survived.²⁴ Furthermore, Saint Anne featured in the large Birgitta triptych where she joins a heavenly choir of holy men and women singing Birgitta's praise. In 1480, prior to Anna Brade's commission of her prayer book in 1497, Maribo Church commissioned a small diptych dedicated to Saint Augustine, including the image of *Anne mettertia* on the inside of the right wings (Fig. 1). The church supposedly contained two altars dedicated to Saint Anne as well as one for Saint Joachim but the altarpieces are no longer extant.²⁵

Taken as a whole, the section of prayers devoted to Saint Anne in Anna Brade's book strands forth as a saintly (mirror) *image* based on overtly Birgittine theological reflection and devotional meditation on maternity. Throughout it retains a fundamental balance between her role as kin of Christ and as bodily mother and grandmother, a balance of spiritual and material qualities. The very first prayer (ff. 156-157) establishes Saint Anne's basic saintly legacy as spouse of Joachim, mother of Mary and grandmother of Christ:

O daughter of Ysachar
 O spouse of Joachim,
 O mother of Mary
 O, grandmother of Christ
 save me from shame and harm
 and misfortune [...]
 O worthy lady Saint Anne
 I offer these six burning candles
 for you and all your holy kin (156v-157).

The prayer concludes with a two-stanza rhymed poem that clearly states the family relations (in particular the second stanza):

Hail Anna, daughter of Ysachar
 fortunately given as wife to Joachim
 Glorious mother of the Virgin Mary
 Anne, dear to Jesus (157r).²⁶

²³ M. Lindgren, *Altars and Apostles...*, p. 252.

²⁴ E. Tagesson, G. Tagesson, *Vadstena klosterkyrka*, Linköpings stifts kyrkoberskrivningskommitté, XXXI, Linköping 1993.

²⁵ *Danmarks Kirker*, VIII 1: *Maribo Domkirke*, København 1948, pp. 29-88.

²⁶ *Aue anna ysachar nata/Felix sponsal iachim data/ Marie virgins mater clara/Ihesu Christi anna cara* – The poem has kindly been translated into English by Classical philologist Camilla Plesner Horster, Aarhus University.

The prayer expresses a fundamental *trinitarian* approach to Anne's sanctity. The maternal version of the trinity is also at the core of the small marginal *Anne mettertia* illumination accompanying the prayer (Fig. 2). This motif was extremely popular in the late Middle Ages and the iconography was very polyvalent. In Anna Brade's book, the Virgin Mary and Christ are seated on one leg each, an iconographic finesse that serves to draw the direct relation between Saint Anne and Christ to the fore. The similar visual structure has been applied to a second illustration in the Prayer Book of this holy maternal trinity (Fig. 3). It differs from the – equally frequent – iconographic type represented by the Maribo-altarpiece, where Mary is seated on Saint Anne's lap, whereas Christ is seated at Mary's lap, thus underlining the maternal lineage.²⁷ Another variant of the motif which highlights the *trinitarian* aspects of Saint Anne is the iconographic conflation between the *mettertia*-motif and the Throne of Mercy. The Master of Frankfurt – according to John Oliver Hand active in Antwerp in the Netherlands – painted a particular illustrating version c. 1511/1515, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Fig. 4).²⁸ It depicts Saint Anne and the Virgin Mary seated with the naked Christ child in the middle. Saint Anne supports the child with her hands and holds on to a white cloth draped below him – a foretelling of the passion of Christ and institution of the Eucharist of which the Christ child seems aware as he also holds on the cloth. The upper part of his body is turned toward his mother, the Virgin Mary, turning the pages of the book she is reading – underlining Christ as the incarnated *word* and the book of life. The matrilineal vertical axis is balanced by a paternal horizontal axis. In the very top of the painting, centrally positioned, is God the father, dressed as a pope, in a golden cloud. Right below him floats the Holy Spirit in the guise of a white dove dressed in golden rays that point directly to the Christ child and almost touching his curly golden hair.²⁹ The matrilineal Trinity focuses on the lineage of Christ's physical body, whereas the paternal Throne of Mercy focuses on the divine origins of Christ.³⁰ The combination of the two motives emphasize the Mystery of the Incarnation, the God that became man. The altarpiece in Maribo church (Fig. 5) also contains both motives, combined with images depicting the Mass of Saint Gregory and the Annunciation.

²⁷ For further reflections on these two iconographic forms, see J. Welsh, *The Cult of St. Anne in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, New York, 2017.

²⁸ J.O. Hand, *Saint Anne with the Virgin and the Christ Child by the Mater of Frankfurt*, "Studies in the history of Art" XII (1982), pp. 43-52.

²⁹ This cross-structure was not unusual. It was also chosen for the centrepiece of a slightly earlier triptych depicting the Holy Kin, c. 1505, for the Monastery of the Dominican Order in Frankfurt.

³⁰ On these matrilineal Trinities, see P. Sheingorn, *Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History*, in: *Interpreting Cultural Symbols...*, pp. 167-198.

The motherhood and married life of Saint Anne was an important maternal imagery used to describe the concept of God.³¹ The trinitarian accentuation of Saint Anne's sanctity is prominent throughout the prayers. The second "prayer" in the section, a full Office of Saint Anne, describes the saint in theological phrases as an ending of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New.³² The short introductory rubric to the Office informs the reader that those who honour Saint Anne by performing the full office will receive her help "in her third self" with full support of Mary and Christ (f. 157).³³ The introductory prayer to each of the canonical hours is a slight modification of *Ave Maria*, thus further underlining the link between Saint Anne and the Virgin and Child.³⁴ The Anne-Mary-Christ trinity is often besought as a *trinitas* as is the case with a prayer to the hearts of Saint Anne and the Virgin Mary:

O most fruitful mother Saint Anne, I beseech you, for the way in which the hearts of the son of God, Jesus Christ, and your daughter the Virgin Mary and you were tied together by the love of the Holy Ghost, to drive out all evil thoughts and lusts from my heart and make my heart clean and flawless [...] (ff. 171-171v)

The trinitarian prominence of Saint Anne as mirror of sanctity concentrates expressly on her role as a mother. Frequently occurring *topoi* in the prayers are wish for a righteous life and help in all conduct, alleviation of sorrow, and general assistance in worldly life. Saint Anne is like a loving mother, tending to the well-being of a beloved child.³⁵

Her fertility is equally central. In spite of Saint Anne's inability to conceive, she was chosen to give birth to Mary as a result of divine intervention and the prayers in Anna Brade's book are abounding with a plethora of metaphors concerning her miraculous fertility. She is described in terms of a dwelling as a palace of the mother of God (f. 157v: "the creator of all things made a palace for his worthy mother"), and a "costly shrine" (f. 162v), as well as in distinctly fertile horticultural terms as a fruitful tree (f. 158v: "God made

31 A.B. Moulder-Bakker, *Introduction*, in: *Sanctity and Motherhood...*, p. 5.

32 The same version of the Office of Saint Anne is found only in one other extant Danish Book of Hours (The University of Copenhagen, Arnamagnean Collection, AM 75,8°). Each of the hours of the office are comprised short versions consisting of a *capitulum*, composed of material from the legend of Saint Anne, a hymn and a collect. Compare, for example, with the English *Percy Hours* (British Library, MS Harley 1260, ff. 79-82v).

33 The full rubric states: *hær begynnnes sancte Anne tiider/ huilken henne hedrer/ then hielper hwn sælff tridiæ* – Anna Brades bønnebog, f. 157.

34 *Ave anna gracia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui virgo maria* – *ibidem*.

35 For more on maternity as ideal in the Middle Ages, see: *Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser*, eds. C. Leyser, L. Smith, Oxford 2011; *Medieval Mothering*, eds. J. Carmi Parsons, B. Wheeler, New York 1996.

his nest in the top of the tree that flowered with the fruit which was Mary"), and a "plant of flesh" (f. 160). A prayer describing her as a "most fertile root" (f.168v) is supplied with an illustration visualising the root from which the mother of God grew (Fig. 3).

The devotional model of motherhood and fertility is, however, translated in order to fit the monastic context. The third prayer in the section – which is a rather elaborate devotional practice, consisting of both an introductory and a concluding rubric and nine prayers – features a list of benefactions for the devotee, including fertility "of both body and soul" (ff. 160v-167).³⁶ In this context fertility is understood as more than a bodily procreative ability, but a mental one as well. The fifth prayer of this practice expands on the concept of mental fertility:

make me pregnant in body and mind with all good deeds, just as you have mercifully delivered your children into this world

and

[...] help me gain inwards deeds [...] that I may deliver spiritual children and not dead or putrid ones.³⁷

Motherhood, pregnancy and delivery of saint Anne are transformed into metaphors for spirituality. The saintly mirror is that of metaphorical analogy. To the owner of the book the fertility of Saint Anne and the Virgin represents a model for spiritual fertility and delivery: the birth of devout thoughts in a devotionally fertile mind. As the eighth and last prayer states, "just as your daughter is an immaculate virgin/and God was born by her/verily, I will deliver a virtuous life".³⁸ The symbolic likeness between these two forms of fructiferousness is extended to the votary's entreaty for intercession: "take my soul into your worthy womb with your worthy daughter the Virgin Mary and lead me before the face of God".³⁹ The petitioner's soul is born into the presence of Christ by Saint Anne – the deliverer of salvation.

Saint Anne is also described as the ideal spouse and patron of matrimony. She is a "rule" and "supporter" of a true and rightful marriage as the fifth practice states.⁴⁰ In the Office the marriage of Saint Anne is described as

³⁶ *Hwo som vill worde fruchtsommeligh/thet forwærffuer hwn them bodhe til liiff oc siæl [...].* – Anna Brades bønnebog, f. 160v.

³⁷ [...] *giør mek fruchtsommeligh till siæl oc liiff i allæ gode dygder/ sosom thw haffuer thine børn meth salighhedh til værilden fødth [...]. Swo hielp mek til inwortes dygder [...]. oc ath iek matte føde andelige børn/oc æy døde/oc æy fordærffuethe [...].* – *ibidem*, ff. 163v-164.

³⁸ [...] *oc sosom thin datter ær reen iomfru/ oc gudh vordh aff henne fødth So sannelige skal fødes aff mek eth dygdefult leffnet/meth een gudeligh ændelicht [...].* – *ibidem*, ff. 165-165v.

³⁹ [...] *Taghe myn siæl genisten I thit værdige skødth meth thin værdige datter iomfru maria/oc føør henne foræ gudz claræ anlede [...].* – *ibidem*, f. 168.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 170.

superior to all others because it was characterized by “true chastity, since it blossomed with holiness [...] and burned with love/saturated with great mercy”.⁴¹ The rubric of the third practice in the section offers aid in righteous marriage and the sixth prayer describes and idealizes the marriage of Saint Anne and Joachim as characterized by two people “practiced in virtuous dignity/poverty/mercifulness/chastity/and righteousness in all aspects”.⁴²

The devotional mirror of Saint Anne seems, thus, in a Birgittine context to be related to the “spiritual fecundity”, which Caroline Walker Bynum has located as an essential aspect of monastic devotion to the Virgin Mary. Saint Anne installed fertility, motherhood and marriage as the ground for spiritual practice.⁴³ To a Birgittine nun, this double value of marriage and motherhood as both mundane and spiritual matter was of great importance for devotional conduct. It mirrors the life of Saint Birgitta who experienced both worldly and spiritual marriage, modeled on the life of among others Saint Anne. Birgitta is the *actualization* of the spiritual fertility and marriage described in the prayers to Saint Anne and, thus, an inspiration for the Birgittine owner of the book. The imitation *by proxy* implies that the devotee amalgamates different and yet interrelated saintly models in a complex pattern based primarily on Christ, Virgin Mary, Saint Anne and Birgitta.

Anna Brade’s book offers a detailed account of the perfect saintly model, the mirror of sanctity, but also how it could be adopted through devotional practice. The sanctity of the saint was internalized through the performance of devotional actions that elucidated and immediated Saint Anne in different ways.

THE MULTIMODAL AND MULTISENSORY MEDIATION OF SANCTITY

The imitation of a saintly model was a complex matter. It required mental and even bodily adaptation and internalization of the saintly ideal and this was not merely a matter of reading the texts devoutly.⁴⁴ The composition of prayers

⁴¹ *Sancta anne æhteskap owerigik allæ andræ/meth san kyskhedh/thi thet blomstredes i hellighedh [...] oc bran aff kerlihghedh/opfyldt aff stor nade.* – ibidem, f. 159, *capitulum* for the *sextam* prayer.

⁴² *O hellige moder santa Anna oc herre sante ioachim i bodhe haffue øffd edher i alle dygders verdighedh/i fattigdom/i myscundelighedh/i kyskhedh/oc i alle tings rætfærdighedh* – ibidem, f. 164.

⁴³ C.W. Bynum, *Patterns of Female Piety in the Later Middle Ages*, in: *Crown and Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. J.F. Hamburger, S. Marti, New York 2008, p. 181.

⁴⁴ H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, *I kroppens spejl: Krop og syn i senmiddelalderlige danske kalkmalier*, Arbejdsrapporter, V, Århus 2004; idem, *Fra sløret glimt til åbenbaret syn. Kirkerummet som ramme for den visuelle oplevelse af det hellige fra tidlig til sen middelalder*, in: *Undervejs mod Gud. Rummet og rejsen i middelalderlig religiøsitet*, eds. M. Birkedal Bruun, B. Istoft, København 2004, pp. 169-187. Also H. Laugerud, *Tegn, symbol og tolkning. Om forståelse og fortolkning av middelalderens*

to Saint Anne in Anna Brade's book, complete with their often meticulous rubrics and illustrations, just underlines the complexity of devotion: the use of words are intertwined with bodily actions (movement, postures) interaction with the surroundings (location, space, images, other bodies, lighting facilities), incorporation of devotional objects (images, devotional books, rosaries etc.) and practices of perception (activation of outer and inner senses in concord). A medieval devotional book was just one – albeit complex – component, indeed “a body, as well as an image and a text, meaning as well as sensation, media as well as medium”.⁴⁵ As will be illustrated in the following, the imitation and internalization, that is, the mediation of a mirror of sanctity was often played out in convoluted multisensory, intersensory and multimodal ways.⁴⁶ Since many of the prayer to Saint Anne include extensive descriptions of practice, I will concentrate my analysis to only a few illuminative examples.

The centrality of the owner's identification with Saint Anne and internalisation of her saintly identity – in all its complexity – is underlined by the fact that half of the prayers to Saint Anne in Anna Brade's prayer book are equipped with detailed explanatory rubrics, testifying to a very conscientious interest in performance. Out of all the prayers to other saints and angels in the book – forty-three all in all – only four others are supplied with equally detailed rubrics.⁴⁷ The first prayer to Saint Anne sets the tone of internalization (156-157). The rubric prescribes the following choreography: take six candles on the second day after all the yearly days of our lady and devote two candles in the honour of Saint Anne before her image, because she was mother and grandmother, and devote two candles for the virgin Mary because she was worthy of being a virgin and mother, and finally devote two candles to our Lord for he is God and man. When all six candles are lit, the petitioner should fall on her/his knees and read a prayer. The potential benefit of the practice is a healthy soul, good reputation, bodily wellness, knowledge, joy of the heart and godly abundance.⁴⁸ As mentioned above, the

bilder – noen innledende betraktninger, in: Tegn, symbol og tolkning. Om forståelse og fortolkning av middelalderens bilder, eds. G. Danbolt, H. Laugerud, L. Liepe, København 2003, pp. 17-32.

⁴⁵ H.H. Lohfert Jørgensen, *Den multimodale bog...*, p. 193.

⁴⁶ On the multisensory, intersensory and multimodal character of medieval devotion, see: E. Palazzo, *Les Cinq sens au Moyen Age*, Paris 2016; *The Saturated Sensorium...*, passim.

⁴⁷ Saint Dorothy (f. 186), Saint Nicolas (f. 205), the Fifteen Holy Helpers or auxiliary saints (f. 209) and a prayer to the old prophets (f. 209v). The rubric introducing the prayer to the Fourteen Holy Helpers states that there are fifteen, but in fact the prayer itself mentions sixteen. Throughout the book, all prayers to saints are – with few exceptions – provided with small illuminations in the margin.

⁴⁸ *Item tagh sex lywss then annen dagh næst effter allæ vor frue dage/ eth aar omkringh/ oc ofræ for sancte anne billædhe ii lywss i henne hedher forthi ath hwn var moder oc oldæmoder/ offræ iomfru maria ii lywss/ forthi ath hwn værdugh var til ath vare iomfru oc moder/ offræ vor herre ii liwss/ thi*

prayer is equipped with a small illumination depicting Saint Anne *Mettertia* – although the rubric verbally explicates that the prayer is supposed to be performed by an image of Saint Anne (Fig. 2). Whether or not the performance of the prayer complete with lighting of candles was supposed to take place before the image in the book or some other image is not elucidated in the rubric. However, the latter alternative seems to be the most obvious when considering the spatial requirements of the bodily performance.⁴⁹ The image in the book may serve as information on the nature of the image to be used, but also as visual *activation* of the trinitarian focus of the prayer. The gradual lighting of candles follows the logic of the prayer words as it takes its point of the departure in Saint Anne as holy mother and *materfamilias*, proceeds to the Virgin Mary, God’s chosen vessel, and concludes with the Christ Child, the fulfilment of the Incarnation. The candles, words and image(s) literally and symbolically enlighten and gradually unfold the maternal trinity as the ultimate explanation for the Incarnation. The practice is almost like opening a precious shrine with a most coveted mystery inside. The devotional focus on Saint Anne as the shrine of the mother of God, was thus, activated and retained through various modalities and senses.⁵⁰ Movements and postures, words of praise, melodious rhymed verses adept for easy commemoration and internalization, an explanatory and devout illumination, material props in the guise of candles saturated with and producing light-symbolism and the book or *corpus* itself exuded the image and presence of Saint Anne’s miraculous motherhood and divine fertility. Her presence as protector and model of an ideal spiritual way of life, is mediated in a most pervasive way.

The propinquity of Saint Anne in the devotional life of Anna Brade is expressly pronounced by the presence of the Office of Saint Anne, the second devotion to Saint Anne in the book (157-161). An Office would usually be performed at the feast day of a saint, but could also be incorporated into daily devotion. In the case of daily performance, the liturgical allusion would have served to insert the daily devotion into the sacred and sacramental celebrations of the church and intensify the presence of the saint.⁵¹

ath han ær gudh oc menniske/ optændh tesse sæx liwss oc fall pa thine knæ oc læss thenne effterscreffne bøn/ tha fanger tw sex gode tingh som ær siæls helsommelighedh æræ goth ryktæ, liiffs swndhedh viishedh hiærtens glæde oc guþz rigdom. The prayer is also found in Karen Ludvigsdatters Book of Hours, no. 141.

⁴⁹ The exact same prayer is found in Karen Ludvigsdatter’s Books of Hours, but without the illustration, so she would have had to use an external image.

⁵⁰ On the common sensibles, see Bonaventure, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, in: L.K. Skinnebach, *Practices of Perception. Devotion and the Senses in Late Medieval Northern Europe*, PhD dissertation, University of Bergen 2015; L.K. Skinnebach, *Devotion. Incorporating the Immutated Sensorium in Late Medieval Devotional Practice*, in: *The Saturated Sensorium...*, pp. 152-179.

⁵¹ *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. R.A. Baltzer, M.E. Fassler, Oxford 2000.

The third prayer in the section is unquestionably one of the most elaborate. It consists of an introductory rubric, eight prayers, an ending prayer (*slutbøn*) and a concluding rubric. It is multifunctional and the introductory rubric specifies six graces that may be obtained by honouring saint Anne: good fortune for body and soul, merciful marriage, pregnancy (of body and soul, as stated above), happiness in this world, righteousness for one's family, including children, and general aid and bliss for body and soul. The first gift is, the rubric specifies, that good fortune may be obtained by devoutly beholding the image of Saint Anne and her holy family. The prayer is not supplied with an image, so Anna Brade would have had to consult an image somewhere else, most likely an image of Saint Anne and the holy family, the so-called *trinubium* (which included Anne's three husbands and three daughters with their husbands and children). The descriptions of the rest of the benefits mention only saint Anne by herself. The circumstances and the actual performance are elaborated in the concluding rubric. Here it is underlined that the prayers should be read once a week if one wishes to enhance the prayer with the mercy of Virgin Mary and Christ. It should especially be observed on three feast days of Saint Anne, and supplemented with general honouring of one's earthly parent and kin, and, thus, an earthly parallel corresponding to the holy family is established. The prayers should moreover be performed with a clean heart and righteousness deeds. If performed fifteen days in a row on one's bare knees and then completed by offering a candle and alms, anything can be asked and will be granted for the benefit of one's soul. Furthermore, the prayers will aid pregnant women if a candle is burned in honour of the holy family.

The prayer-texts are the fixed element of the practice. It centres the mind on the marriage and miraculous fertility of Saint Anne and underlines her as mirror of both spiritual and worldly espousal and fecundity. The performance of the prayer may on the other hand vary. Different choices and combinations of operations result – potentially – in different outcome. If performed regularly – once a week or fifteen successive days on one's bare knees – the mediation of saint Anne's sanctity through a repetitive bodily action, sensory practices and mental exercises, would prompt and augment the incorporation of the saintly ideal. The performance of the prayer would require endurance and concentration on the saintly model with body, senses and perception. If observed as prescribed, the saintly ideal would have been effectively mediated and internalized, contributing to a gradual habitual modification of body and mind.

The specific use of the prayer in connection with pregnancy deserves particular mention. Anyone who observes the prayers, fasting and offers alms on three important days of saint Anne, that is the day Virgin Mary was conceived in Anne's womb, the day the Virgin was born and the day Anne

was received in heaven, will acquire “great grace in soul and body” (ff. 166-166v). A pregnant woman will, on top of that, be saved. If she experiences any needs and calls saint Anne for help, it will be granted. Furthermore, she is instructed to offer and burn a candle the length of a hand in honour of the birth of Christ, the birth of the Virgin Mary and for the entire holy family. It is not clear whether this was supposed to be performed during the state of need or after as an expression of gratitude. In any case, the situational appropriation of the prayer required a specific combination of actions and involved the invocation of a specific combination of saints that mirrored the procreative act. The entire organism – body and soul – would concentrate on and contemplate saint Anne’s responsibility in the miraculous Incarnation. To the Birgittine owner of the book, this specific version of the practice could be used to help others, but it would also serve to underline that mediation between heaven and earth hinged on the playing out symmetrical bodily and mental actions: the holy family as the ultimate equilibrium of earthly and material actions.

The focus on sensory and bodily mediation is also at the core of the tenth prayer to Saint Anne (ff. 173-178). The practice proceeds according to the following prescribed pattern: first the votary should light one candle before the image of saint Anne, fall on the knees, read one *Ave Maria* and a prayer, and then stand up and light the second candle, kneel, read one *Ave Maria* and a prayer. This is repeated until five candles have been lit. A final rubric prescribes (daily?) performance for five months in symmetry with the amount of time Saint Anne spent grieving for Joachim.⁵² The five prayers present the legend of Saint Anne, focusing in particular on marriage and conception.

Each prayer represents a condensed contemplation on a certain emotional aspect of the life of saint Anne: it ascends from her lamentable infertility and sorrowful separation from Joachim to her joyous conception and reunion with Joachim by the golden gate, her love for Joachim and finally the joyful delivery of the Virgin Mary.⁵³ The rhetoric style invites the reader to be absorbed into a state of compassion with saint Anne, from a deep sorrow that culminates in ecstatic joy for the divine intervention. Contemporaneously the candles – the ultimate symbol of God, the eternal light, *lumen de lumine* – are lit, one by one, and gradually illuminate the image of saint Anne. The tale of the marriage

⁵² According to the legend about the childless marriage of Saint Anne and Joachim in the *Protoevangelium of James*, Joachim spent forty days in the desert praying to God to grant them a child while Anne sat in grief, praying to the Lord under a tree in their garden, and not five months as is mentioned here, see I. Pegelow, *Helgonlegender i ord och bild*, Stockholm 2006, p. 22.

⁵³ The details of the life of Saint Anne and Joachim are not included in the gospels but described in detail in the *Protoevangelium of James*, the Pseudo-Matthew and *Legenda Aurea*.

of Saint Anne and Joachim is gradually unfolded while the features of the image are revealed and clarified but the lights. The alternation between the two different performative modes – kneeling and praying versus standing while lighting a candle – supports the progress. Emotional joy and sensory enlightenment merge and is verbalised in the repetitive petition for “God’s burning love” that closes each prayer, save the final one. In concert, the visual and verbal illumination mediate the saintly presence.⁵⁴ On the textual level the prayers approach and circumscribe the miracle until it reaches the pinnacle of spiritual insight and experience of the miraculous birth of the Virgin Mary. The accompanying physical and sensory choreography supports the mental illumination. The practice gradually performs saintly presence and incorporates saintly values. Body and soul congruently move towards the same goal.

The prayer is not supplied with an illumination, so the exact features of the image involved can only be guessed at. The rubric only states “the Image of Saint Anne” (*sancta annæ beledē*), but this was, as we have seen above, a capacious visual category that spans numerous iconographic types. Another question that must be posed relates to the function of the prayer. The final prayers are in fact written in a form that installs Anna Brade as intercessor for a couple, praying on their behalf. Anna Brade might have used the prayer in order pray for the protection of someone else, perhaps a married couple in her close family.⁵⁵ The well-being of married couples lay at the heart of the social practice of the Birgittines. At one point Saint Anne appeared to Birgitta and revealed to her a special prayer, that could be used for married women asking God for fertility: “Blessed are you, Jesus, Son of God and Son of the Virgin, who chose a mother for yourself out of the marriage of Anne and Joachim! Through the prayer of Anne, have mercy on all married people that they may bear fruit for God [...]”.⁵⁶ This does, however, seem to be closely tied to the devotional concept of spiritual marriage and fertility spelled out in Anna Brades prayer book.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Saint Anne stands out as the most important saint of identification and internalization in Anna Brade’s book of prayer. Saint Anne is the model of

⁵⁴ B. Pentcheva, *Glittering Eyes: Animation in the Byzantine Eikōn and the Western Imago, “Codex Aquilarensis” XXXII* (2016), pp. 209-236.

⁵⁵ Anna Brade’s sister Elsebeth Brade lived in the estate of marriage with her husband, Hans Skovgaard. When Anne Brade died sometimes around 1545, the book went to Elsebeth.

⁵⁶ *The Revelations...*, Book VI, chap. 104.

married life, but more importantly, of a specific kind of spiritual devotion. The prayers to Saint Anne in Anna Brade's prayer book are composed in a way that enforces the bodily interaction and internalisation of Saint Anne's saintly qualities. The identity of Saint Anne is communicated and mediated in a variety of media and forms. Anna Brade could internalize the saintly model in a multimodal and multisensory fashion through a complex combination of visual means, textual descriptions and bodily performances. The saintly characteristics and powers of Saint Anne are channelled and imprinted through the devotional performance. By using a combination of movements, objects and actions, the votary would come to experience an all-encompassing sensory and mental integration with Saint Anne as mirror of sanctity. Through the practice of the prayers to Saint Anne and the imitation of her life in the form of spiritual conduct, the powers of this holy saintly prototype was imprinted on and transmitted to Anna Brade. The mediation of sanctity incorporated the full *sensorium*. The practice of prayers to Saint Anne simply flooded the senses with as an extensive and multimodal mirror of sanctity.

ABSTRACT

In 1497 a Danish Birgittine nun, Anna Brade (or Brahe) commissioned a hand written and illuminated prayer book. A large section of the book has been dedicated to prayers addressing Anna Brade's name-saint, the mother of Mary, Saint Anne, the patron of motherhood, fertility and childbirth. In the prayer book, the saintly qualities of Saint Anne are, the article will argue, appropriated in a spiritual terminology. Furthermore, the article will argue that the prayer book composes intricate multisensory and multimodal strategies for internalization and imitation of the saintly model of Saint Anne.

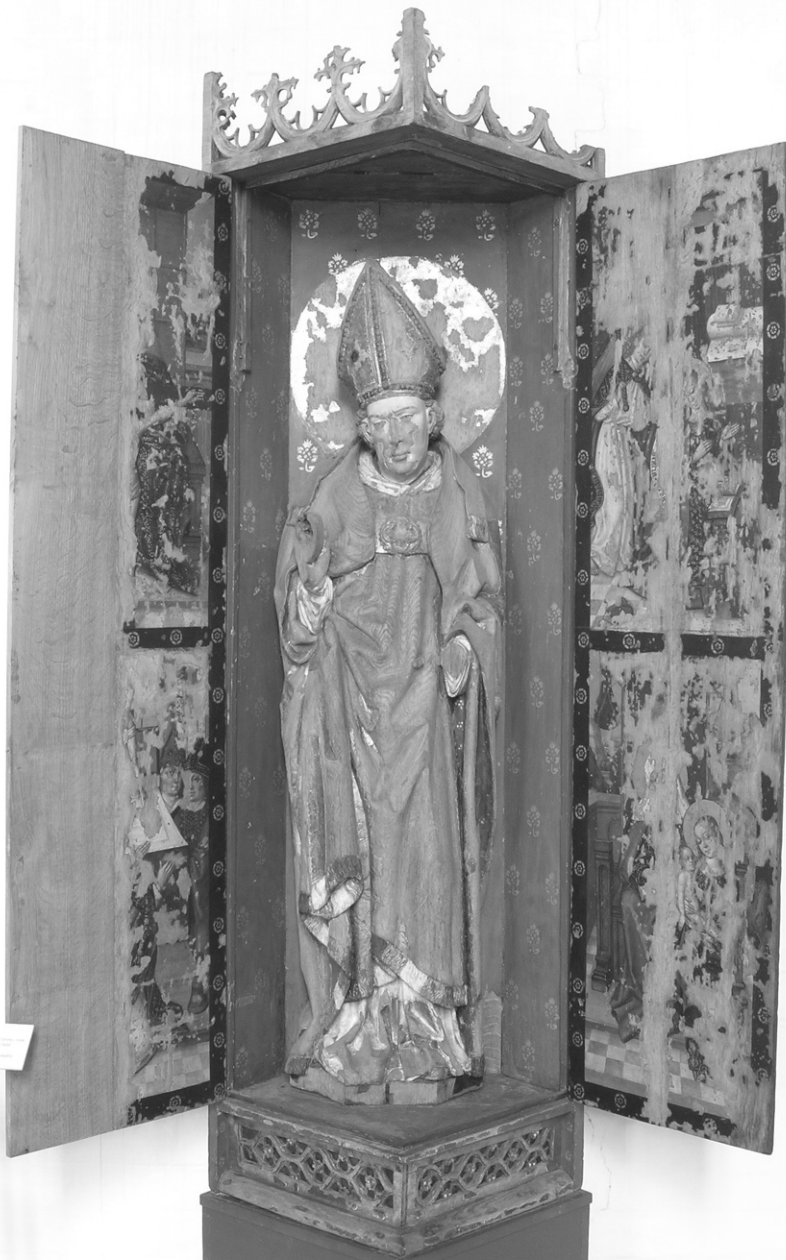


Fig. 1. Altarpiece dedicated to Saint Augustine, commissioned for Maribo Church, Denmark, c. 1480. The paintings are fragmented, but the motifs can still be clearly identified. This detail from the lower part of the inside of the right wing, shows Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child on her lap. Maribo Church. Photo: Jens Bruun, www.altertavler.dk.

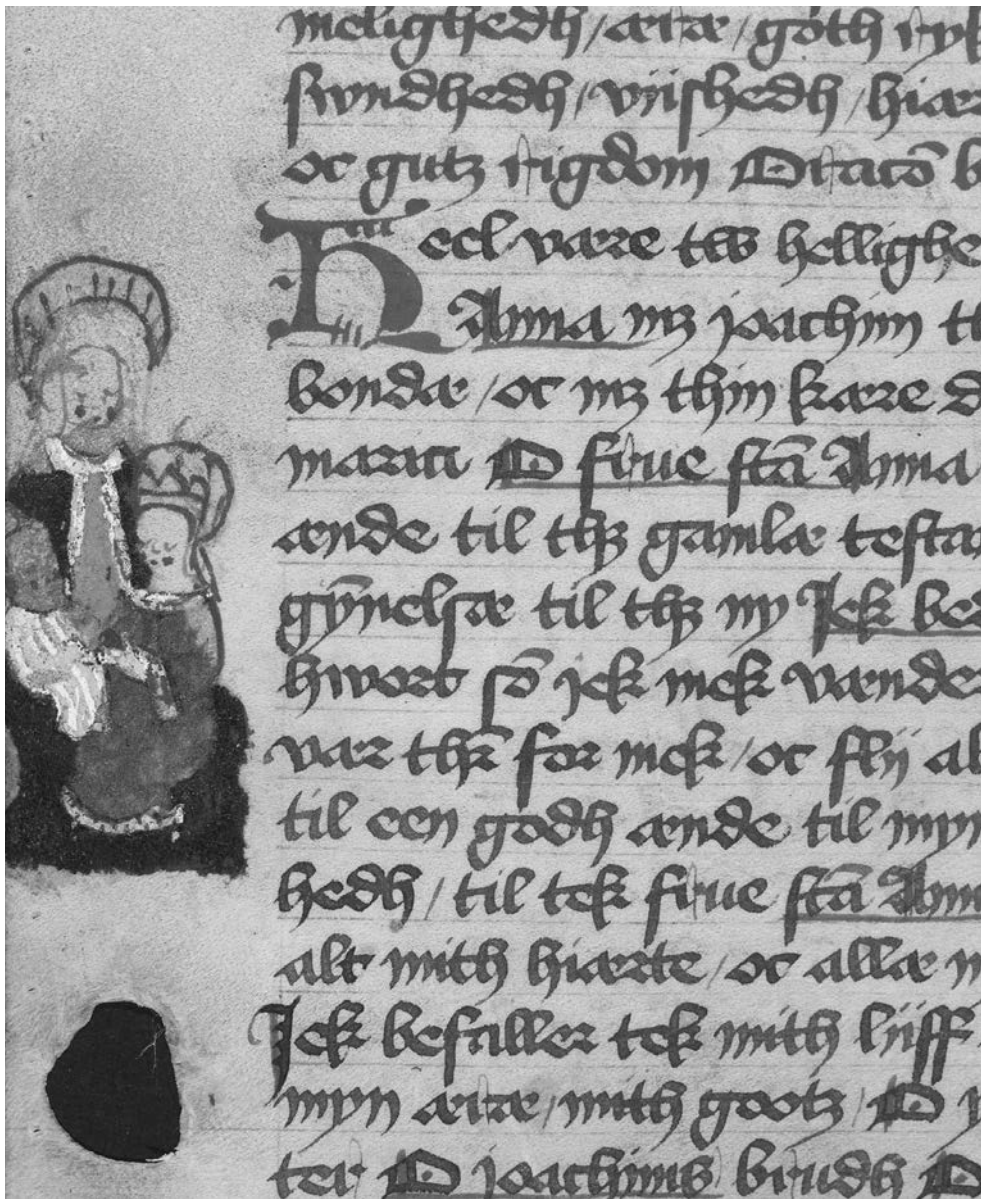


Fig. 2. The illustration accompanying the first prayers to St Anne, f. 157v. The eyes of Saint Anne, the Virgin Mary and Child the depicted with their eyes closed, as if to mirror the contemplative state of mind of the devout beholder. Anna Brade's Book of Prayers, Thott 553, 4°, Royal Danish Library. Photo: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, The Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.



Fig. 3. A small illumination depicting Saint Anne *Mettertia* illustrates a prayer that constitute her as the holy and “most fertile root” from which the “honourable sprig”, the mother of God, grew, f. 168v. Anna Brade’s Book of Prayers, Thott 553, 4^o, Royal Danish Library. Photo: Laura Katrine Skinnebach.



Fig. 4. A panel painted by the so-called Mater of Frankfurt, c.1511/15, emphasise the interrelation between the paternal and maternal trinities. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Fig. 5. The altarpiece from Maribo Church, c. 1480. Left wing: the juxtaposition of The Trone of Mercy and the Mass of St Gregory underlines the Godly nature of Christ and the Eucharistic aspects of the Incarnation. Right wing: the combination of the Annunciation and Saint Anne *Mettertia* accentuates the human nature of Christ and the Salvific aspects of the Incarnation. Maribo Church. Photo: Jens Bruun, www.altertavler.dk



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JULIANA OF CORNILLON AND THOMAS AQUINAS ON THE EUCHARIST: POLITICS, LITURGY, AND IMPLEMENTING REFORM



Within the Dominican Order, there has always been tension between two strands of religious thought. One emphasizes theology, a discipline shaped by philosophical reflection on the major themes of Scripture, above all about the message of redemption and salvation. The other focuses on devotion, the process by which the message of redemption and salvation is interiorized within the individual through meditation on the sacrifice of Christ, re-enacted by the priest in the sacrament of the mass.¹ While the Eucharist has long attracted doctrinal discussion, it only generated wide affective devotion in the Latin West following the development of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the late 13th and 14th centuries, as documented by Miri Rubin.² Anneke Mulder-Bakker has considered the process by which the idea of establishing the Feast of Corpus Christi was initially promoted in Liège by Juliana of Cornillon (1193-1256) in around 1240, and then picked up by Hugh of Saint-

1 There is a large literature on the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, as also on the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi, beginning with J. Bertholet, *Histoire de l'Institution de la Fête-Dieu: avec la Vie des bienheureuses Julienne et Eve qui en furent les premières promulgatrices*, 3rd ed., Liège 1846; F. Baix, C. Lambot, *La dévotion à l'eucharistie et le VII^e centenaire de la Fête-Dieu*, Gembloux 1946; A.W. Astell, *Eating Beauty: The Eucharist and the Spiritual Arts of the Middle Ages*, Ithaca NY 2006; *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, eds. I. Levy, G. Macy, K. van Ausdall, Leiden 2012, with a chapter by M. Rubin, *Popular Devotion to the Eucharist*, pp. 447-468. On the feast of Corpus Christi, see *Fête-Dieu (1246-1996)*, ed. A. Haquin, I-II, Louvain-la-Neuve 1999.

2 On the social significance of this feast in later medieval culture, see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991.

-Cher (1200-1263) in around 1251.³ On 8th September 1264, Urban IV, who had been elected Pope on 29th August 1261 and would pass away on 2nd October 1264, officially encouraged the whole Latin Church to observe the Feast in his bull *Transiturus*, having commissioned a new Office from Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). Urban's bull never identified by name either Juliana as responsible for promoting the feast, or Thomas Aquinas for writing the Office, leading to scholarly suspicion whether he did in fact compose not just new antiphons, hymns and responsories, as well as readings for the Office, all presented without any identification of their author in manuscripts of the Office. Beginning with Clement IV (1265-1268), none of the immediate successors of Urban IV would ever enforce *Transiturus* until Clement V (1305-1314) could include it within his *Clementines*, a new synthesis of canon law that had not become widely enforced until the time of Pope John XXII (1316-1334).⁴ Only as a result of recent research is it now confirmed that Thomas did indeed compose the Office.⁵ Thomas' authorship of the Office was first recorded in 1317 by Ptolemy of Lucca:

He did this completely, both for the readings and for the Office as much of the day as of the night, for the mass and whatever is sung on that day. In this report, if we attend to the words of the writer, almost all the figures of the Old Testament seem to be contained in this Office, adapted with a clear and appropriate style for the sacrament of the Eucharist.⁶

William of Tocco repeated this comment of Ptolemy about Thomas' gift for expounding anew these Old Testament images.⁷ The different versions of

³ On Juliana, see: A. Mulder-Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses. The Rise of the Urban Recluse in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia 2005, pp. 78-117; *Vita Julianae Corneliensis*, ed. J.P. Delville, in: *Fête-Dieu...*, II: *Vie de sainte Julienne de Cornillon*; B. Newman's introduction to and translation of the *Life of Juliana of Cornillon*, ed. A. Mulder-Bakker within *Living Saints of the Thirteenth Century. The Lives of Yvette, Anchoress of Huy; Juliana of Cornillon, Author of the Corpus Christi Feast; and Margaret the Lame, Anchoress of Magdeburg*, Turnhout 2011, pp. 181-302.

⁴ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi...*, pp. 176-181.

⁵ Foundational for theological and liturgical awareness of the Eucharist are the many essays of P.M. Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire*, Paris 1990, in particular *L'office du Corpus Christi, oeuvre de S. Thomas d'Aquin* (pp. 223-246).

⁶ *Hoc autem fecit complete, et quantum ad lectiones et quantum ad totum officium, tam diurnum quam nocturnum quam etiam missam et quidquid illa die cantatur. In qua historia, si attendimus ad verba scribentis, quasi omnes figuras veteri testamenti in hoc officio videntur contineri et luculento et proprio stilo adaptata ad eucharistie sacramentum* – Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica nova*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXXIX, ed. O. Clavuot, Hannover 2009, p. 566.

⁷ *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco* (1323), ed. C. le Brun-Gouanvic, Toronto 1996, p. 133. See P.M. Gy, *Office liégeois et l'Office romain de la Fête-Dieu*, in: *Fête-Dieu...*, I, pp. 117-126; R. Wielockx, *Poetry and Theology in the Adoro te devote: Thomas Aquinas on the Eucharist and Christ's Uniqueness*, in: *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. K. Emery, J. Wawrykow, Notre Dame 1998, pp. 157-174.

both the original Office and that prepared by Thomas Aquinas have been studied by Barbara Walters, Vincent Corrigan and Peter Ricketts in a volume that offers musicologists much specialist detail.⁸ Further attention deserves to be given, however, to the evolution of the Office from the time of Juliana to Thomas Aquinas, its textual and musical sources, in particular to the significance of three new readings introduced into the 1264 version of the Office. What did Ptolemy mean by saying that the Office included figures from the Old Testament? Why did only a limited number of churches followed up the instruction of Urban IV in the fifty years immediately following 1264? In order to assess the variety of surviving forms of the Office and the slowness with which it was adopted, we need to review the way in which devotion to the Eucharist was always closely connected in medieval culture to the cause of religious renewal.

THE EUCHARIST IN THE LATE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES

The Eucharist first attracted theological debate in mid-eleventh century, at the same time as reformers sought to reassert the real presence of Christ as defining the distinct identity of the clerical order within society. They saw the role of the priest consecrating the Eucharist on the altar as necessitating freedom from secular control. Theological debate seems to have been initiated by Berengar of Tours (c. 999-1088), a loyal servant of the Counts of Anjou, reacted against ecclesiastical focus on the real presence by insisting on Augustine's definition that a sacrament was only an outward sign of inward grace and invoking arguments raised in the ninth century by Ratramnus of Corbie (whose writing circulated under the name of Scotus Eriugena). By contrast, Adelman of Liège (c. 1000-1061), who had studied with Berengar under Fulbert of Chartres, questioned Berengar's argument, but still defined the Eucharist as a *figura* of the body of Christ.⁹ Adelman supported those voices in the Church critical of the way clerical positions in Liège, an important imperial city, were under aristocratic control.¹⁰ Lanfranc of Bec (c. 1005-1189), inspired by the arguments of Paschasius of Corbie, was stronger than Adelman in the way he argued that the formulation of consecration changed

8 The text of the Office has been widely reproduced, but has been edited most fully by B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, University Park PA 2006.

9 Adelman of Liège, *Epistula ad Berengarium*, in: *Serta mediaevalia. Textus varii saeculorum X-XIII. Tractatus et epistulae*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (henceforth: CCCM), 171, Turnhout 2000, pp. 182-201; see also the introduction to a translation of an edition of this letter and Berengar's reply by H. Geybels, *Adelman of Liège and the Eucharistic Controversy*, Dallas TX 2013, pp. 7-35.

10 J.L. Kupper, *Liège et l'Église impériale aux XI^e-XII^e siècles*, Paris 1981.

the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body. The accusations of heresy laid against Berengar were aggravated by the political rivalry of the Duke of Normandy, supported by the monks of Bec, and the Count of Anjou, who gave patronage to educated cleric, like Berengar, in Angers and Tours.¹¹ Alger, a canon of Liège (1055-1131), followed both Adelmann and Lanfranc in promoting ecclesiastical reform and reverence for the real presence in the Eucharist as a means for asserting clerical independence against imperial control. In this phase of discussion, the Eucharist was not yet a focus for reform within wider society.

Even if Ivo of Chartres and other canonists silently borrowed Berengar's preferred Augustinian definition of *sacramentum* as an outward sign of invisible grace, Berengar became typecast in the memory of the 12th century as a heretic because he had dared to question the authority of Lanfranc.¹² William of Saint-Thierry, a monk of Reims, inherited Alger's perspective on the Eucharist as a symbol of corporate reform in a treatise he addressed to Rupert of Deutz (previously an abbot at Liège) on the sacrament of the altar.¹³ William picks up on the arguments of Alger and Lanfranc, that the substance of the bread and wine was changed by the words of consecration, even though the accidents remain.

The Eucharist certainly became a subject for debate in twelfth-century theology. Hugh of Saint-Victor attached great importance to the notion of sacrament, which he defined not as a sign of invisible grace, but as the sign of a sacred thing and taught that the outward substance of bread and wine was transformed by the spiritual participation of Jesus.¹⁴ In his *De sacramentis*, Hugh explained the Eucharist as spiritual food, manifested by divine wisdom, which made itself visible to the senses.¹⁵ Hugh saw the Eucharist as one of a larger range of sacramental signs through which the Word of God revealed

¹¹ On the political background to these debates, and literature on the Eucharist, see C.J. Mews, C. Monagle, *Theological Dispute and the Conciliar Process 1050-1150: From Berengar of Tours to Gilbert of Poitiers*, in: *Ecclesia disputans. Die Konfliktpraxis vormoderner Synoden zwischen Religion und Politik*, eds. C. Dartmann, A. Pietsch, S. Steckel, Beihefte der "Historischen Zeitschrift", LXVII, Berlin 2015, pp. 127-157.

¹² Berengar invokes this definition of Augustine frequently in *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM, 84, Turnhout 1988, pp. 35-212, esp. 94, 146, 149, 151, 153, 181, 193, 207, 209, quoting Augustine (*S. Augustini epistulae*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, XXXIV, no. 105, p. 604) and repeated by Ivo of Chartres (*Decretum*, in: *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne [henceforth: PL], CLXI, col. 148c).

¹³ William of Saint-Thierry *De sacramento altaris*, ed. S. Ceglar and P. Verdeyen, CCCM, 88, Turnhout 2003, pp. 47-91. On Alger and other twelfth-century theorists, see G. Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080-c. 1220*, Oxford 1984.

¹⁴ Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, PL, CLXXVI, cols. 326-341.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, col. 467b.

itself to humanity. By contrast, Peter Abelard gathered a large range of opinions on the subject in question 117 of the *Sic et Non*, but never composed a treatise on the subject, other than raising technical questions, of purely academic interest, such as whether a mouse who nibbled a consecrated host had Christ in his stomach.¹⁶

The verb “transubstantiate” did not start to get used as a term in theological debate until the second half of the 12th century, and even then its use was limited. According to one comment it was first used by Robert Pullen (d. 1146), although it does not occur in his *Sentences*.¹⁷ While it was never employed by Peter Lombard (d. 1160), John Beleth (d. 1185) did once refer to the abstraction *transsubstantiatio* (with reference to water that had been blessed, not the Eucharist) in his widely copied manual on the liturgy, written c. 1160.¹⁸ The term did get used within discussion of the Eucharist in the first canon of Lateran IV, after which it became widely employed within thirteenth-century commentaries on Lombard’s *Sentences*.

Not only did Bernard of Clairvaux avoid the term, but he never focused attention on the Eucharist, preferring to focus on the more personal theme of the delight of the Holy Spirit evident to the soul.¹⁹ It is not given attention in the *Vita prima sancti Bernardi*.²⁰ Bernard was more concerned to compare Christ as the Word of God to the bridegroom visiting his bride, the soul. After his death, his emphasis on the primacy of religious experience would have

¹⁶ This chapter of the *Sic et Non* was preserved as a separate treatise in a fourteenth-century manuscript, studied by J.S. Barrow, *Tractatus Magistri Petri Abaelardi de Sacramento Altaris, “Traditio” XL* (1984), pp. 328-336. Abelard’s teaching on the Eucharist is preserved only through oral records like the *Sententie magistri Petri Abaelardi*, ed. D.E. Luscombe et al., CCCM, 14, Turnhout 2006, pp. 112-119.

¹⁷ Joseph Goering (*The Invention of Transubstantiation, “Traditio” XLVI* (1991), pp. 147-170) observes that William de Montibus claimed Pullen was the first to introduce the term (although it does not occur in his *Sententie*) and that it is tentatively raised in an anonymous text from c. 1140, perhaps recording Robert’s teaching.

¹⁸ Peter Lombard does not speak of transubstantiation either in his *Sentences* or in his *De corpore Christi*, a short text circulated alongside his commentaries on Saint Paul, ed. I. Brady, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum V*, Grottaferrata 1981, pp. 77*-84*. John Beleth mentions the notion in passing, without attaching doctrinal significance to the term in *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 99, ed. by H. Douteil, CCCM, 41A, Turnhout 1976, p. 183.

¹⁹ Bernard refers only once to the phrase *Corpus Domini*, in *Sermo in dedicatione ecclesie*, in: *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, H. Rochais, V, Roma 1968, p. 380 and fifteen times to *Corpus Christi* but only rarely in relation to the sacrament, as in *Epistolae* 462.6: *Dum enim corporali Christi praesentia videndo et audiendo delectati sunt, numquam eis perfecte datur, sed semper promittitur Spiritus Sanctus. [...] Longe ergo eminentior et dulcior virtus Spiritus Sancti quam delectatio corporis Christi – Sancti Bernardi Opera VIII*, Roma 1977, p. 442.

²⁰ William of Saint-Thierry mentions the Eucharist occasionally, but more in relation to others than to Saint Bernard, *Vita prima sancti Bernardi*, ed. P. Verdeyen, CCCM, 89B, Turnhout 2011, p. 71.

a profound influence on women like Juliana of Cornillon. Eucharistic devotion developed in a Cistercian milieu only following Bernard's death, and then more in connection to popular preaching than theological reflection.²¹

Concern with the Eucharist as a focus of religious devotion seems to have developed initially in response to heretical groups, such as at Liège in 1144/1145, who reportedly rejected all the sacraments, including the physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist and had developed their own alternative organisation.²² Certain reform minded clerics were concerned to address abuses within their ranks by emphasizing apostolic ideals within a broader urban environment. Between 1160 and his death in 1177, a priest of Liège known Lambert "the Stammerer" was very active in translating into French a Life of Saint Agnes, a virgin-martyr, as well as the Acts of the Apostles. Such behaviour led to accusations of heresy that Lambert rejected within his *Antigraphum Petri*, a treatise that claimed to defend papal orthodoxy against the corruption of contemporary clergy and professed pride in the modesty of his social origins, his father being a carpenter (like that of Jesus).²³ Even if Lambert was not himself responsible for officially creating the Beguine movement in Liège, as would be claimed by the mid-thirteenth century, his preaching and translations helped lay a foundation for the composition in the Liège region of French devotional songs about the Virgin and the Life of Jesus, that were widely copied in the 13th century, often with Dominican support.²⁴ Liège was both a city and diocese with rich liturgical traditions, created by the unusually large number of churches and religious communities, in which music and

21 See for example *Collectaneum exemplorum et uisionum Claraeuallense e codice Trecensi 946*, ed. O. Legendre, CCCM, 208, Turnhout 2005, p. 134.

22 See the letter of the Church of Liège to Pope Lucius II (1144/1145): *Hujus haeresis nefandae blasphemiae sunt, quod in baptismo peccata remitti negat, quod sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi inane reputat, quod per impositionem pontificalis manus conferrī nil asseverat, quod neminem Spiritum sanctum accipere credit, nisi bonorum operum praecedentibus meritis, quod conjugium damnat, quod apud se tantum ecclesiam catholicam esse praedicat, quod omne juramentum velut crimen judicat* – PL, CLXXIX, cols. 938bc. See also M. Suttor, *Le "Triumphus Sancti Lamberti de castro Bullonio" et le catharisme à Liège au milieu du XII^e siècle*, "Le Moyen Age" XCI (1985), pp. 227-264.

23 A. Fayen, *L'Antigraphum Petri et les lettres concernant Lambert le Bègue conservées dans le manuscrit de Glasgow*, "Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'histoire de Belgique" V^e ser., IX (1899), pp. 255-356. Walter Simons (*Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*, Philadelphia 2001, pp. 24-32) discusses the creation of a subsequent legend in Liège about Lambert.

24 K. van Sinclair, *Un Psautier de Lambert le Bègue à Melbourne*, "Australian Journal of French Studies" I (1964) 1, pp. 5-10; eadem, *Les manuscrits du psautier de Lambert le Bègue*, "Romania" LXXXVI (1965), pp. 22-47. These poems "of the Mosan Psalters" are edited and translated by B.R. Walters and P. Ricketts in: B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 429-531.

ritual combined to promote civic identity, in particular around the memory of the relics of Saint Lambert.²⁵ Not everyone agreed with this focus.

JULIANA OF CORNILLON AND THE FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI

A key shift in the promotion of Eucharistic devotion in Liège came about in the late 12th century, through a group of pious women in the region spear-heading a movement of religious renewal outside a purely clerical and monastic milieu, but with sympathetic and senior ecclesiastical support. The most famous of these women was Mary of Oignies (1177-1213), never officially canonized by the Church, but whose example prompted Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/1170-1240) to become in 1210 a canon regular at Oignies, in the diocese of Liège. Writing soon after Mary's death, Jacques explained that these women used devotion to the Eucharist as a symbol of their own desire for spiritual renewal.²⁶ This was a period of increasing dissatisfaction within Liège about the way powerful families, allied to imperial interests, were exercising influence within the Church. Reform minded churchmen like Jacques de Vitry realized that it was necessary to listen to what such groups had to see rather than reject them simply as heretical. He described Mary of Oignies as never undertaking formal religious vows, but as regularly engaging in song, "about God, the holy angels, the blessed Virgin, other saints, her friends and the Holy Scripture". He reports that:

When she had declaimed aloud for the whole day from dawn to dark, her throat became so hoarse that by the early evening she could barely speak. The next day was Sunday and our prior was very relieved when she lost her voice because he was afraid that the worldly men who used to come to our church from different places might be scandalized by the incessant singing with such a piercing and subtle voice, and might think her a fool.²⁷

His comments that Mary composed many religious songs raise the possibility that they could be like the religious lyrics preserved in a cluster of Mosan Psalters from Liège, once erroneously attributed to Lambert "the Stammerer".²⁸

²⁵ C. Saucier, *A Paradise of Priests. Singing the Civic and Episcopal Hagiography of Medieval Liège*, Rochester NY 2014.

²⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *Vita Mariae de Oegnies*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM, 252, Turnhout 2012, p. 69; idem, *Life of Mary of Oignies*, trans. B. Newman, in: *Mary of Oignies: Mother of Salvation*, ed. A. Mulder-Bakker, Turnhout 2006, p. 48.

²⁷ Jacques de Vitry, *Vita Mariae...*, p. 98; idem, *The Life of Mary...*, p. 119.

²⁸ Jacques de Vitry, *Vita Mariae...*, p. 99; idem, *The Life of Mary...*, p. 120; see above, fn. 24.

In the eyes of Jacques, such devout women could be respected teachers and spiritual guides, even though they lacked the formal educational qualifications accessible to mendicant friars in Paris. Whereas preachers at the University of Paris were debating how far rational inquiry could serve religious faith, these holy women were promoting rediscovery of the senses for the same end. She was like Francis and Dominic in trying to work out how best to combine the senses with the intellect in the project of communicating the Gospel outside a monastic environment. For her, devotion to the consecrated Eucharist was a response to Christ's love for humanity rather than a way of focusing on the authority of the priest.

While Juliana was not a theologian in the strict sense of the word, she is reported as reading anything in Latin and French and as having a particular fondness for the writings of Augustine and Bernard.²⁹ She was also more integrated than Mary of Oignies into an established religious community, becoming prioress of the Augustinian community at Cornillon and responsible for its leprosarium, which served the city. As prioress, she became embroiled in conflict with certain sisters, whom she accused of illicit relationships with canons in the male part of the community, while also coming into conflict with the prior.³⁰ In this context, her devotion to the Eucharist became a vehicle for demanding reform in the Church. Her biographer emphasizes that she was not so much a recluse as a public figure, sought out for her advice.³¹ She reportedly first articulated her desire to establish a feast in honour of the Eucharist in 1210, through a vision of the Church as like the crescent moon, not fully exposed to the faithful.³² Yet it was only through working with another woman, Eve, a recluse attached to Saint-Martin, as well as with John of Lausanne, a canon of Liège, that she was able to translate this cause into action. In a city in which each religious community had developed its own liturgical identity, Eucharistic devotion became her way of urging a return to core religious values. Sometime after 1238, following the establishment of a Dominican house in Liège in 1232, Juliana made contact with both the chancellor of the University of Paris and Hugh of Saint-Cher (c. 1195-1263), then provincial of the Dominican Order and a teacher of major influence within Paris.³³ She engaged John, another canon of Cornillon (who would become its prior in 1242), to work with her in composing an entire Office,

29 *Vita Juliana*..., p. 22; *Life of Juliana*..., pp. 186, 188-189; the phrase *omnem scripturam Latinam et Gallicam libere legere didicisset* could refer to any writing rather than just Scripture.

30 *Vita Juliana*..., pp. 114-20; *Life of Juliana*..., pp. 231-233.

31 *Vita Juliana*..., pp. 67-70; *Life of Juliana*..., pp. 208-212.

32 *Vita Juliana*..., p. 160; *Life of Juliana*..., pp. 233-234.

33 *Vita Juliana*..., p. 128; *Life of Juliana*..., pp. 236-237.

with text and music, for the new feast. This version is preserved in a single thirteenth-century manuscript (now in the Hague), which belonged in 1537 to Tongres in the diocese of Liège.³⁴ The appointment of a new bishop, Robert of Thourotte (1240-1246), a keen supporter of Juliana, led to the new feast first being celebrated at the church of Saint-Martin on 6th June 1247. Within a city divided by civil conflict, public celebration of the feast marked a victory for the cause of reform supported by the Dominicans.

Juliana of Cornillon was seen by her biographer as a teacher who had no need for external instruction, such was the depth of her understanding of redemption:

She saw how Christ shows himself whole, unbroken, and perfect in the bread to everyone who receives him unto salvation. Nevertheless, she saw that he remains unbroken and perfect in himself. These and many other mysteries concerning the excellence of God and the glory of the saints, she contemplated in her blessed ecstasy. She understood most of them with an intelligence so pure and clean that she seemed to have a share in the undiluted truth of our future knowledge. As for all the articles pertaining to the Catholic faith, she had been so fully instructed by him who teaches knowledge to mankind [Ps. 93: 10] that she had no need to consult masters or books about them. [...] Christ revealed these things to his virgin, therefore, and commanded her that she herself should inaugurate this feast and be the first to tell the world it should be instituted.³⁵

Rather, like Hildegard in the 12th century, Juliana had visionary access to knowledge that justified her not needing to rely on any scholastic authority. Her biographer presents her as communicating a doctrine, namely that Christ was perfect to all “who receive him unto salvation”. One Dominican particularly interested in these women was Thomas of Cantimpré (c. 1200-1270/1272), who joined the Order of Preachers in Louvain in 1230, after which he studied under Albert the Great at Cologne, followed by a spell in Paris 1237-1240. Never stirred to comment on Aristotle or the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, Thomas preferred to present the lives of ecstatic women like Christina the Astonishing (1150-1224), Margaret of Ypres (1216-1237), and Lutgard of Aywières (1182-1241), as articulating a form of sanctity

³⁴ *Animarum cibus*, ed. V. Corrigan in: B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 137-239 (preserved in The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, Ms. 70.E.4, ff. 52-63v, where it is called *Festum Eucharistie*), see pp. 78-79, 117-183. Because the third reading (pp. 118-120) refers to Urban IV, the readings must have been added after 1264, replacing an earlier set of readings, perhaps those found in the Strahov manuscript.

³⁵ *Vita Juliana...*, p. 62; *Life of Juliana...*, p. 207.

quite outside a scholastic milieu.³⁶ He saw them as, in their way, teachers of comparable status to more academically-qualified theologians in Paris.

Such devout women could be found not just in Liège, but also in Toulouse around Dominic (1170-1221) and in Assisi around Francis (1181/1182-1226). They insisted on the need for the Church to return to poverty and simplicity, as well as greater understanding of Scripture, but sided with officially approved reformers rather than with heretical groups. Juliana took this movement a step forward by arguing that devotion to the Eucharist could become an agent of spiritual renewal. With the canonization of Francis of Assisi in 1228 and of Dominic in 1234, the reform movement was already threatening to fragment into factions around rival religious orders, each with their own liturgical identity and collections of relics. Juliana's way of urging renewal was to shift attention away from reverence for charismatic individuals, such as Francis of Assisi, to the body of Jesus, as recreated within the Eucharist. The opening antiphon of the Office composed at Juliana's behest is not her own composition, but is taken from a phrase of Hugh of Saint-Victor in his *De sacramentis*: "Food for souls, the wisdom of God has offered to us the flesh that he assumed as food to eat, so that through the food of humanity he might invite us to taste of his divinity".³⁷ Through the antiphons and responsories that follow (*Discipulis competentem, Totum Christus, Et sic de visibilibus ad invisibilia, Panem angelorum* and *Sacerdos summus*), a theology of the Eucharist is laid out that begins by focusing attention on the food and then the disciples, but then moves to a heavenly realm, of Christ, the bread of angels and the high priest. Numerous antiphons and responsories, including *Sacerdos summus*, are taken from the treatise of Alger of Liège on the Eucharist.³⁸ This terminology of divine wisdom offering "assumed flesh" echoes the theological discourse of the early 12th century, but here presented to a wider audience than could be reached through an academic treatise.

Whereas Franciscan devotional tradition focused strongly on the personal suffering of Jesus and Francis, Dominicans, who followed the Rule of

³⁶ See for example Thomas of Cantimpré, *The Collected Saints' Lives: Abbot John of Cantimpré, Christina the Astonishing, Margaret of Ypres, and Lutgard of Aywières*, ed. B. Newman, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, XIX, Turnhout 2008.

³⁷ *Animarum cibus dei sapientia nobis carnem assumptam proposuit in edulium ut per cibum humanitatis invitaret ad gustum divinitatis*, ed. B.R. Walters, in: B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, p. 150. Barbara Walters (ibidem, p. 52) follows Barbara Newman in identifying *Sapientia* as an image valued by women mystics, but without identifying it as from Hugh of Saint-Victor (*De sacramentis*, PL, CLXXVI, col. 467b), the ideas of which also resurface in *Super Hierarchiam Dionysii* (ed. D. Poirel, CCCM, 178, Turnhout 2015, p. 441).

³⁸ Alger is identified as a source in B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 154, 157, 158, 162, 164, 167, 169, 175, 176. Another source (*Totus Christus*, ibidem, p. 151) is Innocent III, *Mysteria evangelicae legis et sacramenti eucharistiae*, PL, CCXVI, col. 884b.

Augustine and the example of the early Church, were more sympathetic to Juliana's emphasis on the Eucharist as the ecclesial body of Christ. Turning doctrine into poetry and music is always an art. With the Parisian schools focusing so much on the exercise of reason, it was particularly the role of Augustinian based communities such as that of Cornillon in Liège to communicate the message of salvation around the figure of Christ rather than any of the many saints being honoured in popular devotion.

HUGH OF SAINT-CHER

The idea of celebrating a feast around the Eucharist started to be diffused outside Liège once it came to the attention of Hugh of Saint-Cher, who was profoundly impressed by Juliana of Cornillon when he visited Liège in around 1240. Hugh was a great authority on Scripture, using it to criticise corruption within the Church. He was firmly convinced that any teaching on theology had to be based more on its major themes than on philosophy.³⁹ In 1245 Hugh was promoted cardinal by Innocent IV, alongside Odo of Châteauroux, chancellor of the University of Paris, then heavily engaged in a campaign to get all copies of the Talmud burnt out of fear that they contained seditious anti-Christian rhetoric.⁴⁰ By contrast, Hugh of Saint-Cher, made papal legate for Germany and Eastern Europe in 1251, used the Eucharist to promote renewal in the Church. A revision of the Liège Office, transitional between that of the Tongres manuscript and the more widely diffused 1264 version, is preserved in a single manuscript from the Abbey of Strahov in Prague (*Sapientia aedificavit*).⁴¹ While Gy initially thought that it might be an early composition of Thomas, it seems more likely that this surviving copy reflects revised antiphons and responsories promoted by Hugh of Saint-Cher, but subsequently revised with certain elements of the 1264 Office, notably with Thomas' great hymn *Pange lingua*. The distinctive feature of this version is that the non-biblical antiphons of the Liège Office are replaced by scriptural texts. Thus *Animarum cibus*, drawn in part from Hugh of Saint-Victor, was replaced by *Sapientia edificavit sibi domum, excidit columpnas septem* (Prov. 9:1-2: "Wisdom has built

³⁹ R.E. Lerner, *The Vocation of the Friars Preacher: Hugh of St. Cher between Peter the Chanter and Albert the Great*, in: *Hugues de Saint-Cher (†1263): bibliste et théologien*, eds. L.J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, P.M. Gy, Turnhout 2004, pp. 215-251.

⁴⁰ See the primary sources edited in *The Trial of the Talmud, 1240*, ed. R. Chazan, J. Hoff, J. Friedman, Toronto 2012.

⁴¹ The transitional version, known only from Prague (Abbey of Strahov, MS D.E.I.7) is likely that referred to by Hugh of Saint-Cher in 1252: E. Schoolmeesters, *Le diplôme de Hugues de Saint-Cher instituant la Fête-Dieu, "Leodium" V* (1904), pp. 42-46. It is described and edited in B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 80-83, 94, 184-239.

herself a house, she has erected seven pillars").⁴² The readings were all from twelfth-century theological texts, above all patristic passages quoted from Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, from Gratian's *De consecratione*, and Alcuin, who in turn drew on Augustine's *Homilies on John*.⁴³

URBAN IV AND THOMAS AQUINAS

Urban's decision to proclaim the feast in his bull *Transiturus* on 11th August 1264, may reflect the influence of the recently deceased Hugh of Saint-Cher. Urban was then having to mediate between the rival interests of Manfred in Italy and Charles of Anjou (whom he had invited in 1262 to take over the kingdom of Sicily) as well as between secular clergy, increasingly hostile to the mendicant orders, and the more radical wing of the Franciscan movement, sharply critical of corruption within the Church. He considered that the radical move of introducing a major new feast into the Church's liturgy might provide a new way of transcending local divisions. This demanded that every church in Christendom modify its liturgical books to accommodate the new feast. Hugh of Saint-Cher, who had himself invited Thomas from Naples to Viterbo in 1261, may have suggested to Urban that Thomas could give greater authority to an Office that had previously been devised in Liège at the instigation of Juliana of Cornillon. In his edict, Urban simply stated that the faithful should celebrate once a year a special feast in honour of Corpus Christi, such as he had encountered while he was a canon at Liège. He explained that this was "especially to confound the lack of faith and the infamy of heretics. [...] Moreover, we know that, while we were constituted in a lesser Office, it was divinely revealed to certain Catholics that a feast of this kind should be celebrated generally throughout the Church."⁴⁴ Urban uses words of encouragement and exhortation rather than of stern warning, and (in one version of the bull) indicates that he is attaching "nine readings with responsories, versicles, antiphons, psalms, hymns and prayers specially appropriate for the new feast."⁴⁵ It was to be celebrated on the Thursday after

⁴² B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, p. 184.

⁴³ The immediate sources of the readings, but not their patristic sources are noted in *ibidem*, pp. 192-223.

⁴⁴ Two versions of the text of *Transiturus* are edited in an appendix by E. Franceschini, *Origine e stile della bolla "Transiturus"*, "Aevum" XXXIX (1965) 3-4, pp. 218-243, esp. 235-240; on p. 238: [...] *ad confundendum specialiter hereticorum peridiam et insaniam*; on pp. 238-239 (later version): *Intelleximus autem olim, dum in minori essemus officio constituti, quod fuerat quibusdam catholicis divinitus revelatum festum huiusmodi generaliter in Ecclesia celebrandum*.

⁴⁵ *Ideoque universitatem vestram moneamus et hortamur in Domino [...] et tam gloriosum estum predicta quinta feria singulis annis cum novem lectionibus, cum responsoriis, versiculis, antiphonis,*

Trinity Sunday, effectively providing a conclusion to the ceremonies that had begun with the celebration of the Lord's Supper on Maundy Thursday. As the son of shoemaker from Troyes and one of the few Popes not to have been a cardinal, Jacques Pantaleon was signalling his particular affection for the devotional program of Juliana and her supporters. As a preacher, he could be harshly critical of ecclesiastical worldliness.⁴⁶ After becoming an archdeacon at Liège, Jacques had been papal diplomat, with appointments as bishop of Verdun and then patriarch of Jerusalem, having worked for both Innocent IV (1243-1254) and Alexander IV (1254-1261). His demand that the entire Church modify all their liturgical books in order to incorporate a new feast, visibly identified and promoted by one religious order, was an enormously bold proposal, made in the last year of his life. For such a radical liturgical reform to be implemented (much more complex than a religious order incorporating the feast of its own saint into liturgical manuscripts) needed massive authority, including the commitment of his successor to carry out the reform.

The comments made by both Ptolemy of Lucca and William of Tocco about Thomas' achievement in employing Old Testament imagery in the Corpus Christi Office are clarified by comparing the 1264 Office to its previous versions.⁴⁷ Whereas the Strahov version revised the original Office by using only quotations from Scripture, the 1264 version skilfully combines imagery from the Old and New Testament. Thus the new opening antiphon, *Sacerdos in aeternum*, about Christ as a priest after the order of Melchizedek who offered bread and wine, is taken not from Alger of Liège (as in the initial version), but from both Hebrews Heb. 5:6 and Ps. 9:4b, linked to Gen. 14:18.⁴⁸ While the feast prepared for Juliana relied on chants from twelfth-century theologians, Thomas improved on Hugh of Saint-Cher in showing how the Eucharist had its authority in the Old as much as the New Testament.

Whereas in the Strahov version of the Office the first three readings are taken Peter Lombard and Gratian, they are replaced in the 1264 version by three readings, of which the authorship is not identified in the most recent critical edition of the Office: "Immensa divine largitatis beneficia, Manducatur utique a fidelibus and Convenit itaque devotioni fidelium". There can be

psalmis, ymnis et orationibus ipsi festo specialiter congruentibus [...] que cum proprio misse officio vobis subs bulla nostra mittimus interclusa [...] – E. Francheschini, Origine..., p. 239.

⁴⁶ J. Foviaux, *Les sermons donnés, à Laon, en 1242, par le Chanoine Jacques de Troyes, futur Urbain IV, "Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques"* XX (1985), pp. 203-256.

⁴⁷ The version attributed to Thomas Aquinas (*Sacerdos in aeternum*) is described and edited from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143 (perhaps one of our earliest witnesses of the final version) in: B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 70-72, 83-85, 240-361.

⁴⁸ B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, p. 240.

little doubt, however, that Gy was correct in identifying them as by Thomas Aquinas.⁴⁹ Read together, these three readings offer a continuous homily about how divine mercy is manifest in the Eucharist, in which the bread and wine are transformed *substantialiter* into the body and blood of Christ, without ever invoking the notion of transubstantiation.⁵⁰ The way the Eucharist is presented in these readings is so close to that of Thomas Aquinas in his commentary on Peter Lombard, that there seems no reason to doubt that these are his own sermons, which he composed to replace those taken from Lombard and Gratian.

Little appreciated, however, is the evolution of the thinking of Thomas about the Eucharist during these years. In his commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences*, from the 1250s, Thomas had spoken extensively about transubstantiation (mentioning the term 67 times).⁵¹ Yet in his *Summa contra Gentiles*, written between 1259 and 1264 and structured around arguments from reason (in books 1-3) and authority (in book 4), Thomas avoids the term completely. In these sermons Thomas adopts a devotional rather than intellectual approach to the sacrament. In this respect Thomas' thinking was already starting to evolve way from his earlier thinking in the 1250s, when his concepts were shaped by terminology of Peter Lombard.

Whereas Hugh of Saint-Victor had formulated the Eucharist in terms of a divine plan showing how we can move from the visible to the invisible, Thomas argued that Christ had left the sacrament to the faithful so that we might remember his great kindness.⁵² The second reading reflects on the paradox of Christ remaining in the bread, even when divided among the faithful, as "the filling out of the ancient figures [of the Old Testament]", precisely the theme mentioned by Ptolemy of Lucca and William of Tocco.⁵³ The third reading concludes this reflection on why the Eucharist should be

⁴⁹ Ibidem, pp. 117-120 (added to The Hague manuscript, clearly from the 1264 version), replacing those from the Strahov version (pp. 192-199) and pp. 258-264 (from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143); P.M. Gy, *La liturgie...*, pp. 236-243, with the text of these readings in an appendix, pp. 244-245.

⁵⁰ B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, p. 258: *In ipso namque panis et vinum in corpus Christi et sanguinem substantialiter convertuntur. Ideoque Christus deus et homo perfectus sub modici panis specie constituitur.* Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *In IV Sententiarum* d.12 q.1 art. 2 quaestiuncula 6 resp. ad arg. 2: *Sed in hoc sacramento vinum convertitur substantialiter in aliud virtute verborum; et ideo non oportet quod vinum additum substantialiter etiam convertitur in sacramentum; sed potest esse quod convertatur in vinum virtute accidentium vini quae remanent, ut dictum est.*

⁵¹ In I Sent. d. 37 q. 3; in IV Sent. d. 1 q. 1 art. 4; d. 8 q. 2 art. 1-3 *passim*; d. 10-d. 13 *passim*; d. 17 q. 1; d. 23 q. 1; d. 44 q. 1.

⁵² B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, p. 260.

⁵³ Ibidem: *figurarum veterum impletivum*, a phrase not employed by any other medieval author.

revered, not just at the mass of the Last Supper, but also on Thursday after the octave of Pentecost. The text combines a report of the role of Urban IV with repeating details about the indulgences given for attending church within the octave of the feast that are taken from the letter of Hugh of Saint-Cher, and were incorporated within the life of Juliana of Cornillon.⁵⁴ Thomas' decision to replace only the first three readings may reflect a conscious choice not to break too much from existing traditions.

Thomas also formulated his deeper understanding of the Eucharist within a series of five hymns, four of which were incorporated into the Office: In *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis misterium*, Thomas rewrote the sixth-century hymn of Venantius Fortunatus about the struggle of Christ on the cross (*Pange lingua gloriosi prelium certaminis*) to apply to the Eucharist, creating a succinct summary of the doctrine of the incarnation, linguistically clever in its alliteration.⁵⁵

The Word in flesh, makes true bread
 Into flesh by a word:
 And unadulterated wine becomes the blood of Christ
 And if sense fails,
 To strengthen the sincere heart
 Faith alone suffices.

Whereas *Animarum cibus*, taken from Hugh of Saint-Victor, had spoken of "tasting divinity", Thomas reflects on the gulf between what is known by the senses and what is known through faith. The image of *merum* (unadulterated wine) Thomas chose to describe the blood of Christ, is unusual in patristic literature but was used by Hugh of Saint-Cher in an apostolic letter quoted within the life of Juliana of Cornillon (c. 1261-1264), suggesting that Thomas may have drawn from it in composing his hymn, which subtly transforms the way the miracle of the Eucharist is presented⁵⁶. Thomas also developed these themes in three other hymns in the Office, *Sacris Sollemnis*, *Verbum Supernum*, and *Lauda Syon*.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibidem, pp. 262-264; cf. *Vita Juliana...*, p. 164; *Life of Juliana...*, pp. 253-254.

⁵⁵ *Verbum caro panem verum/verbo carnem efficit,/fitque sanguis Christi merum,/et si sensus deficit,/ad firmandum cor sincerum/sola fides sufficit* – B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 253-254.

⁵⁶ *Vita Juliana...*, p. 160. *Illud quoque edendo iugiter habeamus in animo memoriam dominice passionis; ac de tanto beneficio laudis ei hostiam offeramus qui nos per singula momenta continua beneficiorum consolatione prosequitur, donec excreverimus in virum perfectum in mensuram etatis plenitudinis christi; edentes medullam tritici et bibentes vinum merum super mensam suam in regno suo, que nobis in tenebris et in umbra mortis existentibus sub quodam sacramenti cortice palea littere ac velamine fidei proponuntur* – *Life of Juliana...*, p. 251.

⁵⁷ B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 297, 314-317.

William of Tocco emphasizes Thomas' devotion to the Eucharist, a theme that is not present in older saints' lives, such as that of Saint Bernard, but is a feature of the lives of Mary of Oignies and Juliana of Cornillon.⁵⁸ The discovery that William also attributes to Thomas, in a revised version of his life, the hymn *Adoro te devote* itself provides valuable confirmation of its authorship. As in *Pange lingua*, Thomas speaks of the Eucharist not as Christ's substance but as "truth in hiding" (*latens ueritas [...] In cruce latebat sola deitas*) and of the senses, such as sight, touch and taste, being deceived (*gustus in te fallitur*), since we can only know Christ through hearing (*Sed auditu solo tute creditur*).⁵⁹ It includes the highly original image of Christ as *pie pellicane* – an allusion to the solitary pelican to which the Psalmist (Ps. 101:7: *pelicanus solitudinis*) compares himself. Like his other hymns, *Adoro te devote* encapsulates Thomas' devotion to the Eucharist, which in turn imitated that of Juliana of Cornillon in its Christocentric piety.

The pope's invitation to revise the Office of Corpus Christi came at an important moment in Thomas' career. Between 1259 and 1264, he had been composing his *Summa contra gentiles*, organized quite differently from Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, in that its first three books were devoted to arguments only from reason, with the fourth dedicated to arguments from authority, in which he dealt with the Eucharist relatively briefly, compared to within his commentary on Peter Lombard.⁶⁰ Yet in 1261, Urban IV had asked Thomas to comment on the whole of the Bible, a project that created the *Catena aurea*. This immersion in Scripture helped Thomas formulate antiphons for the Office of Corpus Christi in a way that connected imagery from the Old and New Testaments. By 1264, however, Thomas was contemplating a radical restructuring of his theological vision as his *Summa theologiae*. Within this *Summa*, started by 1265, he wanted no longer to separate arguments from reason and authority. Instead, he envisioned a synthesis whose first part considered God, creation, and humanity, a second part on the principles and practice of a virtuous life, including discussion of the emotions, and a third part on Christ and the sacraments.⁶¹

Thomas opens his major discussion of the Eucharist in the *tertia pars* by rejecting the traditional claim that Christ was present in the sacrament through bodily presence (*per praesentiam corporalem*), and asserting what he had said in *Pange lingua* that Christ was truly present, but that we could only know

58 *Ystoria sancti Thome...*, p. 197.

59 *Ibidem*, pp. 197-198; R. Wielockx, *Poetry and Theology...*, pp. 157-174.

60 *Summa contra Gentiles* IV.62-67.

61 For an initial guide to this phase of Thomas' career, see J.P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas. The Person and His Work*, I, revised ed., Washington DC 2005, pp. 142-159.

this through faith.⁶² As Gy observes, Thomas had never interpreted Matthew 20:28 (about Christ being with the faithful to the end of time) in relation to the Eucharist. While he did not reject the claim of Urban IV in *Transiturus* (taken for granted in *Animarum cibus*) about Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament, never questioned by Bonaventure or Peter of Tarentaise, he reaffirmed in the *tertia pars* what he had said in *Pange lingua* about his presence only being known through faith, not through the senses. Having avoided all mention of transubstantiation in his *Summa contra gentiles* (quite unlike his practice in commenting on Peter Lombard) Thomas did discuss the word briefly in this third part of the *Summa theologiae*, but explaining that there was no change in physical substance.⁶³ The commission to re-write the Office of the Feast of Corpus Christi came just as he was reconsidering how he could integrate the imagery of Scripture alongside arguments from reason as a way of communicating Christian theology. Having moved away from Peter Lombard in the *Contra gentiles* in the way he framed theology, so the invitation in 1264 to rewrite the Office gave him fresh opportunity to think about how he might explain the Eucharist in ways that could reach a much wider audience. He would continue to reflect on these issues when he came to consider the Eucharist in the *tertia pars* of the *Summa theologiae*, which he never lived to complete.

THE MELODIC VARIETY OF THE OFFICE OF CORPUS CHRISTI

Thomas did not compose new chants for the Office, but rather composed new texts for existing liturgical chants, which he may himself have identified (although this is impossible to prove). A major revelation of the new edition of the Corpus Christi Office is the demonstration of the variety in the melodies of its different versions.⁶⁴ The edition shows that in the 1264 Office, the chants chosen were modelled on the melodies of existing antiphons, generally from more recent feasts, such as those of the Trinity, Saint Thomas Becket, Saint Nicholas, Saint Bernard, Saint Dominic and others.⁶⁵ A detail mentioned

⁶² *Summa theologiae, tertia pars* d. 75 art. 1 arg. 4: *Non ergo Christus secundum praesentiam corporalem est in sacramento altaris. [...] Respondeo dicendum quod verum corpus Christi et sanguinem esse in hoc sacramento, non sensu deprehendi potest, sed sola fide, quae auctoritati divinae inimitur.* Pierre-Marie Gy observes that Thomas was here rejecting the views of Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentaise and Urban IV, cf. *L'office du Corpus Christi...*, p. 242.

⁶³ *Summa theologiae, tertia pars* d. 75 art. 4 and 8; d. 78 art. 1, 4, 5.

⁶⁴ Corrigan notes that the earliest record of the Aquinas version is that in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143, which he says is either from the second half of the 13th or early 14th century, in B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 83-84.

⁶⁵ These are the sources for the first antiphons, B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 240-293.

by Vincent Corrigan, but not commented on detail, is the increasing modal organization in chants of the Office.⁶⁶ In the earliest version, as recorded in the Tongres manuscript, the Office begins with what seems to be a sequence of modes 1, 2 and 3, but then this shifts to Modes 8, 5, 5, before a second sequence of Modes 1, 1, 1, 2, 3 – implying there was no desire to impose such a sequential pattern. In the Strahov copy, the sequence is even less organized, with the opening antiphons in a sequence of modes 6, 8, 8, 4, 1, 3, 6, 4, 8, 1 etc.⁶⁷ By contrast, in the earliest known copy of the version of Thomas Aquinas (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143, in which the chant sources are identified), the melodies of the antiphons run through the modes in a clearly deliberate numerical sequence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 3, 6, 4, 1, 1, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. This implies that whereas there was no such system in the Offices for Liège and Strahov, Thomas was following a compositional system that was becoming standard practice in the 13th century, in which the chants of each antiphon and responsory went successively through modes 1-8, rather than out of respect for which mode was appropriate to any particular text.⁶⁸

This practice of sequential modes was explicitly criticised in the early 14th century by a monastic theorist, Guy of Saint-Denis, in his *Tractatus de tonis*, on the theory and practice of tones, the term he uses for modes.⁶⁹ Coming from an abbey with a proud and ancient tradition of plainchant, Guy wanted to argue that, in the best examples of chant, the mode chosen reflects a particular emotional quality relevant to the words of that chant. At the end of the first part, on the theory of the tones, he launches into a polemic against modern composers for their practice of composing chants simply according to modal sequence:

It should be known, however, that although later and modern musicians or cantors, who seem to have composed ecclesiastical chants recently, have generally proceeded according to the order of the eight tones, and they have kept this mainly in the antiphons and night responsories, as appears in the Offices of the Holy Trinity, Mary Magdalene, Blessed Nicholas, Louis, Augustine, Katherine, and many others, especially when

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 92.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, pp. 93-95.

⁶⁸ A. Hughes, *Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office*, "Musica Disciplina" XXXVII (1983), pp. 29-51; R.L. Crocker, *Matins Antiphons at St. Denis*, "Journal of the American Musicological Society" XXXIX (1986) 3, pp. 441-490.

⁶⁹ The first critical edition of this work was prepared by S. van der Klundert, *Guido von Sankt-Denis. Tractatus de tonis I-II*, Bubenreuth 1998; a new edition with English translation is provided in: Guy of Saint-Denis, *Tractatus de tonis*, eds. C.J. Mews, C.J. Williams, J.N. Crossley, C. Jeffreys, Kalamazoo MI 2017. See also C.J. Mews, J.N. Crossley, C.J. Williams, *Guy of St Denis on the Tones: Thinking about Chant for Saint-Denis c. 1300*, "Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music", XXIII (2014) 2, pp. 151-176.

they are sung in the same order in which they were composed, and in the way those who are satisfied with nine readings are known to sing them. The ancients and the first cantors, however, who rarely or never seem to have been concerned with such an order, (which seems to have been introduced more for a certain ornament or elegance than for the requirement of the Divine Office) seem to have been concerned more with the moderation and sobriety of chants and also with the quality of the material upon which they based their ecclesiastical chants.⁷⁰

The specific examples that Guy mentions parallel very closely those Offices that were used for the 1264 version of the Corpus Christi Office, namely for Holy Trinity, Saint Thomas Becket, Saint Nicholas and Saint Catherine. Guy of Saint-Denis was complaining that the Offices for these feasts were constructed with chants in sequential modes, without regard for their emotional quality. While Guy did not include the Office for Corpus Christi as among those which followed the system of sequential modes, there can be no doubt that the chants chosen in the 1264 version of the feast adopted this system of modal organization.

That Corpus Christi was celebrated at Saint-Denis in the early 14th century is evident from a comment he makes about a responsory (*Paratum panem*) not mentioned anywhere in Corrigan's edition of surviving versions of the Corpus Christi Office. It does occur, however, in a monastic version of the Office (always with twelve readings rather than nine, as in non-monastic liturgical manuscripts) preserved at Arras as well as Saint-Denis, although without music.⁷¹ This monastic version seems to have been created by dividing

⁷⁰ *Sciendum est autem quod licet posteriores modernique musici vel cantores qui ecclesiasticos cantus ultimo composuisse videntur plerumque secundum ordinem octo tonorum processerint. et eum maxime in antiphonis responsoriisque nocturnis servaverint, ut apparet in hystoria sancte trinitatis, Marie Magdalene, beati Nicholai, Ludovici, Augustini, Katerine, multisque aliis, presertim quando eodem cantantur ordine quo fuerunt composite, et sicut illi qui novem lectionibus sunt contenti eas decantare noscuntur. Antiquiores tamen et primi cantores de tali ordine qui potius ad ornatum quemdam vel decorem quam ad necessitatem divini officii introductus videtur, raro vel numquam videntur curasse eo forte quod ad mediocritatem ac sobrietatem cantuum vel etiam qualitatem materie super quam cantus ecclesiasticos fundaverunt attendere potius videbantur* – Guy of Saint-Denis, *Tractatus de tonis* (2017), pp. 82-83.

⁷¹ Guy of Saint-Denis, *Tractatus de tonis* 1.3.15 (2017), p. 46. While *Paratum panem* is not mentioned in any of the versions edited in: B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, op.cit. (although it is part of a Lauds antiphon, *Angelorum esca*, p. 188), it occurs in Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 893, ff. 257, 258, as well as in the Saint-Denis missal, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, L 1346-1891, f. 143v, a though both times without music. The Aquinas version is preserved without music in a breviary associated with Philip the Fair from the late thirteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1023), as well as in a thirteenth-century Cistercian breviary (Troyes, Mediathèque, Ms. 1980), and a Benedictine version, now in Graz, according to B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, p. 59 and Corrigan (ibidem, p. 85), from c. 1280. That the Cistercian version of the Office differed from that widely attributed

up the original nine readings and adding appropriate responsories. Exactly when Saint-Denis adopted the feast is not certain. Significantly Guy of Saint-Denis refers to the feast as being about the Eucharist (the terminology in the Tongres/Liège version) rather than of Corpus Christi, the name given to the feast in the Roman liturgy.

The fact that some of the earliest surviving copies of the Office are monastic suggests that although the 1264 edict applied to the whole Church, the new Office was more quickly picked up in certain monastic houses rather than in the wider church. Thus the Office is preserved in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1974 (from Montier-la-Celle, Troyes) from the late 13th century, as also in a Cistercian breviary (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1980) and at the abbey of Saint-Lambert, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 134 from around 1280 (perhaps through contact with Saint Lambert in Liège).⁷² The feast is not included in the ceremonial of Gregory X in 1274. While a number of copies of the Office are mentioned as in the library of Boniface VIII in 1295, there is no record of Boniface promoting the feast during his papacy (1294-1303). William Durandus did mention Urban's institution of the feast (but not Thomas' authorship) in his *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (c. 1298).⁷³ Prior to the advent of John XXII (1316-1334), however, its observance tended to be sporadic and confined to certain regions, as also particular monastic and religious communities, not because of any papal pressure.⁷⁴

Paradoxically, the records of the Dominican General Chapter first mandated observance of the feast in 1318 at the General Chapter at Lyons,

to Thomas Aquinas was first noted by G. Morin, *L'Office Cistercien pour la Fête-Dieu comparé avec celui de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, "Revue Bénédictine" XXVII (1910), pp. 236-246; the Liège version first spread in Cistercian circles, as observed by T.J. Mathiesen, *The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi in the Regimen Animarum at Brigham Young University*, "The Journal of Musicology" II (1983) 1, pp. 24-25). Thomas J. Mathiesen (*The Office...*, p. 22) doubts the date 1264-1297 proposed by Pierre-Marie Gy for Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143, and suggests it is more likely from 1300, the same as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 755 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 139 – a Dominican Ms. from Marienthal, in which the Office has been added after 1269, perhaps around 1300. The fact that Boniface VIII possessed a number of copies of the Office in 1295.

⁷² Manuscripts listed by V. Corrigan in: B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 58-59; the Graz manuscript is described on pp. 85-87.

⁷³ M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi...*, pp. 178-180, with discussion of a copy in four quaternions, *cum nota*, as likely to be Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143; William Durandus, *Rationale diuinatorum officiorum (libri I-VIII)*, eds. A. Davril, T.M. Thibodeau, CCCM, 140A, Turnhout 1995, p. 544.

⁷⁴ P. Browe, *Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamfestes*, "Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft" VIII (1928), pp. 107-143, reprinted in: idem, *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht*, eds. H. Lutterbach, T. Flammer, Münster 2003.

picking up on the efforts of Clement V to reassert *Transiturus*. In 1321 and 1322 the writing of a new Office was entrusted to Hervé Nédellec, the Master of the Order.⁷⁵ Only in 1323 would the Chapter replace this Office by that of Thomas Aquinas, following his role being mentioned by William of Tocco as part of the campaign for his canonization.⁷⁶ In Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 139, two versions of the Office have been added to a Dominican manuscript of Marienthal, sometime before 1323.⁷⁷ The important manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1143, which reports the source of the melodies may be that mentioned in the library of Boniface VIII in 1295.⁷⁸ Other manuscripts from the late 13th century include Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1023 (breviary of Philip IV) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 755 (papal chapel, with additions from before 1296). There is no evidence of mass production of the Office immediately after 1264. It seems that the feast initially developed at only a few locations, notably in Liège and Flanders, and in certain major abbeys in France, such as Saint-Denis and Troyes, as well as in Central and Eastern Europe. The authority of Thomas Aquinas was not sufficient to ensure that the new Office had more than a limited diffusion in the first fifty years following 1264. Even though Clement V included *Transiturus* in his collection of canon law, its instructions would not be widely implemented until the election of a new pope, John XXII, who was determined to assert his authority. In England, the feast was first mentioned in 1320 but was not introduced into the diocese of Canterbury until 1340.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

The slowness of the adoption of the feast of Corpus Christi, after it was initially recommended to the whole Church by Pope Urban IV in his bull *Transiturus*, issued in 1264, highlights its potentially controversial association with the cause of religious reform. Initially the feast had been promoted in Liège by Juliana of Cornillon to focus attention on the redeeming love of Jesus at a time of great civic unrest in Liège, as many different religious

⁷⁵ *Acta capitulorum generalium*, II, ed. B.M. Reichert, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, IV, Romæ-Stuttgartiæ 1899, p. 109.

⁷⁶ M. Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics as Focus for Conflict and Cult in the Late Middle Ages. The Restless Corpse*, Amsterdam 2017, pp. 95, 163.

⁷⁷ B.R. Walters, V. Corrigan, P.T. Ricketts, *The Feast...*, pp. 88-89.

⁷⁸ Vincent Corrigan avoids committing himself to a date, see *ibidem*, pp. 83-85, but see above fn. 74.

⁷⁹ Thomas J. Mathiesen (*The Office...*, pp. 13-44) observes that an early manuscript from England is from 1343, introducing the version in England.

communities, each with their own liturgical traditions, were struggling to assert their own identity. The Dominican Order, in particular its provincial, Hugh of Saint-Cher, was particularly keen to promote the devotion at a time when so much attention was being given to the memory of Francis of Assisi. When Urban IV, who had known Juliana when he had served as a reform minded archdeacon of Liège in the 1240s, decided to promote the feast as a way of unifying the Christian community around the cause of reform, he was taking a major risk. Would every single church in Latin Christendom decide to rewrite a whole series of liturgical books to accommodate a new feast? The slowness with which the new Office was adopted may well reflect the fact that Urban used language of encouragement rather than enforcement to promote its observance. The political reality was that as pope he had little effective power to make communities change the manuscripts on which they relied to celebrate the liturgy.

The new Office which Thomas Aquinas composed for the feast replaced an early revision undertaken, most likely by Hugh of Saint-Cher, in which antiphons, originally taken from twelfth-century theologians, had been replaced by texts from Scripture. Thomas Aquinas composed a new set of antiphons and responsories that combined imagery from the Old and New Testaments. He also formulated his evolving ideas about the Eucharist in a series of hymns and in the first three readings of the 1264 Office, of which he is most likely to be the author. Whereas in his earlier commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, he had frequently invoked the notion of transubstantiation (a term that was becoming widely used in the schools after 1215), in his *Summa contra gentiles*, which he composed between 1259 and 1264, he avoided using the term completely. This evolution may also have influenced the way he avoided including the term in any of the readings or hymns of the new feast. Influenced by the devotional tradition articulated by Juliana of Cornillon, Thomas found new ways to reflect on the meaning of the Eucharist as grasped through faith rather than the senses.

Perhaps the most astonishing aspect of this process is that the Dominican Order took no role in promoting observance of the feast until 1318. We must conclude that after the death of Urban IV in 1264, most Dominicans quietly thought that the proposal of *Transiturus* was a nice idea, best quietly forgotten. Subsequent popes, beginning with Clement IV (1265-1268) and Gregory X (1268-1278) were operating within an increasingly polarized environment within the papacy and were unable or unwilling to follow up Urban's initiative. Urban IV was never in a position to promote the liturgical reform that Juliana of Cornillon had initially advocated. Thomas' Dominican disciples were not aware of his devotion to the Eucharist until William of Tocco made this aspect of his spiritual life more widely known. In a profound way both Juliana of Cornillon and Thomas Aquinas helped shape the doctrine and

celebration of the Eucharist, even though the Dominican Order as a whole would not enforce observance of the feast until the advent of a new Pope, namely John XXII. At a time of heated contestation between and within the religious orders, the new Pope saw the merit in imposing the new feast as a way of enforcing a vision of religious renewal on the Church.

ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the evolution of the liturgical Office of the Feast of Corpus Christi, from the initial version prepared in Liège for Juliana of Cornillon in the 1240s and its final form, as composed by Thomas Aquinas in 1264, at the request of Pope Urban IV. It situates Julian's vision of a new feast within a longer tradition of connecting the Eucharist to religious reform, already evident in Liège in the 11th century. The paper considers the originality of Thomas Aquinas in composing many antiphons, responsories and hymns about the Eucharist, taking over an earliest set of chants from existing feasts. It also argues that the first three readings for the Feast constitute an authentic sermon of Thomas, which articulates an orthodox theology, but does not use the word transubstantiation, arguing that the divine presence is accessed through faith rather than the senses. The slowness with which the new Feast was adopted prior to 1317 reflects the radical character of a liturgical reform that was originally inspired by the pious women of Liège.



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SENSES AT THE ALTAR IN LATE MEDIEVAL NORTHERN EUROPE*



In the last decades of the twentieth century, scholars across multiple fields increasingly turned their attention to the interpretation of sensory regimes and the history of the senses.¹ In this context, histories of liturgical practice have become increasingly attuned to the ways in which the liturgy shaped and was shaped by the senses. Eric Palazzo has particularly stressed the liturgy as a “place” where the senses play their full role in service of the knowledge of manifest “signs” contained within the rituals.² The mise-en-scène of the liturgy and its particular material culture is, for Palazzo, a site of “sensorial activation”, where the celebrant comes to participate in a paradoxical sensual, yet celestial, liturgy. Crucial to the sensory staging of the liturgy is a co-activation of the senses that forms a synesthetic frame within which the incarnational logic of the Mass is both produced and experienced by the ritual practitioner. This article aims to extend Palazzo’s discussion in four directions: first, in relation to theorizations of liturgical “sensoriality”; second, through attention to the sensoriality of the leading liturgical actor, the

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¹ For a classic example, see C. Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures*, London 1993. A useful collection of works by major scholars in the field is *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*, ed. D. Howes, Oxford 2005.

² See, for example, E. Palazzo, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eucharistic Rituals in the Middle Ages*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J.H. Arnold, Oxford 2014, p. 246; idem, *Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages*, “Viator” XLI (2010) 1, pp. 25-56.

priest; third, through particular attention to the sense of touch; and fourth, through attention to particular objects and texts as liturgical commentaries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

First, inspired by Yannis Hamilakis's important study *Archeology and the Senses*, this article seeks to undertake an examination of the liturgy and the senses that works with and beyond the dominant paradigm of the five senses.³ For Hamilakis, "sensorial modalities always work in unison, and we cannot isolate sensorial experience on the basis of individualised senses".⁴ Sensorial experience is therefore synesthetic. But this synesthetic dimension is never removed from kinesthesia – sensorial experience involved in moving and interacting social bodies situated in a broader "sensorial field".⁵ Within this "sensory field", there is constant "entanglement between materiality and human sensory and sensuous action and experience."⁶ This entanglement is intimately connected with "sensorial memory"; following Bergson, Hamilakis sees no sensorial "perception [...] not full of memories".⁷ Materiality is critical in producing such sensory remembering: the kinds of temporally rich interactions that we have with matter are shaped by our sensory experiences, even as our sensory experiences shape our memory. Finally, shaped by recent critical and historical interest in affect and emotions, Hamilakis's argument particularly emphasizes the affectivity of sensorial experiences. For Hamilakis, understanding "diverse sensorial and affective possibilities, and their social meanings and political effects, as experienced by different people, different genders, different social groups, are key tasks for the archeology of the senses".⁸ Taken together, this emphasis on sensorial experience as embodied, socially-differentiated, temporally-embedded, materially-entangled, and affective, constitutes a productive theory of "sensoriality" for scholars of liturgy.⁹

Second, I endeavour to think in more detail about the liturgical "sensoriality" of the priest as a performer of, and witness to, the liturgy of the Mass in fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Indeed, in medieval Europe, large numbers of Masses were performed without the presence of the laity. My interest in priestly sensoriality is inspired by a desire to understand some of the particular ways in which the experience of the liturgy was shaped by

3 Y. Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect*, Cambridge 2013.

4 *Ibidem*, pp. 9, 205.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 12.

6 *Ibidem*, p. 9.

7 For the following, see *ibidem*, pp. 2, 6-7, 10.

8 *Ibidem*, p. 6.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 10.

social difference and by difference in time. Histories of liturgical experience in the later Middle Ages have often leapt swiftly from the ritual of the liturgy to lay experiences of liturgical action, an impulse that is congruent with the politics of anti-elite historical practices centered on lay piety and “popular devotion”. While in no way wanting to undermine this important scholarly tradition, I want to draw attention to the ways in which this scholarship can position clerical cultures as over-determined, rule-bound and disembodied. By thinking about priestly affective and sensing bodies at the altar, we may be helped to see more precisely differences and similarities between lay and priestly experiences of the liturgy in this period.

Third, I am particularly interested in tracing the dynamics of touch in the liturgy. In part because analysis of the liturgy has so often been the preserve of art historians and musicologists, vision and hearing often play privileged roles in interpretations of the senses and the liturgy. An emphasis on visual culture is particularly marked in scholarship on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries where scholars have stressed the particular importance of “visual piety” and the production of images for devotional use. There is no discipline that focuses on touch, yet it too has a history that requires particular attention.¹⁰ Touch is a sense that brings bodies into close contact, and is thus particularly entangled with questions of materiality. In Christian cultures where matter could be glorified in the sanctified bodies of saints and the ultimately pure body of Christ, or associated with the disfigured and impure bodies of sinful flesh, there was a particular need to deal with the possibilities of improper, polluting or desecrating touch.¹¹

Finally, the article forms part of wider moves to recognize the role of medieval liturgical commentaries in educating priests into particular sensory experiences. With the advent of print, the liturgical commentary tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was revitalized. Works like the liturgical commentary, the *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, of Guillaume Durand (c. 1230-1296) were popular choices for printers and for buyers among the secular and regular clergy.¹² These commentaries drew the symbolic potential of the

¹⁰ Touch has been the subject of more detailed analysis in early modern Culture. See *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. E.D. Harvey, Philadelphia 2003, although this collection does not engage with liturgy.

¹¹ On questions of materiality, see C.W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*, New York 2011; on purity, see M. Rubin, *Europe Remade: Purity and Danger in Late Medieval Europe*, “Transactions of the Royal Historical Society” XI (2001), pp. 101-124.

¹² The British Library’s *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* lists forty-four editions of the *Rationale* from its first printing in 1459 to 1500. On the early print editions, see: M. Albaric, *Les éditions imprimées du Rationale divinorum officiorum de Guillaume Durand de Mende*, in: *Guillaume Durand, Evêque de Mende (v. 1230-1296): Canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique*, ed. P.M. Gy,

liturgy to evoke the narratives of scripture, activating narrative's affective potential to heighten clerical experiences of liturgical rites. Alongside such commentaries, smaller focused texts also circulated that provided memorable forms for educating the senses of liturgical practitioners. Objects and images around the altar that formed part of the sensory field of the liturgy could act as powerful commentaries on liturgical action, mirroring and mediating to priests sanctioned interpretations of liturgical sensoriality.

* * *

The *cantus firmus* for my thinking about liturgical sensoriality in this article is one short text for priests, the *Speculum sacerdotum* ("Mirror of Priests"), that circulated widely in northern Europe in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The text is generally though insecurely attributed to Hugh of Saint-Cher (c. 1200-1263), the thirteenth-century Dominican theologian and cardinal, author of commentaries on the Bible and the Sentences, and proponent of the feast of Corpus Christi.¹³ *Speculum sacerdotum* was a common enough title for a variety of works on the roles and responsibilities of priests. Indeed, *Specula* across a variety of domains proliferated in late medieval Europe. Ecclesiastical *Specula* like the *Speculum sacerdotum* flourished from the twelfth century in response to reforming and pastoral urges to educate priests and laity in the practices of the church's sacramental life. Using the by-no-means-complete list compiled by Herbert Grabes in his survey of mirror titles in medieval books, we can chart the emergence of a variety of works with the title *Speculum sacerdotum* or similar in manuscripts from the early fourteenth century.¹⁴ For example, there is the *Speculum sacerdotum* attributed to Edward the Confessor, but only known from late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sources;¹⁵ or there is the *Speculum sacerdotum* by the fourteenth-century Augustinian Herman of Schildesche, which also circulated in seven German early-print editions.¹⁶ The *Speculum* attributed to Hugh of

Paris 1992, pp. 183-200; B. Guyot, *Essai de classement des éditions du Rationale*, in: *Guillaume Durand...*, pp. 201-205.

¹³ On Hugh, see *Hugues de Saint-Cher* (†1263), *bibliote et théologien*, eds. L.J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, P.M. Gy, Turnhout 2004.

¹⁴ H. Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, Cambridge 1982; Grabes's study was originally published as *Speculum, Mirror und Looking-Glass: Kontinuität und Originalität der Spiegelmetapher in den Buchtiteln des Mittelalters und der englischen Literatur des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1973. See also M.W. Bloomfield, *A Preliminary List of Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, Mainly of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, "Traditio" XI (1955), pp. 259-379.

¹⁵ H. Grabes, *The Mutable Glass...*, p. 237; See, for example: British Library, ms Harley 3363; ms Royal 8.F.VII.

¹⁶ *The Universal Short Title Catalogue* lists editions from Bamberg, Mainz, Nuremberg, Strassbourg, and Trier.

Saint-Cher is, however, harder to trace. This is in part because of its generic title, in part because of the insecure attribution, and in part because the text is extremely short: in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century print versions, the text runs to two pages in octavo at most. To compound difficulties, the text is often included within liturgical manuscripts where it is often not included in catalogue descriptions.

The text's print circulation seems to fall into three loose groups.¹⁷ First, it appears in at least twenty-eight printed editions across Europe paired with the *Expositio missae* ("Exposition of the Mass") or *Speculum ecclesiae* ("Mirror of the Church") attributed to Hugh of Saint-Cher. The majority of editions were printed in Lyon and Paris, with copies traceable in the book lists of religious houses, and in wills of clerics across northern Europe.¹⁸ The second group of editions pair the text with other liturgical commentaries or *specula* for priests. This group includes editions printed in Besançon, Salamanca, Speyer and Strasbourg, where it often appears alongside the Dominican Henricus de Bitterfeld's (died c. 1405) *De horis canonicis dicendis* ("On the Saying of the Canonical Hours"), and two Leuven editions where the text appears within a collection of *specula*.¹⁹ Finally, the text was included within printed Missals for liturgical use. Prior to 1500, *The Universal Short Title Catalogue* records the text appearing in Missals printed from the dioceses of Autun (1493) and Rennes (1492/1493).²⁰ The text also appears in early sixteenth-century Missals printed in England and France. For example, in a Missal of the Sarum Rite, printed in London in 1520, the *Speculum sacerdotum* appears on the verso of the first folio.²¹ In a Parisian Carthusian Missal (1520), the *Speculum sacerdotum* also appears, placed just after the canon of the Mass.²² A more complete survey of editions of the *Speculum sacerdotum* would reveal more about the

17 The following discussion makes no claims to a comprehensiveness.

18 *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, I-VII, eds. A. Derolez et al., Brussels 1994-2016.

19 Henricus de Bitterfeld, *De horis canonicis dicendis* (Besançon: Petrus Metlinger, 1487/1488); (Salamanca: Leonardus Hutz and Lupus Sanz, c. 1496); (Speyer: Conrad Hist, c. 1495); (Strassburg: Printer of the *Breviarium Ratisponense* [Georgius de Spira], c. 1480). The Leuven editions are included with Antonius de Butrio, *Speculum de confessione* (Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, c. 1481-1483).

20 I have not been able to consult the known copies of the Autun and Rennes Missals that held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Autun and Rennes), Beaune (Autun), and Lisbon (Rennes).

21 *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare Ecclesie Sarum* (London: Richard Pynson, 1520). I have consulted the copy in the Cambridge University Library (Rit.a.152.2).

22 *Missale Carthusiense* (Paris: Thielmann Kerver, 1520). I have consulted the copy in the Cambridge University Library (Rit.d.152.2). In the Carthusian Missal, the text is attributed to Bonaventure and *alios devotos doctores*, an attribution I have not found elsewhere.

text's origins and circulation. What is revealed, however, by these placements of the *Speculum sacerdotum* within liturgical codices, is the way in which it could become an interpretive frame for the performance of the Mass. How might we understand the *Speculum sacerdotum* in relation to the liturgical sensoriality of a priest?

The *Speculum sacerdotum* begins by stressing the need for the priest's internal examination of their intention in celebrating Mass, and leads to a short discussion of contrition and confession.²³ The priest should not celebrate on account of empty pride, or from shame, for worldly reward, or from stale custom.²⁴ This examination of intention is a preparation for the contrition that the *Speculum sacerdotum* then enjoins on the priest. This is a general contrition for the omission of good works, and for sins committed in heart and deed.²⁵ General contrition is then to be coupled with a pure confession of sins known and unknown.²⁶ Here immediately we see the correct comportment of the priest in celebrating the liturgy situated within a tangle of potentially problematic actions, desires, motivations and dispositions, that are to be disciplined both formally through the sacraments and through internal practices of self-examination. This is a web of socially situated, ritually enacted, and affective dispositions that are evoked to frame the embodied, sensory and affective experience of the Mass.

Care over the internal life of the priest finds its external sensory counterpart in the second article of the *Speculum sacerdotum*. Here, the *Speculum sacerdotum* particularly stresses the diligence required in the priest's examination of the liturgical space and utensils. Is there room for both bread and wine?²⁷ Is the chalice broken, or unprepared?²⁸ And are the elements in good order – the bread fresh and the wine not turned?²⁹ This process draws the priest's

²³ *Speculum sacerdotum*: *Et primo ante missam: habenda sunt tria, scilicet intentionis discussio, generalis contritio, et pura confessio.* All citations of the *Speculum sacerdotum* are taken from the 1493 Paris edition: *Speculum ecclesie una cum speculo sacerdotum* (Paris: Antoine Caillaut, 1493; henceforth: *Speculum sacerdotum*), from the copy in the Cambridge University Library (Inc. 5.D.1.12 [2450]). The text of the *Speculum sacerdotum* was unstable, and a variety of versions circulated.

²⁴ *Speculum sacerdotum*: *Intentionis discussio: ne propter vanam gloriam celebret; ne propter verecundiam; ne propter alicuius persone favorem; ne propter lucrum temporale; ne propter consuetudinem.*

²⁵ *Ibidem*: *Generalis contritio: de omissis bonis que facere debuit, et de peccatis commissis corde et opere.*

²⁶ *Ibidem*: *Pura confessio notabilium peccatorum communium vel notorum et ignotorum.*

²⁷ *Ibidem*: *In missa sit diligentia circa locum in tabulam ut recipere possit uterque (sic).*

²⁸ *Ibidem*: *Diligentior circa calicem: ne sit fractus vel non preparatus.*

²⁹ *Ibidem*: *Diligentissimus circa materiam: ne hostia sit corrupta, vinum acetosum aut desit aqua.*

attention to the sensory space and materiality of the liturgy. It begins to imply a sensory carefulness on the part of the priest, through implied tasting or smelling of the wine, and visual and tactile engagement with the matter of both the elements and the utensils which will hold them. This is an induction into a kind of sensory knowledge that becomes heightened over the course of the ritual of the Mass.

Following this examination of the purity of the priest's interiority and the exterior world of liturgical space, the third article in the *Speculum sacerdotum* re-entangles the world of bodily comportment with the world of affects and intentions. It begins by stressing the importance of priestly diligence in performing the Canon of the Mass, the crucial part of the Eucharistic ritual where the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ.³⁰ The outward signs – the physical gestures and the ritual actions of the rite – should be performed with humility. Even more crucially, the words should be said *veraciter*, truly or accurately, again mingling external sense (sound) with internal comportment. Moving from the world of the flesh to the world of understanding, *intellectus*, this final requirement for the performance of the Canon stresses the necessity of a faithful intention to consecrate the elements. What we see here is how the *Speculum sacerdotum* seeks to regulate the performance of liturgy in all parts of human experience – through what we might call the senses, through the comportment of the voice and body, and through the dispositions and intentions of the heart and intellect.

Let us pause for a moment to reflect further on the possible sensory implications of speaking truthfully enjoined on the priest in this section of the *Speculum sacerdotum*. In an important study, *Culture and the Senses*, the anthropologist Kathryn Geurts discussed a sensory scheme among Anlo-Ewe speakers in Ghana that does not conform to the dominant western paradigm of the five senses. Within these Anlo-Ewe speaking communities, Geurts identifies speech as a kind of sense.³¹ Following Geurts, Hamilakis finds in speech a place for thinking further about the “sensorial field”:

if we consider the performative dimensions of speech, the sound, the facial movements that go with it, the listening audience, and in general the sensorial field that the act of speech creates, then we could perhaps understand why it is perceived as a sense.³²

³⁰ Ibidem: *In canone sit diligentia: in signis ut humiliter fiant. Maior in verbis: ut veraciter ea dicat. Maxima in intentione: ut firma fide consecrare intendat.*

³¹ K.L. Geurts, *Culture and the Senses: Bodily Ways of Knowing in an African Community*, Berkeley 2002; eadem, *On Rocks, Walks and Talks in West Africa: Cultural Categories and an Anthropology of the Senses*, “Ethos” XXX (2002), pp. 178-198.

³² Y. Hamilakis, op.cit., p. 74.

Knowing how to speaking truthfully certainly involves a heightened sensory, intellectual and affective experience of speech, where what is said and heard is supposed to conform to the affective and intellectual dispositions of the priest. When situated within a wider social field than the priest himself, a field which in the Christian West can often be widened to include the dead, the living, angels, demons and God, attention to these particulars of correct comportment, humility in gestures, and concordance of heart, mind and bodily speech, could gain particular urgency. False action, incorrectly spoken words or intentions could have consequences for the salvation of the ritual actor.

If zeroing in on speech can perhaps enrich our understandings of the wider sensoriality of the Mass, we might widen this investigation to consider other forms of sensory action. Geurts, for example, particularly stresses bodily comportment, balance and walking as forms of sensory attention in some West African communities.³³ The *Speculum sacerdotum* does not deal explicitly with bodily comportment. But other texts, which, like the *Speculum sacerdotum*, were appended to Missals and which were intended to be read by priests in a similar manner, do make clear that priestly posture was important for the seemly performance of the liturgy. The *Cautele missae* ("Cautions on the Mass"), a set of texts often included in Missals, and often close in wording, form and genre to the *Speculum sacerdotum*, were profoundly interested in the correct comportment of the priest's body, enjoining him, for instance, to "stand straight, not resting on the altar".³⁴ The sensoriality of the priestly body could thus be bound up with certain sensory experiences of posture, postures which were had wider cultural associations with moral and spiritual rectitude.

But to return to the *Speculum*. Following the discussion of the Canon of the Mass, the *Speculum* turns to the consecration of the Eucharistic elements. Once again, the text stresses the ways in which body and soul are to be fused in diligently confessing the body of Christ in the elements, in reverently touching it, and devoutly eating it.³⁵ There is far less emphasis on sight in this setting than we might expect, given this sense's prominence in the literature on the senses and the late-medieval Mass. But it is important to remember that the *Augenkommunion* which could be experienced by the laity was not

³³ K.L. Geurts, *Culture and the Senses...*, passim; eadem, *On Rocks...*, passim; Y. Hamilakis, op.cit., pp. 73-74: "Walking is a fundamental way of attending to the world".

³⁴ *Cautele missae: stet erectus non iacens in altari* – I have used the version in the *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare Ecclesie Sarum* (London: Richard Pynson, 1520), Cambridge University Library, Rit.a.152.2, *Commune sanctorum*, ff. 37-38v.

³⁵ *Speculum sacerdotum: In consecratione habeat diligentiam ad confitendum corpus christi, reverentiam ad tangendum, et devotorum ad sumendum.*

the principle sensory access to the body of Christ for priests who regularly touched and tasted the Eucharist. Here, a regime of the senses marks out social difference and hierarchy.

And so it is to touch that the *Speculum sacerdotum* first turns, explaining the reasons for the need for “great reverence” (*reverentia magna*) in touching Christ’s body. Reverence in touch is needed, first, because of the excellence of the body of Christ, even more so because of the excellence of the soul of Christ, and most of all because of Christ’s divinity.³⁶ In this way, touch is, as it were, reframed, moving from the bodily sense through what remains common to both human and God (the soul), and concluding in God’s divinity, now recognized in the sense-able Eucharistic elements. Touch here enfolds the more complex aesthesis of the Mass, where the physical “sense” participates in and is transformed by the “making-sense” of the liturgical action. This is a form of liturgical sensory “activation”, to use Eric Palazzo’s formulation, one which puts the vocabulary of the senses into a larger conceptual frame that moves beyond the corporeal five senses into intellectual understandings of “touch”. The priest’s mind might be imagined as “touching on” the truth of the mysterious presence of the *totus Christus* in the physical elements.

The motion undertaken in this article from the external touch of the body to the reflective touch of the intellect is a pattern also followed in *Speculum sacerdotum*’s next article. The text here turns from touch to the intention of the priest in consecrating the elements: first, the priest should intend to honour God with tears; second, he should remember the death of Christ; and third, he must intend to aid the universal church.³⁷ Notice here how the first action is tied to the priest’s affective bodily actions: the honour given to God through tears. The second clause turns to the object of those tears, the suffering of Christ in the *memoria* (commemoration) of the Mass, but also the *memoria* of the priest’s individuated mental world – the mental faculty of *memoria*. The final clause widens out the experience of the priest into the social configuration of the church, a configuration which includes the priest’s affective bodily and spiritual experiences.

Intention and affect are consistently bound together in these formulations – the production of particular bodily sensory experiences and compartments in some way helps to produce the correct disposition of the soul’s affective life. Thus, the *Speculum sacerdotum* immediately stresses that the results of the consecration of the Eucharistic elements should be growing love, inseparable

³⁶ Ibidem: *In tangendo corpus christi: sit reverentia magna, propter continentiam tam excellentis corporis christi. Maior propter continentiam tam excellentioris anime christi. Maxima propter continentiam tam excellentissime divinitatis christi.*

³⁷ Ibidem: *Quid in consecrando intendit facere: Deum per lachrimas colere, mortem christi memorari, totam ecclesiam adiuvere.*

union, and a hastening of enjoyment.³⁸ The danger here is that these affective states at the point of consecration be misread and lead to a problematic pride on the part of the priest in his own capacity. To guard against this kind of misreading, the *Speculum sacerdotum* refines its stress on love, union and enjoyment, by once more urging the priest to accompany these affects with humility, recalling one's own unworthiness, and worthiness to be judged.³⁹ The affectivity of the priest is one that is hedged around with caveats that are designed to guard against unreflective and improper performance of the liturgy. This kind of attention is designed to create a subjectivity that disciplines sensory and affective experiences within a broader schema of virtuous behaviour. To make this point more forcefully, the *Speculum* uses an ancient image that also appears in Eucharist prayers. There is a danger that an unclean host (the priest) will drive away so excellent a guest (Christ) from the house of a criminal.⁴⁰

Despite my focus here on the priest – a focus shaped by the *Speculum sacerdotum*'s intended audience – it is important to note that the emphasis on the wider church, and on spiritual union in the *Speculum*, at this point spills out into the considerations of the experience of those who hear the Mass. Here, a united social body that spans both living and dead is imagined through the sensory experience of hearing; sight is absent in this account. The benefits of the Mass are for those “hearers of such great mysteries” (*tanti misterii auditores*). In this way, the *Speculum sacerdotum* aims to inculcate in its priestly readers a liturgical sensoriality that widens out beyond an “individual” to a corporate experience. Whereas touch was associated with the individual who consecrates, sound “goes out”, to use the biblical formulation: the Mass is to be celebrated for the living so that they might have its blessings, and for the dead, that through the church's prayers they might have continual aid, lightening of punishment, and a return to the company of the saints.⁴¹ Sight is about physical presence, hearing makes presence possible across divided spaces. These kinds of expectations about different sensory powers

38 Ibidem: *Quid consecrando intendit consequi: Augmentum dilectionis, inseparabilitatem unionis, accelerationem fruitionis.*

39 Ibidem: *Sit humilis oratio in primo et secundo memento pro se, ne tam indignus minister, indigne recipiat tam dignissimum misterium, ne tam indevotus presbiter iustissimum iudicem flectat in suum iudicium.*

40 Ibidem: *Ne tam immundus hospes tam excellentissimum hospitem a se repellat tectore criminum.*

41 Ibidem: *Secundo pro vivis: ut sint participes tanti misterii auditores habiles missarum beneficii, contemptores humiles vanitatum mundi, satisfactores stabiles defectus proprii, et factores vigiles divini beneficii. Tercio in secundo memento pro defunctis: ut per tam suavissimum misterium habeant continuum subsidium, up per preces ecclesie et fidelium habeant suave a penis refrigerium, ut per hoc nostrum ministerium habeant secundum reditum ad sanctorum consortium.*

match those associated with the dominant means of mass communication in late-medieval communities. Bells were the principle means by which a community was formed in late medieval and early modern Europe.⁴² Being heard across long distances, they made possible the forging of a community not joined by visible presences. Late medieval accounts of the sounds of bells repeatedly draw attention to this capacity of sound to trigger the transgression of boundaries, forging links between heaven and earth, the living and the dead. Using the same expectations of the senses, the *Speculum sacerdotum* makes hearing the sense that acts across the physical boundaries of living and dead.

Throughout this discussion, the *Speculum* turns particularly to the affective and sensory language of “sweetness”, the adjective *suavis*, which appears twice in swift succession to describe first the Eucharistic mystery, and then sweet relief of souls in purgatory from punishment. Sweetness here, like hearing, unites the church’s corporate body – the priest, the living faithful, and the dead. Whether or not this is “bodily” sensoriality is unclear – perhaps there is a sense of the sweet taste of the Eucharist, or the sweet smelling incense of the liturgy – whatever the case, it is clear is that the language of sensory experience has become a powerful analogy for the experiences of the soul precisely around the mysterious event of the consecration of the Eucharist – the event which joins Christ’s resurrected body to the very terrestrial matter of bread and wine.

With the chief events of the Mass concluded, the *Speculum sacerdotum* concludes its commentary with a brief note on the final section of the Mass, the time of giving thanks. Here again, it stresses the sensory experience of the most sweet bread (*pane suavissimo*) which unites creator and created. But at this point, in the versions of the text I have consulted, the textual tradition of the *Speculum sacerdotum* splits. In non-liturgical editions, the *Speculum sacerdotum* continues with a series of apostrophes to the priest that places the correct comportment of the senses in the Mass in opposition to improper sensuousness, driving home the implications of the Mass for the wider order of the priest’s sensory life:

O priest, every day your body is made the sepulcher of Christ: how could falsehood come out from the mouth through which truth has entered? How could the eyes see vanity which daily have gazed on truth? How could your hands extend towards forbidden things, those same hands

⁴² The literature on bells and medieval communication systems is extensive. For important recent studies, see: J.H. Arnold, C. Goodson, *Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells*, “Viator” XLIII (2012), pp. 99-130; *Cloches et horloges dans les textes médiévaux. Mesurer et maîtriser le temps*, ed. F. Pomel, Rennes 2012.

which hold all things? Why do you fill yourself and guzzle wine, you who ought to be full of God.⁴³

In those Missals where I have encountered the *Speculum*, by contrast, this section is removed – why? Without a more thorough examination of the textual tradition of the *Speculum sacerdotum* I can only advance limited interpretation here. It seems worth considering, however, the possibility that the uses and functions of the books in which the *Speculum sacerdotum* appears may shape the kinds of sensoriality that were deemed appropriate to appear in its pages, even if cast in negative relief.

For we have been reminded in recent scholarship that a liturgical book like a Missal is a sensory space, whose carefully calibrated materiality embodies and re-presentifies the liturgical action and its object, the body of Christ.⁴⁴ In the case of the *Speculum sacerdotum*, this sense of the sacramental body of the book emerges in the materiality of the Missals themselves that contain the text. In some early sixteenth-century printed Missals, where the majority of the liturgical text is printed on paper, the material of the page changes at the Canon of the Mass to parchment. The transition to the bodily presence of Christ, present on the cross and on the altar, is enfleshed by the transition from paper to skin, at once more durable, more expensive, and more lively – a vital materiality.⁴⁵ The material change signifies a change in liturgical significance.

Let us take the example of a copy of the Sarum Missal, printed in Rouen in 1519, and owned by the prominent English catholic, Sir Edward Waldegrave. Here, the transition to parchment takes place at the folio of the crucifixion image before the Canon and continues only one further folio to the point of the consecration of the elements. *Hoc est enim corpus meum* (“This is my body”) is given material form in this transformation from paper to skin.⁴⁶ In this volume, the presence of the parchment folios also functions as a way of locating the Canon: the parchment leaves do not sit as flat as the paper folios, making their placement obvious to eye and hand when the book is closed. Their recognizable and central place in the Missal was, at some point, further

⁴³ *Speculum sacerdotum*: *O sacerdos corpus tuum quotidie efficitur sepulchrum christi: quomodo ex ore tuo progreditur falsitas per quod ingreditur veritas. Quomodo oculi vident vanitatem, qui quotidie aspiciunt veritatem. Quomodo manus tue extenduntur ad illicita, que tenent omnia. Quomodo te repleas et ingurgitas vino, qui debes esse plenus deo.*

⁴⁴ T. Lentjes, *Textus Evangelii. Materialität und Inszenierung des Textus in der Liturgie*, in: *Textus im Mittelalter: Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im schriftsemantischen Feld*, Göttingen 2006; E. Palazzo, *Art, Liturgy...*, passim.

⁴⁵ J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham NC 2010.

⁴⁶ *Missale ad vsum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum* (Rouen: Pierre Olivier for Jacques Cousin, 1519), Cambridge University Library, Syn.4.51.12.

signified by the gauffering of the book's edges in diamonds and almond patterns, whose points of intersection similarly mark out the Canon to view and by touch.⁴⁷ Such embodied engagements with the book's materiality might function as a supplement to the book's role as liturgical sign: the book might be interpreted as implying or shaping a kind of bodily knowing through the hand's touch of the changed materials, the brush of lips on its surface, the eye's attentiveness to its different contours, the difference luminescence of its surface, or the way its changed material reflects different colours and inks. It served a very practical purpose too: at the Canon, the liturgical rubrics specify that the crucifixion image was to be devoutly kissed by the priest, and these pages were those used most frequently by the priest: a more durable material would guard against the wear of use.⁴⁸ But the parchment could also perhaps by the very action of the priest's moist breath be made more elastic, fleshly, and fragile, enlivened in some way by the activation of touch and breath.

Placing the *Speculum sacerdotum* into this world of embodied reading suggests further ways of understanding the text. Within a Missal, the *Speculum* need not necessarily be interpreted as a text read proposition by a devout reader. Instead, perhaps we can interpret it as in part a physical and visual prompt to the celebrant to activate their memory of correct sensory comportment in celebrating the Mass – seeing the *Speculum* while turning the pages of the Missal might activate a transition from a single sense into a more complex set of configurations of memory, senses, intentions and affects. This visual-mnemonic function of the *Speculum* is embodied in the way the text's simple structure is brought out in some copies of the text in liturgical books. In these examples, eye-catching systems of rubrication mark out the text's structure of articles and tripartite responses, unlike copies of the text in the commentary tradition where the text is presented without clear structural markers.⁴⁹

In my emphasis on the text of the *Speculum* and the materiality of the Missal, I have remained very much within the confines of a bookish

⁴⁷ The gauffering on this Missal may well not be contemporary.

⁴⁸ For an example of a Missal that has been so worn by regular kissing that it has been reinforced by an additional parchment sheet, see Cambrai, Mediathèque municipale, ms 146, fol. 149v. On material engagements with medieval books and kissing, see K.M. Rudy, *Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals they Reveal*, "Electronic British Library Journal", Article V (2011). On kissing more generally, see K.L. Walker, *Middle English Mouths: Medical and Religious Traditions in Later Medieval England*, forthcoming. I am most grateful to Katie Walker for sharing this work with me before publication.

⁴⁹ See, for example, the version of the *Speculum* in the *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare Ecclesie Sarum* (London: Richard Pynson, 1520), Cambridge University Library, Rit.a.152.2, fol. 1v.

sensoriality. But what about the other ways in which the altar formed a space for shaping a priest's affective sensory body in the period? The basis for my discussion here will be an altarpiece now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Fig. 1).

Painted by an anonymous French artist, the triptych was made sometime in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, at the time when the *Speculum sacerdotum* was at the height of its early print production.⁵⁰ The central panel depicts the lamentation over the dead body of Christ. In the foreground at the panel's base, Christ's dead body with white loincloth and with bleeding wounds and forehead rests on a white cloth and is cradled by a richly-robed Joseph of Arimathea, who kneels at the left of the panel. On the bare ground beside Christ lies the crown of thorns and scattered bones. Behind Christ's body in the centre, Mary kneels with hands clasped together, supported by John and flanked by Mary Magdalene, whose hands are crossed over her chest. Behind Mary, an older woman, perhaps Anne, clasps her hands together. Behind Joseph, a woman turns to Nicodemus, who holds the nails of the cross in a white cloth that mirrors Christ's loincloth and the cloth on which his body lies. At the far left, a young man turns away in grief. At the rear of the image, an empty cross is flanked by the crosses for the two thieves – a figure at the base of the cross raises his hand towards the good thief. The outer panels of the altarpiece depict the Presentation of the Virgin and her marriage to Joseph. In the left-hand panel, Mary walks up the steps of the temple, flanked on her left by Joachim and her right by Anne (whose hand gesture evokes those of the women behind Mary in the main panel). Joachim is clearly not looking at his daughter, but rather looks upwards with a line of sight that seems to meet the Cross in the upper background of the central panel. In the centre of the panel sits a mitred Jewish priest in sumptuous robes. An imageless red retablo sits on an altar partly visible within the temple. Turning their backs on this imageless altar, two seated women look up from their books, with eyes that, like Joachim's, are directed towards the cross of the central panel. On the right-hand panel, again, a central priest performs the marriage rite of Mary and Joseph: one hand is raised in blessing, the other holds his brocaded vestments.

⁵⁰ On the altarpiece, see R. Marchant, B. New, *Rescued and Reattributed: A 16th Century Triptych*, in: *The Fitzwilliam Museum Review, 2002-2004*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 40-42. Previously ascribed to the circle of the Master of Osroy in Brussels, it is now suggested that it was painted in northern France. For the Master of Osroy attribution, see H. Gerson, J.W. Goodison, D. Sutton, *Catalogue of Paintings, I: Dutch and Flemish*, Cambridge 1960, pp. 41-42. For an earlier attribution to a Brussels painter in c. 1510 (made by Max Friedländer), see W.G. Constable, *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Marlay Bequest, Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, Cambridge 1927, pp. 24-25. I was unable to consult the Fitzwilliam's file on this altarpiece as it cannot currently be located by the museum staff.

Although we do not know its precise provenance, we know that this altarpiece was designed to form part of the staging of the Eucharist. Recent discussions have drawn our attention to the ways in which altarpieces like this one could act as “frames” for liturgical objects and actions.⁵¹ These insights alert us immediately to one of the important ways the altarpiece might be configured for the experience of the liturgy: at the point of elevation, the priest lifts the host into the place once occupied by Christ, a symbolic re-crucifixion which embodies the doctrine that each Mass is a celebration of Christ’s passion. The sense that those present at the altar participate in the transtemporal formation of a community of vision is achieved in part by the gaze of figures from the time before Christ in the left-hand panel that turn their back on the imageless time of the Old Law to Christ’s physical presence in both the altarpiece and in the consecrated host. It is further constructed by the way in which those gathered around the altar mirror the mourning bodies of those gathered around Christ’s body in the altarpiece. Here, however, a reading of the altarpiece can perhaps move from vision alone to a richer sensoriality, where vision blends into a constructed desire for mimesis at the level of the affective body. A kneeling priest might re-embodiment Joseph of Arimathea; the priest who holds the chalice, might re-embodiment Nicodemus, holding the precious nails stained with Christ’s blood, the cloth in Nicodemus’ hand adding a further resonance with the liturgical rite; hand gestures of Mary and the other mourners might become those of the priest.

We can see here, too, how that emphasis on the social arrangement of the scenes on the central and side panels mirrors the sensorial, affective and social experience of the Mass. Each scene has a central figure. In both of the side panels, that figure is the priest. In the central panel, it is Mary: Mary, the figure for the church; the priest, a figure for Mary. In the central scene, the closeness of the mourners’ bodies, might be seen as constructing a cohesive community around the body of Christ. The mourners support each other like the liturgical assistants during the Mass. This sense that the scenes within and without the altarpiece could mirror one another is further created by the

⁵¹ For a classic work on the altar and the Eucharist, see B.G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting*, New York 1984. Ronald Krischel spoke on altarpieces as “painted backdrops” for crucifixes that were placed on altars in a paper, *Painted Backdrops for the Cross: Late Medieval “Multimedia” Altarpieces in Cologne*, at the Courtauld Institute, London, November 10th 2010. See also Beth Williamson’s important article: *Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion*, “Speculum” LXXIX (2004), p. 344. On the altarpiece as “backdrop”, see H. van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215-1460*, I, Groningen 1990, p. 13. Van Os is a good example of a scholar who has a narrow understanding of the priest, see *ibidem*, II, p. 21. In his section on “users” of altarpieces he includes the priest who wants a visual liturgical prop that is adequate in terms of form and content. He enjoys an altarpiece as an embellishment of an altar of his church and as an instrument of theological propaganda.

prominent white cloths, and the vestments of the priestly figures, vestments that were supposed to be touched and kissed by priests in preparation for the performance of the liturgy. On this interpretation, the altarpiece seems to have played a similar role to the *Speculum sacerdotum* in forming a sensorial priestly subjectivity, enmeshed in the affective structures of sacred narrative and sanctioned bodily, affective and sensorial comportment.

To extend this reading further: given the importance of re-presentation in the liturgical and sensory experience of the altarpiece, there was particular need for the priest to act with the *Speculum sacerdotum*'s "great reverence" when holding Christ's crucified body in his hands. In medieval and early modern Europe, this need for reverence was in part undergirded by fears over improper touching of Christ's Eucharistic body. Fears of irreverent touching of the host found their most violent expression in narratives of host desecration in the period. This desecration was imagined as performed by Jews, Muslims and heretical sects.⁵² It was the unclean hands of unbelieving Jews that many medieval Christians imagined as responsible for Christ's crucifixion. Yet, in the sacrifice of the Mass, this role was played by the consecrated Christian, the priest. It was the priest who lifted up Christ's body in a re-enactment of the crucifixion, and who broke it into pieces. Is it possible that these narratives of host desecration were formed in part through displacement of clerical anxiety inherent to handling of the crucified, Eucharistic body?⁵³ Could such anxieties over improper touching be amplified by the liturgical act of the fraction, that moment when the Priest's hands literally broke Christ's body? At least one reader of the *Speculum sacerdotum*, likely a cleric, was particularly interested in this moment. In his copy of Hugh of Saint-Cher's *Speculum ecclesiae*, the symbolic commentary on the liturgy to which the *Speculum sacerdotum* was often appended, a marginal addition commenting on the fraction reads: *Nota rationem quare frangitur hostia in tres partes* ("Note the reason why the host is broken into three parts")⁵⁴. In this context of potential anxiety over sensorial interaction and participation in the Mass, we can perhaps further understand

⁵² See, for example, M. Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, New Haven 1999.

⁵³ This reading is offered not as an attempt to displace other readings of host desecration narratives, but to offer a further tool with which scholars might approach these difficult materials.

⁵⁴ *Speculum ecclesie una cum speculo sacerdotum* (Paris: Aintoine Caillaut, 1493), Cambridge University Library, Inc. 5.D.1.12 [2450], fol. 11. Four reasons are given: first, in memory of the Trinity; second, in memory of the three states of Christ: living as a mortal among humans, lying dead in the tomb, and immortal in heaven; third, as a sign or memorial of the three parts of the body where Christ was wounded at the crucifixion: in hands, feet and side; fourth, as a sign of the three parts of the mystical body of the church: the church triumphant in heaven, the church militant on earth, and in purgatory.

the importance on the veiled and reverent touch of Christ's holy body in the Fitzwilliam altarpiece, in the *Speculum sacerdotum*, and in the rites of the church's liturgy itself.

Considering the importance of careful handling of the host in relation to dangerous and potentially desecratory touching can help to extend important explorations of the social logics of the Jewish gaze in fifteenth-century altarpieces recently undertaken by Sara Lipton. Lipton argues that the "Jew in the crowd" – present in visual representations of important moments in sacred history such as the raising of Lazarus or the crucifixion – embodies a problematic gaze that is not so much "about" Jews (though these images do have implications for social relations between Christians and Jews), as about regulating proper and improper Christian behaviours in the urban environments of late medieval Europe.⁵⁵ In light of the closeness of priests to such images, we can develop Lipton's argument to argue more precisely for the role of such images in educating priests into ways of looking, seeing, touching, smelling, standing, feeling, remembering and hearing. One of Lipton's principle examples is a painting by Albert van Ouwater in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. The panel shows, from left to right, the responses of Christ and the disciples, a group of onlookers behind a grill, and a group of Jews, many wearing elaborate robes and hats, to the raising of Lazarus (Fig. 2).⁵⁶

Taking the place of the altar in a Romanesque apse, Lazarus's body here prefigures both Christ's resurrected body, the ritual transformation of Christ's body in the Eucharist, and the resurrection of the dead on the Last Day. Critically for a history of the senses, sight, smell, and bodily comportment are here clarified through their position in a Jewish versus Christian dialectic: those priests who experience too much in the sensory and affective regime of a "Jewish" body, would experience disgust at the smell of Lazarus' resurrected body, their bodies turn away, their gaze is averted. By contrast, the figures of Christ and the disciples construct a normativizing frame for correct sensory comportment in the presence of miraculous bodily transformation. Two kinds of priesthood are here mediated by the figure of Peter who stands with one hand gesturing to the scene, the other reaching towards the group of Jews. Here Peter both embodies his role as apostle to the Jews and acts as a figure of the Church. He stands between Christ, whose priestly figure raises his hand in blessing as at the moment of the consecration of the host in the Mass,

⁵⁵ S. Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*, New York 2014, Chapter 7: "The Jew in the Crowd: Surveillance and Civic Vision, ca. 1350-1500".

⁵⁶ Ibidem, particularly pp. 241-243. On Ouwater and this image more generally, see S. Kemperdick, *Albert van Ouwater: "The Raising of Lazarus"*, "Oud Holland. Quarterly for Dutch History" CXXIII (2010), pp. 235-250.

and the mitred Jewish priest who, perhaps evoking and transforming the iconography of Synagoga in pairings of the church (*Ecclesia*) and synagogue (*Synagoga*), turns back to look at Lazarus.⁵⁷

This sense of sacred images as forming a priestly sensoriality at the altar resonates closely with late medieval interest in the reform of the clergy more generally. The pastoral impulse associated so closely with theologians and reformers like Jean Gerson extended to a strong emphasis on the reform of the clergy and the correct celebration of the church's liturgy.⁵⁸ In this light, the presence of texts like the *Speculum sacerdotum* and images like the Fitzwilliam altarpiece can be seen a pushing towards a sense of the senses for the priest himself, and for the priest on behalf of his community. Wider audiences, of course, existed, but we miss something if we move away too quickly from the close relationships between these objects and priests in performing the liturgy.

Throughout this article, I have traced only some of the multiple ways in which a complex and layered liturgical sensoriality was constructed for priests in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Northern Europe. It is a partial history that aims to contribute to a wider conversation. Building on the work of scholars across a variety of disciplines, new sensorial histories of liturgical practice and experiences in this period will, I hope, widen out this discussion to a greater range of social groups and individuals both within and beyond clerical elites. They will extend our understandings of touch, sight, memory, affect and reading, encompassing more of the sounds and smells of the liturgy than I have achieved in this discussion. Drawing on the rich cultural history and anthropology of ritual, they will continue to explore liturgical rites beyond the Mass – the offices, other sacraments, processions, pilgrimages, blessings – including spaces and settings beyond the altar – the home, the street, the field, the river – treating these spaces (in de Certeau's sense) as formed through sensory interactions that occurred within a physical and spiritual landscape of objects, affects, knowledge and memory. Our histories of liturgical sensorialities will also require an increased attention to comparison, charting changes to sensory norms and habits as liturgies unfolded in new ritual contexts across the globe. Finally, our histories must place all these elements of sensoriality more precisely in the unfolding temporal landscapes

⁵⁷ On Christ's gesture of blessing and the Mass, compare, for example, Christ in Dieric Bouts' *Altarpiece of the Blessed Sacrament*, Saint Peter's Church, Leuven. Ouwater may have had some relationship to Bouts' workshop. See S. Kemperdick, *op.cit.*, pp. 245-249. On *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, see recently N. Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 2011.

⁵⁸ On Gerson, see B.P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, University Park PA 2005.

of ritual – in western Christian contexts, the liturgical year, the week, the day, the hour – to uncover the changing inflections of ritual sensorialities in the late medieval and early modern world.

ABSTRACT

Drawing on recent archaeological and anthropological theory, this article examines the liturgical sensorialities of the priest as a performer of, and witness to, the liturgy of the Mass in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Northern Europe. A key role in shaping a priest's sensorial and affective engagement with the Mass was played by texts that offered short and memorable commentaries on the liturgy, like the *Speculum sacerdotum* often attributed to Hugh of Saint-Cher. Such texts form part of a wider culture within which priestly subjectivities were implied and normativised by priests' affective engagement with liturgical rites and objects. Texts, objects and images around the altar acted as powerful commentaries on liturgical action, particularly priestly touch, mirroring and mediating to priests sanctioned interpretations of liturgical sensoriality.



Fig. 1. Anonymous, *Triptych with Presentation of the Virgin, Lamentation, and Marriage of the Virgin*, Northern French, Late 15th/Early 16th century, Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, Marley Bequest M.25. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

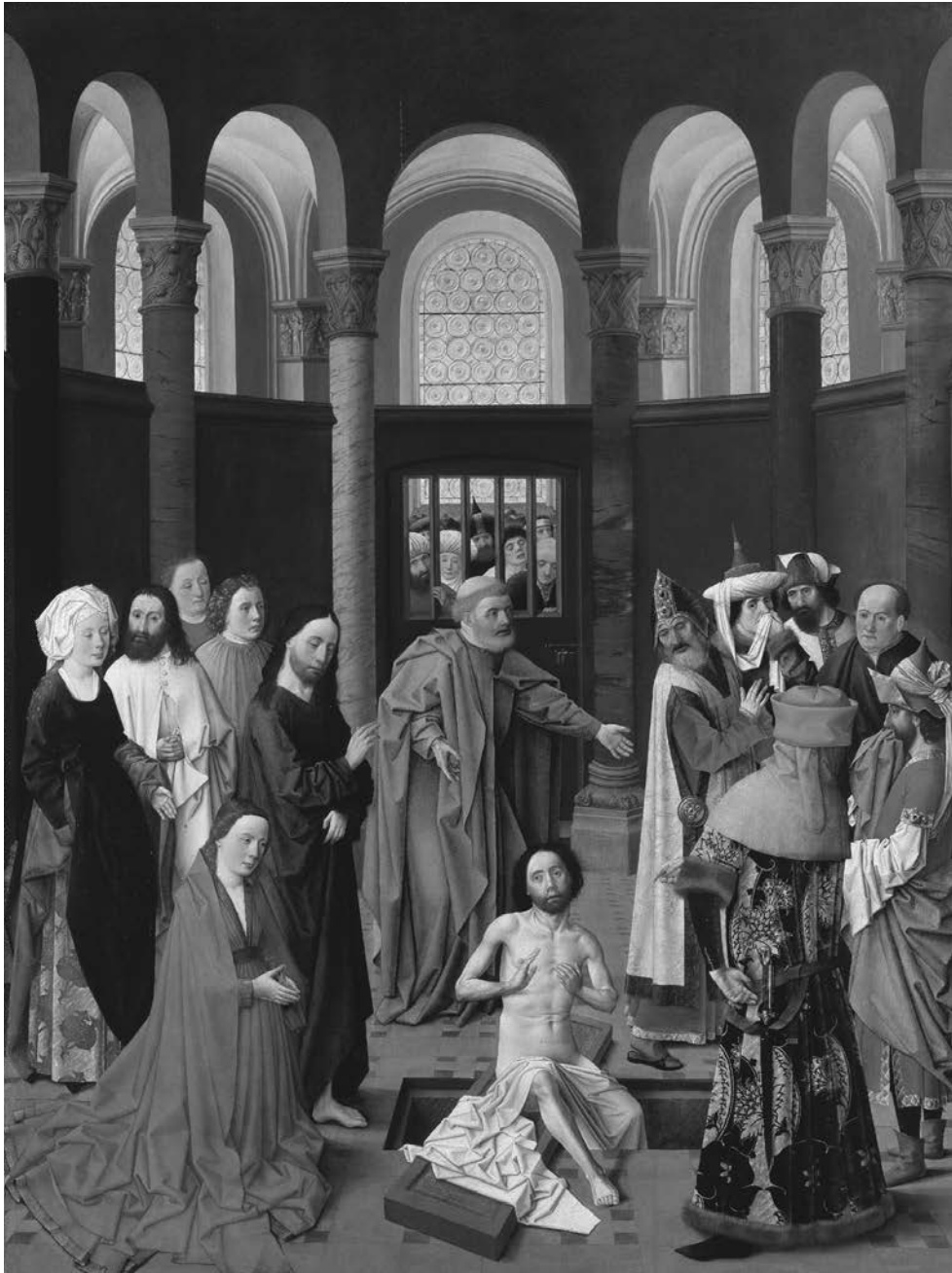


Fig. 2. Albert van Ouwater, *The Raising of Lazarus*, Haarlem, c. 1450-1460, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. © bpk/Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Jörg P. Anders.



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VOIR LE CORPS SAIGNANT DU CHRIST : INVITATION VISUELLE À LA MÉDITATION DE LA PASSION DANS QUELQUES LIVRES D'HEURES DU XV^E SIÈCLE



INTRODUCTION

Le livre d'heures tenait une place prééminente dans la société du Bas Moyen Âge, en particulier quant à son rôle dans le développement d'une spiritualité, et d'une religiosité, qui rythmait la vie quotidienne, la scandant ou l'interrompant des véritables moments d'arrêt, que sont la prière journalière des heures canoniques. Au-delà des multiples considérations dont il peut être l'objet, le livre d'heures était, en premier lieu, un objet destiné à la prière et au culte, et compris apparemment, par les laïcs des XIV^e et XV^e siècle, comme l'ouvrage le plus adapté à cette fonction. Sa large diffusion, non seulement dans le cadre des cours, mais également dans les villes, en témoigne¹. À partir du XIV^e siècle, et surtout, durant le XV^e siècle, son usage quotidien, recommandé également dans les traités de caractère moral et dans la littérature à visée d'édification², explique sa présence multiple dans les bibliothèques, devenant une pièce clé du répertoire bibliophile, selon les inventaires de l'époque. Destiné

1 Th. De Hemptinne, *Reading, Writing and Devotional Practices : Lay and Religious Women and the Written Word in the Low Countries (1350-1550)*, dans : *The Voice of Silence. Women's Literacy in a Men's Church*, dir. T. De Hemptinne, and M.A. Góngora, Turnhout 2004, p. 111-126.

2 Par exemple, les conseils de Geoffroy de la Tour Landry à ses filles dans son *Livre du chevalier de la Tour-Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (éd. par Anatole de Montaiglon, Paris 1854, chap. I, n° 1, p. 10) : « ... quant vous prendrés à vous lever, si entrez au service du hault seigneur et commanciés vos heures. Ce doit estre vostre premier labour et vostre premier fait, et, quant vous les dirés, dictes-les de bon cuer et ne pensez point ailleurs que vous puissiez... ».

à promouvoir une dévotion quotidienne et régulière, centrée sur la dévotion mariale – le petit office de la Vierge – le livre d’heures devint un objet apprécié et même thésaurisé³. Le fidèle trouvait dans les images, comme dans les textes, de quoi fixer quotidiennement son attention, pour rendre le culte, solliciter l’intercession, gagner des grâces suffragantes à la mémoire des défunts ; en bref, participer activement au temps liturgique et à ses bénéfiques, auparavant réservés aux clercs⁴.

Dans le présent article nous nous proposons d’étudier un groupe d’images, contenues dans un particulier corpus de livres d’heures et de prières du XV^e siècle, liées aux passages de la Passion du Christ. Dans ces images nous découvrons un singulier effort pour attirer l’attention du lecteur sur les blessures et le sang du Christ, dont les souffrances sont présentées ostensiblement à sa vue. Cette invitation visuelle à *voir* le corps saignant du Christ et, parfois même, à le *toucher*, deviendrait une aide à la méditation, et la contemplation, moyennant l’activation des sens convoqués par les images, dans le sillage de ce que propose Éric Palazzo, dans un autre contexte, pour des images de manuscrits à caractère liturgique⁵.

Le petit corpus de manuscrits que nous examinons ici se définit à partir des liens de parenté qui rattachaient les possesseurs, commanditaires ou destinataires de ces livres d’heures ou de prières. En effet, puissants liens de famille, ainsi que culturels, rattachaient Catherine de Clèves (1417-1476), duchesse de Gueldre, Adolphe de Clèves-Ravenstein (1425-1492), son frère, et sa sœur Marie de Clèves (1426-1487), duchesse d’Orléans, avec Marguerite de Clèves (1375-1411), duchesse de Bavière, Philippe le Bon (1396-1467) et Jean sans Peur (1371-1419), ducs de Bourgogne⁶. L’examen des images de ces

3 « The Book of Hours was a veritable jewel box of devotion ». Reinburg Virginia, *Prayer Book and the Book of Hours*, dans : R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, New York, George Braziller, 2001 [1998], p. 40.

4 « In this way, a book designed for individual prayer evolved out of what had originally been a liturgical codex. Not because there was any rift between the clergy and the laity, or that lay people had begun to regard themselves as being in competition with the clerics, but simply because the laity wished to be able to recite at home and in private what they knew from the liturgy » – Th. Lentz, *Prayer Books*, dans : F.J. Arlinghaus et al., *Transforming the Medieval World. Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2006, p. 239-258, ici p. 241.

5 E. Palazzo, *L’invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l’art au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2014.

6 Marguerite de Clèves était une des sœurs d’Adolphe II de Clèves-La Marck, père de Catherine, Adolphe et Marie. De son côté, leur mère, Marie de Bourgogne, était fille de Jean sans Peur et donc une des sœurs de Philippe le Bon. Nous avons étudié le poids que l’avunculat que ce dernier exerça sur les fils et filles d’Adolphe, duc de Clèves, dans : « Identité, mémoire et dévotion dans les livres d’heures et de prières de l’entourage familial de Catherine de Clèves, duchesse de Gueldre. XIV^e-XV^e siècles », thèse de doctorat sous la direction de M.M. Aurell, et la co-direction de Mme. A.-M. Legaré, soutenue en décembre 2014 (CESCM, Université de Poitiers. Inédite).

livres d'heures dans le contexte de la parenté, permet aussi de cerner quelques dimensions culturelles et spirituelles qui façonnaient le culte et la dévotion à l'intérieur de cet important ensemble familial du XV^e siècle.

LE CULTE À LA PASSION DU CHRIST PROMU À LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE

Au cours des XIV^e et XV^e siècles, le culte à la passion du Christ et la dévotion à la sainte Croix connurent une intensification particulière. Celle-ci étant le fruit en particulier de traités spirituels et mystiques, liés principalement à la spiritualité franciscaine et annoncés déjà par les mystiques cisterciens comme saint Bernard (1090-1153)⁷, qui conseillaient la prière et la méditation des différents passages de la passion du Rédempteur. Ludolphe de Saxe (ca. 1300-1378), avec sa *Vita Christi*⁸, et les *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (ca. 1299-1336), texte attribué à un Pseudo-Bonaventure⁹, abondamment copié et traduit, par la suite, dans plusieurs langues vernaculaires, y participèrent aussi très fortement¹⁰. Selon les études d'Émile Roy et d'Edelgard DuBruck, le texte des *Meditationes* du Pseudo-Bonaventure eut d'importantes répercussions dans les différents récits de la passion, qui se répandirent, sous forme de mystères y compris¹¹.

7 Cf. Jure Mikuz, *Le sang et le lait dans l'imaginaire médiéval*, Ljubljana 2013 (http://zalozba.zrc-sazu.si/sites/default/files/jure_mikuz_le_sang_et_lait_0.pdf).

8 *La Grande Vie de Jésus-Christ par Ludolphe le Chartreux*, trad. par Dom F. Broquin, Paris 1891.

9 Mary Stallings-Taney, dans son édition critique sur les *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (*Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout 1997), l'attribue à Jean Caulibus. Sarah McNamer, dans son article publié en 2009, réfute cette attribution en faveur d'une religieuse, probablement une clarisse qui serait l'auteur de la rédaction originale, en langue toscane, tout en avançant que Jean Caulibus aurait travaillé sur cette version qu'il aurait amplifiée. La version latine, comprenant une préface et environ 108 chapitres, proviendrait d'une expansion encore postérieure du texte toscan. C'est cette version latine, qui fut diffusée largement en Occident et traduite en français, catalan, allemand, irlandais, anglais, espagnol et suédois. L'auteur date la première rédaction de 1298-1299 environ et la version canonique, diffusée en latin, aux alentours de 1336. Cf. S. McNamer, *The Origins of the Meditationes vitae Christi*, « *Speculum* » LXXXIV (2009), p. 905-955. Plus récemment, dans une étude parue en 2014, Peter Tóth et Dávid Falvay ont contesté la thèse de S. McNamer, ainsi que celle de M. Stallings-Taney, en proposant de rétablir la version latine longue des MVC comme la première version des *Meditationes*, laquelle aurait été rédigée par un franciscain, Jacobus de Sancto Geminiano, autour le 1300. P. Tóth, D. Falvay, *New Light on the Date and Authorship of the Meditationes vitae Christi*, dans : *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe : Diverse Imaginations of Christ's Life*, éd. S. Kelly, R. Perry, MCS 31, Turnhout 2014, pp. 17-104.

10 « It is widely agreed that the work now known as the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi* (MVC) was the single most influential devotional text written in the later Middle Ages » – S. McNamer, *The Origins of the Meditationes*, p. 905.

11 E. Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle. Étude sur les sources et le classement des mystères de la Passion*, « *Revue Bourguignonne* » XIV, 1904, n° 3-4 ; E. DuBruck,

Ce culte à la passion promouvait une vénération et une compassion particulière pour les souffrances du Christ, spécialement pour les douleurs de la flagellation et les blessures de la crucifixion, développant une dévotion à l'humanité du Christ. Saint Bernard et saint Bonaventure (1221-1274), la *Vita Christi* tout d'abord, puis les *Meditationes*, ainsi que les différents récits de la passion répandus en langue vernaculaire, recommandent au fidèle l'*habitus* quotidien de la lecture des récits de la passion et l'oraison, avec la méditation toute particulière des cinq blessures et de leur caractère rédempteur. Dans les livres d'heures, la présence du cycle consacré à la croix, que ce soit dans les heures de la croix ou dans le petit office de la croix, rend compte de l'enracinement de la méditation de la passion du Christ dans les dévotions de l'époque. En découle également une dévotion spéciale pour le précieux sang, soulignée par Caroline Bynum¹². En effet, cette spiritualité liée à la *devotio moderna* fomentait vivement la culture de liens affectifs, émotionnels et empathiques entre le dévot et les souffrances du Christ dans sa passion, comme le conseillaient Gérard Grote (1340-1384) et les Frères de la Vie Commune, ainsi que plus tard Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471)¹³.

L'iconographie se nourrit abondamment de ces thèmes, élaborant des scènes des différents moments de la passion du Christ¹⁴, afin d'inspirer une

La Passion Isabeau, Une édition du manuscrit Fr. 966 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris avec une introduction et des notes, New York-Paris 1990 (introduction).

12 C. Walker-Bynum, *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Pennsylvania 2007. Un exemple nous l'apporte saint Bonaventure qui, dans son *Lignum Vitae*, soulignait le rôle rédempteur du sang du Christ en proposant diverses méditations sur son corps saignant : « Le Seigneur Jésus fut tout couvert de son propre sang, d'abord par la sueur du jardin des Olives, ensuite par la flagellation, le couronnement d'épines, les clous, et enfin par la lance ; et, en ces diverses circonstances, il le répandit sans réserve, afin qu'auprès de Dieu nous eussions une rédemption abondante. Sa robe de pontife en fut toute teinte, son vêtement apparut véritablement rouge et ses habits ressemblèrent aux habits de ceux qui foulent le pressoir [...] » Saint Bonaventure, *L'Arbre de Vie*, Fructus VIII, 31, dans : *Oeuvres spirituelles de Saint Bonaventure*, trad. par M. l'Abbé Berthaudier, curé de Saint-Pallais, I, Paris 1864 (édition en ligne : <http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu>).

13 Voir spécialement la publication des actes des Rencontres de Colmar-Strasbourg (29 septembre au 2 octobre 1988) sous le titre : *La dévotion moderne dans les pays bourguignons et rhénans des origines à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, « Publication du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes (XIV^e-XVI^e s.) » XXIX, Neuchâtel 1989, en particulier les articles de P. Verdeyen (S.J.), *La dévotion moderne : une spiritualité pour les laïques*, p. 5-8 ; A.G. Weiler, *La construction de soi dans les milieux de la devotio moderna*, p. 9-16 et de H. Martin, *Devotio moderna et prédication (début XV^e – début XVI^e s.)*, p. 97-110. Voir aussi A. Vauchez, *Les Laïcs au Moyen Âge. Pratiques et expériences religieuses*, Paris 1987. Sur la vie et pratiques des Frères de la Vie commune, voir J. Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphie 2008.

14 J. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, Kortrijk 1979 ; D. Rigaux, *Le Christ du Dimanche. Histoire d'une image médiévale*, Paris 2005.

méditation, qui n'opère, non seulement par la parole, mais aussi par l'image. Certaines de ces images s'émancipèrent de l'ensemble et devinrent, elles-mêmes objets de dévotion et promotrices de méditation. C'est le cas de l'*Homme de douleurs* ou *imago pietatis*, de l'*Ecce homo*, de la *Descente de la Croix*, de la *Pietà*, et de la *Crucifixion*¹⁵, dont le réalisme croissant et le dramatisme cherchent un dialogue plus intime et plus personnel entre l'image et le fidèle¹⁶.

Dans le sillage du culte de la passion, se développa la dévotion à la sainte Croix, bois où meurt le Christ et où il réalise la rédemption de la nature humaine¹⁷. Des traités mystiques comme le *Lignum Vitae* de saint Bonaventure (1217-1274)¹⁸, ou l'*Arbor Vitae* d'Ubertino da Casale (1259-ca. 1329)¹⁹, participent d'une tradition allégorique, à la croisée avec l'hagiographie, amplement répandue à travers la légende de l'invention de la sainte Croix, présentée par la *Légende Dorée* de Jacques de la Voragine (ca. 1228-1298)²⁰, et avec les hymnes, homélies et poèmes, qui abondent, depuis les origines, dans la tradition liturgique de l'Église. C'est le cas des hymnes composés par Venance Fortunat²¹, qui font partie de la liturgie de la semaine sainte et des fêtes de la sainte Croix, des homélies de Grégoire le Grand et de Pierre Damien ou des poèmes de Raban Maur²². Tous ceux-ci exaltent la vie contenue et communiquée dans et par la Croix du Christ.

15 S. Ringbom, *De l'icône à la scène narrative*, Paris 1997, p. 121-179.

16 Cette dimension intime et cette instance de dialogue établie entre l'image et l'observateur à la fin du Moyen-Âge a été mise en relief particulièrement par Sixten Ringbom, *De l'icône à la scène narrative*, p. 9-42, et aussi par H. Belting, *Image et Culte. Une histoire de l'image avant l'époque de l'art*, trad. par Frank Muller, Paris 1998, p. 553-615 ; J. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary. Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, New York 1998, spécialement p. 13-34, 149-196 et 427-468 ; et J. Wirth, *L'image médiévale. Naissance et développements (VI^e-XV^e siècle)*, Paris 1989, p. 267-341.

17 Deux fêtes liturgiques, dans l'Église médiévale, commémoraient la sainte Croix : le 3 mai, jour de l'*Inventio*, et l'*Exaltatio*, le 14 septembre.

18 Saint Bonaventure, *Lignum Vitæ*, dans : *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia*, Quaracchi 1898, t. VIII, p. 68-87 ; voir aussi Bonaventure, *L'Arbre de Vie*, dans : *Oeuvres spirituelles de Saint Bonaventure*, trad. par M. l'Abbé Berthaumier, curé de Saint-Palais, I, Paris 1864 (édition en ligne : http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1221-1274,_Bonaventura,_L'Arbre_de_Vie,_FR.pdf). Cf. P.F. O'Connell, *The Lignum Vitae of Saint Bonaventure and the Medieval Devotional Tradition (Spirituality, Franciscans)*, 1 January 1985. ETD Collection for Fordham University, Paper AAI8521412, <http://fordham.bepress.com/dissertations/AAI8521412>.

19 F. Calley, *Étude sur Ubertin de Casale*, Louvain 1910. Cf. P. Tóth, D. Falvay, *New Light on the Meditationes...*, p. 43, n. 96-97.

20 Jacques de Voragine, *La légende dorée*, trad. par Teodor de Wyzewa, Paris 1905, p. 259-266. Cf. aussi l'édition en ligne de la traduction faite par M. l'Abbé J.-B. M. Rozé, I-III, Paris 1902 : <http://www.abbaye-saint-benoit.ch/voragine/tome02/069.htm>.

21 Les deux hymnes principaux sont le *Pange lingua gloriosi* et le *Vexilla regis prodeunt*. Chevalier, RH, 14481 et 21481.

22 Raban Maur (ca. 776-856) a composé le *Carmen de laudibus sanctae crucis* (PL, 107, col. 133-294) et Pierre Damien (ca. 1007-1072) une *Homilia de exaltatione sanctae crucis* (PL, 144,

Ainsi, dans la société de l'époque, les images et les textes de la passion, visent-ils à susciter, dans l'esprit du lecteur, ce que Sarah McNamer appelle « une méditation affective »²³ du sacrifice pascal du Christ, dont on devient un témoin presque actif grâce aux récits qui exposent la Passion, soulignant son aspect douloureux et sanglant, et grâce, aussi, aux images qui la représentent d'une façon réaliste et propice à la compassion.

VOIR LE CORPS SAIGNANT DU CHRIST : UNE INVITATION SENSIBLE
À LA CONTEMPLATION INTÉRIEUR

La *Vita Christi* de Ludolphe de Saxe enseigne au lecteur à méditer fructueusement la passion du Christ, en se rendant *présent* au moment de son sacrifice, s'efforçant même de « voir les blessures » du Christ crucifié²⁴. De sa part, les *Meditationes vitae Christi* de Pseudo-Bonaventure recommandent au lecteur, afin d'obtenir de véritables fruits de la lecture de ces méditations, de :

... vous rendre présente en esprit aux faits et aux paroles qui sont rapportées du Seigneur Jésus, comme si vous les entendiez de vos oreilles et les voyiez de vos yeux, en y mettant toute l'affection de votre cœur, avec soin, plaisir et jouissance, et en éloignant toute autre sollicitude ou préoccupation²⁵.

La méditation implique l'effort de fixer son regard intérieur – avec « des yeux de votre cœur » – et touché de compassion par la prière, sur l'image du Christ souffrant et ensanglanté :

... Soyez attentive et regardez son attitude en chaque circonstance. Et pour compatir plus intimement à ses maux, pour mieux vous nourrir de ses souffrances, écartez un peu vos yeux de sa divinité et ne considérez d'abord que son humanité. Voyez ce jeune homme si beau, si noble, si innocent, si tendre, tout flagellé, tout arrosé de sang et meurtri de plaies, ramassant à terre ses vêtements dispersés ; voyez-le couvert de honte et de rougour, se revêtir humblement devant eux pendant qu'ils le tournent

col. 766-777). Cf. N. Fallon, « The Cross as a Tree : The Wood-of-the-Cross Legends in Middle English and Latin Texts in Medieval England », thèse inédite soutenue à l'Université de Toronto, Canada, en 2009 (https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/19188/1/Fallon_Nicole_A_200911_PhD_thesis.pdf).

²³ S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, Philadelphia 2010.

²⁴ Il mentionne également les sept bénéfiques, que procurent la lecture et la méditation quotidienne de la vie du Christ. Parmi ces méditations, se trouve le moment de la passion ; *La grande Vie de Jésus-Christ...*, Prologue.

²⁵ *Les Méditations de la Vie du Christ par saint Bonaventure (Meditationes vitae Christi)*, éd. bilingue par Henry de Riancey, I-II, Paris 1847 (dorénavant : *Meditationes*), ici I, Préface, p. 1-2. Nous soulignons.

en dérision, comme s'il était le dernier des hommes, abandonné de Dieu et privé de toute assistance. *Contemplez-le pieusement, et soyez émue de compassion et de pitié, tandis que, recueillant tantôt une pièce de ses vêtements, tantôt une autre, il s'en recouvre devant eux*²⁶.

Il s'agit de se représenter dans l'intimité de la propre conscience, à l'aide de l'imagination, les moments de la passion et, en particulier, de la crucifixion : « ceux-ci qui plantent la croix en terre, ceux-là qui préparent les clous et les marteaux, ceux-ci qui dressent l'échelle ou apprêtent les autres instruments, ceux-là qui se distribuent ce qu'ils doivent faire, et d'autres enfin qui dépouillent Jésus » ; de voir comment « ses blessures sont rouvertes par les lambeaux qui étaient restés adhérents à la chair ». Le fidèle doit ainsi contempler la chair lacérée du Christ, observer son sang couler et se répandre sur son corps et sur la croix :

De tous côtés, par ses *larges blessures*, coulent des ruisseaux de son sang sacré. Il est si étroitement tendu qu'il ne peut rien remuer excepté la tête. Ces trois clous soutiennent tout le poids de son corps ; il souffre d'atroces douleurs, et il est déchiré au-delà de ce qu'on peut penser ou dire²⁷.

Saint Bernard de Clairvaux, principal initiateur de cette dévotion à la nature humaine du Christ, recommande tout particulièrement la méditation de la blessure du côté du Christ, véritable refuge du chrétien²⁸. De plus, c'est par la méditation de la passion, que le fidèle peut arriver à la *compunctio cordis* – qui suscite le souvenir de ses propres péchés à la vue des vertus du sacrifice christique – chemin sûr vers une véritable conversion²⁹. La méditation sur les blessures du Christ permet au fidèle l'offrande de trois onguents spirituels au Crucifié, qui sont, à la fois, des onguents pour l'âme du fidèle lui-même : *compunctio* pour les péchés, *devotio* pour les bénéfices obtenus par le Christ et *pietas*³⁰. Pour saint Bernard, la méditation de la passion et de ses souffrances

²⁶ *Meditationes*, II, chap. 72, p. 206.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 216.

²⁸ Saint Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Cantorum*, Sermo LXII (PL 183, col. 1079). Cf. J. Mizuk, *Le sang et le lait...*, p. 103-104.

²⁹ Saint Bernard, *De conversione ad clericos sermo* (PL 182, cols. 833-856). Cf. M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, Cambridge 1998, p. 94 ; K. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice. Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2010, p. 123-146.

³⁰ *Unguenta tria sunt : compunctio de memoria peccatorum, quae infundit pedes Iesu ; devotio ex recordatione beneficiorum, qua perungitur caput Iesu ; pietas ex consideratione miserorum, quae ad unguendum corpus Iesu a mulieribus praeparatur* – Saint Bernard, *Liber Sententiarum*, sententia 169 (PL 184, col. 1154). Aussi dans *In Cantica canticorum priora duo capitula brevis commentatio* (PL 184, col. 415) : *Tria sunt unguenta : compunctionis, ex recordatione peccatorum ; devotionis, ex recordatione beneficiorum ; pietatis, ex recordatione miserorum*. Nous soulignons.

permettent au fidèle de mettre dans son cœur des images – et donc des souvenirs – qui le lavent de ses vices et le préparent à la vertu et à la pureté de pensée, ce qu'il appelle la *memoria munda*³¹.

Le franciscain, saint Bonaventure, propose il aussi une méditation de la passion, affirmant même : « Non seulement regardez en ses mains les traces des clous, non seulement portez votre main dans son côté, mais par la porte même de ce côté, pénétrez entièrement jusqu'à son cœur »³². Il s'agit d'une invitation à *voir* le Christ lacéré, mais aussi à le *toucher* et par ce moyen à pénétrer dans l'intimité du Crucifié représentée ici par le cœur du Christ³³.

Cette attitude dévotionnelle, particulièrement importante dans la spiritualité franciscaine, sera également fomentée par le mouvement de la *devotio moderna*. Gérard Grote et les Frères de la Vie Commune ainsi que, en particulier, son disciple Thomas à Kempis, promeuvent la méditation du Christ, tant par les textes qu'à travers la formation d'« images mentales », destinées à « mouvoir à l'affection du cœur »³⁴, opposant au vice personnel la vision et les vertus du Crucifié. Ils recommandent au fidèle de repasser, à multiples reprises, dans leur esprit, la passion du Christ (« in mente tua revolvis »), se la représentant intérieurement, c'est-à-dire la regardant intérieurement (« in mente tua representatur »)³⁵. Thomas à Kempis, auteur à qui est attribuée la composition de *l'Imitatio Christi*, proposait, pour ce faire, une méditation ascendante sur les blessures du Christ, partant des pieds cloués à la croix et terminant par la tête transpercée par la couronne d'épines³⁶ :

Ainsi donc, soustrais ton esprit aux soucis du monde extérieur et tourne toutes tes pensées vers l'image de ton Seigneur crucifié. Car alors, tu pourras chasser de ton esprit les images étrangères³⁷.

31 Saint Bernard, *De conversione*, XV-XVII (PL 182, col. 849-851). Saint Bernard fait l'invitation à ce nettoyage de la mémoire et de la conscience par le biais de se procurer un répertoire d'images vertueuses capables de mouvoir le cœur du moine à la conversion.

32 *De perfectione vitae*, 4, 2, cité par J. Mikuz, *Le sang et le lait...*, p. 57.

33 Dans le même sens, les paroles de Thomas à Kempis à propos de la blessure du côté de Christ : *Intra, intra, anima mea, in dextrum latus Domini tui crucifixi. Intra per insigne vulnus ad amantissimum cor Iesu ex amore translanceatum ad pausandum in foramine petrae a turbine mundi* – Thomas à Kempis, *Orationes et meditationes de vita Christi*, dans : *Opera Omnia*, éd. V.M. Pohls, Fribourg 1902, chap. xxxiii, p. 198. Cf. E. Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne...*, pp. 59-90.

34 J. Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers...*, p. 300.

35 Zerbolt, *De Reformationes*, 38 cité par J. Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers...*, p. 300.

36 Thomas à Kempis, *Orationes et meditationes...*, chap. xxxiv, p. 204-208. Cf. J. Mikuz, *Le sang et le lait...*, p. 150-151.

37 Thomas à Kempis, *Sermones de Vita et passione Domini*, cap. 21, cité par S. Ringbom, *De l'icône à la scène narrative*, p. 22 ; *Ab exterioribus itaque curis, mentem abstrahe ; et totum cogitatum tuum, in Crucifixi Domini tui imaginem converte. Per hunc enim poteris alienas imagines, a mente melius excludere...* – Thomas à Kempis, *Concio Vigesima secunda, Sermo Domenica in*

Ainsi donc, n'est-il guère surprenant que les livres d'heures et de prières de notre corpus confèrent une place particulièrement importante aux prières décrivant les cinq blessures du Christ en croix, et aux images qui le représentent, lacéré et souffrant dans sa flagellation et sa crucifixion. La spiritualité franciscaine, d'une part, et l'influence de la *devotio moderna*, d'autre part, peuvent en être l'origine. Nous connaissons, par exemple, la dévotion toute spéciale que Marie de Clèves (1426-1487), duchesse d'Orléans, portait à saint François d'Assise et sa proximité à la spiritualité de l'ordre mendiant, qu'elle même affirmait³⁸. Il faut tenir compte que c'est précisément au couvent des Frères mineurs, les Cordeliers de Blois, qu'elle choisit d'être ensevelie³⁹ et que de nombreuses messes dans des couvents de ce même ordre furent fondées par elles et dites à sa requête⁴⁰. Selon l'étude de Bertrand Schnerb⁴¹, Philippe le Bon, bien que davantage lié à la spiritualité dominicaine – ses confesseurs provenant de cet ordre – faisait montre d'une dévotion à saint François d'Assise et à saint Antoine de Padoue, comme le prouvent les dons et fondations octroyés à l'ordre franciscain, dévoilant un intérêt dévot pour la spiritualité mendicante, à mettre en rapport, probablement, avec l'influence de son épouse Isabelle de Portugal, bien que les racines de cette dévotion se trouvent également chez son père, Jean sans Peur.

Quant à Marguerite de Clèves (1375-1411), duchesse de Bavière, et Catherine de Clèves (1417-1476), duchesse de Gueldre, elles manifestent dans leurs livres d'heures respectifs une proximité pour la congrégation de

Passione I, 2, dans : *A Kempis canonici regularis ordinis D. Augustini, Opera Omnia*, Coloniae, 1759, p. 200.

38 Marie, duchesse d'Orléans, de Milan et de Valois, comtesse de Blois, de Pavie et de Beaumont, dame d'Ast et de Coucy, ayant la garde, gouvernement et administration de nostre tres cher et tres amé filz Loys duc, conte et seigneur desdiz duchiez [...] *savoir faisons que nous ayans parfaite devocion au glorieux Saint, Monseigneur Saint Francois, et singuliere affection a son ordre et a l'augmentacion et entretenement de l'église et couvent fondez en l'onneur et reverence dudit Saint, en notre ville de Blois et aux religieux dudit ordre et couvent dudit lieu...* – Paris, ANF, KK 897, f. 187 (28 février 1474). Nous soulignons.

39 Cf. notre article *Mécénat et culture dévote chez Marie de Clèves, duchesse d'Orléans*, dans : *Les femmes, les arts et la culture à la fin du Moyen Âge et la Renaissance*, dir. C. Brown et A.-M. Legaré, Turnhout 2016 (Texte, Codex & Contexte, XIX), pp. 13-32.

40 Par exemple : la fondation d'une messe votive « en l'honneur » de saint François, le lundi, aux Mineurs de Blois (1474 ; Paris, BnF, Moreau 405, f. 378) ; le mardi, une messe aux Mineurs de Soissons (fondation faite, en 1471, moyennant 82 livres et 10 sous. Paris, BnF, Moreau 405, f. 378v) ; le jeudi, une messe du Saint-Esprit aux Mineurs d'Orléans (1475 ; Paris, BnF, Moreau 405, f. 378v et 379) et aux Cordeliers (1481 ; Paris, ANF, KK 902 cité par R., De Maulde, *La Mère de Louis XII, Marie de Clèves duchesse d'Orléans*, Paris, 1887, p. 17, n. 1) ; et, le samedi, une Messe de Notre-Dame aux Cordeliers de Blois (1479 ; Paris, BnF, Moreau 405, f. 379v-380).

41 B. Schnerb, *La piété et les dévotions de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467)*, « Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres » CXLIX (2005), n° 4, p. 1319-1344 (p. 1333-1334), p. 1338, 1343.

Windesheim, la fondation la plus importante des disciples de Gérard Grote, formée de chanoines réguliers de saint Augustin, qui suivaient la spiritualité des Frères de la Vie Commune et la *devotio moderna*⁴².

Même si les recommandations de Ludolphe de Saxe, ou celles des *Meditationes* de Pseudo-Bonaventure, consistent à rendre présent dans le cœur, par les yeux intérieurs, la passion et les douleurs du sacrifice du Christ, lues dans le texte, c'est-à-dire à former, à l'intérieur de soi, ce qui nous pourrions appeler en paraphrasant saint Augustin, des *images spirituelles* de l'âme (une *visio spiritalis*), plutôt que des *images corporelles* des sens (une *visio corporalis*)⁴³, il est également certain que l'existence de ces images corporelles contribue à promouvoir et à conformer les images spirituelles dans la mémoire. Ainsi l'affirmait déjà saint Grégoire le Grand (590-604), expliquant que les images ne remplissent pas seulement la fonction d'être *laicorum litteratura*, mais également celle de collaborer à la mémoire des faits de l'histoire sacrée, tout en promouvant la componction des péchés, œuvrant donc au processus de *conversio morum*⁴⁴. Quant à saint Bonaventure, à l'instar du saint pape, il les considère utiles, quant à leur collaboration à illustrer pour les illettrés et également à promouvoir l'affection (*excitatur affectus noster*) et la dévotion, évitant la langueur de l'esprit, étant donné que celui-ci est davantage excité par ce qui se voit que par ce qui s'entend. Ceci provoque une incidence dans la mémoire, selon le docteur séraphique, puisque les images vues sont mieux conservées par la mémoire que celles écoutées⁴⁵. C'est sur ce pouvoir évocateur et affectif des images sensibles que Gérard Grote insiste en affirmant que «

42 Le *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves* (Lisbonne, Fundação Museu Calouste Gulbekian, ms. LA 148) présente une variante de l'usage utilisé dans la chapelle ducale de La Haye (cf. J. Marrow, *As Horas de Margarida de Cleves. The Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, Lisboa 1995). Quant à l'usage du *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 945 et M 917), il suit celui de la congrégation de Windesheim, comme le mentionnent Friedrich Gorissen (*Das Stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve*, Berlin 1973), et John Plummer (*The Hours of Catherine of Cleves. Introduction and Commentaries*, New York 1966).

43 Cf. J.-C. Schmitt, *Imago : de l'image à l'imaginaire*, dans : *L'image médiévale : fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident Médiévale*, dir. J. Baschet, J.-C. Schmitt, Actes du 6^e International Workshop on Medieval Societies, Centre Ettore Majorana, Erice, Sicile, octobre 1992, Paris 1996, p. 29-57.

44 Ces concepts sont expliqués dans quelques lettres adressées à Secundinus (599) et à l'évêque Serenus de Marsella (600). Cf. M. Camille, *The Gregorian Definition Revisited : Writing and the Medieval Image*, dans : *L'image...*, p. 89-107, ici p. 89 ; J. Baschet, *Introduction : l'image-objet*, dans : *L'image...*, p. 7-10. Nous nous permettons de faire référence à notre article : P. Corti, *El lenguaje de las imágenes medievales : hacia un intento de definición*, dans : *Un magisterio vital : historia, educación y cultura. Homenaje a Héctor Herrera Cajas*, eds. J. Marín, A. Pezoa, J.L. Widow, « Ediciones Universitarias » (2008), p. 325-351.

45 Saint Bonaventure, *Comm.* III. Dist. IX. art. 1, q. 2, concl. cité par K. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory...*, p. 189.

les images qui adhèrent plus fortement à l'esprit y laissent l'empreinte de ce qu'elles signifient spirituellement »⁴⁶.

Concernant ce que nous étudions et à la lumière du raisonnement ci-dessus, les images à caractère religieux, ou plutôt dévotionnel⁴⁷, fomenteraient donc cette impression dans la mémoire, permettant le souvenir et l'affection de l'âme, à travers le sens de la vue principalement, collaborant ainsi au processus de prière et de méditation de la passion du Christ. De fait, plusieurs types iconographiques, largement répandus entre les XIV^e et XV^e siècles, comme l'*Homme de douleurs*, le Christ saignant de la *Messe de saint Grégoire*, ou les *Arma Christi*⁴⁸, participent à cet exercice de méditation, proposé déjà par les maîtres cisterciens, diffusé ensuite par les sermons des frères franciscains⁴⁹ et finalement répandu dans le milieu laïc par la *devotio moderna*.

C'est dans ce contexte spirituel, qu'il faut donc comprendre l'accent particulier de certaines images de livres de ce corpus, que nous présenterons par la suite, et qui soulignent la souffrance du Christ durant sa passion. Sur ces enluminures, le corps lacéré de Jésus est représenté de manière sanglante, tandis qu'un accent tout particulier est mis sur le sang répandu, manifestant la profonde dévotion, que partage cet entourage familial envers le précieux sang du Rédempteur. Une prière aux reliques de la passion (*insignia caritatis*), qui étaient vénérées à la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris depuis l'époque de saint Louis, figure dans les *Grandes Heures* de Philippe le Hardi, ainsi que dans les *Heures* de son petit-fils, Philippe le Bon ; il s'agit de la prière : « O rex gloriose domine virtutum... »⁵⁰, précédée, dans le livre d'heures de La Haye, de l'enluminure en grisaille montrant Philippe le Bon en prière devant un autel, où se trouvent le Christ et les *arma Christi* (fig. 1).

46 « Il faut donc se servir longtemps des choses extérieures, des signes et des images et ne pas les abandonner dans la méditation avant que la foi et la charité soient purifiées, pour que le sens de l'Écriture soit ruminé comme s'il était non écrit, signifiant comme s'il était sans signe, ce que j'appelle abandonner les écritures et les signes extérieur ; de même, il ne faut pas, dans notre nouvelle naissance, nous éloigner des fantômes et des représentations de l'imagination jusqu'à ce que, dans le deuxième temps, le Christ soit formé en nous ainsi que le sens spirituel jusqu'à ce que nous soyons devenus spirituels [...]. En outre, les images qui adhèrent plus fortement à l'esprit y laissent l'empreinte de ce qu'elles signifient spirituellement », cité par E. Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne ...*, p. 88.

47 S. Ringbom, *De l'icône à la scène narrative...*, p. 9-77.

48 Ibidem, p. 121-195. Voir aussi concernant l'image des *Arma Christi*, G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art, II : The Passion of Jesus Christ*, trad. J. Seligman, Connecticut-New York 1972, p. 184-197.

49 Cf. K. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory...*, p. 27-148.

50 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 3-1954, fol. 228v (transcription dans F.G. Wormald, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, acquired between 1895 and 1979*, II, Cambridge 1982, p. 484-485) ; La Haye, KB, ms. 76 F 2, fol. 282r.

Les *arma Christi* étaient probablement un des thèmes dévotionnels préférés de Philippe le Bon, étant donné que, parmi les additions qu'il introduit dans les *Grandes Heures* de son grand-père, se trouve la vision des *arma Christi* accompagnant la messe de saint Grégoire. Le duc s'y trouve présent, à genoux sur son prie-Dieu, légèrement décalé par rapport à la chapelle⁵¹ (fig. 2). Dans le *Livre de prières de Philippe le Hardi*, transparaît, dans les prières, une dévotion spéciale pour les blessures et le sang du Christ ; en effet, y figure une mémoire des cinq plaies du Christ (« Ad habendum memoriam quinques plagarum Christi »), avec une méditation sur chaque blessure du Christ crucifié, commençant par les mains⁵². Jean sans Peur possédait également un livre, hérité de sa mère, qui contenait des « oraisons que on doit dire en la remembrance des V playes Nostre Seigneur »⁵³. Cette même dévotion, en particulier pour la plaie du côté du Christ est mise en valeur, appelant au sens de la vue, sur les trois images du *Livre d'heures de Philippe le Bon* à La Haye. La première, la Descente de la croix, présente un homme qui soutient le corps du Christ, tandis qu'il est détaché de la croix, sa main semble presque appuyer sur la blessure, tandis que son regard s'y plonge (fig. 3a). Sur la seconde, Longin transperce le côté du Christ, de sa lance, tandis que l'eau et le sang, qui en coulent ostensiblement, se répandent sur son visage et ses yeux (fig. 3b). Sur la troisième, saint Thomas met sa main dans la plaie du côté, vérifiant l'identité du Christ crucifié (fig. 3c). Comme les enluminures sont en grisaille, l'invitation à *voir* la blessure est accentuée, ici, par les gestes : la dynamique des regards et les actions des mains qui semblent insister justement sur le fait de *regarder* et celui de *toucher* la plaie du côté.

Dans le *Livre d'heures d'Adolphe de Clèves-Ravenstein* de Baltimore⁵⁴, cette invitation à regarder la plaie du côté du Christ est également patente. En contraste avec les images marginales en grisaille sur ce folio 28r, relatant les

51 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 3-1954, fol. 253v.

52 Bruxelles, KBR, ms. 10392, fol. 37r/v (*Ave domine ihesu christe verbum patris...*). Puis, aux fol. 221r-222r, figure une autre prière aux cinq plaies du Christ, en latin également : *Triumphale lignum crucis tu seductus nos reducis...*, qui apparaît, ensuite, en français, entre les fol. 235v-236v. Voir *La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne. Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bourgogne*, éd. B. Bousmanne, C. Van Hoorebeeck, II : *Textes Didactiques*, Turnhout 2003, 1, p. 230, 236-237.

53 Inventaire de 1420, n° 21 dans : D. Jeannot, *Le mécénat bibliophilique de Jean sans Peur et de Marguerite de Bavière (1404-1424)*, Turnhout 2012, annexe tableau n°1, p. 158. Doutrepoint, n° 20. Selon Patrick De Winter, ces prières se trouvaient dans un volume avec les heures de sainte Catherine et de saint Jean-Baptiste. Cf. P. De Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404)*, Paris 1985, n° 92.

54 Adolphe de Clèves (1423-1492), sire de Ravenstein, était fils d'Adolphe II, premier duc de Clèves, et de Marie de Bourgogne, fille de Jean sans Peur et Marguerite de Bavière. Du côté maternel, donc, il était le neveu de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, et arrière-petit-fils de Philippe le Hardi.

scènes de la passion sur un mode sobre et peu empathique, où l'écoulement du sang est absent, l'enluminure principale de la Crucifixion, tout en préservant la simplicité de l'ensemble, présente le Crucifié accompagné de sa mère et de saint Jean⁵⁵. Toute l'attention de la Vierge et du saint est tendue vers la plaie du côté du Christ, qui est la seule à saigner abondamment. Les regards des deux personnages se dirigent vers elle, indiquant, en quelque sorte, au lecteur de ces *horae*, ce qui doit être le centre de sa méditation (fig. 4). Il en est de même pour l'enluminure qui ouvre la prière de l'*O Intemerata*⁵⁶. Dans un paysage désolé, aux pieds du Golgotha, le Christ repose, mort, dans les bras de sa mère. Ses yeux sont légèrement entrouverts, rendant d'autant plus funèbre son apparence. Des yeux de la Vierge coulent des larmes abondantes, tandis que son regard se dirige vers son Fils défunt. La plaie du côté, de laquelle coule encore du sang, s'offre intentionnellement à la vue du lecteur, tout comme sa tête, ses mains et ses pieds, dont l'un s'avance sur la marge, la dépassant légèrement et envahissant, ainsi, de manière plus évidente encore, l'espace visuel du lecteur (fig. 5).

Cette invitation visuelle à *voir* la blessure du côté du Christ, suggérée par ces images, est encore plus évidente dans deux autres manuscrits de ce corpus, où les blessures christiques, et particulièrement celle de son côté, s'ouvrent et s'imposent à la vue du lecteur. De plus, le sang qui s'en écoule, rend l'image, non plus sereine, mais dramatique et sanglante, à l'instar de l'accent proposé par des textes comme les *Meditationes*.

Dans le *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves*, des scènes de la passion illustrent le cycle des heures de la Vierge⁵⁷. Comme l'a souligné James Marrow, elles se distinguent par leur fort dramatisme, qui en fait un puissant et efficace *device* dévotionnel, dans la mesure où nombre de ces figures dépassent les limites de l'encadrement, envahissant l'espace dévotionnel de la duchesse de Bavière et se présentant devant elle de sorte que leur *vue* lui rende présente la vision de la passion et des douleurs de la Vierge⁵⁸. Nous insisterons, ici, sur trois images, dont le statut particulier est indiqué par l'accent posé sur la plaie du côté du Christ : la Crucifixion, la Lamentation et la Mise au tombeau⁵⁹. Sur la Crucifixion, même si toutes les blessures du Christ saignent abondamment, la blessure de son côté est particulièrement mise en valeur, ouverte et exposée

⁵⁵ Baltimore, WAM, W 439, fol. 28r. Cette image, à demi-page, introduit la prière *Stabat mater dolorosa* ; dans ce folio, l'enluminure et le texte sont encadrés par les scènes marginales de la passion dessinées en grisaille.

⁵⁶ Baltimore, WAM, W 439, fol. 22v.

⁵⁷ Cf. J. Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves...*, p. 31-33. De laudes à complies, les scènes vont de la Trahison de Judas à la Mise au tombeau.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 35-37.

⁵⁹ Lisbonne, Fundação Museu Calouste Gulbekian, ms. LA 148, fol. 99v, 108v et 126v. Une reproduction de ces miniatures dans ibidem, figs. 6, 7, 8.

aux yeux de la Vierge, qui la contemple avec un air douloureux. Le regard de Marie semble une invitation à la lectrice de ces *horae* à regarder à l'intérieur de la blessure du Christ. Saint Jean, quant à lui, lève son regard vers le visage ensanglanté du Christ, transpercé par les épines de sa couronne. La *dynamique des regards* oblige, ici, le lecteur, à promener son regard sur les blessures du Christ, suivant le parcours de ceux de la Vierge et de saint Jean (fig. 6). Ainsi, le fidèle est obligé d'*entrer* dans l'image et d'y compatir. La Lamentation (fig. 7) nous propose les mêmes personnages. Cependant, sur cette image, la Vierge et saint Jean dirigent leurs regards dans la même direction : vers le Christ mort, étendu sur une pierre, qui dépasse les marges de l'encadrement, de sorte que le sang qui coule des blessures des pieds et des mains du Christ se répand sur le parchemin blanc, envahissant, ainsi, l'espace du manuscrit en direction de la lectrice⁶⁰. Ici encore, la plaie du côté saigne abondamment et se trouve l'objet d'un accent particulier densifié par le geste de la Vierge qui la signale de sa main gauche. Le sang coule également sur les clous de la croix disposés sur le transept. Le Christ est mort, mais, cependant, son bras gauche semble toucher la tunique de saint Jean, d'un geste consolateur⁶¹. Enfin, sur l'image de la Mise au tombeau (fig. 8) Marie et saint Jean sont illustrés dans une position similaire à la miniature antérieure, mais leurs visages sont davantage contrits. Le bras gauche du Christ se lève, de nouveau, sur l'épaule du saint, comme s'appuyant sur lui, de sorte que la blessure de sa main est présentée à la vue du jeune apôtre. Joseph d'Arimathie et Nicodème soutiennent la tête et les pieds du Christ, tandis qu'ils le déposent dans le sépulcre. Cette image lance une véritable invitation à entrer, du regard, dans la blessure du côté du Christ, qui saigne abondamment et dont le sang se répandant sur la tombe s'impose aux yeux de la lectrice. Ceci est accentué par le fait que Joseph, Nicodème et le tombeau, avancent en-dehors du cadre de la miniature, s'approchant ainsi du lecteur et l'invitant à participer à la scène et à la douleur de la Vierge, ce qui provoque une forte empathie et dévotion. Nous pourrions affirmer que dans ce livre d'heures, suivant les gestes et expressions de la Vierge et de saint Jean, entre la Crucifixion et la Mise au tombeau, se déroule, au fil des images, une progression dans la douleur, qui conduisait visuellement la duchesse de Bavière, Marguerite de Clèves, dans sa prière quotidienne des heures de la Vierge, l'invitant à méditer les souffrances de la mère de Dieu, ainsi que les bienfaits rédempteurs des plaies et du sang du Christ. C'est donc une invitation, en conformité avec la pensée

⁶⁰ Cf. Sur la fonction des marges voir M. Camille, *Images on the Edge*, Cambridge 1992 et J. Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250-1350)*, Genève 2008.

⁶¹ James Marrow souligne ce geste et le qualifie de « poignant iconographical device », qui densifie le contenu émotionnel (« emotional content ») de l'image et de tout le cycle iconographique. Voir J. Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves...*, p. 33, 35.

de saint Grégoire et saint Bernard, à la componction et à la dévotion, par le biais de la compassion générée par les images.

Le *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves*⁶² porte également une insistance visuelle particulière sur le corps saignant du Christ, ses blessures et, en particulier, celle de son côté. Dans ce livre d'heures, la passion est particulièrement mise en valeur, puisque deux cycles, les heures de la croix et les heures de la compassion, y ont été introduits⁶³. Sur les images illustrant ces cycles, remarquons une certaine prédilection pour l'exposition à la vue de la lectrice, Catherine de Clèves, des souffrances du Christ et de son précieux sang. Comme nous le verrons, une dimension allégorique eucharistique y est également présente.

Sur quatre enluminures, la blessure du côté du Christ est soulignée visuellement, interpellant le lecteur de ces *horae* et l'invitant à y fixer son regard. Deux d'entre elles se succèdent dans le cycle des heures de la croix : la Lamentation et la Mise au tombeau⁶⁴. Toutes deux présentent le corps du Christ étendu, dans la partie inférieure de la miniature. La Lamentation illustre, au pied de la croix (fig. 9), le corps de Jésus, reposant sur le manteau bleu de la Vierge, qui tient sa tête auréolée, tandis que ses pieds et son bras gauche sont soutenus par Joseph d'Arimathie et Nicodème⁶⁵. Aucun de ces deux ne touche directement le corps du Christ, mais ils le soutiennent à travers un tissu blanc. Les gestes des deux personnages, ainsi que la position forcée du torse du Christ, présentent expressément le corps du Christ de face, les blessures étant offertes à la vue de celui qui regarde l'image, et tout particulièrement celle du côté, qui saigne abondamment. Il en est de même pour la scène de la Mise au tombeau (fig. 10). Cette fois, le corps du Christ, qui est déposé dans le sépulcre, repose sur le linceul qui l'enveloppera. Ici, à nouveau, ni Joseph, ni Nicodème, ne touchent directement le corps. La seule, qui le fait, est la Vierge, qui baise la main gauche blessée de son Fils⁶⁶. Les gestes, apparaissant sur ces deux images, semblent suggérer à la *lectrice* – Catherine de Clèves

62 New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 917 et M 945.

63 New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 945, fol. 46r-77r et M 917, pp. 37-38 ; 119-120 (heures de la Croix). M 917, pp. 75-118 ; 121-136 (heures de la compassion). Cf. *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves. Devotion, Demons and Daily Life in the Fifteenth Century*, dir. R. Dücker, R. Priem, New York 2009, pp. 74-99.

64 New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 945, fol. 70r et 73v.

65 Cf. saint Jean, 19, 39-40.

66 Le geste de la Vierge, sur cette image, apparaît également dans deux livres d'heures du début du XV^e siècle : sur l'image de la Mise au tombeau du maître d'Egerton (ca. 1405, Cleveland, Museum of Art, ms. 64.40, p. 405, image reproduite dans M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, II, New York 1974, fig. 339) et celle de Paul Limbourg dans les *Belles Heures du duc de Berry* (New York, The Cloisters, fol. 152, dans : *ibidem*, fig. 343). La Vierge dans les *Heures de Clèves* se tourne vers les pieds de Jésus, adoptant une direction inversée par rapport aux exemples antérieurs. Quant à la disposition

– diverses attitudes à considérer dans sa méditation. D'une part, l'image illustre le caractère sacré du corps du Christ, que personne, sauf la Vierge, n'ose toucher directement ; allégorie visuelle qui fait peut-être référence à ce même corps et sang présents dans le mystère eucharistique⁶⁷. D'autre part, considérant les gestes de la Vierge, ces enluminures promeuvent une attitude de compassion, à l'instar des indications des *Meditationes* : « Contemplez-le pieusement, et soyez émue de compassion et de pitié »⁶⁸. Cette attitude est justement celle que reflètent les gestes de la Vierge, souffrant amoureusement en contemplant et baisant les blessures de son Fils défunt. Une invitation iconographique, pour la lectrice, à voir et à toucher suivant l'exemple de la mère de Dieu ?

La blessure du côté est également exposée sur trois autres images dans ce livre d'heures. La première est celle de complies dans les heures de la Trinité⁶⁹, où le Fils montre ses blessures au Père et au Saint Esprit. Le geste du Christ y est évident, puisqu'il signale de sa main droite la plaie de son côté, tandis que son regard se dirige vers le lecteur, l'interpellant, d'une certaine manière, pour qu'il en contemple l'intérieur (fig. 11). Sur la miniature à demi-page, qui introduit les psaumes pénitentiels de ces *horae*, l'Homme de douleurs se trouve dans le sépulcre, contre un tapis fleuré en fond, qui est accroché au transept de la croix (fig. 12a)⁷⁰. L'accent y est, à nouveau, posé sur la plaie du côté. Les bras du Christ, croisés devant, tiennent un flagellum et une canne, tandis que deux groupes de frères franciscains, de part et d'autre, l'accompagnent⁷¹. Le thème de l'Homme de douleurs n'était pas inconnu de la famille de la duchesse de Gueldre. En effet, il apparaît dans le *Missel* de la Chapelle ducale de Kleve, qui appartenait à la grand-mère de Catherine⁷². Cependant, dans les *Heures* de Catherine de Clèves, cette image non seulement

du corps, des bras et de la tête du Christ, l'enluminure des *Heures de Clèves* est très proche de celle des *Belles Heures*.

⁶⁷ Ces précautions rappellent le geste du prêtre lorsqu'il présente la sainte Eucharistie et bénit avec le saint Sacrement exposé, couvrant alors ses mains du voile huméral pour porter l'ostensoir contenant le Corpus Christi. Par la suite, il serait possible, peut-être, de voir dans les images, où Joseph d'Arimathie et Nicodème couvrent leurs mains d'un tissu blanc pour recevoir et porter le corps blessé et sanglant du Christ, une sorte d'allégorie eucharistique.

⁶⁸ *Meditationes*, II, chap. 72, p. 206.

⁶⁹ New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 945, fol. 88r.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, fol. 151r. Sur l'Homme de douleurs ou *Imago pietatis* comme image de dévotion, voir G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, p. 197-212.

⁷¹ J. Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves...*, n^o. 98.

⁷² Düsseldorf, HSTA, Hs. G III 3, fol. 140r ; ici, l'image nous présente le Christ à mi-corps dans son tombeau ouvert, les bras croisés devant, portant le flagellum et la canne. Les plaies de ses mains, ainsi que de son côté, saignent abondamment. Son visage est marqué par la douleur, et sa tête est inclinée sur son épaule droite. Il porte des cheveux longs, mais pas de couronne d'épines. Le fond d'or accentue la dimension iconique de cette image.

promeut une dévotion empathique envers le Christ et sa passion, mais appelle également à réfléchir sur son caractère sacrificiel. En effet, la marge inférieure de ce folio nous présente l'agneau mystique (fig. 12b), portant la bannière de la résurrection et dont le sang coulant de son côté se répand dans un calice d'or, l'image en devenant une complète allégorie eucharistique.

La troisième image, qui constitue une puissante et émotive invitation à la contemplation du sang du Christ, tout particulièrement celui qui coule de son côté, se trouve sur le folio introduisant la messe des heures de la compassion du vendredi⁷³. Le Christ debout porte, autour de sa tête, le même nimbe crucifère et l'auréole rouge, avec lequel il est représenté tout au long des cycles des heures de la croix et de la compassion. Il pose sa main sur le bois de la croix (fig. 13). Des blessures du côté, des mains et des pieds coule, abondamment, le sang qui se déverse sur la Croix, à demi inclinée sur deux monticules de terre. L'un des bras de la croix dépasse l'encadrement et passe sur la marge droite, la transgressant, mettant en valeur le réalisme de l'image et s'imposant dans l'espace visuel de la lectrice de ces *horae*. Le geste de la main droite du Christ est, ici, crucial, puisqu'il recueille dans sa paume le sang coulant de son côté et débordant de ses doigts. Sa main gauche, quant à elle, montre la croix du sacrifice. Le geste avec la main recueillant le sang qui coule de la plaie du côté semble faire écho à l'image, qui figure dans la marge inférieure et qui complète la lecture symbolique complexe de ce folio. Le Christ y est représenté dans un pressoir à vin ; sa poitrine traversée par le fouet qui a servi à sa flagellation⁷⁴ ; Jésus sanglant est sur le point d'être pressé. Le sang, qui coule de son corps, en particulier de son côté, tombe sur le pressoir, puis est recueilli dans un calice d'or (fig. 14). Il s'agit du motif du pressoir mystique, qui met en relief le caractère eucharistique du sacrifice du Christ, renouvelé lors de la célébration de la messe⁷⁵. L'ensemble du feuillet est dans la ligne de ce qu'affirme Ludolphe de Saxe, dans la *Vita Christi* :

... Pourquoi votre vêtement est-il tout rouge, et pourquoi vos habits sont ils comme ceux des vendangeurs qui foulent le raisin dans le pressoir? Suivant la Glose, ce furent les Anges qui firent cette question,

⁷³ New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 917, p. 121.

⁷⁴ C'est la même canne qu'on voit dans l'image de l'Homme de douleurs dans la fig. 12a.

⁷⁵ Ce motif iconographique trouve son inspiration dans des textes de l'Ancien Testament (en particulier Is. 63, 3) et du Nouveau Testament. Saint Augustin, saint Grégoire, saint Bernard, entre autres, font référence également au sacrifice sanglant du Christ, dont le corps est écrasé sur la croix comme dans la cuve à vin. Le pressoir mystique (*torculus Christi*) en deviendra un symbole de l'Église, corps mystique du Christ, unie au sacrifice rédempteur de l'Agneau, qui se renouvelle, de manière non sanglante dans l'eucharistie. Cf. J. Marrow, *Passion Iconography...*, p. 83-92. Des études concentrées sur ce motif ont été réunies dans *Le Pressoir Mystique. Actes du Colloque de Recluses (27 mai 1989)*, dir. D. Alexandre-Bidon, Paris 1990. Voir aussi G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, p. 228-229.

lorsqu'à leur grand étonnement ils virent des lots de sang rougir le corps immaculé de Jésus, qui jusqu'alors avait conservé une blancheur tellement pure que le plus habile foulon ne saurait en produire une pareille – Or a cette question lui-même répondit par la bouche du même Prophète [Isaïe, 63, 3] « *Seul j'ai foulé vendange* », c'est-à-dire, comme l'explique la Glose, « *seul j'ai supporté le fardeau de la croix ainsi que le tourment de la flagellation et de tous les autres supplices ; mon corps y a été pressé de telle sorte qu'il a été tout inondé de son sang répandu pour le salut du monde* ». La pourpre, dont le Sauveur fut revêtu, représente donc la Passion de sa chair, ou bien aussi la Passion de ses Martyrs qui ont arrosé de leur sang l'Église, son corps mystique ; et l'on peut dire également de celle-ci qu'elle se revêt de pourpre lorsque se glorifie des triomphes éclatants de ses innombrables Martyrs⁷⁶.

Le motif du pressoir mystique se trouve également dans un manuscrit appartenant à l'un des bisaïeux de Catherine de Clèves, dans la *Bible moralisée de Philippe le Hardi* (fig. 15)⁷⁷. Cependant, l'économie, la synthèse ainsi que la force dramatique du pressoir mystique dans les *Heures* de New York le rendent, à notre avis, particulièrement propice et inspirateur pour la méditation eucharistique, qui s'offre aux yeux de la duchesse de Gueldre⁷⁸. Les principales prières contenues dans l'office de cette messe des heures de la compassion, dans le *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves*, mettent justement en relief la dignité rédemptrice de la croix et le paradoxe d'un sacrifice si sanglant méritant une rédemption si douce au racheté. C'est ce qu'expriment les deux séquences « *Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulce ferens pondera...* »⁷⁹ et « *Laudes crucis attolamus, nos qui crucis exaltamus...* »⁸⁰, ainsi que la prière « *Salve crux sancta...* »⁸¹, qui sont récitées durant l'office ouvert par

76 Ludolphe de Saxe, *La Grande Vie de Jésuschrist*, III, p. 313 (Méditation sur la Passion pour l'heure tierce). Nous soulignons.

77 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 166-167, fol. 123v (source : <http://classes.bnf.fr/ema/grands/ca077.htm>).

78 La place du sang et des blessures du Christ dans ces folios des *Heures* de Catherine de Clèves correspond à celle où les *Meditationes* élève le rôle du sang dans le sacrifice christique. Comme le souligne Caroline Walker-Bynum, « *Thus the point of blood in the pseudo-Bonaventuran text is not so much to impel the adherent to immerse herself in an experience of suffering as to call attention to, and indeed raise questions about, the rationale of a particular organization of salvation* ». *Wonderful Blood...*, p. 231.

79 New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 917, p. 125. Elle correspond à la séquence de la messe de la sainte Croix (AH 53, n° 82).

80 Ibidem, p. 125-128. Il s'agit d'un hymne généralement attribué à Adam de St. Victor (AH 54, n° 120).

81 Ibidem, p. 136. C'est une prière composée par Heribertus de Rothenburg. AH 50, n° 223. Cette prière figure comme séquence *De sancta cruce* dans le *Missale Plenarium* de la chapelle ducale de Kleve (Düsseldorf, HSTA, Hs. G III 2, fol. 353v).

cette miniature de la page 121 (fig. 14). La première de ces séquences se trouvait déjà dans le *Missale de la chapelle ducale de Kleve*, qui avait appartenu à sa grand-mère⁸².

Faire *voir* les blessures et le sang du Christ est la fonction également d'un groupe d'images, qui montrent le Christ complètement lacéré durant et après sa flagellation. Toutes celles-ci ne manifestent pas le dramatisme correspondant à ce qu'exposent la *Vita Christi* ou les *Meditationes*, vu que, dans quelques cas, le Christ, attaché à la colonne, est flagellé, tout en conservant une entière sérénité et sans manifester de douleur. C'est le cas du Christ de l'image de la Flagellation dans le *Livre de prières de Marie de Gueldre* (fig. 20)⁸³, ou dans le *Livre d'heures de Jean sans Peur* (fig. 19)⁸⁴ ou encore dans les *Heures de Philippe le Bon* de La Haye⁸⁵. Cette sérénité contraste avec la douleur et la tristesse exprimées, en revanche, dans la scène de la Flagellation du *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (fig. 16)⁸⁶. Sur les premières, les lacérations du corps du Christ ordonnées et presque symétriques, semblent des signes pudiques de l'attaque portée au corps du Christ. Sur la seconde, le désordre des blessures souligne l'acte sacrilège, tandis que le sang répandu inspire la compassion et la pitié, au lecteur des *horae*. Dans les *Heures* de la duchesse de Gueldre, cette invitation se poursuit avec l'image de la préparation de la croix (fig. 21)⁸⁷, où le Christ repose sur un petit monticule, dans l'attente d'être crucifié. Il s'agit du motif appelé par Gertrud Schiller *Christus im Elend* (le Christ en détresse) qui, selon l'auteur, trouve probablement son origine au nord de l'Allemagne durant la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle⁸⁸. La Flagellation du *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves*⁸⁹ semble à mi-chemin entre les exemples signalés ci-dessus : le corps du Christ y est profondément lacéré, presque déchiré par les fouets. Pourtant, son visage regarde fixement l'un de ses bourreaux, sans exprimer la moindre douleur (fig. 18).

Une image réunit les lacérations de la flagellation et les douleurs de la crucifixion, résumant ce désir de voir et contempler les plaies et le sang du Christ, les méditant dans leur valeur rédemptrice. Il s'agit de l'initiale

82 Düsseldorf, HSTA, Hs. G III 3, fol. 113r.

83 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. germ. qu. 42, fol. 25v.

84 Paris, BnF, ms. nouv.acq.lat. 3055, fol. 43v. Entre los folios 26v et 27r une prière en latin insiste sur les plaies du Christ : *Deus qui manus tuas et pedes tuos et totum corpus tuum in ligno crucis posuisti et coronam spineam a iudeis in despectum tui sacratissimi corporis super caput tuum impositam sustinuisti et quinque vulnera pro nobis peccatoribus in crucis patibulo passus fuisti et nos de sacro sanguine tuo redimisti...*

85 La Haye, ms. 76 F 2, fol. 46v.

86 New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 945, fol. 60v.

87 Ibidem, fol. 64r.

88 G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art...*, II, p. 85.

89 Lisbonne, Fundação Museu Calouste Gulbekian, ms. LA 148, fol. 79v.

historiée du *Livre de prières* de Berkeley, appartenant à l'un des premiers ducs de Clèves et qui ouvre la méditation sur la passion du vendredi⁹⁰. Nous y voyons le Christ crucifié, complètement lacéré et sanglant. La blessure de son côté, particulièrement ouverte, indique l'occurrence de cette scène après la mort du Christ. Cependant les yeux ouverts révèlent que le Sauveur est encore vivant ; paradoxe allégorique de la vie enfermée dans le sacrifice et la passion (fig. 17)⁹¹, d'autant plus parlant que cette enluminure résume le mystère de la passion et de la mort du Christ, commémoré les vendredis durant les heures de la passion.

Enfin, soulignons que cette invitation à *voir*, contempler et méditer le sang des blessures du Christ est particulièrement importante dans l'ensemble des portraits des donateurs devant le Crucifié ou devant la croix, où cette contemplation est presque toujours mise en valeur. Ceci est particulièrement évident dans les images qui représentent Marie de Clèves et Catherine de Clèves en prière⁹². Sur ces deux enluminures, les pieds sanglants du Crucifié sont à la hauteur des yeux de la donatrice en prières, exposés à son regard, qui est à la fois celui de la lectrice de ces manuscrits. Toutefois, aucune des deux ne regarde directement les blessures. Marie de Clèves, dont le regard est pourtant dirigé vers les pieds sanglants du Christ, semble indiquer, par son expression que son attention est, cependant, posée « ailleurs », au-delà même de l'image sensible qui s'offre à ses yeux. C'est, en effet, un regard suspendu dans le temps et abstrait de ce monde, ce qu'accentue le fait qu'elle ne lit pas non plus le livre, qu'elle tient entre ses mains. La vision de la Crucifixion semble finalement être la transposition sur le parchemin de la vision intérieure (*visio spiritualis*), que la duchesse d'Orléans doit atteindre quand elle prie dans ce *Livre de la Passion* (fig. 22). Le cas de la duchesse de Gueldre est similaire, même si, ici, l'intériorité de la vision du Crucifié et de la prière d'intercession, verbalisée par l'inscription « Ora pro me sancta Dei genitrix », écrite sur la banderole qui paraît sortir de ses mains jointes, est rendue évidente par le fait que, tandis que la vue des pieds sanglants du Christ s'offre à ses yeux, son regard se dirige vers ses mains en prière, indiquant ainsi le véritable sens de l'image intérieure que la méditation de ces *horae* devait réveiller chez la lectrice, Catherine elle-même, en ouvrant le livre et observant cette image (fig. 23).

⁹⁰ Ce livre de prières, incomplet, n'a pas été encore objet d'une étude. Nous l'avons présenté faisant partie de notre corpus de livres d'heures et de prières de l'entourage familial de Catherine de Clèves dans notre thèse doctorale : P. Corti, « Identité, mémoire et dévotion... », pp. 386-388.

⁹¹ Berkeley, University of California, Bancroft Library, MS UCB 082, fol. 24r.

⁹² Paris, BnF, ms.fr. 966, fol. 1r et New York, Morgan Library & Museum, M 917, p. 160, respectivement.

Sur deux images-portraits de Philippe le Bon, l'une contenue dans son petit *Livre d'heures et de prières* de Munich⁹³, et l'autre dans son *Bréviaire* de Bruxelles⁹⁴, la vision du sang du Crucifié est également présentée au duc de Bourgogne. Sur la première, Philippe le Bon, à genoux à sinistre, regarde le Christ, tandis que d'abondantes gouttes de sang coulent des bras de la croix et se répandent sur la Vierge et le duc. Quant à l'image du *Bréviaire*, elle est probablement l'une de celles qui propose sur un mode des plus symboliques la méditation et la contemplation du sang du Christ. En effet, le duc et la duchesse de Bourgogne y sont à genoux devant une croix solitaire, que trois clous ensanglantés indiquent être celle de la passion, bien que le corps du Christ y soit absent. Philippe et Isabelle lèvent leurs yeux, avec dévotion, vers cette croix saignante – accompagnés d'un groupe de jeunes gens et de dames, qui vénèrent également la croix (fig. 24). Cette représentation invite le lecteur de ce *Bréviaire* – Philippe le Bon lui-même et probablement son épouse – à l'adoration de la Croix et du Crucifié. L'absence du Christ met l'accent sur la croix comme symbole de la rédemption, correspondant, de plus, avec le fait que cette image introduit l'office de la fête de l'Exaltation de la Croix du 14 septembre. Ajoutons que l'absence du corps du Christ et la présence des clous ensanglantés ainsi que de l'inscription INRI semblent exiger du lecteur l'effort de projection mentale de l'image absente du Crucifié : en observant cette image, abstraite de la scène de la Crucifixion, le lecteur est obligé mentalement de se souvenir de la passion du Christ sur la croix et de la méditer, recourant aux images spirituelles que sa mémoire peut lui offrir⁹⁵. Ainsi cette image corporelle, qui dépend visuellement des sens, provoque le souvenir de l'image spirituelle intérieure, amenant de ce fait le lecteur à la méditation et à la contemplation, exigées par la lecture du bréviaire et par l'acte dévot, dans lequel sont justement représentés le duc et la duchesse.

Une dévotion particulière envers les blessures du Christ, et spécialement envers celle du côté et son précieux sang, était profondément enracinée au sein de ce groupe de parenté constitué par l'entourage familial de Catherine de Clèves⁹⁶. Les images, dont nous avons parlé, cherchent à exprimer visuellement le contenu des diverses prières et textes, comme la *Vita Christi* ou les *Meditationes*, qui promeuvent une dévotion à la passion du Christ, invitant le fidèle à méditer sur le caractère rédempteur du sacrifice sanglant du Christ sur la croix, renouvelé de manière non sanglante dans le sacrifice eucharistique

93 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Cod. gall. 40, fol. 72v.

94 Bruxelles, KBR, ms. 9026, fol. 425r.

95 Les *Meditationes* nous offrent une piste à ce propos : « Les clous crient, les plaies crient que le Christ est vraiment un Dieu qui réconcilie le monde... » (*Meditationes*, II, chap. 85, p. 267).

96 P. Corti, « Identité, mémoire et dévotion... », p. 15-205, 499-604.

de la messe. Tout ce processus visait à provoquer la componction, le repentir et la conversion intérieure. C'est ainsi, du moins, que le présentent ces deux passages du texte des *Meditationes*, qui reprennent des paroles de saint Bernard dans l'un de ses sermons sur le *Cantica Canticorum* :

... La miséricorde est dans le Seigneur, et la rédemption est abondante en lui. Oui, certes, elle est abondante, *puisque ce n'est pas une goutte, mais un fleuve de sang qui a largement coulé par les cinq plaies de son corps!*⁹⁷.

... Ce qui vous rend par dessus tout aimable pour moi bon Jésus, c'est le calice que vous avez bu pour opérer notre Rédemption. Voilà ce qui exige en retour tout notre amour ; voilà ce qui attire plus doucement notre dévotion, ce qui la commande plus justement, ce qui la resserre plus étroitement et l'affecte plus vivement. Le Sauveur, en effet, a cruellement souffert dans cette œuvre, et dans la création du monde entier il n'a pas éprouvé pareille fatigue. Pour la création, il a dit, et tout a été fait ; il a ordonné, et tout a été créé. Mais pour la rédemption, il a subi des contradictions à ses paroles, des critiques à ses actes, des dérisions dans ses tortures, des opprobres jusque dans sa mort...⁹⁸

Les images collaborent donc à ce désir attisé par les paroles des textes et des prières. Les différentes oraisons à la Croix et au Crucifié, qui se trouvent dans les livres d'heures et de prières de ce corpus, insistent, comme nous l'avons mentionné, sur la dimension rédemptrice de la passion du Christ. Citons, comme exemple, une prière en français, qui accompagne l'image de la Crucifixion, dans les *Heures de Philippe le Bon* à La Haye, et dont la courte synthèse résume parfaitement ce que nous avançons ici :

... Sire Ihesucrist qui as prins ceste tres sacree char ou ventree de la glorieuse Vierge Marie, et en l'arbre de la Croix pour le salut des hommes as espandu cestre precieux sang de ton tressaint costé et en celle mesmes glorieuse char as resuscité de mort a vie et as monté aux cieulx et de rechief dois venir juger les mors et les vifs en icelle mesme char, delivre moy par ce ton tressaint corps qui maintenant est traitié sur l'autel de toutes ordures de ma pensee et de mon corps et de tous maulx passez presens et advenir⁹⁹.

⁹⁷ *Apud Dominum misericordia, et copiosa apud eum redemptio. Prorsus copiosa quia non gutta, sed unda sanguinis largiter per quinque partes corporis emanavit...* – *Meditationes*, II, chap. 85, p. 264. Nous soulignons.

⁹⁸ *Meditationes*, II, chap. 85, p. 263.

⁹⁹ La Haye, KB, ms. 76 F 2, fol. 47v. L'importance de cette prière est évidente, puisque, sur le feuillet suivant, elle apparaît également en latin. Au moins cinq autres prières dédiées au Christ blessé sur la croix, figurent dans ces *horae*. Cf. *Adoro te domine Ihesu Christe sanctum corpus et sanctum sanguinem tuum cuius effusione omnes redempti...* (fol. 293v) ; *Precor te piissime domine Ihesu Christe propter illam caritatem qua tu rex celestis dum pendebis in cruce cum deifica caritate cum mitissima anima, cum tristissimo gestu, cum turbatas sensibus, cum transsiro corde,*

Dans son *Livre d'heures et de prières*, Agnès de Bourgogne, sœur de Philippe le Bon, dans une des strophes d'une large prière rédigée en français, sollicite de la Vierge la grâce, parmi d'autres, de *voir* le Rédempteur dans sa passion :

F ay moy *veoir* celluy doulx redempteur
 Q uy l'umain genre a voulu tant amer
 Q ue son saint corps a souffert entamer
S on sang respandre et que plus est se offrir
 P our le rachat de l'euure consommer
 J usqua la mort tres crueuse souffrir...¹⁰⁰

L'image de la crucifixion, qui ouvre les petites heures de la Croix pour le vendredi de ce livre d'heures, offre justement cette possibilité de *voir* le Christ et tout particulièrement les signes de sa passion, notamment son « sang respandre » et « se offrir » aux yeux de la duchesse de Bourbon (fig. 25)¹⁰¹. Même si cette enluminure est en grisaille, le sang qui coule des mains du Christ jusqu'à terre apparaît dans un gris très foncé, presque noir : détail qui insiste sur le sang répandu, le rendant d'autant plus dramatique, de sorte qu'il pourrait inspirer la lectrice à se faire l'écho des mots de saint Bernard cités dans les *Meditationes* : « Méditez la Passion de ce corps crucifié, et voyez s'il y a en lui un seul membre qui ne plaide pas pour vous devant son Père. C'est pour vous que ce chef divin, écrasé par les tresses nombreuses de la couronne d'épines, est percé jusqu'au cerveau »¹⁰².

Les images que nous avons analysé, ici, collaborent justement à faire *voir* au lecteur de ces livres de dévotion le Christ de la passion, ses plaies et son sang. Un répertoire d'images corporelles s'exposent à sa vue et se propose comme un ensemble d'outils pour sa méditation sur la passion, en syntonie avec le texte des prières que ce même fidèle devait réciter quotidiennement. En définitive, un répertoire d'images proposées à son imagination pour nourrir la mémoire dont le souvenir pouvait, au même temps, alimenter l'*habitus* de la prière solitaire, quotidienne et privée. En plusieurs occasions, les mêmes donateurs figurent à l'intérieur des scènes de la passion, disposant le lecteur

cum transverberato corpore, cum sanguineis vulneribus, cum expansis manibus, cum extensis venis... (fol. 29r/v, nous soulignons. La même prière se trouve également dans le *Livre d'heures et de prières d'Agnès de Bourgogne* : Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1183, fol. 152r-153r) ; *Ave precium nostre creationis. Ave precium nostre redemptionis. Ave premium nostre...* (fol. 294v-295r) ; *Ave sanguis Ihesu Cristi pro me reo qui fuisti fusus in patibulo...* (fol. 295r) ; *Anima Christi sanctificame, Corpus Christi salva me...* (fol. 295v ; RH, n° 1090).

¹⁰⁰ Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1183, fol. 162v ; nous soulignons. La prière se trouve entre les ff. 159v-164r.

¹⁰¹ Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1183, fol. 65r.

¹⁰² *Meditationes*, II, chap. 85, p. 268 : *Meditare passionem crucifixi corporis, et vide si aliquid est in eo quod non peroret ad Patrem. Pro te divinum illud caput, multiplici spinarum densitate densatum, usque ad cerebri teneritudinem confixum est, dum configitur spina.*

ou la lectrice à penser *devant le Crucifié*, à s'imaginer présents au moment de la passion, comme le recommandent la *Vita Christi* et les *Meditationes*. Aussi, le réalisme et le dramatisme de nombre de ces images visent une véritable « méditation affective » selon les mots de Sarah McNamer. De fait, la vision de ces images et la contemplation intérieure qu'elles fomentent, invite le fidèle qui prie avec ces livres à un véritable « processus empathique » catalysé par la « métaphore visuelle » qui est, dans ce sens, l'image¹⁰³.

Si, comme l'affirment, entre autres, saint Bernard, l'auteur des *Meditationes* et Ludolphe de Saxe, la méditation de la passion du Christ, par le biais de ses plaies et de son sang, cherche à émouvoir le fidèle et à l'amener à la componction et à la conversion, la présence d'images représentant ces passages dans ces livres d'heures et de prières, avec les caractéristiques détaillées plus haut, participe certainement de cette même finalité et serait donc fondamentale pour l'obtention des visées de ce processus de conversion et contemplation.

ABSTRACT

L'article se propose d'étudier un groupe d'images, contenues dans un particulier corpus de livres d'heures et de prières du XV^e siècle, liées aux passages de la Passion du Christ. Ces images attirent l'attention du lecteur sur les blessures et le sang du Christ, dont les souffrances sont présentées ostensiblement à sa vue. Le corpus des manuscrits examinés se définit à partir des liens de parenté qui rattachaient les possesseurs, commanditaires ou destinataires des manuscrits qui étaient quelque ducs et duchesses françaises du XV^e siècle. L'analyse montre que les images choisis collaborent justement à faire *voir* au lecteur de ces livres de dévotion le Christ de la passion, ses plaies et son sang. En plusieurs occasions, les donateurs figurent à l'intérieur des scènes de la passion, disposant le lecteur à penser devant le Crucifié, à s'imaginer présents au moment de la passion. Le réalisme et le dramatisme de nombre de ces images visent une véritable « méditation affective ». L'examen des images dans le contexte de la parenté permet de cerner des dimensions culturelles et spirituelles qui façonnaient le culte et la dévotion à l'intérieur des familles aristocratique du XV^e siècle.

¹⁰³ Cf. J. Planas, *Plegarias iluminadas : Libros de Horas conservados en bibliotecas catalanas*, « De Arte » VI (2007), p. 75-106, ici p. 77.

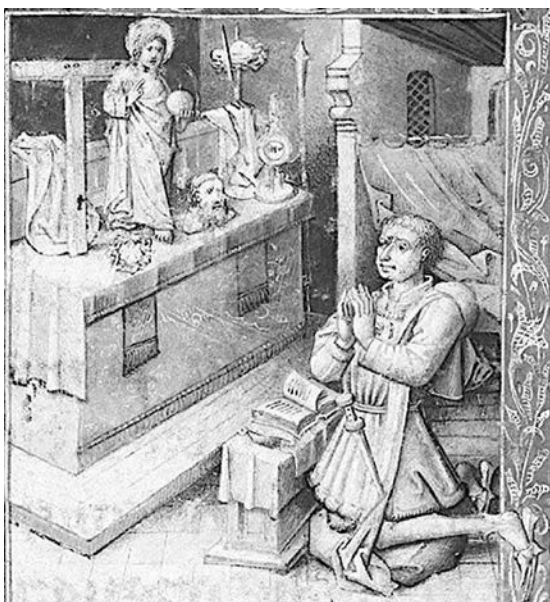


Fig. 1. Philippe le Bon en prières. *Heures de Philippe le Bon* (La Haye, KB, ms. 76 F 2, fol. 243v).



Fig. 2. Philippe le Bon et la Messe de Saint Grégoire. *Grandes Heures de Philippe le Hardi* (additions) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 3-1954, fol. 253v).



Fig. 3 a-c. Descente de la Croix (fol. 29v) ; Longin perçant le côté du Christ (fol. 242r) ; l'incrédulité de saint Thomas (fol. 254r). *Heures de Philippe le Bon* (La Haye, KB, ms. 76 F 2). Source : manuscripts.kb.nl.

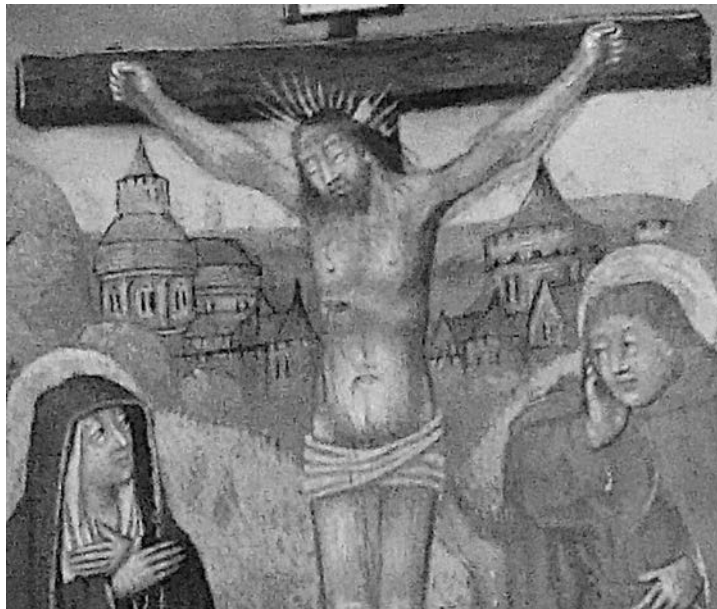


Fig. 4. Crucifixion. *Livre d'heures d'Adolphe de Clèves-Ravenstein* (Baltimore, WAM, W 439, fol. 28r).

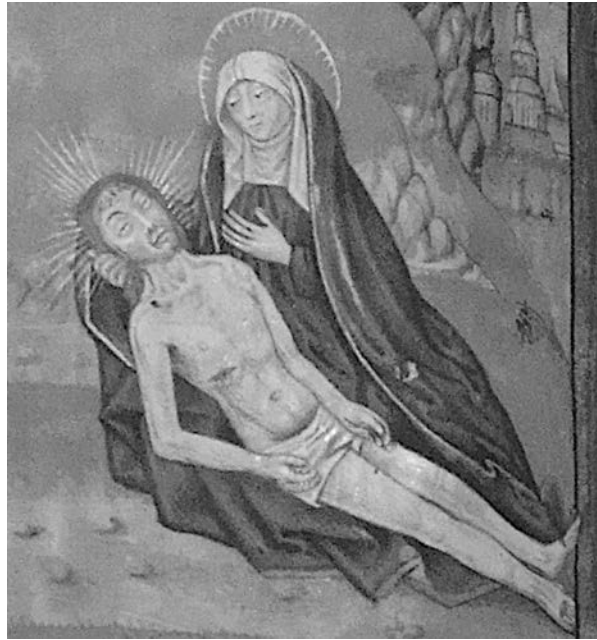


Fig. 5. Pietà. *Livre d'heures d'Adolphe de Clèves-Ravenstein* (Baltimore, WAM, W 439, fol. 22v).



Fig. 6. Crucifixion. Heures de la Vierge (nones). *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves* (©Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, ms. LA 148, fol. 99v Lisbonne. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, photo: C. Azevedo).



Fig. 7. Lamentation. Heures de la Vierge (vêpres). *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves* (©Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, ms. LA 148, fol. 108v Lisbonne. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, photo: C. Azevedo).

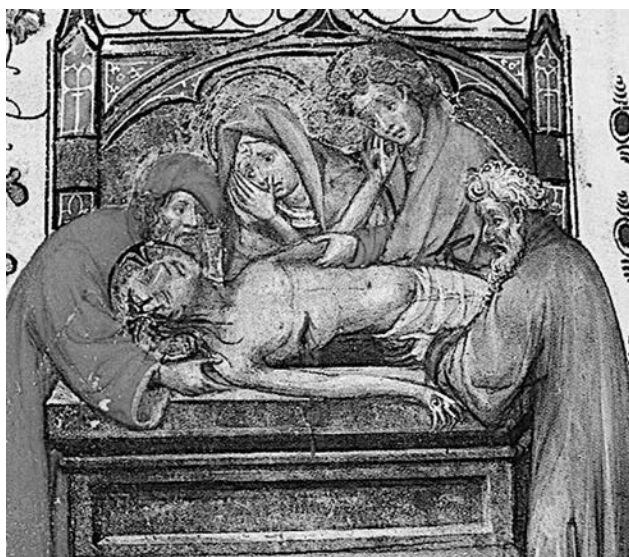


Fig. 8. Mise au tombeau. Heures de la Vierge (complies). *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves* (©Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, ms. LA 148, fol. 126v Lisbonne. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, photo: C. Azevedo).



Fig. 9. Lamentation. Heures de la Croix. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 945, fol. 70r. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).



Fig. 10. Mise au tombeau. Heures de la Croix. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 945, fol. 73v. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).



Fig. 11. Le Fils présente ses plaies au Père et au saint Esprit. La Trinité. Heures de la Trinité. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 945, fol. 88r. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).



Fig. 12 a-b. Homme de douleurs et Agneau mystique. Psaumes de la pénitence. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 945, fol. 151r. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

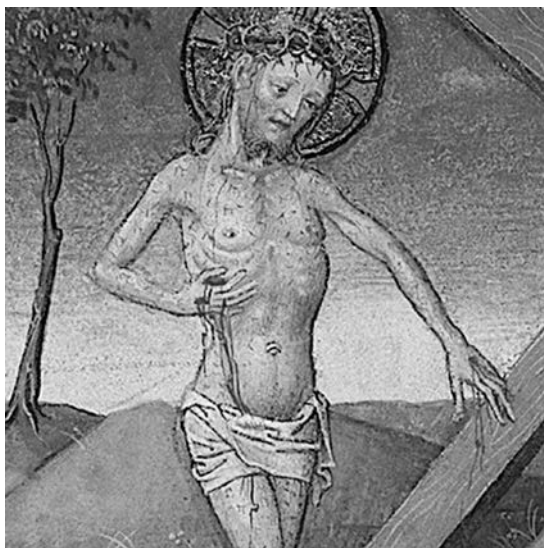


Fig. 13. Christ saignant et sa croix. Heures de la compassion. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 917, p. 121. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

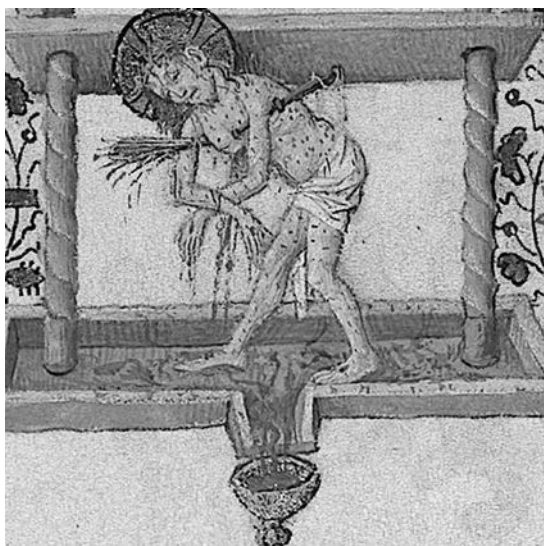


Fig. 14. Le pressoir mystique. Heures de la compassion. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 917, p. 121. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).



Fig. 15. Pressoir mystique. *Bible Moralisée de Philippe le Hardi* (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 166-167, fol. 123v. source : <http://classes.bnf.fr/ema/grands/ca077.htm>).



Fig. 16. La Flagellation. *Heures de la Croix. Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 945, fol. 46v. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).



Fig. 17. Le Crucifié, ses cinq plaies et son corps lacéré. *Livre de prières de la Bancroft Library* (Berkeley, UC Berkeley, MS UCB 082, fol. 24r).



Fig. 18. Flagellation. *Livre d'heures de Marguerite de Clèves* (©Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, ms. LA 148, fol. 79v. Lisbonne. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, photo: C. Azevedo).



Fig. 19. Flagellation. *Livre d'heures de Jean sans Peur* (Paris, BnF, ms. nouv.acq.lat. 3055, fol. 43v).

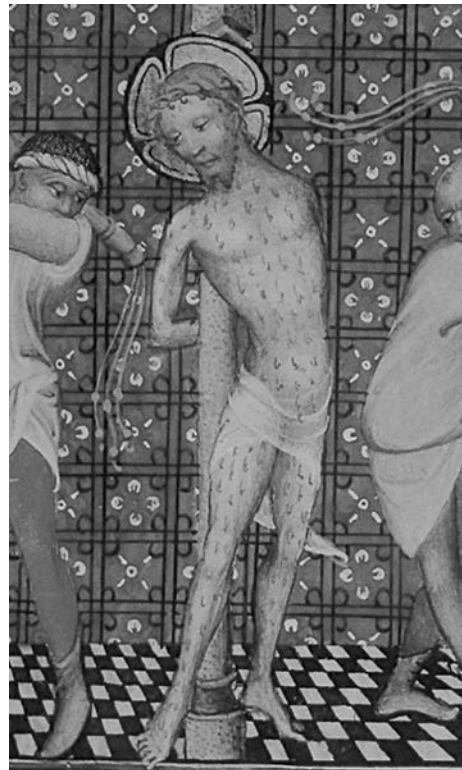


Fig. 20. Flagellation. *Livre de prières de Marie de Gueldre* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. germ. qu. 42, fol. 25v).



Fig. 21. Préparation de la Croix. Heures de la Croix. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 945, fol. 60v. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).



Fig. 22. Marie de Clèves et les pieds saignants du Christ. *Livre de prières de Marie de Clèves* (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 966, fol. 1r).



Fig. 23. Catherine de Clèves en prière aux pieds du Crucifié. *Livre d'heures de Catherine de Clèves* (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M 917, p. 160. ©The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

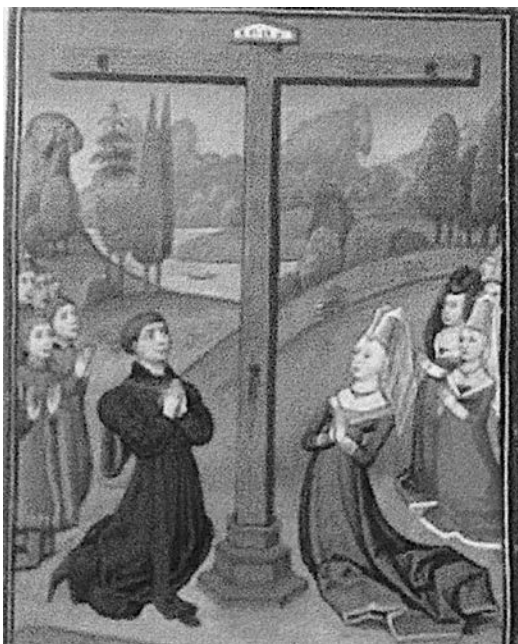


Fig. 24. Philippe le Bon et Isabelle de Portugal en prière devant la croix saignante. *Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon* (Bruxelles, KBR, ms. 9026, fol. 425r).

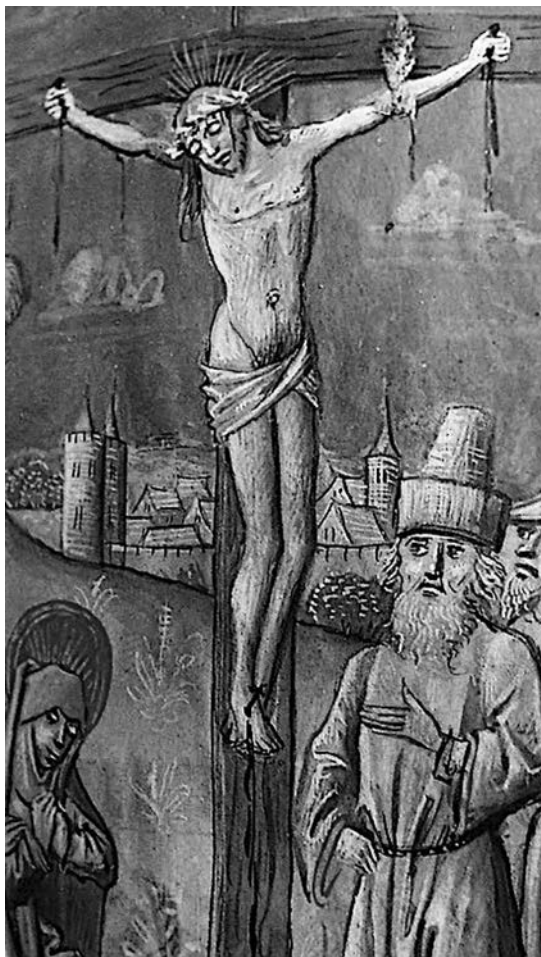
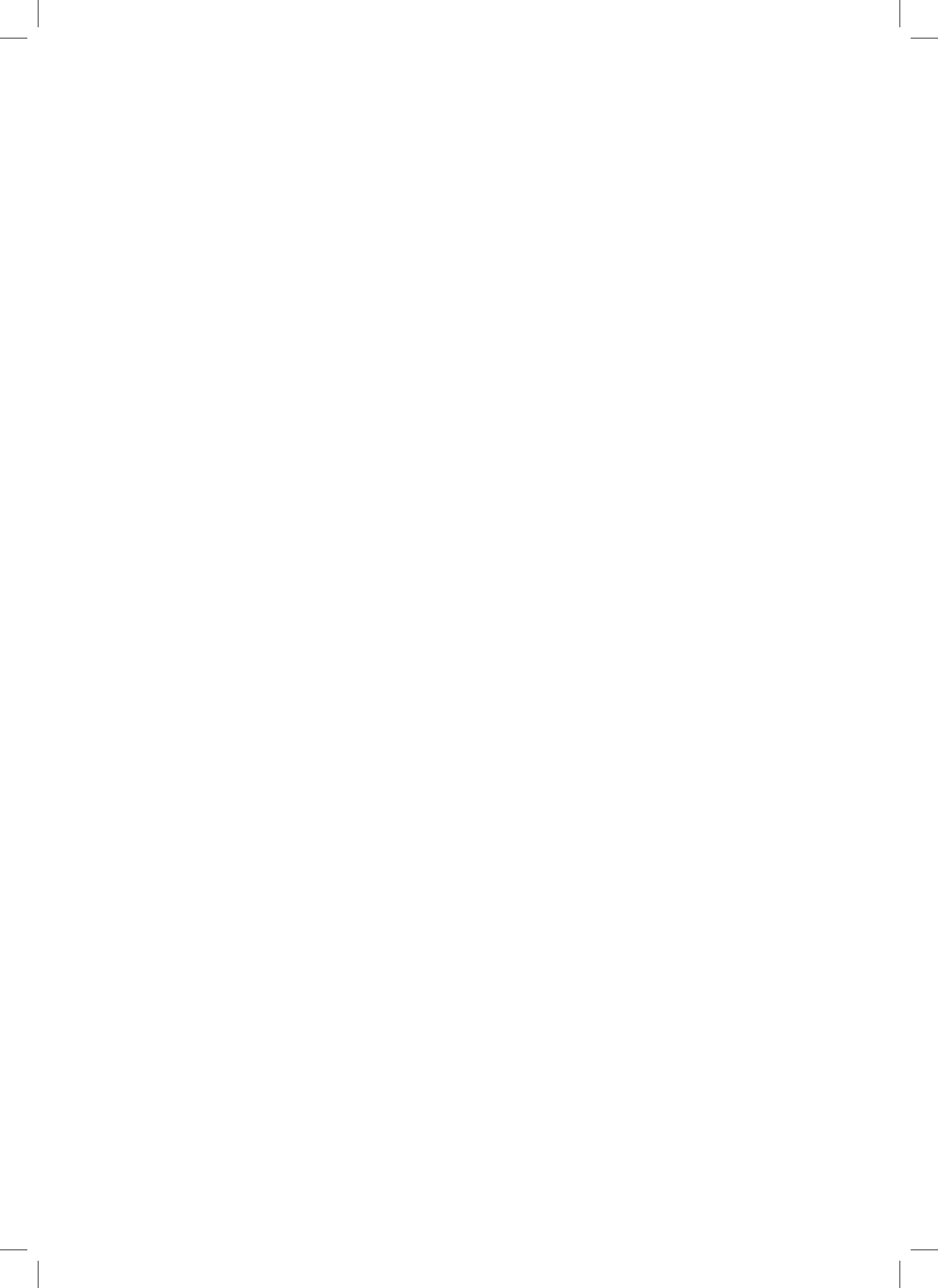


Fig. 25. Crucifixion. Heures de la Croix. *Livre d'heures et de prières d'Agnès de Bourgogne* (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1183, fol. 65r).



III. CULTURE SAVANTE ET POLITIQUE

(THE SECTION EDITED BY YVES SASSIER)

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CULTURE SAVANTE ET POLITIQUE DANS L'EUROPE CHRÉTIENNE, XII^E-XV^E SIÈCLE CONSIDERATIONS INTRODUCTIVES



Quelques études rassemblées dans le présent volume de « Quaestiones » ont l'ambition d'apporter divers éclairages à la question de l'influence des évolutions qui marquent les quatre derniers siècles du Moyen Âge dans les diverses manifestations de la culture dite savante sur les fondements, finalités, idéaux, modes et techniques d'exercice du pouvoir politique. Certaines évoqueront le rôle des « intellectuels » dans les entourages princiers ainsi que les débats qui agitent ces entourages au cours de cette longue période. La thématique proposée est ainsi très large et ses divers aspects ont, bien sûr, déjà fait l'objet d'une multitude de travaux et de multiples débats entre chercheurs.

Cette brève introduction s'efforcera d'identifier les évolutions de la culture savante en insistant tout particulièrement sur une première phase, celle qui englobe le XII^e siècle et la première partie du XIII^e, qui sera la moins étudiée par les contributions à venir. L'on sera très rapide sur la seconde période, réduisant le propos à quelques remarques des plus générales. Tentons d'abord, en dépit des simplifications excessives que ce choix est susceptible d'engendrer, de périodiser ces quatre siècles en distinguant ces deux époques. La première – XII^e-2^e tiers du XIII^e siècle – me semble marquée par la rencontre, et par les interactions que génère cette rencontre, entre, d'une part une première grande avancée décisive de la culture savante – orientation nouvelle de la pensée scolastique et naissance d'une science juridique – et d'autre part un renforcement continu des structures du pouvoir dont une

des manifestations fut, en certaines régions de cette Europe chrétienne, une croissance elle-même continue de la prérogative royale¹. Une seconde époque, allant de la fin du troisième quart du XIII^e siècle au crépuscule du Moyen Âge, voit une autre rencontre – et une autre série d’interactions – entre l’irruption de la philosophie éthique et politique d’Aristote dans la culture savante et les interrogations critiques que suscitent croissance et crises des pouvoirs royaux tant sur les finalités du pouvoir que sur le statut, les prérogatives et les droits de la communauté politique.

Une périodisation rassemblant dans une première époque le siècle de Louis VI et celui de saint Louis peut de prime abord étonner. En France, la puissance dont dispose Louis IX vers la fin de son règne n’a plus rien de comparable avec celle de son ancêtre du début du XII^e siècle, et l’on sait que la véritable césure, sous l’angle de la capacité d’action du monarque, s’est produite quelques décennies plus tôt, dans la seconde partie du règne de son aïeul Philippe Auguste. Mais, outre que cet angle de vue ne saurait être exclusivement français, c’est surtout sous l’autre angle concernant l’évolution de la culture savante, et donc la réflexion sur le pouvoir et sur ses fins que suscite celle-ci, qu’il convient de se situer.

Sous cet autre angle se justifie pleinement l’unité profonde de cette première époque. On ne prétendra certes pas que, jusque vers la fin du règne de Louis IX, l’évolution se soit faite sans connaître des moments plus intenses que d’autres. Sans doute est-ce à partir des années 1160-1170 que s’accélère soudain ce formidable enrichissement de la culture latine qui va conduire le monde occidental, en moins d’un siècle, à accueillir la presque totalité de l’œuvre d’Aristote. Un accueil lent au départ : au temps où Jean de Salisbury écrit ses œuvres maîtresses (1155-1160), et encore quelques décennies au-delà, la plupart des détenteurs du savoir utilisent, de façon de plus en plus fine et hardie sans doute, un ensemble de sources textuelles antiques connues depuis les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge. L’on est encore dans un âge dominé, parmi les principaux lointains devanciers, par Boèce, ses conceptions philosophiques et ses traductions et commentaires du néo-platonicien Porphyre comme de la logique aristotélicienne, par Cicéron, ses œuvres logiques et morales, ainsi que quelques fragments du *De republica*, par Macrobie et son commentaire du *Songe de Scipion*, Martianus Capella et son traité sur les sept arts libéraux, le Pseudo-Denys l’Aréopagite et ses deux *Hiérarchies*, enfin par Chalcidius, sa traduction et son commentaire d’un important fragment du *Timée* de Platon jusqu’alors fort peu exploités, dont l’étude approfondie apparaît comme

1 Sur le XII^e siècle, voir les travaux classiques de C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1927 ; R.L. Benson, G. Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1977 ; synthèse et bibliographie dans J. Verger, *La renaissance du XII^e siècle*, Paris 1994.

l'une des avancées majeures du premier tiers du XII^e siècle. L'on sait que les premières traductions gréco-latines et arabo-latines d'éléments nouvellement découverts en Occident du *corpus* aristotélicien, celles de la seconde moitié du XII^e et des trois premières décennies du XIII^e, concernèrent surtout, outre les *Secunds analytiques* absents de la *logica vetus*, la plupart des livres formant les œuvres dites « naturelles » d'Aristote : *Physique*, *Parva naturalia*² et autres *libri naturales* parmi lesquels la *Métaphysique* et le *traité de l'âme*, avec, parfois, des traductions de commentaires arabes de ces œuvres (ceux d'Avicenne notamment) précédant de plusieurs années celles des œuvres elles-mêmes (*Métaphysique*). L'on sait aussi que l'enracinement de la philosophie naturelle d'Aristote sera entravée, entre 1200 et 1255, par les prohibitions pontificales, ce qui n'empêchera pas lectures, commentaires et nouvelles traductions (Michel Scot, Hermann l'Allemand, Guillaume de Luna) des traités les plus controversés appuyés par les travaux d'Avicenne, puis, à partir de 1205-1225, par ceux d'Averroès (Johannes Blund, Guillaume d'Auvergne, Richard Rufus, Roger Bacon, Albert le Grand)³. Enfin, ce n'est que dans les deux ou trois dernières décennies de cette première période, de part et d'autre du milieu du XIII^e siècle, que seront réalisées les traductions complètes de l'œuvre éthique et politique du Stagirite, leur exploitation proprement « politique » ne débutant réellement qu'à partir des années 1260.

Autre apport essentiel de cette première époque : l'essor d'un droit savant lié à la redécouverte, dans son intégralité, d'un immense monument juridique oublié, œuvre réalisée au VI^e siècle sous l'égide de l'empereur d'Orient Justinien. Le XII^e siècle et la première moitié du XIII^e sont traditionnellement considérés comme le temps des glossateurs. D'Irnerius à Accursius, cinq générations de *jurisperiti*, presque tous italiens et issus de la prestigieuse école de Bologne, essaient à travers toute l'Europe chrétienne une réflexion sur la règle juridique, sur sa source et par voie de conséquence sur ses auteurs possibles – le prince ou le peuple-, qui n'a pu que déboucher à très court terme vers une enquête axée sur la nature, la finalité, l'étendue et les limites des pouvoirs princiers, comme sur la nature de la relation entre le prince et son peuple.

2 Sur la réception des *Parva naturalia*, voir en particulier *Les Parva naturalia d'Aristote : fortune antique et médiévale*, éd. C. Grellard, P.-M. Morel, Paris 2010.

3 C. König-Pralong, *Avènement de l'aristotélisme en terre chrétienne, l'essence et la matière : entre Thomas d'Aquin et Guillaume d'Ockham*, Paris 2005, vision synthétique de l'influence arabe p. 132 et s. Quelques pages de ce livre offrent une utile synthèse de la pénétration de l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Aristote en Occident à partir du milieu du XII^e siècle. Sur la controverse au XIII^e à propos d'Aristote, voir en dernier lieu O. Voskoboinikov, *L'image d'Aristote et la construction des modèles intellectuels au XIII^e siècle*, « Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes » XXVII (2014), p. 73-95.

Gardons nous, bien sûr, de trop privilégier l'aspect unitaire de cette période 1100-1260 au détriment des avancées ou des accélérations qu'elle a connues dans de multiples domaines du savoir. La lecture des *libri naturales*, à partir de la fin du XII^e siècle, a sans nul doute, quarante à soixante années avant la diffusion des *Ethiques* et des *Politiques* d'Aristote, amplifié le mouvement intellectuel consistant à réfléchir sur la relation de l'homme avec la nature comme sur le caractère naturel de la vie sociale. Mais le mouvement est déjà en marche autour des années 1120-1130.

Le XII^e siècle avait débuté sous l'égide du lourd héritage augustinien en vertu duquel l'état d'innocence originelle du premier homme, gage de sa liberté et de sa domination sur la nature, fut le seul véritable état de nature, d'une nature perdue, au tout au moins profondément altérée par la chute, source de toutes les sujétions qui sont à la fois sanctions de cette perte de l'état d'innocence et remèdes au péché : l'organisation des sociétés humaines en cités, en royaumes où en d'autres formes de domination n'est pas conforme à la nature originelle de l'homme, elle est le résultat des péchés d'orgueil et de convoitise qui sont des comportements profondément antisociaux. Dans la tradition héritée d'Augustin, l'homme ne peut retrouver sa nature première que dans la perfection de sa vie terrestre ; d'une vie terrestre toute entière vouée à la douloureuse reconquête de sa ressemblance perdue à Dieu, qui n'est en somme, selon le zèle que déploiera chaque individu dans cette quête, que l'antichambre du Paradis ou de la damnation. Ce lourd héritage, complété, après Augustin, par une pensée patristique soucieuse de préciser et d'amplifier, dans le sillage tracé par les épîtres pauliniennes, la fonction coercitive dévolue au pouvoir séculier, ne disparaîtra certes pas. Toutefois, les gloses du XII^e siècle, œuvres des maîtres de Chartres, sur le *Timée* et son commentaire par Chalcidius⁴ amorcent dès les premières décennies du siècle une réflexion nouvelle sur la création comme sur la nature. S'éloignant de la théorie des « causes séminales » d'Augustin, la cosmologie chartraine en

4 M. Lemoine, *La tradition indirecte du Platon latin, The Medieval Translator, traduire au Moyen Âge*, éd. R. Ellis, R. Tixier, V. Turnhout 1996, p. 337-346 ; B. Bakhouché, *La transmission du Timée dans le monde latin*, dans : *Les voies de la science grecque, études sur la transmission des textes de l'Antiquité au 19^e siècle*, dir. D. Jacquart, Genève 1997, p. 1-31. Sur l'école de Chartres et le naturalisme chartrain, voir notamment T. Gregory, *Anima mundi. La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la Scuola di Chartres*, Florence 1955 ; *A History of Twelfth-century Western Philosophy*, éd. P. Dronke, Cambridge 1992 ; *Lectio philosophorum. Recherches sur l'École de Chartres*, éd. Jeaneau, Amsterdam 1973 ; *L'âge d'or des écoles de Chartres*, éd. Jeaneau, Chartres 1995 ; *Rethinking the School of Chartres*, éd. Jeaneau, Toronto 2009 ; M. Lemoine, *Théologie et platonisme au XII^e siècle*, Paris 1998 ; J. Verger, *Culture, enseignement et société en Occident aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, Rennes 1999 ; *Théologie et cosmologie au XII^e siècle, l'École de Chartres*, textes réunis et traduits par M. Lemoine, C. Picard-Parra, Paris 2004 ; *Guillaume de Conches : philosophie et science au XII^e siècle*, dir. I. Caiazzo, B. Obrist, Florence 2011.

vient à autonomiser les phénomènes naturels par rapport à la toute puissance divine : à côté de l'*opus creatoris* – création des éléments et de l'âme humaine par la divinité – existe un *opus naturae* dont les réalisations – les êtres vivants en font partie – sont le fait d'une *ratio* d'ordre exclusivement physique⁵. En même temps se diffuse le thème, repris des anciens et d'Isidore de Séville, de l'homme conçu comme l'image réduite (microcosme) de l'univers (macrocosme), dont les œuvres propres se doivent d'être celles d'un *artifex naturam imitans*.

L'organisation de la cité procède au premier chef de l'un de ces *artes* de l'homme « imitant la nature » car elle imite l'ordre du *cosmos* comme celui de son microcosme : comme celui de l'être humain dont l'*ars* se doit d'imiter la nature et par conséquent de forger aussi, dans cette entreprise de construction de la cité, l'image la plus proche possible de sa propre nature d'homme. Reprenant le vocabulaire de Chalcidius, Guillaume de Conches place au sommet, dans l'*arx civitatis*, les *senatores* qui, à l'image de la tête, siège de la sagesse dans le corps humain, veillent sur les catégories inférieures – sur les guerriers occupant la place assignée au courage dans le corps humain, c'est-à-dire le cœur et les membres supérieurs, et sur les producteurs qui occupent la place des organes sexuels, sièges du désir, et des pieds – et répartissent entre elles les tâches⁶. Ici, la tripartition sociale, thème assurément classique chez nombre d'auteurs des siècles écoulés, voit certains lettrés de ce XII^e siècle renouer consciemment et directement avec la plus savante de ses sources qui est Platon. Mais il n'est guère étonnant que cette ambiance chartraine d'autonomisation de la nature ait aussitôt conduit à l'exploitation de passages du *De officiis* de Cicéron décrivant l'homme comme un être naturellement doté de deux dons qui lui sont propres, *ratio et oratio* (raison et langage)⁷ : deux dons qui sont sources d'une sociabilité naturelle de l'espèce humaine,

5 Rapide et remarquable synthèse de l'essor philosophique du XII^e siècle (avec références bibliographiques) et de l'apport des « philosophes chartrains » sur la création et l'*ordo naturae* dans I. Caiazzo, *Lectures médiévales de Macrobe : les glosae colonienses super Macrobius*, Paris 2002, p. 107 et s. Sur les vues dissonantes d'Abélard, T. Gregory, *Considérations sur ratio et natura chez Abélard*, dans : Pierre Abélard, *Pierre le Vénérable, les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XII^e siècle*, éd. du CNRS, Cluny 1975, p. 569-581.

6 P.E. Dutton, *Illustre civitatis et populi exemplum. Plato's Timaeus and the Transmission from Calcidius to the End of the Twelfth Century of a Tripartite Scheme of Society*, « *Mediaeval Studies* » 1983, p. 79-119.

7 C.J. Nederman, *Nature, Sin and the Origins of Society : The Ciceronian Tradition in Medieval Political Thought*, « *Journal of the History of Ideas* » (1988), Jan.-Mar., p. 3-23, plus particulièrement p. 5-14. Voir aussi Hugues de Saint Victor et son *Didascalicon*, éd. C.H. Buttner, Washington (D.C.) 1933, ainsi que les propos de Guillaume de Conches, *In Boethium de Trinitate*, éd. C. Jourdain, *Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicolas Trivet sur la consolation de la philosophie de Boèce*, « *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* » XX (1862), p. 74.

car, « en permettant d'instruire, de communiquer, de discuter et de juger, ils rapprochent », soulignait Cicéron, « les hommes entre eux et les lient en une certaine société naturelle ». C'est en s'appuyant sur Cicéron, mais sans directement reprendre, il est vrai, l'expression « société naturelle », qu'un ancien élève de Guillaume de Conches, Jean de Salisbury, écrit vers 1159 le premier chapitre de son *Metalogicon*⁸. Il y souligne d'abord que la nature, « mère très clémente et génératrice de toutes choses », a donné à l'homme, et à lui seul, la capacité d'atteindre le bonheur par la mise en œuvre de ses deux facultés de raison et de langage. Dieu, dit-il en substance, a disposé les parties de l'univers de sorte que chacune ait besoin de l'aide des autres et qu'elles se compensent mutuellement de leur déficience respective. Toutes choses sont déficientes lorsqu'elles sont isolées, et parfaites par l'union dès lors qu'elles se soutiennent mutuellement.

Comme l'avait fait Cicéron dans son *De officiis*, Jean de Salisbury met en avant le rôle de l'éloquence : l'histoire enseigne que le mariage de la raison et du discours, insiste-t-il, « engendra tant de villes célèbres, assembla et fédéra tant de royaumes et unit tant de peuples ». À l'inverse poursuit-il, les hommes privés de ce don de l'éloquence qu'ils ont reçu ne tarderaient pas à devenir des animaux sauvages : « Les cités ressembleraient à des enclos pour le bétail plutôt qu'à une assemblée d'hommes fédérée par un certain lien de société afin de vivre sous la même règle de droit dans le partage des tâches et l'échange amical. » La fonction de l'éloquence mise au service de la raison est donc de convaincre les hommes de la nécessité de mettre en œuvre et de cultiver une sociabilité qui n'est chez eux que potentielle et peut faire à tous moments défaut. La démonstration de Jean de Salisbury, on le voit, n'efface pas le postulat de base de la croyance du temps qu'est ce dérèglement fondamental de la nature humaine lié au péché. Mais une démarche alliant raison et éloquence est capable de lutter contre les vices d'orgueil et de convoitise générés par la chute, de faire redécouvrir aux hommes leur sociabilité perdue, et surtout de le faire dans le cadre de la société civile et de l'acceptation commune d'une règle de droit applicable à tous.

L'homme est un « animal social » : voilà ce dont commencent à se persuader certains lettrés du XII^e siècle au contact de Cicéron, de Macrobie et de Chalcidius. Le XII^e siècle renoue aussi avec cet autre héritage majeur de l'Antiquité qu'est la classification des connaissances inspirée d'Aristote, jamais totalement enfouie – elle était connue grâce à Boèce – mais longtemps

8 Jean de Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, éd. J.B. Hall, K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, dans : *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis*, XCVIII, Turnhout 1991. Sur le naturalisme de J. de S., voir T. Struve, « Vita civilis imitetur... ». *Der Gedanke der Nachahmung des Natur als Grundlage der organologischen Staatskonzeption des Johannes von Salisbury*, « Historisches Jahrbuch » CI (1981), p. 341-361.

demeurée hors du champ d'intérêt des lettrés : celle qui distingue les disciplines théorétiques de celle de la « vie pratique » et définit, parmi ces dernières, une discipline « politique » aux côtés de l'Éthique et de l'Économique. C.J. Nederman a montré, il y a un quart de siècle, ce que cette redécouverte devait à Hugues de Saint-Victor et quels en furent les développements tout au long du XII^e siècle⁹. Il est de même remarquable qu'une poignée d'intellectuels de ce XII^e siècle ait, pour la première fois depuis l'Antiquité, tenté une ébauche de définition d'une abstraction presque aussi vieille que Rome, celle de la *res publica* qu'avaient réhabilitée, sans plus approfondir, les intellectuels carolingiens. Une première ébauche nous vient de Pierre Abélard qui, dans sa *théologie Chrétienne* écrite dans les années 1120¹⁰, expose que Socrate considérait comme d'authentiques guides de la *res publica* « ceux qui affectent ce qu'ils possèdent non à leur propre usage, mais à la commune utilité » ; dans le passage suivant, il fait de la notion d'utilité commune¹¹ le critère téléologique de la *res publica* : « Mérite en vérité le nom de *res publica* ce dont l'administration est assurée en vue de l'utilité commune ». Il est probable qu'Abélard s'est directement inspiré d'un passage du *De officiis* de Cicéron (I, 85) rappelant aux gouvernants – Cicéron se référait aux préceptes platoniciens – l'obligation d'oublier leur propres intérêts pour se soucier de tout le *corpus rei publicae* et de rechercher l'utilité de tous. L'on sait aussi que l'un des thèmes forts du *Dialogue entre un philosophe, un juif et un chrétien* est une réflexion sur la justice au centre de laquelle figure la notion de commune utilité¹². Une définition plus aboutie de la *res publica*, bien connue des médiévistes, est celle décrite par Jean, au livre V de son *Policraticus*, comme une sorte de corps dont le prince est la tête et dont les différentes catégories sociales, réparties par activités, par *officia*, correspondent à des membres essentiels du corps parfaitement solidaires du tout et de chacune des autres parties. La vision organique de Jean n'est pas ici

9 C.J. Nederman, *Aristotelianism and the Origins of « Political Science » in the Twelfth Century*, « Journal of the History of Ideas » LII (1991), 2, p. 179-194.

10 *Theologia Christiana*, éd. Buytaert, *Petri Abaelardi opera theologica*, II, p. 151, lignes 676-679, 694-695.

11 Sur la notion d'utilité commune, jamais complètement oubliée (Isidore de Séville, penseurs carolingiens), et les développements nouveaux qu'elle connaît à partir du XII^e siècle, voir G. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, Princeton 1964, en particulier p. 248 et s. Voir aussi notre article cité à la note suivante. Cette référence à l'*utilitas publica/communis* gagne vers les années 1130-1140 le milieu des glossateurs (A. Gouron, *La double naissance de l'État législateur*, « Publications de l'École Française de Rome » CXLVII, p. 101-114, qui attribue à Bulgarus la paternité de l'introduction d'*utilitas communis* ou *publica* dans les gloses).

12 Voir sur ce point Y. Sassier, *Bien commun et utilitas communis au XII^e siècle, un nouvel essor ?*, « Revue Française d'Histoire des Idées Politiques » XXXII (2010), p. 245-258, plus particulièrement p. 251-254.

simple métaphore : La *res publica* ainsi organisée est un organisme conforme à la nature dans la mesure même où elle en vient, aux yeux de l'humaniste anglais, à préserver *hanc naturae opificis imaginem*, à « suivre la nature, la meilleure guide pour vivre » en respectant à son échelle les lois régissant l'organisation du cosmos comme celle de son microcosme qu'est l'homme. Le lien qu'elle crée entre les hommes est un lien organique unissant les membres de la communauté dans une perspective hiérarchique que Jean rattache moins aux représentations médiévales des trois ordres qu'à ce qu'il sait ou croit savoir des conceptions de la philosophie antique sur la hiérarchie, l'étroite solidarité, la bienveillance et l'amitié mutuelle qui doivent unir les membres entre eux, et les soumettre tous au prince, comme les membres à la tête dans le corps humain. « La *potestas* de tous les sujets, écrit ainsi Jean, a été placée en la personne du prince afin qu'il se suffise à lui-même dans la recherche et l'accomplissement de l'utilité de chacun et de tous »¹³.

Soulignons ici, outre l'exigence imposée au prince d'un don total de sa personne sur laquelle Jean de Salisbury insiste à maintes reprises dans son *Policraticus*, ce que l'approche philosophique de la métaphore organique implique comme rupture avec cette réalité politique du XII^e siècle marquée par le pluralisme, le caractère diffus du pouvoir, la structure féodale, la fidélité vassalique, la seigneurie châtelaine ou les titres et puissances dont sont investis les Grands des différents royaumes. Jean ne fait aucune concession au pluralisme des pouvoirs : comme d'autres lettrés de son temps, il pense une communauté politique unitaire au sommet de laquelle seule la fonction princière est investie de la puissance dans sa totalité, dans la plénitude des prérogatives qu'il entend lui assigner.

Évoquons enfin, rapidement, l'autre grand événement intellectuel du XII^e siècle qu'est la renaissance juridique, marquée par la redécouverte de l'œuvre de l'empereur Justinien dont l'apport est lui aussi très neuf dans le domaine qui nous intéresse ici, celui du gouvernement des sociétés, celui de la relation du prince à la norme juridique. Au XII^e siècle, l'on prend conscience des potentialités découlant des passages du *Code*, du *Digeste* ou des *Institutes* mettant l'accent sur la loi : le *Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem* (ce qui a plu au prince à la vigueur de la loi) et son explication par Ulpien affirmant que, par la *lex regia* (loi d'investiture de l'empereur ou *lex de imperio*), le peuple romain avait transmis au prince tout son *imperium* et toute sa *potestas* ; un passage affirmant que « seul le prince peut faire des lois » ; la fameuse constitution *Tanta* de Justinien justifiant la capacité de l'empereur à prendre des dispositions législatives nouvelles, le *Princeps legibus solutus est* d'Ulpien (le prince est délié

¹³ *Policraticus*, IV, 1 (éd. Webb, I, p. 235) : *Unde merito in eum omnium subditorum potestas confertur, ut in utilitate singulorum et omnium exquirenda et facienda sibi ipse sufficiat.*

des lois) si contraire au modèle du gouvernant soumis à la loi diffusé par le *Bréviaire d'Alaric* comme par Isidore et la pensée chrétienne du haut Moyen Âge. Bien sûr, c'est le prince qui, chez nombre de glossateurs du XII^e siècle et de la première moitié du XIII^e, semble être le grand gagnant de cette exhumation : tout prince peut s'en prévaloir pour affirmer sa capacité à émettre la règle de droit, ou à s'affranchir de cette dernière¹⁴, et les inquiétudes d'un Jean de Salisbury, ou la présence et les dires des quatre *doctores bolognenses* autour de Barberousse en 1158, montrent que de telles thèses circulent dès le milieu du XII^e siècle dans les entourages royaux ; mais les glossateurs ont aussi trouvé chez Justinien d'autres textes qui, tels la constitution *digna vox* montrant l'empereur soumettant son autorité à l'*auctoritas juris*, et quelques passages du Digeste (notamment un texte émanant du jurisconsulte *Salvius Julianus*) plaidant en faveur d'une fonction législative revenant au peuple, voire de la reconnaissance du peuple (l'allusion d'Ulpien à la *lex regia*) comme la source même du pouvoir impérial, tendent à suggérer d'autres analyses sur les fondements et les droits de la puissance du prince.

Ces contradictions entre sources divisent le monde des glossateurs. L'on voit, dès les premières années du XII^e siècle, alors même qu'aucun monarque d'Occident n'a la capacité réelle d'édicter des règles de droit s'imposant à tous, le cercle de ces premiers nouveaux juristes s'efforcer, en une sorte d'anticipation du droit – ou tout au moins des modèles juridiques envisageables – sur les faits, d'organiser une coexistence entre le pouvoir normatif qu'ils reconnaîtront au prince et le droit que certains d'entre eux reconnaîtront au peuple de se donner ses propres règles, voire d'abroger ou de déroger à la loi : la théorie bulgarienne de la *certa scientia* d'une communauté dérogeant à la loi est un apport du XII^e siècle¹⁵, tout comme l'est la réflexion de certains glossateurs, mais aussi des canonistes, sur la nécessité pour le

14 Voir sur ce sujet les grands livres réalisés dans les années 1950-1960 par F. Calasso, *I glossatori e la teoria della sovranità*, Milano 1951, 3^e édition Milano 1957 ; E. Cortese, *La norma giuridica. Spunti teorici nel diritto comune classico*, I-II, Jus Nostrum, VI, Milano 1962-1964 ; E. Cortese, *El diritto nella storia medievale*, Rome 1995. Voir aussi les études d'A. Gouron rassemblées dans divers recueils d'articles : *Études sur la diffusion des doctrines juridiques médiévales* (1987), *Renaissance du pouvoir législatif et genèse de l'État* (en coll., 1988), *Droit et coutume en France aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (1993), *Juristes et droits savants : Bologne et la France médiévale* (1999). Sur la *lex regia* qui vient fonder la pouvoir normatif du prince, mais aussi rappeler que ce dernier l'a reçu du peuple, voir H. Morel, *La place de la Lex regia dans l'histoire des idées politiques*, dans : *Études offertes à Jean Macqueron*, Aix-en-Provence 1970, pp. 545-555, et B. Pio, *Considerazioni sulla 'lex regia de imperio' (secoli XI-XIII)*, dans : *Scritti di storia medievale offerti a Maria Consiglia De Matteis*, dir. B. Pio, Spoleto 2011 (Uomini e mondi medievali, XXVII), p. 573-599.

15 Sur la théorie de Bulgarus, relayée par Rogerius et plus tard par Azon chez les glossateurs, et par Etienne de Tournai chez les canonistes, voir A. Gouron, *Coutume contre loi chez les premiers glossateurs*, dans : *Renaissance du pouvoir législatif et genèse de l'État*, dir. A. Gouron, A. Rigaudière, Montpellier 1988, p. 117-130.

peuple dérogeant d'agir avec *prudencia* et d'émettre des règles conformes à l'*honestum*, à la *ratio*¹⁶, autant d'exigences ouvrant la voie à l'affirmation d'une capacité correctrice du prince agissant en vertu de sa propre *certa scientia*¹⁷. Il semble donc bien que le débat ait été très tôt assez vif, dans ce cercle étroit, entre tenants de la toute puissance impériale et partisans d'une capacité propre de la communauté politique, et qu'ait été posée par certains, dès ce XII^e siècle et aux deux ou trois premières décennies du XIII^e (Azon), la question d'une délégation de pouvoir accordée par celle-ci au prince¹⁸ : une question assurément nouvelle, qui n'avait guère effleuré l'esprit des intellectuels et moralistes des premiers siècles médiévaux. Un autre vaste domaine de la culture savante, celui qui concentre son attention vers la lecture et l'interprétation des textes sacrés, réagit lui aussi à la montée en puissance des autorités royales ou princières en posant la question de la légitimité de toute domination, de la hiérarchie ou de l'égalité entre les hommes, des droits de la communauté¹⁹.

Jusqu'aux années 1250 incluses, c'est principalement dans le sillage de ces acquis du XII^e siècle, véritable point de « départ d'une démarche idéologique générale centrée sur les problèmes que désormais pose la royauté »²⁰ que se situe la réflexion sur le pouvoir, une réflexion qui, de plus en plus, tend à tenir compte, aussi bien chez les spécialistes de l'*utrumque jus* que chez les moralistes, des évolutions contrastées que connaissent ici est là les puissances monarchiques. L'acquis de la nouvelle culture juridique et la réflexion très neuve sur le pouvoir normatif du prince sont des éléments désormais essentiels, et le sont même chez des penseurs qui ne sont pas au premier chef des juristes, dont au surplus la vision des réalités de la vie sociale et des fins du politique reste encore bien traditionnelle. Au temps de Saint Louis, Vincent

¹⁶ J. Gaudemet, *Contribution à l'étude de la loi dans la doctrine canonique du XII^e siècle*, dans : *Contributions françaises au VII^e congrès international de droit comparé*, Uppsala 1966, sect. I B-droit canonique, p. 19-35, plus particulièrement p. 28-29.

¹⁷ Voir l'article de A. Gouron, référencé n. 15. Sur l'usage qu'à partir du XIV^e siècle, la chancellerie royale française fera de la « certaine science » du prince, voir J. Krynen, « *De notre certaine science...* ». *Remarques sur l'absolutisme législatif de la monarchie française*, dans : *Renaissance du pouvoir législatif* (supra, n. 15), p. 131-144.

¹⁸ M. Ryan, *Political Thought*, dans : *The Oxford Companion to Roman Law*, dir. D. Johnston, Oxford 2015, p. 423 et s., notamment p. 425-426 pour les contributions de Joannes Bassianus et de Hugolinus. Sur la contribution d'Azon, E. Cortese, *La norma giuridica...*, II, p. 182. Voir aussi B. Tierney, *Religion, Law and the Growth of Constitutional Thought (1150-1650)*, Cambridge 1982. Paru en Français (trad. J. Ménard) sous le titre : *Religion et droit dans le développement de la pensée constitutionnelle*, Léviathan, PUF, Paris 1993, p. 78 et s. de l'édition française.

¹⁹ P. Buc, *L'ambiguïté du Livre. Prince, pouvoir et peuples dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1994.

²⁰ J. Krynen, *Idéologie et royauté*, dans : *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, Paris 1999, p. 609-620, en particulier p. 611.

de Beauvais, Guillaume Peyrault et Guibert de Tournai, qui demeurent augustiniens dans leur conception d'une royauté profondément marquée, dans ses causes comme dans ses fins, par le postulat de l'origine peccamineuse de toute domination, adhèrent pleinement aux thèses romanistes les plus favorables à la toute-puissance législative du prince et résolvent sans état d'âme l'aporie repérée par les glossateurs sur la hiérarchie entre loi du prince et coutume des peuples. L'historiographie reconnaît à Vincent de Beauvais une bonne connaissance des doctrines juridiques et des discussions sur les valeurs respectives de la coutume et de la loi. Vincent reprend les développements des canonistes exigeant de la coutume les qualités que l'on attend alors de la loi – rationalité, conformité à l'*utilitas publica*, et surtout conformité à la *veritas*. Le rôle essentiel du prince et de sa loi doit être de redresser les déviances de la société, de s'ériger en censeur des mauvaises coutumes au nom de la *ratio*, de l'utilité publique et d'une *veritas* qui n'est autre que la vérité de Dieu. Vincent a beau faire sienne, dans son *speculum doctrinale*, la classification des sciences inspirée d'Aristote et réhabilitée au siècle précédent par les Victorins, la finalité de la loi, chez lui, n'est pas celle d'un ordre propre à la vie terrestre : elle demeure celle d'un ordre participant à la réalisation sur terre des desseins divins. Il en est de même de Guibert de Tournai, franciscain gravitant dans l'entourage du roi Louis IX : lui aussi, dans son *Eruditio regum et principum*, célèbre le roi législateur – l'on sait que le règne de saint Louis marque une soudaine accélération du processus législatif en France²¹ – dont l'action réformatrice doit servir la nécessité d'un retour de la communauté dont il a la charge à une authentique vie évangélique. Pour Guibert, il convient de purger le royaume des « indisciplines » commises au préjudice de la loi divine, et de ramener les sujets à l'obéissance de la discipline chrétienne. Or le droit désigne le prince comme cette puissance publique chargée par Dieu de réprimer et corriger les déviances des sujets, d'assumer une correction générale des mœurs et de le faire par la loi : le roi, « reflet terrestre de la divine vérité », dit Guibert, a pour tâche « d'examiner les coutumes selon lesquelles vivent les citoyens », et de supprimer ce qui aura été trouvé contraire à la loi divine au profit de lois conformes à la doctrine du Christ. Peu importe la réalité de l'ancrage de la règle coutumière dans la tradition : le critère de l'ancienneté semble bien, dans l'entourage des rois du

21 J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, Paris 1996. Sur l'utilisation des matériaux fournis par les droits savants (droit romain et droit canonique) par la législation des rois de la fin du Moyen Âge, voir A. Gouron, *Ordonnances des rois de France et droits savants (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, « Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres » CXXXV (1991), p. 851-865. Voir aussi, pour le droit romain, J. Krynen, *Droit romain et État monarchique. À propos du cas français*, dans : *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, dir. J. Blanchard, Paris 1995, p. 12-23.

XIII^e siècle, avoir définitivement perdu la primauté face à celui de la rationalité, d'une rationalité qui épouse les conceptions morales, religieuses, juridiques et politiques, les desseins de ceux qui ont pour fonction de la définir et de soumettre à son crible l'ordre ancien des choses, et qui intègre aussi cette primauté de l'utilité commune que, sans attendre la diffusion de la notion aristotélicienne, proclament dès la fin du XII^e siècles certains textes officiels. La grande ordonnance de réformation de 1254 est assez significative d'une intense réflexion sur le rôle du prince législateur à laquelle ont participé de savants romanistes : le roi, pour la première fois, y allègue sa *plena potestas*, son entière capacité à « déclarer, muer, corriger » la règle de droit, à y « rajouter » ou en « retrancher » ; il proclame « sur le mode Justinien sa complète maîtrise normative »²².

Tels sont les grands acquis de cette première époque. L'irruption, autour des années 1260, de l'éthique et de la politique d'Aristote dans la culture savante du temps accélère soudain les évolutions affectant la réflexion sur le pouvoir. L'on se bornera ici à évoquer quelques unes des orientations nouvelles de cette réflexion²³.

Une première remarque, très générale, aura trait à la diversification des instruments de diffusion des idées : le genre du miroir²⁴, qui a connu à la fin du XII^e et au XIII^e siècle un remarquable développement et trouvé son expression la plus achevée avec le *De regimine principum* de Gilles de Rome (1277-1282), marque – très provisoirement, car il reviendra en force dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle – le pas dès la fin du XIII^e au profit d'autres genres : d'abord, bien sûr, celui du commentaire, ou de la traduction commentée, des œuvres sorties de l'oubli, celui, déjà ancien au sein du monde universitaire, des *quaestiones*, organisant un argumentaire pour et contre sur divers thèmes abordés par l'oeuvre et, *in fine*, dévoilant la conclusion personnelle de l'auteur de la *quaestio*, celui des séances quodlibétiques au cours desquelles débattent les théologiens sur des questions qui peuvent avoir une portée éminemment politique, celui, enfin, du libelle de combat, témoin d'un retour en force, à la faveur de la querelle bonifacienne, d'un type de confrontation d'idées qu'avait connu la phase active et conflictuelle de la réforme grégorienne. C'est que

22 Sur tout cela, J. Krynen, *Saint Louis législateur au miroir des mendiants*, dans : *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, « Moyen Âge » CXIII (2001), 2, p. 945-961, en particulier p. 947.

23 En renvoyant pour une vision générale aux travaux de J. Krynen, notamment *L'empire du roi. Idées et croyances politiques dans la France de la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1993.

24 Pour une vision très synthétique de la littérature spéculaire du Moyen Âge, voir J. Genêt, *L'évolution du genre des miroirs des princes en occident au Moyen Âge, Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge*, Rennes 2003, p. 531-541. Voir aussi J. Blanchard, J.-C. Mühlenthaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes*, Paris 2002, p. 7-32; J. Krynen, *L'Empire du roi... ; C.J. Nederman, The Mirror Crack'd: The Speculum principum as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages*, « The European Legacy » 3.3 (1998), p. 18-38.

l'essor de la prérogative royale suscite ici et là des tensions et des oppositions qui se nourriront de la diffusion parallèle, et d'une certaine manière de plus en plus concurrente, de deux cultures : celle des « artiens » qui intègre désormais, aux côtés des sept arts et de la théologie, l'étude des œuvres éthiques et des *Politiques* du Stagirite, et celle des légistes, héritiers des glossateurs du siècle précédent, dont certains ne se privent pas de dénoncer l'incompatibilité de la terminologie aristotélicienne avec la science juridique, ou les insuffisances de la discipline politique lorsqu'il s'agit de mettre en forme, et en action, les solutions concrètes nécessaires à la marche des États.

Une deuxième remarque, elle aussi très générale et rapide, portera sur la problématique de l'influence de l'irruption de la philosophie morale et politique d'Aristote sur l'autonomisation du politique à l'égard du théologique. Le naturalisme politique revendiqué par Aristote dans les premières lignes de ses *Politiques* aurait-il, sous ses deux aspects – l'homme est par nature un « vivant politique » voué à œuvrer pour le bien de sa communauté d'appartenance ; la *politeia* (l'État) est une réalité naturelle – constitué un puissant facteur de laïcisation et de sécularisation de la réflexion sur le pouvoir et plus généralement, de l'univers mental dans lequel baignaient les sociétés européennes ? C'est une réponse affirmative qu'ont soutenue, voilà plus d'un demi-siècle, de grands historiens de la pensée – Georges de Lagarde, Walter Ullmann – pour qui le processus de sécularisation de l'État et d'émergence de l'individualisme qu'ils aperçoivent dans les évolutions de la fin du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècles serait la conséquence de la redécouverte du naturalisme aristotélicien. Mais d'autres historiens, malgré l'omniprésence de la référence à Aristote chez Thomas d'Aquin, puis chez de multiples auteurs de la fin du XIII^e et des XIV^e-XV^e siècles, sont tentés de minimiser à la fois la cause et son effet et de suggérer qu'il y eut un renouveau plus limité qu'on ne le dit de la pensée politique. Cette dernière fut loin de bannir la tradition augustinienne au profit d'un aristotélisme rigide, et de déboucher sur une véritable autonomie du politique vis-à-vis du théologique²⁵ : aux yeux des plus aristotéliciens des penseurs du temps, et en tout premier lieu d'un Thomas d'Aquin, l'homme médiéval ne saurait être exclusivement un animal politique et un citoyen ; il serait au premier chef un être spirituel, voué à l'obéissance aux commandements divins, dont la conscience intégrerait au plus profond d'elle-même l'idée que la vertu de charité que se doit de pratiquer tout chrétien implique cet amour du bien commun, vertu première du citoyen.

25 Voir notamment M. Kempshall, *The Common Good in late Medieval Political Thought*, Oxford 1999. B. Sère, *Aristote et le bien commun au Moyen Âge, une histoire, une historiographie*, « Revue Française d'Histoire des Idées Politiques » XXXII (2010), p. 277-284.

Troisième remarque que l'on fera : le constat d'un enrichissement de la réflexion sur la communauté ; sur toute communauté, qu'elle soit celle de l'Église, celle d'une cité, celle du royaume. La construction intellectuelle, ici, se nourrira sans doute autant des avancées des spécialistes des droits savants – romanistes et canonistes confondus – que de celles des « politistes ». Il y a plus d'un quart de siècle, les recherches de B. Tierney sur le rôle de la religion et du droit canonique comme ferments du constitutionnalisme moderne²⁶ ont fort bien souligné à quel point la confluence des analyses de certains juristes de l'*utrumque jus*, des théologiens et des aristotéliens du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle a préparé le terreau où a pu éclore le constitutionnalisme. Les canonistes ont joué un rôle majeur dans cette évolution, ainsi que le suggèrent, après Yves Congar²⁷, les analyses de cet auteur sur la façon dont a été détournée de son contexte primitif (le droit des tutelles multiples) et exploitée la règle romaine « quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet »²⁸. Ici aussi, le débat sera vif et débouchera au XIV^e siècle sur des conceptions contradictoires ayant trait aux droits d'une communauté politique que certains, à la fin du Moyen Âge, considèrent comme ayant la pleine capacité de consentir aux actes du prince, de participer à la législation, de démettre le prince, et que d'autres persistent à présenter comme l'équivalent d'un mineur sous protection, son tuteur disposant d'une *plenitudo potestatis*. Si les glossateurs et canonistes du XII^e siècle ont diffusé, en la tirant des textes du droit romain, notamment du *Digeste* (III, 4), le mot *universitas* pour l'appliquer au *populus* d'une cité ou d'un royaume, voire assigner à cette *universitas* un *officium* qui est de prendre soin des individus qui la composent²⁹, c'est dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e et au XIV^e que leurs successeurs se risqueront à une définition théorique de l'*universitas* comme *persona ficta*, insistant ainsi sur cet artifice de la pensée juridique, cette *fictio juris* permettant l'assimilation d'une communauté humaine à une personne unique, distincte de chacun de ses membres³⁰.

26 B. Tierney, *Religion et droit dans le développement de la pensée constitutionnelle*, Paris 1993. Voir aussi S. Mochi Onory, *Fonti canonistiche dell'idea moderna dello stato*, Milano 1951.

27 Y.M.-J. Congar, *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet*, « Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger » 4^e série, XXXVI (1958), p. 210-259.

28 B. Tierney, *Religion et droit...*, p. 32-40.

29 *Infra*, n. 30, la première citation latine.

30 Sur la notion d'*universitas*, P. Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas. Expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le Moyen Âge latin*, Paris 1970. Voir aussi A. Rigaudière, *Regnum et civitas chez les décrétistes et les premiers décrétalistes*, dans : *Théologie et droit dans la pensée politique de l'État moderne*, p. 117-153, notamment p. 146 et s. Sur son application au peuple dès le XII^e siècle par les romanistes, voir notamment le traité anonyme *De aequitatis*, éd. par H. Fitting (qui en attribuait la paternité à Irnerius) en appendice au traité *Quaestiones de iuris subtilitatibus*, Berlin 1894, p. 88 et s. : **Universitas, id est populus, hoc habet officium singulis scilicet hominibus quasi membris providere. Hinc descendit hoc ut legem condant, conditam interpretentur et aperiant, quoniam lege definitur quod unusquisque sequi vel quid debeat declinare.** C'est Hostiensis (Henri de Suse,

C'est aussi assez tard dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle et au XIV^e que la doctrine d'un peuple source *ab initio* de tout pouvoir, et aussi celle d'une représentation de l'*universitas* – et de la consistance juridique de cette notion de représentation : implique-t-elle transfert définitif de puissance au prince, ou vaut-elle délégation temporaire, mandat révocable reçu du peuple ? – par ceux qui la gouvernent, déjà émises par quelques glossateurs du XII^e siècle, prennent leur essor, font l'objet d'un débat aux idées très tranchées entre juristes³¹, mais aussi entre juristes et politistes³², et au sein de l'Église entre partisans d'une *plenitudo potestatis* appartenant au pontife romain, et ceux d'une véritable « souveraineté » de la communauté des chrétiens.

Ici la redécouverte d'Aristote peut apparaître comme un remarquable stimulant de la réflexion. Car, redécouvrir Aristote, et surtout, redécouvrir les Politiques d'Aristote³³, c'est aussi renouer avec le discours qu'avait connu la Grèce classique, puis la Rome des deux derniers siècles républicains, sur la classification des régimes politiques : les trois grands types légitimes et purs – monarchie, aristocratie, démocratie modérée – en ce qu'ils œuvrent pour le souverain bien de la communauté, et leurs formes corrompues et antithétiques – tyrannie, oligarchie, démocratie extrême – dans lesquelles triomphe l'intérêt égoïste d'un seul, d'une faction ou d'une multitude sans vertu. Il va sans dire que cette exigence du bien commun tant mise en valeur au XII^e siècle, devient plus que jamais l'objet d'un discours rationnel qui peut adopter, et adopte deux finalités bien différentes. La première demeure très classique : celui de l'idéal du prince vertueux, œuvrant au service de son

Cardinal d'Ostie) qui, au livre 2, *titulus pro herede* de sa *Summa* rédigée autour de 1270, utilise pour la première fois l'expression *persona ficta*. Bartole est le premier romaniste à utiliser l'expression *persona ficta* (Révigny et Belleperche utilisaient l'expression *persona repraesentata*) dans son Commentaire sur Digeste 45.3.26). Autre passage-clé dans son commentaire de Digeste 48.19.16 : *Si quidem loquamur realiter vere et proprie, nihil aliud est universitas scholarium quam scholarum. Sed secundum fictionem juris (...) universitas representat unam personam que est aliud a scholaribus, seu ab hominibus universitatis. Et sic aliud est universitas quam persone qui faciunt universitatem, secundum juris fictionem, quia est quedam persona representata.*

31 Sur un fond de défiance des uns vis-à-vis des autres. Voir à cet égard J. Krynen, *Les légistes, « idiots politiques »*. Sur l'hostilité des théologiens à l'égard des juristes, en France, au temps de Charles V, dans : *Théologie et droit dans la science politique de l'État moderne*, Rome 1991, p. 171-198. Sur la critique des juristes par l'aristotélien et thomiste Gilles de Rome, auteur de de l'expression « idiots politiques », voir aussi J.-M. Carbasse, *Non cujuslibet est ferre leges. Légiférer chez Gilles de Rome*, p. 69 et s. dans : *Le prince et la norme : ce que légiférer veut dire*, dir. J. Hoareau-Dodineau, G. Métairie, P. Tixier, Lim 2007, p. 69-79.

32 Pour un aperçu général des débats du XIV^e siècle, voir J. Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages, 1296-1417*, Cambridge 2011, ainsi que les références bibliographiques fournies par cet auteur sur de nombreux intellectuels du XIV^e siècle.

33 J. Dunbabin, *The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's Politics*, dans : *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, dir. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg, Cambridge 1982, p. 723-737.

peuple, apte à ne jamais abuser de sa puissance, laquelle ne connaît d'autre frein que la conscience de son titulaire. La seconde est la mise en œuvre des possibles alternatives qu'offre la classification aristotélicienne à la monarchie pure, et qu'offre la réflexion du Stagirite sur les multiples variantes que peuvent connaître, au moyen de savants dosages, chacun de ces régimes, sur sa préférence pour un droit de participation aux affaires reconnu à une fraction de la population représentative d'un juste milieu social garant d'un juste milieu éthique, ou sur les préférences de Polybe et de Cicéron pour un régime mixte³⁴. Nous savons que les XIV^e-XV^e siècles verront naître des théories politiques prônant le recours, par le monarque, à ce dialogue, voire à ce partage de la décision avec son peuple, susceptibles de rendre possibles « l'exercice collectif » et donc « la circularité de la raison politique »³⁵, ou revendiquant une complète souveraineté de la communauté et la primauté du peuple, ou des fidèles, sur l'autorité du prince, ou du pape. Ils verront se diversifier aussi, appliquée au politique, toute une littérature en langue vernaculaire (traductions françaises d'œuvres d'Aristote, mais aussi de miroirs et d'ouvrages politiques d'auteurs plus proche et de renom – Gilles de Rome, Jean de Salisbry-, poèmes satiriques et moraux, miroirs et œuvres didactiques) qu'évoqueront certaines des études présentées ci-dessous, et dont l'existence est le signe d'une volonté d'élargissement du message politique vers les entourages royaux, et aussi, peut-être et jusqu'à un certain point, vers une opinion publique qu'il convient à la fois d'instruire et de convaincre du bien-fondé de telle ou telle position.

Je n'insisterai pas ici sur les détails des débats sur la relation entre le prince et son peuple auxquelles feront écho certaines des contributions présentes dans ce volume, ni sur ses protagonistes (Oresme, Marsile de Padoue, Guillaume d'Ockham, Philippe de Mézières, etc.), bien connus des historiens des idées ; je me bornerai à constater que l'essor de la culture savante, sa diversification, sa mise à la portée d'une élite intellectuelle plus large, grâce notamment au développement des universités, qu'aux siècles précédents, qui commence aussi – le mouvement est lent – à s'ouvrir à des non-clercs, est le fait majeur de cette fin du Moyen Âge : un moment essentiel, à bien des égards, où dans une atmosphère de contestation, parfois de sédition, de guerre civile et de violence paroxystique, la pensée politique s'est, pour la première fois depuis plus de mille ans, orientée vers des thèses qui sont aux origines du « constitutionnalisme » moderne, et vers d'autres qui, dans

³⁴ J. Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1992.

³⁵ Expressions empruntées à S. Piron, *Nicole Oresme : violence, langage et raison politique. Document de travail*, Florence (Working Paper HEC n 97/1) 1997, p. 55 et 69 (<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00489554>).

certaines contrées de cette Europe chrétienne, déboucheront sur la longue parenthèse absolutiste.

ABSTRACT

Le constat d'une mutation de la culture savante aux quatre derniers siècles du Moyen Âge, et de son fort impact sur la façon d'appréhender le phénomène politique, n'est certes pas nouveau, mais l'exceptionnelle richesse et la diversité des sources de cette longue période font que la question est fort loin d'être épuisée. Tout en constatant que le plein essor de la culture savante, grâce notamment à l'apport des commentateurs des *Ethiques* et des *Politiques* d'Aristote comme des spécialistes de *l'utrumque jus*, et sa mise à la portée d'une élite intellectuelle plus large qu'aux siècles précédents sont le fait majeur des deux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge, nos considérations introductives souhaitent mettre l'accent sur l'époque antérieure que n'évoqueront guère les contributions présentes dans le présent volume : le XII^e siècle, longtemps négligé jusqu'aux travaux pionniers de C. Haskins, et les cinquante premières années du XIII^e.

Réflexion nouvelle suscitée par la lecture du *Timée* et de son commentaire par Chalcidius, comme par la lecture des œuvres de Cicéron et de Macrobie, sur la création, sur la nature, sur l'homme « animal social, comme sur son rôle d'*artifex* ,imitant la nature' dans l'organisation de la cité ; réhabilitation de la distinction aristotélicienne entre disciplines théorétiques et disciplines de la vie pratique et, au sein de ces dernières, identification d'une discipline ,politique', et réflexion très nouvelle sur le primat de l'utilité commune comme objet de la discipline politique et critère exigeant d'une authentique *res publica* : tels sont, bien identifiés par l'historiographie récente, les acquis philosophiques du XII^e et des premières décennies du XIII^e qui voient aussi naître une culture juridique axée sur la lecture et la glose des œuvres de l'empereur Justinien. Débute alors, dès ce XII^e siècle, un débat qu'amplifieront juristes et artiens aux siècles suivants entre tenants de la toute puissance impériale et partisans d'une capacité propre de la communauté politique à exprimer et imposer sa propre vision du bien commun.



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**CICERO SPEAKS FRENCH: CICERONIAN THEMES
IN BRUNETTO LATINI, NICOLE ORESME
AND CHRISTINE DE PIZAN**



The scholarly study of Cicero's social and political thought has undergone a remarkable revival during the last thirty years or so.¹ Unfortunately, this development, while extremely welcome, has not been accompanied by analogous systematic investigation of the dissemination of his teachings in later times, at least during the millennium between roughly the end of the Western Roman Empire and emergence of the Italian Renaissance.² Yet Cicero was the only major political philosopher of pagan antiquity whose writings and ideas were known and adapted – directly as well as indirectly – throughout the European Middle Ages. One striking chapter of the untold, or at least seldom narrated, story of the circulation of Ciceronian social theory concerns the translation of his texts into the various vernaculars of early Europe. Scholarship has

¹ The work that initiated this revival was N. Wood, *The Social and Political Thought of Cicero*, Berkeley 1988. More recently see: J. Harries, *Cicero and the Jurists: From Citizens' Law to the Law of the State*, London 2006; B. Garsten, *Saving Persuasion: A Defense of Rhetoric and Judgment*, Cambridge MA 2006; J. Connolly, *The State of Speech: Rhetoric and Political Thought in Ancient Rome*, Princeton 2007; M. Fox, *Cicero's Philosophy of History*, Oxford 2007; *Cicero's Practical Philosophy*, ed. W. Nicgorski, Notre Dame 2012; J.W. Atkins, *Cicero on Politics and the Limits of Reason: The Republic and Laws*, Cambridge 2013; W. Nicgorski, *Cicero's Skepticism and His Recovery of Political Philosophy*, New York 2016; B. Straumann, *Crisis and Constitutionalism: Roman Political Thought from the Fall of the Republic to the Age of Revolution*, Oxford 2016. Also important in the resuscitation of Cicero is D. Hammer's lengthy chapter in his *Roman Political Thought: From Cicero to Augustine*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 29-92.

² For the former period, see the second volume of M.L. Colish's magisterial *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, I-II, Leiden 1990; for the latter, R.G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Leiden 2000, pp. 338-507.

already identified the dating of the earliest manuscripts or published editions of relevant vernacular renderings. For instance, we possess clear evidence of thirteenth-century Italian-language versions of some of his rhetorical and judicial writings. The appearance of English, German and Spanish translations only occurred well into the 15th century. France falls somewhere in between. The first French renderings of Cicero's *De amicitia* and *De senectute* are dated to 1418, with *De officiis* arriving in 1502.³ But by no means was Cicero invisible in the French language before these translations appeared. We may observe with considerable confidence significant examples of the utilization by French-language authors of leading ideas of Ciceronian political theory.

In the present paper, I propose to examine how Ciceronian social and political theory was integrated into French-language writings between the mid-13th and the early 15th centuries by focusing attention to works by Brunetto Latini (c. 1265), Nicole Oresme (c. 1470), and Christine de Pizan (c. 1405, 1414). Latini and Oresme certainly knew a large range of Cicero's writings in Latin, while the evidence amassed by recent scholarship suggests that Christine possessed at least some competence in Latin letters.⁴ I argue that each of these authors was informed by central features of Ciceronian thought and, in turn, adapted these various elements in distinctive and interesting ways in order to address their own particular concerns and circumstances. Indeed, there is no little irony that Oresme, in the prologues to his French-language commentaries on both Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, cited Cicero's *Academics* as justification for his own use of the vernacular. Just as Cicero commended writing about philosophical matters in his native Latin, rather than in Greek, so Oresme likewise defended his preference for composing in French on the grounds that it was more agreeable to address weighty matters in a language readily accessible to all.⁵ This hints at my point that while none of the authors I examine was slavishly devoted to Cicero, all found a Ciceronian voice (or "language"⁶) at times useful to them.

3 R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge 1954, pp. 526-527 presents a full listing of the late medieval and early modern translations of Cicero's works. An excellent survey of the transmission of Cicero's works in Latin is provided by *Texts and Transmissions: A Survey of Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, Oxford 1983, pp. 54-142.

4 As argued quite persuasively by C.J. Mews, *The Latin Learning in Christine de Pizan's "Livre de paix"*, in: *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, eds. K. Green, C.J. Mews, Turnhout 2005, pp. 61-80.

5 Nicole Oresme, *Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote*, ed. A.D. Menut, New York 1940 (henceforth: *Ethiques*), 2a; Nicole Oresme, *Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristote*, ed. A.D. Menut, "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society" LX (1970) 6 (henceforth: *Politiques*), 4b.

6 As Antony Black might say; see his *Political Thought in Europe 1250-1450*, Cambridge 1992, p. 9.

CICERO'S LEGACY

I commence this investigation by identifying and summarizing three key relevant Ciceronian themes that resonated with medieval French authors. The first of these concerns the linguistic and rational foundations of human society. In *De inventione* and *De oratore*, Cicero maintains that the eloquent expression of the common welfare binds societies together. Cicero places persuasive speech, combined with reason, at the foundations of human association, arguing that the realization of social intercourse requires the activity of an orator acting in concert with his fellow human beings. All men possess a potential for sociability implicit in their common linguistic and rational nature. Yet their primordial existence was a scattered and brutish one, devoid of cities, laws, and the fruits of civil community. They would have been destined to remain permanently in this condition, Cicero believes, without the "existence of one from among the infinite multitude of mankind who, either alone or with a few others, could induce what is given to everyone by nature".⁷ Such a person was the first orator, who, by the application of eloquence and reason, inspired the establishment of communities, the foundation of cities, and the institution of laws and rights. As Cicero explains,

At a certain time, a great and wise man discovered a natural property [of speech] contained within the souls of human beings and a great source of opportunity afforded thereby, if one could draw it out and render it better through education. [...] He transformed them from wild beasts and savages into tame and gentle creatures on account of heeding speech and reason more diligently. It does not seem to me, at least, that a wisdom either silent or lacking speech could have accomplished the sudden conversion of men from their habits and the conveyance of them into different modes of life.⁸

Society could never have arisen without the primitive orator, who was both a persuasive speaker and a man of special insight and wisdom, capable of activating that latent power which existed within all men.

Cicero recognized, of course, that this characterization of the orator and his art was open to challenge on account of the supposed conceptual incongruity of philosophical wisdom and rhetoric. The wise man seeks to discover truths which were necessarily esoteric or inaccessible to the untutored masses; philosophy requires strict adherence to the principles of dialectic and rational argumentation. By contrast, because rhetoric teaches effectiveness in appealing to public opinion and commonly held belief, it might seem to

⁷ Cicero, *De oratore*, eds. E.W. Sutton, H. Rackham, Cambridge MA 1942, I.31.

⁸ Cicero, *De inventione*, ed. H.M. Hubbell, Cambridge MA 1949, I.2-3.

be regulated by standards other than those of pure truth-seeking. Cicero, in turn, charges the latter-day orator to imitate the heroism of his archetype, by not only discovering what is truly good for his fellow creatures (in the manner of the philosopher) but also by communicating it to them in the most forceful and convincing manner so that they may put it to use. His writings consistently ascribe to the successors of the primeval orator a special duty toward the maintenance and defense of the principles of communal life. In *De inventione*, he declares that “eloquence is to be studied [...] all the more vigorously, lest evil men are the most powerful to the detriment of good men and the common disaster of everyone [...]. For this [eloquence] attains the greatest advantage for the republic if wisdom, the director [*moderatrix*] of all matters, is present”.⁹ Likewise, in *De oratore*, he proclaims: “The guidance [*moderatione*] and wisdom of the perfect orator preserves not only his own dignity, but also the well-being of most individuals and of the whole republic”.¹⁰ Precisely the combination of eloquence and wisdom characteristic of the orator assures that he will speak on behalf of the interests of the entire community. By contrast, the philosopher may know the good, but lacks the skill or training to convey it to the multitude. Indeed, at times Cicero states that the realm of so-called “practical philosophy” (philosophy touching on *vitam atque mores*) falls more properly within the domain of the orator than of the philosopher.¹¹ Inherent in the subject-matter of oratory, then, is a regard for one’s fellow human beings and, especially, fellow citizens which imposes upon the orator an overarching duty to disseminate the dictates of reason in the service of public welfare.

A second, and closely connected, element of Cicero’s social and political thought that interested in medieval readers stems from the consequences that follow from rational speech for the moral foundations of society. For him, the role of human reason is to maintain and strengthen the bonds of communal order. According to Cicero, reason promotes the persistence of the social bonds of the human species in three ways: through recognition of self-interest; instruction in virtue; and discovery of natural law. Human beings congregate because reason reveals to them the advantages that stem from cooperation. Cicero explains at great length that, when rational creatures work together, discernible benefits abound: protection from the elements and the improvement of productive capacities, no less than the pleasures of social intercourse and the advantages of economic exchange. Reason teaches that persons can live a materially more satisfactory existence in a community than

⁹ *Ibidem*, I.5.

¹⁰ Cicero, *De oratore*, I.34.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, I.68-69.

under the conditions of solitude.¹² But Cicero also recognizes that rational self-interest is an insufficient basis for a stable and harmonious society. He remarks that “just as we obtain great utility from consent and cooperation among men, so there is no pestilence as detestable as that which men have wrought upon men”.¹³ If self-interest alone were at the heart of social relations, then no community would endure, since men would cooperate only when it suited them, and they would always try to take advantage of, or even oppose, their fellows whenever personal gain so dictated. Natural reason seeks to resolve this dilemma through the discovery and dissemination of the virtues, especially justice. Cicero proclaims that “there is nothing more illustrious nor of wider range than the bond between human beings and the sort of fellowship and useful intercommunication and love among human beings, which [...] is termed justice”.¹⁴ In his view, “The society of humans amongst themselves and the quasi-communal life are maintained” solely on the basis of adherence to just precepts.¹⁵ The absolute prerequisite of social organization is the presence of a commonly recognized and respected principle of justice.

The Ciceronian conception of justice, in turn, rests on his notion of nature and natural law. Cicero holds that nature imposes upon us a certain code or measure of conduct, arising in particular from the requirement to promote the ends and interests of human society. The commission of an injury (such as theft or fraud) constitutes a violation of natural law precisely because it “is necessarily disruptive of that which is most in accordance with nature, the generation of human society”.¹⁶ In order to prevent perpetual endangerment to the bonds of society, the law of nature is afforded prescriptive force. Cicero contends that recognition of the dictates of justice emerges “much more effectively from natural reason itself, which is law for human beings and divinity alike”.¹⁷ “Injustice”, he says, “is fatal to social life and fellowship between man and man”, in support of which claim he invokes an organic analogy: “Suppose, by way of comparison, that each one of our bodily members should conceive this idea and imagine that it could be strong and well if it should draw off to itself the health and strength of its neighboring member, the whole body would be enfeebled and die”.¹⁸ To prevent such

¹² Cicero, *De officiis*, ed. W. Miller, Cambridge MA 1913, I.12. See also Cicero, *De legibus*, ed. C.W. Keys, Cambridge MA 1928, I.25-27.

¹³ Cicero, *De officiis*, II.16.

¹⁴ Cicero, *De finibus*, ed. H. Rackham, 2nd edition, Cambridge MA 1931, V.65.

¹⁵ Cicero, *De officiis*, I.20.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, III.21-22.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, III.23.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, III.22.

a breakdown of public order, and hence to know what behavior is required by justice, one must reason about the common good. Because by “nature there are interests that all have in common”, Cicero asserts that “we are all subject to one and the same natural law” and that “we are certainly forbidden to harm another person on the basis of natural law”.¹⁹ The Ciceronian doctrine of natural law codifies and authorizes the obligation stemming from justice to value social fellowship above all else. Furthermore, the justice that inheres in nature specifies our communal duties to one another as human beings. In *De inventione*, Cicero insists that every man is required to render “kind offices and loving service to his kin and country”.²⁰ Similarly, in *De officiis*, he declares, “[...] we are not born for ourselves alone, but our country claims a share of our being, and our friends a share [...] men, too, are born for the sake of men, that they may mutually be able to help one another”.²¹ Thus, in the acts of intercommunication among human beings that advance the good of all, mankind is bound together ever more tightly in myriad forms of association.

A final theme of Cicero’s social and political philosophy relevant to the present discussion stems from his idea of friendship, particularly as crystallized in his *De amicitia*, in which he criticizes self-interested friendship, comparing it to the acquisition of cattle. Cicero presents his ideas in the form of a discourse delivered by a legendary figure from the Roman past, Laelius, recalling his friendship with another of Cicero’s ideal statesmen, Scipio Africanus. Central to Cicero’s dialogue is a desire to depict an ideal *amicitia* that stands wholly above base motives. Laelius emphasizes that the essence of friendship depends on a harmony of values, above all a commitment to virtue: “Both in our public and private lives he and I shared all the same interests. Our tastes and aims and views were identical and that is where the essence of a friendship must always lie”.²² By framing these ideals as a quality to be possessed by true friends alone, Cicero thus engages in a critique of supposed friendships in which virtue, honesty and truth give way to flattery and self-interest. In turn, genuine friendship is itself a consequence of an inherent desire for connection in the natural world: “The bonds which nature has established to link one member of the human race with another are innumerable; but friendship not only surpasses them all but is something so choice and selective that its manifestations are normally restricted to two persons and two persons only – or at most extremely few”.²³ While he observes

¹⁹ Ibidem, III.27.

²⁰ Cicero, *De inventione*, II.161.

²¹ Cicero, *De officiis*, I.22.

²² Cicero, *De amicitia*, ed. W.A. Falconer, Cambridge MA 1923, 4.14.

²³ Ibidem, 5.20.

that all sorts of people can be friends, he regards the example of Scipio and Laelius to constitute the pinnacle of friendship: “We need friendship all the time, just as much as we need the proverbial prime necessities of life, fire and water. I am not speaking of ordinary commonplace friendships, delightful and valuable though they can be. What I have in mind instead is the authentic, truly admirable sort of relationship, the sort that was embodied in those rare pairs of famous friends”.²⁴ Hence, Cicero emphatically rejects the view “that friendships should be cultivated not for feeling but for mutual utility”.²⁵ Instead, true and abiding friendship obtains among honorable and virtuous people alone.

BRUNETTO LATINI

The most notable early benchmark in the diffusion and adaptation of Ciceronian thought among medieval French-language authors is Brunetto Latini’s *Li livres dou tresor* (*The Books of Treasure*), a philosophical encyclopedia compiled around 1260.²⁶ As his name suggests, Latini was not himself of French heritage, but a Florentine who was trained as a professional rhetorician and mainly worked as a civil servant in his native city. During the 1260s, he was forced into exile and took employment as a notary in several cities in France. In this period of exile, Latini composed the *Tresor*, as well as an Italian language translation of and commentary on Cicero’s *De inventione*.²⁷ The *Tresor* is divided into three books: the first treats the fields of theology, history, geography and natural philosophy; the second examines ethics; and the third surveys *de bone paroleure*, under which heading Latini includes rhetoric and politics.

As befits an author with Latini’s education and career, his central focus on Ciceronian thought is directed toward rhetoric and its association with public affairs. Throughout the *Tresor*, Latini treats rhetoric as the defining feature of what is best and noblest about humanity. This is most evident in Book 3. With *De inventione* I.6 apparently in mind, Latini commences the book with the claim that “Tully says that the highest science of governing the city

²⁴ Ibidem, 6.22.

²⁵ Ibidem, 13.44.

²⁶ Paul Barnette and Spurgeon Baldwin have recently produced both an edition of the Brunetto Latini, *Tresor* (Tempe 2003) and an English translation of it (New York 1993; henceforth: *Tresor*). Still useful, especially for its notes, is an earlier edition of the *Tresor* (ed. F.J. Carmody, Berkeley 1947).

²⁷ Brunetto Latini, *La rettorica*, ed. F. Maggini, Florence 1968. A recent English translation of *La rettorica* has been produced by S. D’Agata D’Ottavi (Kalamazoo 2016). For a thorough and useful overview of Latini’s reliance on Cicero, see G.C. Alessio, *Brunetto Latini e Cicerone (e i dettatori)*, “Italia Medievale e Umanistica” XX (1979), pp. 123-169.

is rhetoric, that is to say, the science of speaking; for without speaking, there were not and would not have been either cities or the institution of justice or human companionship".²⁸ Although the chapters immediately following this statement read like a brief commentary on *De inventione*, Latini's purpose is to introduce the study of rhetoric as a subject which the prospective ruler of a city must master. After examining the elements of rhetoric, he immediately moves on to discuss the duties connected with civic government. And among the primary requirements elucidated by Latini for appointment to public office is that he be "a very good speaker",²⁹ as well as be knowledgeable in "everything concerning matters of truth".³⁰ These attributes indicate that a necessary precondition for competence as a governor is the attainment of qualifications as an orator.

Tresor signals recognition, however, that there are potential problems associated with the Ciceronian conception of rhetoric as central to public affairs and governance. In particular, as Latini admits, a potential danger to the community arises when persuasive speech is not accompanied by a well-formed intellect. He observes that, unfortunately, "just as it is the case that speech is given to all men, [...] wisdom (*sapience*) is given to a few".³¹ Latini then enumerates four different types of relationship which are possible between eloquence and wisdom: when reason and good speech are present together, "it is the flower of the world"; when neither are present, it is a "great disaster"; when one speaks well but lacks reason, there is "very great peril"; and when one possesses reason, yet eloquence is absent, instruction and aid are required.³² Latini says nothing more about the second and fourth categories. Instead, he concentrates on promoting the union of wisdom and eloquence, and hence on averting the disaster that arises from their disjunction. In this regard, Latini adopts the Ciceronian position that oratory as the union of wisdom and eloquence is of the greatest benefit to the entire community: "And when wisdom is joined to speech, who will say that it cannot give rise to goodness?"³³ His evidence for the usefulness of oratory rests, in turn, on Cicero's claim that society itself would be impossible in the absence of speech:

Tully says that, in the beginning, men lived according to the law of beasts, without their own houses and without knowledge of God, in the forests and in rural retreats, without regard for marriage or cognizance

²⁸ *Tresor*, III.1.2.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, III.75.8.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, III.75.5.

³¹ *Ibidem*, III.1.2.

³² *Ibidem*, III.1.2.

³³ *Ibidem*, III.1.6.

of parents or children. Then there appeared a wise and well-spoken man, who counseled the others and pointed out the greatness of the soul and the dignity of reason and of discretion, so that he recalled them from their savagery and urged them to come together as one and to protect reason and justice. And by the use of good speech which was accompanied by reason, this man was almost like a second God, who created the world for the sake of the arrangement of human companionship.³⁴

Latini's appreciation of the contribution of the primitive orator, and especially his comparison of the activity of the wise and eloquent speaker to the creative power of God, is striking in its force. The orator is placed in *Tresor* at the very center of the communal affairs of his city: his words are the fount of civic life.

That Latini views this oratorical role as a continuing feature of the community is made clear by the idea of "counsel" which runs throughout the third part of *Tresor*. At times, he seems to mean by "counsel" or "giving counsel" simply one of the three technical divisions of rhetoric (namely, *deliberativo*) enumerated by Cicero in *De inventione*.³⁵ But in the suggestion that the primitive orator "counseled", and that the man who merely speaks well does not "give counsel", there is an indication that the discipline of rhetoric teaches counsel in a normative sense. "Counsel" seems to connote wise speech for the purpose of achieving public welfare or rectitude. This impression is reinforced by Latini when he turns directly to the governance of the city: citizens should seek "wise counsel" when deciding whom to appoint as their ruler;³⁶ they are charged with giving their governor "counsel and aid for maintaining his office";³⁷ and one of the primary duties of rulers is to assemble the chief and wise men of the city in order to request and consider their "counsel" regarding important matters, such as the conduct of diplomatic affairs.³⁸ Oratory appears to form the basis for such counseling functions: the properly trained orator may be taken to speak on behalf of the interests of the community because his eloquence is coupled with the wisdom to recognize the public good. Thus, not only the ruler, but the body of the citizens (or at least its leading segments) as well, ought to be trained in the field of rhetoric.

Latini also closely follows Cicero (albeit with a Christian tinge) concerning the preeminent role played by justice in both the formation and the maintenance of social and political bonds and thus its precedence over

34 Ibidem, III.1.7.

35 Compare ibidem, III.2.20 and 52.11 with Cicero, *De oratore*, I.7.

36 *Tresor*, III.75.1.

37 Ibidem, III.74.4.

38 Ibidem, III. 87-89, 95.

all the other virtues. Just as Latini upholds the Ciceronian view that speech was necessary to assemble men into community, he likewise asserts that “at the beginning of the world, when there was no king or emperor on the earth, people lived according to the law of beasts, some in one cave and others in another, without law and without communities”.³⁹ But life in this primitive condition resulted in conflict and danger for those in it. In order to remedy this situation, Latini says,

a few good sensible men gathered together and ordained the people to live together and to keep human company, and they established justice and law, from which it is clearly evident that justice is the virtue that watches over human company and communal life, for when men live together and one has arable land and the other possessions he needs, another one might be moved by envy and discord if there were no justice.⁴⁰

Justice, according to Latini, has a dual source. On the one hand, it “is joined to nature and exists for the good and maintenance of many people [...] Nature calls us to the works of justice [...] almost everything that pertains to justice is written on our hearts as if by nature”.⁴¹ Justice is a dictate of natural law. “It is more against the law of nature”, he says, to take “away the common life of men”, a position that he illustrates with an analogy derived straight from *De officiis*: “If one limb thought that it would be worth more by drawing off for itself the health of the next limb, the whole body would necessarily weaken and die”.⁴² But Latini’s Ciceronian naturalism is supplemented by a Christian dimension inasmuch as he introduces a divine element into the foundation of justice: “[...] it is the law of God and the bond of human company”.⁴³ By no means are these claims contradictory. In medieval thought, the formula “natura, id est, Deus” was widely propounded.⁴⁴ Even prior to the appearance of Christianity, all human beings, by following the dictates of nature, were in a sense submitting to divinely ordained law and thus to God’s justice. Such a claim would have been unexceptional during the Middle Ages.

In this vein, Latini also conflates the Ciceronian and the Christian conceptions of the specific duties required by justice. In a clear allusion to *De officiis* I.23, in which Cicero offers a definition of justice as both refraining from the commission of injury and shielding others from harm, Latini remarks,

³⁹ Ibidem, II.91.1.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, II.91.1.

⁴¹ Ibidem, II.91.4 and II.91.8.

⁴² Ibidem, II.122.4.

⁴³ Ibidem, II.91.4.

⁴⁴ See G. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322*, Princeton 1964, pp. 37-39.

“If you want to be just, it is not enough to do no harm to others; you must oppose those who want to cause them harm, for not harming another is not justice” in its fullest sense.⁴⁵ Enforcing this principle of justice rigorously, in the view of Latini (following Cicero), is entirely necessary for the perpetuation of the bonds that tie human social and political community together. But Latini also believes that the Ciceronian position closely parallels the Christian one. “If you truly want to follow justice”, he says, “love and fear the Lord Our God so that you will be loved by him; and this is the way you can love him: do good to every person and harm no one, and then they will call you just [...]”.⁴⁶ As with the dual bases of justice in natural and divine law, so the substance of the actions required of the just man arises from and depends upon both natural and divine sources either in combination or separately. It is through nature as well as revelation that God commands humans to be just if they are to live peaceably and fruitfully together. Slightly modifying the teachings of *De officiis* I.22 and *De inventione* II.161, Latini remarks that we are bound to “love and serve diligently our relatives and our country, for first of all we are born for God and then for our parents and our country”.⁴⁷ God thus takes priority of place in the hierarchy of human duties, but not totally at the expense of natural responsibilities to various of our fellow creatures.

Finally, Latini draws considerably from the Ciceronian concept of friendship propounded in *De amicitia*. It must be noted that there are two distinct discussions of friendship in the *Tresor*. The first stems from Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, a French paraphrase of which composes the initial fifty chapters of Book II. Thereafter, Aristotle disappears completely from view, and a second, and far more extensive, survey of friendship emerges, premised instead on Cicero’s principles. Latini joins Cicero in rejecting unconditionally those forms of friendship that rest on either profit or pleasure. Such relationships are of necessity fleeting and unreliable, whereas true friendship is enduring.⁴⁸ This is so because genuine friendship is founded on virtue, or more specifically, it occurs only among virtuous men, a position that Latini explicitly attributes to Cicero.⁴⁹ Indeed, Latini insists, again following Cicero, “friendship must be put before all things. About this Cicero also says that friendship is worth much more than kinship, for love can perish with relatives and the name of relative always remains, but if love perishes between friends, the name of friendship perishes with it”.⁵⁰ Friends, Latini observes,

45 *Tresor*, II.91.6.

46 *Ibidem*, II.91.5.

47 *Ibidem*, II.99.1.

48 *Ibidem*, II.105-106.

49 *Ibidem*, II.102.1.

50 *Ibidem*, II.104.11.

must be loyal to one another as well as value virtue and goodness, among other qualifications.⁵¹ Friends are so intertwined in their bonds that an injury to one is an injury to the other.⁵² Latini departs from the Ciceronian ideal of friendship in only one major regard, which depends on divine commandment, namely, that love for any of one's true friends cannot be greater than one's love for oneself and for God. Friendship should transcend any concerns about earthly goods, but it may never violate the divine injunction to love God as oneself.⁵³ This caveat aside, Latini's account of friendship otherwise aligns closely with that proposed by Cicero in *De amicitia*.

NICOLE ORESME

During roughly Latini's lifetime, Aristotle's *Politics* entered into circulation, at least within the walls of the great European universities, by means of William of Moerbeke's quite imperfect Latin translation. Moerbeke's problematic rendering of the *Politics*, represented most obviously by his simple transliteration of Greek words and phrases that were unfamiliar to him, resulted in a profusion of literal commentaries, such as those by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas/Peter of Auvergne in the 1260s and 1270s and by Walter Burley in the 1330s.⁵⁴ The purpose of such commentaries was to aid students in mastering the *Politics* as a part of their Arts curriculum. By contrast, Nicole Oresme's French vernacular translation of and commentary on the *Politics*, dating from the early 1370s, brought scholastic learning to bear the world of the court.⁵⁵ Commissioned by King Charles V, it represented an early, and highly successful, effort to make available to a non-Latinate readership ideas otherwise accessible only in the lecture rooms of the universities.⁵⁶ (As Oresme's modern editor, Albert Menut, points out, however, Oresme was not the first to attempt a French translation of the *Politics*. In the first decade of

⁵¹ Ibidem, II.102.1-2.

⁵² Ibidem, II.103.5.

⁵³ Ibidem, II.103.4.

⁵⁴ The most extensive recent survey is Ch. Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der Aristotelischen Politica am späten Mittelalter*, I-II, Amsterdam 1992.

⁵⁵ The illustrations contained in Oresme's beautifully illuminated presentation manuscript to Charles V, along with an accompanying discussion of the text, may be found in C.R. Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France*, Berkeley 1995.

⁵⁶ The standard examination of Oresme's *Politiques* is S.M. Babbitt, *Oresme's Livre de Politique and the France of Charles V*, "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society" LXXV (1985) 1, pp. 1-158. Joel Kaye has done a great deal to place Oresme within the broader contours of scholastic thought in his Haskins Prize-winning book *A History of Balance, 1250-1375: The Emergence of a New Model of Equilibrium and Its Impact on Thought*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 345-397, especially pp. 366-397.

the 14th century, a shadowy figure named Pierre de Paris produced a version of the work that is now lost.⁵⁷) Unlike the Latin commentators, Oresme often moved well beyond the text of the *Politics* and developed Aristotelian themes creatively and in a manner more directly germane to his courtly audience. Oresme thus demonstrated an eclectic spirit that liberates his commentary from the constraints imposed by the scholastic pedagogical origins of his predecessors. One sign of this eclecticism is the use that Oresme regularly made of Cicero's writings as a way of elaborating and refining elements of Aristotle's thought. While it may go too far to say that Oresme read the *Politics* through a Ciceronian lens, there is certainly sufficient evidence to say that Cicero constituted an important source for the interpretation of Aristotle's political philosophy. (A similar point pertains to his French translations of and commentaries on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and the pseudo-Aristotle *Economics*, to which I will occasionally make reference.)

To a far greater extent than Latini, Oresme expresses the sort of trepidation about the dangers posed by eloquent speech in the absence of wisdom that Cicero had acknowledged in *De inventione* and elsewhere. Commenting on how eloquence may result in demagoguery, Oresme points out that "Tully recounts at the beginning of *De inventione* concerning this question that the 'public thing' (*chose publique*) of Rome was greatly damaged and undermined by eloquence and that many great cities have suffered longstanding miseries and calamities as a result of men who were very talented in speaking and of great fluidity".⁵⁸ Oresme's reference to the *chose publique* (*res publica* in Cicero's Latin) is telling. He strongly implies that the goal of language is (or ought to be) the promotion of the common good necessary for a well-ordered community. It is a failure of eloquent speech to be put to its proper use that led to the breakdown of public order in Rome and elsewhere. This extrapolation is confirmed by Oresme's recognition of the importance of linguistic facility to the formation of human associations. In a fashion somewhat different from Cicero, he invokes the necessity of eloquence for the creation of civil community with reference to Aristotle's conception of "voluntary kingship". What distinguishes this sort of governance from other types of rule is that subjects willingly submit to the king, whose authority is not merely just but constitutive of the communal order. Such kings, in particular, "assemble the scattered and primitive folk and then teach them the patterns of civil life and political society as Cicero touches on at the beginning of *De inventione*".⁵⁹ Interestingly, Oresme immediately follows this assertion with a reference to

57 *Politiques*, p. 11.

58 *Ibidem*, 176c. Translations from Old French are mine.

59 *Ibidem*, 107c.

relatively recent events in Europe: Among examples of voluntary kings taming a wild and uncivilized people, he cites the conquests by the first rulers or kings of France and by Duke William of Normandy, who successfully invaded and subdued England. These may seem like odd choices on Oresme's part, but they apparently reflect his view that the inhabitants of the conquered territories were primitive prior to being civilized by their new overlords. Oresme may have been less sanguine than Latini about the capacities of human beings to assemble purely as the result of eloquent speech, but he captured a dimension of the Ciceronian position that social and political community depends upon some leader to bring them together.

Of the other two Ciceronian themes under consideration, Oresme similarly adapted them to render them relevant to his interpretation of Aristotle. One of the central, and yet puzzling, aspects of the *Politics* is the doctrine that man is naturally born for life in civil community and thus is a "political animal".⁶⁰ (Indeed, the meaning of the latter phrase continues to be a subject of considerable controversy even today.⁶¹) In order to explicate the meaning of Aristotle's claim about the naturalness of political community, Oresme turns to Cicero's *De officiis*: "Just as a hand cannot truly be a hand if it is not attached to a man, so man is not properly man apart from a community of men. Cicero has stated that we are not born for ourselves alone, but for the continuity of our race, our city and our country".⁶² Oresme's reference to elements of Ciceronian naturalism is clearly meant to elaborate on Aristotle's teaching about the relation between individual and community by giving it a more concrete meaning via both Cicero's organicism and his familiar doctrine of human duties toward one another. Oresme returns to these features of Cicero's thought later in his commentary. For instance, in a long excursus concerning a brief remark in the *Politics* about the relationship between contemplative and active *eudaimonia*,⁶³ Oresme recasts Aristotle's well-known predilection for philosophical contemplation over action (as expressed in Book 10 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and elsewhere) in decidedly Ciceronian terms. Cicero, of course, had praised the active life guided by justice as equal to (and sometimes better than) the leisured pursuit of wisdom.⁶⁴ In Oresme's extensive discussion of which form of existence is most fulfilling, he reminds of us Cicero's principle that "we are not born for ourselves but for our parents and our country", from which he concludes, on the authority of *De officiis* I.44, that contemplation

60 Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. C.D.C. Reeve, Indianapolis 2017, 1253a1-18.

61 See C.J. Nederman, *The Puzzle of the Political Animal: Nature and Artifice in Aristotle's Political Theory*, "The Review of Politics" LVI (1994) 2, pp. 283-304.

62 *Politiques*, 8d.

63 Aristotle, *Politics*, 1325b15-20.

64 Cicero, *De officiis*, I.19.

must be set aside when action is required for the maintenance of social and political bonds.⁶⁵ (A similar position is maintained in Oresme's commentary on the tenth book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*: "For as Tully says, speculation is no more great and noble than taking action in order to assist and protect against perils to the public good").⁶⁶ Consequently, Oresme asserts that "a mixture of contemplative work and active work is more desirable and better than one that is entirely taken up with contemplation",⁶⁷ which in turn permits him to praise the life of the prince (presumably someone like Charles V) as the best possible one on earth.⁶⁸ Within the commentary on the *Politics*, other instances of Oresme's appeal to Cicero in the context of a naturalist theory may also be adduced.⁶⁹

It should be evident that, unlike Latini, who hewed very closely to the available texts of Cicero, Oresme ought to be characterized as an adherent more to the spirit than to the letter of Ciceronianism. His commentary on the *Politics* contains no reference, at least so far as I can find, to natural law. Likewise, Oresme limits his citation of Cicero's views on justice to the discussion in *De officiis* II.40 in support of the argument that even the most pernicious thieves possess a minimal sense of justice, otherwise they could never band together, and they would be constantly in conflict with one another.⁷⁰ However, the natural law foundation of justice is extensively addressed in Oresme's gloss on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* with direct reference to Cicero.⁷¹ At *Ethics* 1134b18-35, Aristotle discussed a distinction between two different types of justice: one is natural and one is conventional. The former, he says, is universal, applying to all men without exception; the latter principle of justice is specific to one or another political system. Aristotle's rationale for introducing this division of the dual meanings of justice seems to be the refutation of people for whom justice is utterly conventional and thus does not exist in anything other than positive law, which is specific to a given *polis*. Where the text of the *Ethics* states simply "natural justice", Oresme adds "or natural law", clearly equating the two.⁷² He then says in his commentary on the passage that human beings in a sense share natural law with other beasts, a direct echo of *De officiis* I.11. What separates the nature of man from that of animal is the possession of reason, which permits human beings to move

65 *Politiques*, 243a.

66 *Ethiques*, 212c.

67 *Politiques*, 243d.

68 *Ibidem*, 244c.

69 *Ibidem*, 44d, 295c.

70 *Ibidem*, 89b-c, 90a.

71 *Ethiques*, 103d-109c.

72 *Ibidem*, 103d.

away from pure instinct and to construct a system of civil law grounded on natural law, a position that Oresme expressly ascribes to Cicero.⁷³

Oresme's references to the Ciceronian conception of friendship are likewise sparse, although not non-existent, in his corpus. In the context of the need for kings to rely upon counselors and officials, his *Politics* commentary discusses a problem common in medieval political writings, namely, how to know when rulers ought to trust those on whom they turn for advice. Aristotle seems entirely unaware of this dilemma, saying merely that the king ought to differentiate between those who are friendly towards him and those who are not. By contrast, Oresme considers the issue of judging royal counselors from the perspective of flattery, and invokes lessons drawn from *De amicitia*. He makes an interesting distinction between those who are friends of the kingdom and those who are friendly to the king. He worries that those who care about the kingdom, but do not count the king amongst their friends, "are not good". By contrast, those who are truly the king's friends will also be counted among the friends of the kingdom. Oresme then cites Cicero's view on friendship as a fundamentally interpersonal relationship: "For as Tully says, the real friend never does anything dishonorable to his friend. And for this reason anyone who counsels the king in order to please him to do something contrary to the public good is not a friend of the king".⁷⁴ Thus, on Ciceronian grounds, the king must always consider whether his advisors are merely flattering him or whether they indeed make the well-being of the king as well as of the kingdom their priority.

Beyond this use of *De amicitia*, the only other references to Cicero's concept of friendship that I have located are in Oresme's commentary on the pseudo-Aristotle *Economics*, where he remarks that "in adversity one discovers his true friend", followed somewhat later by the statement that "as Tully says, the first law of friendship is that we should ask of our friends only righteous things: 'The first law of friendship is to ask only honorable things from one's friends.'"⁷⁵ Interestingly, both remarks pertain to the relationship between husband and wife, suggesting that each partner is bound to the other by the terms of friendship as conceived by Cicero. What makes this fascinating is Oresme's apparent endorsement of Cicero's claim that friends must be equals in virtue, and thus that spouses possess (at least potentially) equal moral standing, a view that Aristotle (or pseudo-Aristotle, in this case) would never have accepted. It is also worthy of note that, despite the extensive treatment of friendship in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Oresme does not appear to have cited

⁷³ Ibidem, 104a.

⁷⁴ *Politiques*, 120c.

⁷⁵ Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Yconomique d'Aristote*, ed. A.D. Menut, "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society" XLVII (1957) 5, 341b, 346c.

Cicero in his commentary on the relevant passages of that text at all. In any case, while it would be an overstatement to ascribe to Oresme a pronounced dependence upon the precepts articulated in *De amicitia*, he nevertheless demonstrates familiarity with the text consonant with other demonstrable instances of his reliance on Cicero's thought.

CHRISTINE DE PIZAN

Within a short time after Oresme composed his commentaries, Christine de Pizan, another French author connected with the royal court, wrote several treatises that also relied in equally intriguing ways on elements of Ciceronian social and political thought. While Oresme flourished during the period of Charles V's patronage of literary and philosophical activities in the vernacular, Christine's career largely spanned the reign of Charles VI, during whose lifetime France fell into a long-standing series of quarrels among members of the royal family, exacerbated by the new king's bouts of madness. Thus, in contrast to both Latini and Oresme, Christine's own political writings in the French language in many ways reflected the tumultuous events of her time.⁷⁶ Moreover, Christine confronted and responded to the detractors of her status as a woman who spent most of her adult life supporting herself as a professional writer. Yet she proved to be perhaps the most prolific author of political treatises during the Middle Ages, even as she also composed significant works of poetry and engaged in an ongoing dispute over the overt hostility to women found in early literature (initiating, for instance, a quarrel concerning Jean de Meun's *Romance of the Rose*). As we shall see, this controversy had important implications for her dependence (albeit unacknowledged) on Cicero. Moreover, Christine's many writings of an overtly political nature employed and adapted some key Ciceronian concepts that have been under examination in this article. We know that many (perhaps most) of the sources for her thought derived from prior vernacular texts. For instance, she depended heavily on Latini's *Tresor* and probably knew much of her Aristotle from Oresme's translations and commentaries; she also drew on Denis Foulechat's French rendering of John of Salisbury's twelfth-century tome, the *Politicraticus*, which was also commissioned during the reign of Charles V (about which more will be said below).⁷⁷ To what extent she was

⁷⁶ On Christine's life and political ideas, see K.L. Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, Berlington 2002. This may be supplemented by the chapters in *Healing the Body Politic...*, eds. K. Green, C.J. Mews.

⁷⁷ K.L. Forhan, *The Political Theory...* contains an extensive discussion of Christine's sources.

directly familiar with Cicero's oeuvre in the original must remain entirely a matter of speculation, although, as mentioned previously, it now seems beyond doubt that she possessed sufficient language skills to read Latin texts.

During the early and mid-1400s, Christine wrote an especially large number of treatises on subjects addressing social and political issues, among which were several works regarded to be some of her most important contributions, namely, *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* (1405), *Le Livre de Corps de Policie* (1406), and *Le Trésor de la Cité des Dames* (also 1406). For present purposes, the *Trésor* demonstrates no particular cognizance of Cicero, while the *Corps de Policie* cites *De officiis* and *De senectute* (once) only peripherally. By contrast, the *Cité des Dames* includes an obvious, if unacknowledged, reworking of Cicero's account of the foundations of human association. Christine's overarching goal in the *Cité des Dames* was to refute the judgment contained in "the treatises of all philosophers and poets and from all the orators [...] that the behavior of women is inclined to and full of every vice".⁷⁸ In line with this remark, the only overt reference to Cicero in the *Cité des Dames* merely ascribes to him the view "that a man should never serve any woman and that he who does so debases himself, for no man should serve anyone lower than him".⁷⁹ That no such statement is to be found anywhere in the extant Ciceronian corpus is beside the point; her wish is to paint the great male authors of the (pagan) past with the brush of misogyny.

Perhaps for this reason, Cicero's name is never attached to the depiction of the emergence of social relations that Christine employed to suit her purposes. In any case, the Ciceronian appears in the course of her account of the many achievements of the human race that are attributable to the activities of women. According to Christine, most of the arts typical of civilization, including organized society itself, were feminine in origin. The *Cité des Dames* provides a lengthy accounting of "the earthly benefits accruing thanks to women [...] who gave the sciences and arts to the world".⁸⁰ Among such arts invented by women, Christine mentions weaving, extraction of olive oil, cart construction, metal working, cultivation, tool-making, and gardening.⁸¹ All of these arts involve the existence of communal association, the formation of which she ascribes to Ceres, who assembled together human beings who had previously lived as beasts. Adapting the familiar story of social origination derived from *De inventione*, Christine recounts how Ceres

⁷⁸ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, ed. E.J. Richards, New York 1998, I.1.1.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, I.9.3.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, II.30.1.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, I.34.1-36.2.

had the people of that time gather together in communities. They had traditionally lived scattered here and there in the forest and wilderness, wandering like animals. She taught them to build cities and towns of permanent construction where they could reside together. Thus, thanks to this woman, the world was led away from bestial living conditions to a rational, human life.⁸²

This trope of the female source of social interaction recurs throughout Christine's presentation of Ceres' accomplishments. According to Christine, no one could

ever acquire a more praiseworthy name than by leading wandering and savage men, living in the woods like cruel beasts without the rule of justice, to reside in cities and towns and by teaching them to make use of law and by securing better provisions for them than acorns and wild apples [...] Because of this lady, humanity benefitted from the transformation of the harsh and untamed world into a civilized and urban place. She transformed the minds of vagabond and lazy men by drawing them to herself and leading them from the caverns of ignorance to the heights of contemplation and proper behavior. By organizing certain men to perform field labor, this woman made it possible for so many cities and towns to be populated and for their residents, who perform the other works necessary for life, to be supplied.⁸³

Christine here certainly conflates two versions of Cicero's story of the origins of fixed human association, namely, the one that emphasizes linguistic facility and the other that focuses on the power of reason to induce justice. Nevertheless, the central elements of the Ciceronian narrative are brought together by Christine, only now attributed to the unique abilities of a single woman to "lead" the rest of humanity the recognition and fulfillment of its natural but untapped aptitudes.

In similar fashion, Christine contends that Isis "handed down and instituted several good and upright laws; she instructed the people of Egypt, who had, until then, lived like savages, without law, justice or order, to live according to the rule of law".⁸⁴ Women deserve to credit the major achievements in the development of human culture and the improvement of the species' conditions of social and political existence. Christine admits that some thinkers may not view the development of the human race as a laudable accomplishment. In an apparent reference to the famously misogynistic thirteenth-century poem by Jean de Meun, the *Roman de la Rose*, Christine observes that "several have

82 Ibidem, I.35.1.

83 Ibidem, I.38.1.

84 Ibidem, I.36.1.

argued that this world was better off when people lived only from haws and acorns and wore nothing more than animal skins".⁸⁵ She takes strong exception with such authorities, however, on the grounds that the improvement of humanity ultimately enhances the worship of God:

With all due respect [...] for those who argue that it is unfortunate for the world that such things were discovered for the ease and nourishment of the human body, I would maintain that the more goods, favors, and boons the human creature receives from God, the better he is required to serve God.⁸⁶

Living in an ordered community is not inconsistent with the divine plan, but is instead the realization of those capacities and faculties that God has granted to humanity: "God has wished to provide the world with many necessary and profitable things [...] through these women".⁸⁷ Without women's innovations and contributions, she implies, humanity would have remained in a state of depredation and misery. It should be evident that the extent to which Christine's thought (albeit in Christianized form) follows Cicero closely, even in the absence of attribution to the Roman.

By contrast, Christine was much less reticent to invoke Cicero by name, while also employing significant elements of his writings, in her later book, *Le Livre de Paix* (apparently finished in late 1413). Composed in celebration of two (ultimately unsuccessful) truces between warring factions in France, the *Paix* was dedicated to Louis, Duke of Guyenne, the son of King Charles VI. Much of the work commends to Louis the qualities of his grandfather, Charles V, that rendered his reign so peaceful and worthy of praise. Why should such tranquility be attainable at all? Central to Christine's political thought in the *Paix* is the principle that human social interaction constitutes the natural condition for mankind. Borrowing on Latini's gloss on *De officiis* 3.26, she cites Cicero to the effect that "if for gain we do not mind stripping others of their good or taking from them by force, it follows that the society formed by human love, in accordance with nature, will be sundered, where it should remain one".⁸⁸ Christine elsewhere points out Cicero's adage that "it is contrary to human nature to keep oneself shut away" and solitary, a claim that she substantiates (somewhat ironically) on the authority of Aristotle in the first book of the *Politics*, as rendered into French by Oresme.⁸⁹ Hence,

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, I.39.3.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, I.39.1.

⁸⁸ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Peace*, eds. K. Green, C.J. Mews, J. Pinder, University Park 2008), II.25. This volume contains an English translation, as well as also the French edition, of Christine's text,

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, II.42.

sociability untroubled by conflict constitutes the natural and normal condition of humanity, so that contestation and warfare between people should be regarded as abnormal and unnatural.

In turn, responsibility for securing and maintaining peace pertains primarily to kings and other earthly lords. And Christine holds that foremost among the characteristics necessary for a ruler to maintain peace in his realm is the acquisition of virtue in a manner consonant with the teachings of nature and in accordance with reason. She remarks that “as all things here below be fallible, virtue alone, says Tully, has dominion over itself, which means that it has endurance; and because of this, one’s reasons for living well should be founded in virtue”.⁹⁰ Virtue for Christine is closely aligned with reason. A person “is rightly called lord and master of other men because of the noble workings of virtue. So, as Tully says, in view of the great fault and evil it is for such a noble animal as man, in whom reason should rule – otherwise he is defective and like a brute beast – he must guard against degrading his heart [...]”.⁹¹ In the absence of such virtue, those who exercise power will use their positions in order to molest and rob their subjects with impunity.

Among the various virtues necessary for the ruler to possess in order to govern his realm peaceably, justice stands at the fore. In a striking analogy, Christine compares justice to “a faithful housekeeper who distributes and shares out to each person that part and portion that is due for their acts, whether they be good or bad. It is fitting for you to keep and work through her, for nothing is more pertinent for a king or prince”.⁹² Christine’s own definition of justice itself is constructed in terms that directly echo Cicero in *De officiis*, namely, its dual character. It is “commanded by natural law”, she says, that “justice involves two things in particular: one is that the judge have the will and desire to benefit all, and the other is not to harm anyone”.⁹³ Christine makes reference in the *Paix* to Cicero’s specific version of organic order to explain the functioning of justice. The absence of justice is

[...] as if one part of the body possessed understanding and strove to draw to itself the blood, health and substance of its neighboring limb. This would cause the weakening and deterioration of the whole body, of which every limb needs its share of blood, humor and nourishment. So it is in human society: for just as nature grants that each part acquires what it needs for its betterment, she does not wish us to strip someone else to clothe ourselves.⁹⁴

90 Ibidem, I.4.

91 Ibidem, II.38.

92 Ibidem, II.5.

93 Ibidem, II.9.

94 Ibidem, II.25.

Christine thus demonstrates a strong grasp on the natural foundations of justice according to Cicero and adapts his precepts to the problem of eliminating quarrels and intranquility in France. A ruler who governs on the basis of justice, in conformity with the dictates of nature and the bonds of human society, ensures that his realm will be peaceful. By contrast, no community can flourish without conflict and disharmony if justice is not the principle by which it is ordered. Christine's plea for peace throughout the country is inseparable from her appeal for the (re)institution of just rule there.

To reinforce the lesson that human beings are by nature harmonious in their relations, Christine appeals frequently to the Ciceronian idea of friendship. After quoting *De amicitia* 23, she observes, "It seems as if Tully was prophesying about the present time when he spoke the words above, which mean that we can now see how great is the power of friendship and concord over the evils that have come our way through dissension and discord".⁹⁵ Elsewhere she cites Cicero to the effect that nothing is more natural than to place friendship at the center of all human affairs.⁹⁶ Christine's interest in friendship is apparently two-fold. First, she deems it extremely important for the king to maintain "amity" with and among the powerful men of France so that they will prefer peace to internecine warfare.⁹⁷ Certainly, and in line with her primary concerns, Christine recognizes that friendship is the complete opposite of hostility, and thus those who are friends necessarily live together in peace. Consequently, the wise ruler promotes and enhances the virtues required for the cultivation of solid friendships. Second, and perhaps more crucially, Christine expresses considerable trepidation about how to distinguish between true and false friendships when making judgments concerning the reliability of the king's counselors.

The fraught problem of royal reliance on advisors, especially in regard to the potential for flattery, so commanded her attention that she devoted seven chapters of the *Paix* to it. Although, as we have seen, Cicero himself regarded genuine friendship to exist only among equals, Christine modifies elements of his thought to address the problem of the trustworthiness of counselors and officials in their proffering of advice and aid to their superior. In this regard, she particularly emphasizes the importance of assuring that there is no ulterior motive on the part of persons on whom the king relies. Service done in the hope of some reward is a betrayal of the core of a properly virtuous relationship. "Powerful men", Christine remarks, "deceive themselves greatly, as Tully says, when they believe in times of prosperity that they are loved by

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, II.7.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, II.26.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, II.3.

those who lead them on with false blandishments, while everything appears different if ever fortune turns from sweet to bitter. As soon as power is lost so too are such friends".⁹⁸ Cicero's critical discussion of the instrumental nature of many so-called friendships assists Christine in focusing on the hazards posed by untrustworthy advisors and thereby in identifying the qualities of virtue necessary in order to assure that members of the royal circle will serve their king honorably.

CONCLUSION

In no way do I wish to imply in this paper that Latini, Oresme and Christine constitute the only authors writing in the French vernacular who employed Ciceronian themes. My discussion of these thinkers is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. An additional text perhaps worthy of investigation is Denis Foulechat's 1327 French translation of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* mentioned previously, nearly all of which has been carefully edited by Charles Brucker.⁹⁹ Indeed, Brucker has suggested that Foulechat's version may be regarded as in some ways less a literal rendering of John's text than a running commentary upon it.¹⁰⁰ Nor do I mean to suggest that the three features of Cicero's thought I have identified and investigated in this article are the only ones of significance. For example, Oresme explicitly refers on more than one occasion to Cicero's doctrine in *De natura deorum* and elsewhere that all human beings possess an innate sense of the divine.¹⁰¹ One conclusion I do wish to propose relates to the fluidity of the distinction between Latin and vernacular cultures in the realm of early European political thought. There has too often been a tendency among scholars to concentrate solely on writings composed in Latin, presumably for the reason that such works were philosophically well-grounded in the Greco-Roman tradition, whereas non-latin texts were, in essence, ephemera. Such disregard is indicated, for example, by the fact that virtually no attention has been accorded to vernacular political expression in standard surveys on medieval political thought.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Ibidem, I. 14.

⁹⁹ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury. Livres I-III*, ed. Ch. Brucker, Geneva 1994; *Livre IV*, Nancy 1985; *Livre V*, Geneva 2006; *Livres VI-VII*, Geneva 2013. I also suspect that a few parts of the so-called *Book of John Mandeville*, originally composed in French in the mid-fourteenth century, may contain Ciceronian echoes.

¹⁰⁰ Denis Foulechat, *Le Policratique...*, *Livre V*, pp. 215-223.

¹⁰¹ *Politiques*, 266b, 275b-c.

¹⁰² For instance, during the last twenty years alone, see J. Coleman, *A History of Political Thought: From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, Oxford 2000; J. Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300-1450*, 2nd edition, London 2005; and F. Oakley, *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages*, I-III, New Haven 2010-2015. This proclivity is also characteristic of the encyclopedic and enormously influential *Cambridge History of Medieval*

I suspect that part of this prejudice against the vernacular in general, and the French vernacular in particular, stems from the privilege accorded to Aristotle by historians of medieval political ideas as a result of the impact of translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* into Latin during the middle of the 13th century. The present article affords support for the claim that when persistent overemphasis on the dominance of Aristotle's contribution to the theories of the High and Late Middle Ages is diminished, the significance of the two interrelated foci of this essay (Cicero and French vernacular political writing) rapidly comes to the fore. In other words, I postulate that the convergence between the intellectual attraction that Cicero evidently held for Latini, Oresme and Christine and the fact that they composed in French may plausibly be traced to the circumstances in which they wrote. Each of them was a creature of politics – whether civic or courtly – and consequently their basic orientation, like Cicero's, inclined toward the fundamental Ciceronian view that practical lessons about the conduct of public affairs could and should be gleaned from philosophical studies. Even Oresme – while certainly an important contributor to late medieval Parisian scholasticism – enjoyed a close relationship with the Valois court, suggested not merely by his composition of the royally-commissioned French-language commentaries on Aristotle's works – and indeed arguably one of his Latin tracts¹⁰³ – but also by his ecclesiastical preferment bestowed by the crown. Cicero reflected upon and wrote about topics that were especially germane to a professional civil servant (Latini), a courtier dependent upon noble patronage (Christine), or a politically connected academic and churchman (Oresme) – precisely themes such as speaking and acting well, just political conduct, and friendship on which this article has concentrated.¹⁰⁴ Aristotle may be been a more authoritative source of ideas about matters of ethics and politics than Cicero during the medieval period, but his philosophy could not fully and adequately sustain the needs of whose concerns extended outside of the university corridors to the daily exigencies of politics.¹⁰⁵

Political Thought, c. 35-c. 1450, ed. J.H. Burns, Cambridge 1988, the chapters of which were, however, largely completed many years before its publication.

¹⁰³ See C.J. Nederman, *Community and the Rise of Commercial Society: Political Economy and Political Theory in Nicholas Oresme's "De Moneta"*, "History of Political Thought" XXI (2000) 1, pp. 1-15.

¹⁰⁴ For Brunetto's relation to his Florentine context, the best study continues to be the second volume of R. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, I-V, Florence 1956. On the world of the French court in the time of Oresme and Christine see: J. Quillet, *De Charles V à Christine de Pizan*, Paris 2004; D. Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign: The Rise of the French Vernacular Royal Biography*, Toronto 2008.

¹⁰⁵ Portions of this paper have been presented at the University of Minnesota (October 2014), the American Political Science Association annual conference (September 2015),

ABSTRACT

The scholarly study of Cicero's political thought has undergone a remarkable revival during the last thirty years or so. Unfortunately, this development, while extremely welcome, has not been accompanied by analogous systematic investigation of the dissemination of his political ideas in later times. Yet Cicero was the only major political philosopher of antiquity whose writings were available without break through late antiquity, the European Middle Ages, and beyond. The present paper traces the myriad ways in which Cicero's teachings were integrated into French-language writings between the mid-thirteenth and the early 15th centuries, with particular attention to works by Brunetto Latini (c. 1265), Nicole Oresme (c. 1470), and Christine de Pizan (c. 1405). In particular, I consider their reliance on three central elements of Ciceronian social and political theory: the linguistic and rational foundations of human society; the foundation of justice on a distinctive conception of nature and natural law; and the importance of friendship to human flourishing.

Dartmouth College (October 2015), and as a Plenary Address to the Australia and New Zealand Association of Medieval and Early Modern Studies bi-annual conference (February 2016). The participants in these forums – too numerous to mention – offered suggestions and criticisms that have greatly enhanced the final result.



BÉNÉDICTE SÈRE
PARIS

UN DÉBAT SE VULGARISE-T-IL ?

L'EXEMPLE DES POLÉMISTES À L'ÉPOQUE DU GRAND SCHISME



Parce qu'ils sont la forme de production du savoir à l'époque du Grand Schisme, les débats sont au centre de la présente étude. Il s'agit de réfléchir sur la *vulgarisation des débats* et non sur la vulgarisation des sciences, ou sur la vulgarisation des savoirs, ou encore sur la vulgarisation des textes religieux ou d'autres formes de vulgarisation. En nous concentrant sur la vulgarisation des débats, nous cherchons à pointer la spécificité d'un type de vulgarisation et de ses modalités. Or, articuler débats et vulgarisation, c'est-à-dire polémologie et vulgarisation, c'était nécessairement introduire la notion d'espace public au sens habermassien du terme, *Öffentlichkeit*.

1. PROLÉGOMÈNES À L'ESPACE PUBLIC

Avant de cheminer, rappelons quelques définitions. L'*Öffentlichkeit* de Jürgen Habermas que l'on traduit par « espace public » s'oppose à la *Publizität* ou « publicité »¹. D'un côté, avec l'*Öffentlichkeit*, l'on désigne le public savant, c'est-à-dire un ensemble de personnes privées faisant un usage public de leur raison avec pour fonction la critique du pouvoir, forme de posture de résistance, d'opposition et de contre-pouvoir. De l'autre côté, avec la *Publizität*, est désignée la sphère du public non-savant, l'espace social, ou grand public qui ne pratique pas la rationalité dans ses jugements mais relève plutôt des

¹ J. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, trad. fr. M.-B. de Launay, *L'Espace public. Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise*, Paris 1992.

mécanismes du préjugé, du jugement non-fondé, de l'opinion populaire. Sur ce premier rappel de définition, quelques remarques. La traduction française d'*Öffentlichkeit* par « espace public » est piégée. En réalité, il s'agit d'une sphère publique mais qui repose sur des personnes privées. De ce fait, l'opposition réelle se situe entre « espace public », un espace restreint, élitiste et en vase clos, et « espace social », large, ordinaire, que Habermas peut parfois aller jusqu'à qualifier de « masse inculte ». Le syntagme est donc dévié de son sens technique lorsque nous confondons espace public et espace social. En réalité, les deux sont opposés. L'espace public est loin d'être social, comme le voudrait l'acception journalistique ou contemporaine du terme. De plus, la traduction française accentue la notion de spatialité qui n'existe pas dans la version originelle d'*Öffentlichkeit*, ni dans les traductions anglaises de *Public Sphere* ou *Public Opinion*². Au sens strict, il vaudrait mieux parler d'« opinion publique » que d'« espace public », avec la même remarque déjà évoquée, à savoir qu'il ne faut pas non plus confondre « opinion publique » avec « opinion sociale » ou « opinion commune ». Le sens d'« opinion publique » reste habermassien et sociologique. Dans notre réflexion comme dans celle d'Habermas ou celle de l'école de Francfort, l'opinion publique n'est pas l'opinion de la société. C'est son exact contraire. Une ultime traduction d'*Öffentlichkeit* écarterait toute ambiguïté, si l'on optait pour l'idée d'une conscience publique, à la manière dont Hobbes établit comme synonyme la conscience et l'opinion. L'*Öffentlichkeit* d'Habermas serait « la conscience que la sphère publique (bourgeoise) a du rôle qu'elle joue ».

Une fois ces premiers éléments posés, notons qu'*Öffentlichkeit* et *Publizität* ne s'articulent que face à un troisième pôle fondamental et fondateur, l'État ou plus précisément le pouvoir³. En effet, l'espace public ou sphère publique n'émerge que par résistance au pouvoir en place. Telle est la thèse originelle de Jürgen Habermas pour le XVIII^e siècle dont plusieurs essais ont tenté d'en transférer l'application, pour la période médiévale notamment, avec la conscience de l'anachronisme maîtrisé⁴. La sphère savante joue comme contre-pouvoir à l'État absolutiste en place, ou du moins à l'État tout-puissant. La sphère savante s'avère un adversaire social du pouvoir. La rationalité mise en œuvre s'offre comme résistance à l'arbitraire du pouvoir. D'où, dans la constitution de l'*Öffentlichkeit*, une visée politique, ou mieux, une visée de contrainte du pouvoir. L'*Öffentlichkeit* est constitutivement défini par une essence de résistance, une essence polémique, alors, qu'en face de lui, l'espace

2 Voir, à ce sujet, les réflexions stimulantes de Joseph Morsel, *Communication et domination sociale en Franconie à la fin du Moyen Âge : l'enjeu de la réponse*, dans : *L'espace public au Moyen Âge. Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, dir. P. Boucheron, N. Offenstadt, Paris 2011, p. 353-365.

3 Ibidem, notamment chap. 3.

4 Voir *L'espace public au Moyen Âge. Débats...*

social c'est-à-dire la société, a pour supérieur hiérarchique le pouvoir dans un rapport de sujétion, voire d'assujettissement. Cette triple polarité conditionne la complexité des liens entre espace public et pouvoir en place d'une part, entre société et État, d'autre part, entre espace public et espace social enfin. Le chemin de la vulgarisation emprunte celui des rapports de force entre l'*Öffentlichkeit* et l'État qui font de l'espace social un enjeu de pouvoir.

Joseph Morsel propose de définir l'*Öffentlichkeit*, non pas comme un lieu ni un réseaux de lieux, ni même par l'acte de la prise de parole publique ou encore par l'exercice public du raisonnement, mais par la question d'un droit de réponse : « La possibilité d'émergence d'un espace public est fondé sur la possibilité de réponse ». La réponse est l'enjeu de la communication et de l'échange dans les débats. Sans possibilité de réponse, il y a risque de domination : « L'impossibilité de répondre est le facteur-clé de la domination idéologique »⁵. Ainsi, l'*Öffentlichkeit* apparaît moins comme un lieu de communication que comme un rapport de communication. La question se formule alors ainsi : dans la vulgarisation des débats à l'époque du Grand Schisme, et notamment des débats ecclésiologiques, existe-t-il un droit de réponse ? Si oui, sous quelles modalités ? Sinon, de quelle manière, le pouvoir médiéval instaure-t-il de la non-réponse ?

Dernière mise au point, le concept de vulgarisation. La vulgarisation est une notion ambiguë⁶. Précisément parce que les concepts de vulgarisation et de polémologie ou d'espace public sont tout à la fois des processus discursifs et des processus sociaux, la vulgarisation induit des relations complexes entre mondes savants et ordre politique et social, par les rapports de force entre mondes savants et État mais aussi par les rapports de domination – ou d'enjeu de domination – entre mondes savants et sociétés. Trois équivalences peuvent aider à circonscrire la notion de vulgarisation. 1. La vulgarisation serait une simplification au sens d'une adaptation à un public, peu ou prou considéré comme « mineur ». On parle aussi d'une élémentarisation du savoir. Cette simplification induit une reformulation avec réagencement, réactualisation et transformation de certains éléments. 2. La vulgarisation peut aussi être une vernacularisation, néologisme emprunté à l'anglais *vernacularization* repris par Violaine Giacomotto-Charra⁷. Il s'agit d'une mise des textes latins savants en langue vernaculaire, mais non pas nécessairement dans le sens de la simplification des contenus ni de l'élargissement des publics. 3. La vulgarisation se veut enfin un élargissement ou une diffusion de l'information

5 Cf. note 2.

6 Voir *Lire, choisir, écrire. La vulgarisation des savoirs...*, p. 5-6 ; *Lire, choisir, écrire. La vulgarisation des savoirs du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, dir. V. Giacomotto-Charra, Ch. Silvi, Paris 2014.

7 Ibidem, p. 5, 9, 14.

vers un public quantitativement plus large que le monde savant. On peut aussi parler d'une sortie du monde savant. Or, selon Habermas, en s'élargissant, la sphère publique perd sa fonction critique⁸. Est-ce à dire que par la vulgarisation, on perd l'essence polémique de la production savante ? D'où la question : peut-on tenir ensemble vulgarisation et polémique ? Quand on vulgarise les débats, que vulgarise-t-on : le contenu du débat ou le dynamisme polémique lui-même ?

Au terme de ces rapides prolégomènes, il s'agit désormais de poser le nœud du sujet : *la vulgarisation des polémiques à l'époque du Grand Schisme vise-t-elle à ouvrir plus largement l'espace du dialogue et de la controverse ou bien impose-t-elle à la société un prêt-à-penser de thèmes déjà élaborés, en amont, dans la sphère savante ?* Pour envisager la question, trois temps ponctueront le propos : 1. La vulgarisation des débats par simplification, 2. La vulgarisation des débats par vernacularisation, 3. La vulgarisation des débats par élargissement.

2. LA VULGARISATION DES DÉBATS PAR SIMPLIFICATION : RENDRE ACCESSIBLE LES DÉBATS

Le 6 mai 1398, à l'acmé des débats en France sur la soustraction d'obédience, avant son vote le 28 juillet 1398 à la III^e assemblée de Paris qui s'ouvre quelques jours plus tard le 22 mai, Jean de La Grange, cardinal d'Amiens rédige un mémoire, peut-être en Avignon. Son intention première et déclarée : vulgariser⁹. Le titre que les manuscrits rapportent est le suivant : « *Aliqua advisamenta grossa et palpabilia verumptamen super facto unionis ecclesie absque allegacione iurium et ut layci intelligant* »¹⁰. La simplification à laquelle vise le cardinal est celle d'un style, *grossa et palpabilia*, loin de toute subtilité. Avec l'adjectif *palpabilia*, l'auteur signifie la tangibilité d'un accès loin des abstractions intellectuelles ou conceptuelles. Surtout, il s'agit de ne pas encombrer le propos de références savantes, notamment juridiques, *absque allegacione iurium*. Le souci est d'épurer les démonstrations de leur appareil technique, références et citations du Décret ou du Code civil, lesquelles, disons-le, saturent les autres textes, conformément à la littérature polémique du temps. *Ut layci intelligant* : la finalité est annoncée. Il s'agit de toucher le public des laïcs, cette sphère sociale qui n'appartient pas au monde savant majoritairement clérical. En cette fin de XIV^e siècle, il est vrai, l'on ne découpe plus la société entre lettrés

⁸ J. Habermas, *L'espace public...*, p. 148.

⁹ Pour une partie de l'édition, voir Cardinal Jean de la Grange, *Aliqua advisamenta grossa et palpabilia verumptamen super facto unionis ecclesie absque allegacione iurium et ut layci intelligant*, éd. F. Ehrle, *Archiv*, VI, p. 256-271.

¹⁰ Voir ASV, *Arm.* LIV, t. 25, fol. 1a-5, ici fol. 1a. L'autre version du texte se trouve dans ASV, *Arm.* LIV, t. 27, fol. 147a-154b.

et illettrés, et le terme de laïcs dit ici l'avancée dans la conception d'un monde non-savant qui ne soit pas pour autant inculte. La mise en œuvre du mémoire répond bien aux annonces programmatiques de son titre.

En effet, l'auteur s'emploie à dresser un panégyrique de la soustraction d'obédience devant l'opinion sociale des laïcs, en dehors des sphères universitaire, cléricale, cardinalice voire épiscopale, c'est-à-dire en dehors de ceux qui voteront à la III^e assemblée du clergé de mai-juillet 1398¹¹. Le cardinal a donc à cœur de préparer les fidèles à la soustraction pour les rallier, peut-être en vue de faire pression par le poids de l'opinion sociale sur les votes. Comment, autrement, comprendre que l'auteur s'emploie avec autant de passion à convaincre un auditoire de personnes non-votantes de la nécessité de la soustraction ? Il martèle son propos : la soustraction doit être votée, « super dicta substracione facienda debet actendi » ; « Ergo ex quo talis obediencia tendit ad noxam, prout docet experientia est merito subtrahenda »¹². Au passage, il en profite pour insérer une détraction de Benoît XIII¹³ ou des opposants à la voie de cession, comme Martin de Zalba, évêque de Pampelune ou Elie de Lestrangle, évêque de Saint-Pons : « De episcopo Sancti Poncii, qui post Pampilonensem fuit principalis impugnator vie cessionis, magis injuriose et irreverenter locutus est in ista materia contra regem et collegium »¹⁴.

Fidèle à sa visée simplificatrice, le Cardinal de la Grange n'invoque que l'expérience à titre d'autorité (*docet experientia* à deux occurrences¹⁵) ou le jugement de la raison : « in meo dictamine rationis naturalis eandem obedienciam tolli et subtrahi »¹⁶. Aucune autorité scripturaire, patristique, canonique, civiliste, juridique ou simplement théologique à un quelconque auteur médiéval. Les promesses sont tenues. La syntaxe latine est très simple et le vocabulaire peu technique¹⁷. La clarté du propos emprunte à la rigueur scolastique de la classification¹⁸. L'auteur ne se prive pas d'émouvoir son public en faisant appel aux sentiments du cœur et au zèle des âmes, « ex superhabundancia cordis et zelo perfectissime unionis »¹⁹. Quoi qu'il en soit,

11 H. Millet, E. Poulle, *Le vote de la soustraction d'obédience en 1398, I : Introduction, édition et fac-similés des bulletins du vote*, Paris 1988.

12 Ibidem, p. 258.

13 Ibidem : *Fecit omnia que credidit posse impedire unionem ecclesie vel prolongare et differe*.

14 Ibidem, p. 269.

15 Par exemple, ibidem, p. 258.

16 Ibidem.

17 Voir, par exemple ibidem, p. 259 : *Si esset papa, non teneret papatum per duos dies, quin offerret dictam viam cessionis ; et quod non esset bonus homo, qui existens papa, refutaret dictam viam acceptare*.

18 Ibidem, p. 265 : *Ad dictam substractionem faciendam et consulendam ultra predicta multum faciunt actus et facta, que secuntur, per que fautoria scismatis et impedimentum unionis magis declarentur. Primo [...], secundo [...], tertio [...], quarto [...], ultimo [...]*.

19 Ibidem, p. 271.

il insiste sur le souci de la synthèse et de la concision, écartant le secondaire, l'accessoire et le superflu : « Forte sunt multa inutilita, impertinencia vel superflua »²⁰. Il conclut sur les caractères de la vulgarisation :

Premissa advisamenta facta per aliquos zelatores unionis ecclesie in rudi stillo, grossa palpabili materia continencia factum unionis et agenda maxime in convocacione facta per regem ad XXX diem post Pascha, de quibus plura alias fuerunt scripta, sed nondum exercioni demandata, que solum scribuntur, ut ipsis visis, si qua fuerint utilia, recipiantur, et in omnibus fiat, prout videbitur discrecioni illorum, quibus mittuntur²¹.

La vulgarisation se veut simplicité de langage et de style (*rudi stillo*) ; simplicité de la matière (*grossa, palpabili materia*) ; importance de l'utilité dont la pertinence se juge à la réceptivité (*si qua fuerint utilia, recipiantur*).

Quelque dix années plus tard, en 1409, Benoît XIII, à son tour et à sa manière, rédige un traité, le *Tractatus adversus conciliabulum Pisanum*²². Nous sommes dans le contexte des lendemains du concile de Pise, entre 1410 et 1412. L'élection d'Alexandre V, le 26 juin 1409, peut faire dire à Benoît XIII qu'il s'agit d'un nouveau schisme, d'un sous-schisme, schisme dans le schisme, puisqu'au sein de l'obédience avignonnaise, Benoît XIII se considère comme abandonné par les siens, cardinaux en tête. Le texte, à l'incipit célèbre *Quia nonnulli quondam* se repère dans huit manuscrits, tous épais (entre 40 et 50 folios)²³. Il constitue le point de départ d'une polémique avec Guillaume d'Ortolan qui se déploie en quatre volets²⁴.

20 Ibidem.

21 Ibidem.

22 Pedro de Luna (Benoît XIII), *Tractatus adversus conciliabulum pisanum*, inc. : *Quia nonnulli edita...*, (1410-1412), entre autres : Paris, BnF, lat. 1474, f. 1r-43v ; éd. partielle F. Ehrle, *Archiv*, VII, p. 533-540. Ce traité a pu être intitulé par l'historiographie *Tractatus de novo subschismate* à la suite de F. Ehrle, p. 533 puis d'autres comme M.-H. Jullien de Pommerol, « La bibliothèque de Guillaume d'Ortolan... », p. 265 ; eadem, *Guillaume d'Ortolan, évêque de Rodez (1394-1417) et la bibliothèque de l'évêché*, « Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes » CXLIV (1986), p. 259-298. Or, pour D. Girgensohn, le texte à l'incipit *Quia nonnulli quondam* doit être intitulé *Tractatus adversus conciliabulum Pisanum* et situé entre 1410 et 1412. Quant au texte issu de la polémique avec Leonardo Giffoni, à l'incipit *Quia ut audio*, situé entre 1399 et 1402, c'est lui, d'après Girgensohn qui devrait être intitulé *Tractatus de novo subschismate*, cf. « Beendigung eines Schismas... », p. 241, 243 ; D. Girgensohn, *Ein Schisma ist nicht zu beenden ohne die Zustimmung der konkurrierenden Päpste : die juristische Argumentation Benedicts XIII (Pedro de Lunas)*, « *Annuario historiae pontificiae* » XXVII (1989), p. 197-247.

23 BAV, Vat. Lat. 5608, deux copies dans ce manuscrits, fol. 238-272 et fol. 336-367 ; BAV, Vat. Lat. 4039, fol. 70v-86v ; Paris, BnF, lat. 1474, fol. 1r-43v ; Paris, BnF, lat. 1476, fol. 1r-58r ; Paris, BnF, lat. 11891, fol. 1-40 ; BAV, Barb. Lat., 875, fol. 1r-46v ; Rome, Casanatense, 1406, fol. 132-161 ; Escorial, II. L. 17, fol. 141-179.

24 Dans l'enchaînement de la polémique, le point de départ est Pedro de Luna (Benoît XIII), *Tractatus adversus conciliabulum Pisanum*, inc. : *Quia nonnulli quonam...* (1410-1412) et idem, *Tractatus de concilio generali*, inc. : *Utrum pro sedatione...* (début 1410), Paris, BnF, lat.,

Dans son propos, une même déclaration de vulgarisation est annoncée qui invoque l'utilité et le désir d'information :

Volo igitur, sicut credi utile pro communi fidelium informacione, cuiuscunque subtilitatis curiositate seposita, hanc materiam plane et modo eciam simplicioribus pervio ac facili declarare. Constat enim sicut animum corpori, ita verbis proponendas fore sentencias. Unde credo fideles quoslibet, veritatem in hac materia inquirentes pro sua informacione, malle veriores quam diserciores legere vel audire sermones, ut attendant, que leguntur et notantur XXXVIII di. Sedulo²⁵.

Benoît XIII parle des fidèles (*fideles*), et non des laïcs. De même, il parle d'information à tous (*informacione commune*). Il définit cette information générale comme la garantie d'une absence de subtilité et de curiosité au sens de futilité inutile et vaine (*informacione cuiuscunque subtilitatis curiositate seposita*), à la manière dont Jean Gerson déjà, en 1402, fustigeait la vaine curiosité, laquelle était selon lui contraire à l'utilité²⁶. La *curiositas* ne mène qu'à la confusion sophistique. Il s'agit d'aplanir la matière, pour la rendre accessible et facile aux plus simples : « Unde credo fideles quoslibet, veritatem in hac materia inquirentes pro sua informacione, malle veriores quam diserciores legere vel audire sermones, ut attendant ». Le bon sens entend dicter les mœurs de la vulgarisation puisque n'importe quel fidèle, selon Benoît XIII, préfère lire ou entendre des paroles (*sermones*) vraies plutôt qu'habiles (*veriores quam diserciores*). La vérité est préférée à l'habileté rhétorique.

Outre le refus des artifices savants, les caractères de la vulgarisation chez Benoît XIII concernent également le refus de la longueur. « Sub brevibus comprehendi [...], brevis ero ». La brièveté est la meilleure arme de la simplification et de la communication. Il y a une répugnance à la complexité (*fastidium*) et à la sophistication. L'auteur le dit en creux : il n'entend nullement freiner l'aversion des lecteurs. Quoi qu'il en soit, sous le motif de cette brièveté, Benoît XIII insiste à son tour pour mettre de côté

1474, fol. 136r-256v ; éd. partielle, F. Ehrle, *Archiv*, VII, p. 519-535. Pour la réplique, Guillaume d'Ortolan, *Réplique au traité 'Quia nonnulli quondam'*, inc. : *Licet tractatus iste...* (pour Valois, 1409 ; pour Ehrle, 1410 ; pour Girgensohn : tournant 1412-1413), Paris, BnF, lat. 1474, fol. 43v-56r. Troisième volet : Pedro de Luna (Benoît XIII), *Replicatio contra libellum factum contra praecedentem tractatum*, inc. : *Inter distractionum molestias...*, Paris, BnF, lat. 1474, fol. 56r-132r ; éd. partielle F. Ehrle, *Archiv*, VII, p. 541-553 (1411 d'après F. EHRLE, *Die Kirchenrechtlichen Schriften Peter von Luna*, p. 29-39 ; 1413 pour Girgensohn). Voir aussi Boniface Ferrier, *Tractatus pro defensione Benedicto XIII*, inc. : *Salutem et pacem. Frater Bernarde, vidi memoriale vobis directum...* (7 janvier 1411), éd. Martène, *Thesaurus*, II, c. 1435-1529.

²⁵ Pedro de Luna (Benoît XIII), *Tractatus adversus conciliabulum Pisanum...*, p. 536.

²⁶ Jean Gerson, *Contra curiositatem studentium*, inc. : *Poenitemini et credite Evangelio. Quanta veneratione simul...*, § 99, t. III, éd. P. Glorieux, p. 224-249, par exemple, p. 230 : *Curiositas est vitium quo dimissis utilioribus homo convertit studium suum ad minus utilia vel inattingibilia sibi vel noxia.*

toute citation, référence, allégation ou autre forme de preuve : « unde eadem brevitatis causa aliquas allegaciones et probaciones omitto, quas ex pluribus maiorum scriptis potuissem colligere que, licet apud doctos efficaciores essent, simplicioribus forte viderentur ad intelligendum difficiles »²⁷. Pas d'apparat critique, scientifique ni juridique. Il s'agit de ne pas fatiguer ni décourager les plus simples : « non oporteat eos inquirendo allegaciones per diversa jurium volumina fatigari »²⁸. Les deux publics se repèrent : il y a les doctes d'un côté, les plus simples de l'autre.

Enfin, Benoît XIII refuse solennellement le cadre scolastique de la *quaestio* :

Protestor quod circa formam tractandi in questionibus et articulis infrascriptis non elegi eam, quam velut artificalem communis approbat usus maiorum, qui proposito dubio ad partes arguunt, quo determinato et vera conclusione posita respondeant ad argumenta contraria²⁹.

Il y répugne pour son formalisme et sa prolixité : « qui modus, licet sit formalior, est tamen prolixior, quod mee intencioni repugnat »³⁰.

Ce qu'il entend fondamentalement, et l'ambition est grande, c'est une tentative pour satisfaire tout le monde, en dépassant ainsi la coupure entre le monde savant et le monde non-savant par l'exposé de propos communs :

Protestor etiam quatuor et ultimo quod in sequentibus ut plurimum recitabo ad litteram verba jurium et opiniones doctorum, quod provectoribus in jure forsan videbitur puerile ; sed, ut dixi, tractatus iste debet omnibus esse communis propter illiteratos penitus et ceteros qui occupati in aliis facultatibus studio juris canonici operam non dederunt, volo quod in promptu aliquid videant, unde tantum possint de veritate percipere, quod non oporteat eos inquirendo allegaciones per diversa jurium volumina fatigari³¹.

Viser à la vérité pour tous, au risque de paraître puéril aux savants mais avec le souci de ne pas décourager ni fatiguer les plus simples ; au risque d'ennuyer les doctes mais pour que les simples soient informés. Bref, que tous soient édifiés au nom de la vérité, en vue du salut, l'Esprit Saint aidant, « ita simplicioribus fiat cognita, ut tamen doctioribus non sit onerosa, sed spirante Domino erit omnibus legentibus fructuosa »³².

Au terme de ces deux exemples, ramassons les acquis. La vulgarisation des débats par simplification présente sept traits : 1. Le dépouillement des

27 Ibidem, p. 536.

28 Ibidem, p. 537.

29 Ibidem, p. 536-537.

30 Ibidem, p. 537.

31 Ibidem.

32 Ibidem, p. 539.

allégations juridiques et de toute forme de citations d'autorité ; 2. Le refus des formes scolastiques et savantes usuelles (*quaestio, articulus, dubium*) ; 3. La brièveté et la concision par répugnance à la complexité, à la subtilité, à l'habileté rhétorique voire sophistique et à la prolixité ; 4. La volonté d'informer ; 5. Le souci d'être utile et efficace ; 6. Le souci de ne pas décourager l'auditoire des simples ; 7. La volonté de dépasser la coupure entre monde savant et monde non-savant pour une authentique efficacité sotériologique.

Par l'énumération des caractéristiques d'une vulgarisation des débats, par-delà les appartenances obédiencielles, apparaît un point : assurément, la vulgarisation ainsi entendue se décharge de sa dimension polémique. Ce qui est visé, c'est l'information des simples, non leur participation aux débats. Mais au-delà de ce constat, il ressort que l'information de l'opinion sociale peut s'avérer un outil de pression politique, comme le suggère l'insistance de Jean de la Grange à convaincre les laïcs de la nécessité de la soustraction d'obéissance. Il ressort également que, dans la représentation que se font ces auteurs de la vulgarisation, se cache une critique des mécanismes polémiques. En fustigeant subtilités et curiosité, en refusant les cadres de la *quaestio* ou de la *disputatio*, les auteurs ne s'en prennent pas fondamentalement aux codes scolastiques. Ils semblent plus profondément être lassés par l'ambiance des débats, comme si la vulgarisation reposait.

3. LA VULGARISATION DES DÉBATS PAR LA VERNACULARISATION

En 1398, à la III^e assemblée du clergé, les cédules de vote rédigées par les prélats se partagent en deux groupes : les cédules rédigées en latin et les cédules rédigées en français. Deux seulement, par prudence de leur auteur, sont rédigées dans les deux versions³³. Hélène Millet et Emmanuel Poulle ont bien montré que les cédules rédigées en langue vulgaire l'étaient par souci d'être mieux compris des princes, mais que dans l'ensemble les ecclésiastiques sont plus à l'aise en langue latine. Enfin, parmi les cédules en langue française, « certaines révèlent les origines picardes ou normandes, ou plus rarement, occitanes de leurs auteurs, mais elles montrent surtout qu'on faisait usage, dans ce milieu clérical, d'un français assez homogène »³⁴.

En 1406, c'est le temps des doutes et des remises en cause. La soustraction d'obéissance avait montré son inefficacité, la restitution d'obéissance depuis mai 1403 est tout aussi impuissante à faire progresser l'unité. Même Gerson et Pierre d'Ailly se sont éloignés du pape avignonnais. Depuis la fin de

³³ Il s'agit de celle de Gui Quoquelin, procureur du chapitre d'Autun et d'Etienne Emoyne, abbé de Saint-Martial de Limoges, respectivement n° 81A et B et n° 253A et B.

³⁴ H. Millet, E. Poulle, *Le vote de la soustraction d'obéissance en 1398*, I, p. 29.

l'année 1405, les invectives contre Benoît XIII reprennent à l'Université, laquelle décide d'une grève pour protester contre les collectes que le pape avignonnais y a ordonné. L'épître de Toulouse datée de 1402, ce manifeste du restitutionnisme, est mise en cause devant le Parlement de Paris à partir des mois de mai et juin 1406 pour, très vite, être déférée au Parlement puis condamnée le 17 juillet 1406 et lacérée publiquement. Quatre discours devant le Parlement ont contribué à remettre en cause la restitution d'obédience et l'épître de Toulouse. Sur les quatre discours, trois sont en français : celui de Jean Petit, le 17 mai 1406 ; celui de Pierre Plaoul le 7 juin, un discours contre l'épître de Toulouse³⁵ ; enfin, celui de Jean Juvénal qui parvint à convaincre les auteurs de l'épître de Toulouse de crime de lèse-majesté. Le registre du Parlement qui contient ces discours se trouve dans la série X 1a 4787³⁶. L'ambiance des débats tourne autour d'un thème : pour ou contre une nouvelle soustraction ? La lacération de l'épître de Toulouse n'est qu'un acte dans l'argumentation soustractionniste.

Dans son deuxième discours, du 7 juin 1406, Pierre Plaoul s'exprime en français. Il dit son embarras :

Quant Moyse le prophete fu envoié pour parler au roy Pharaon pour la franchise et liberté du pueple d'Israel, il se excusa de son inhabilité de parler. Si fit Jeremie le prophete aussy en disant : « A, a, a, domine Deus ecclesie nescio loquus ». Si fit mesme Tulle qui fu le prince d'éloquence. Je doncques par trop plus fort raison me doys excusé en parlant en tel court comme est ceste en si noble compaignie comme est ceste en ceste court. Mais je me console et conforte en parlant devant ceulx qui voient et entendent clement en la cause dont j'ay a parler³⁷.

Topique rhétorique, il est vrai. Néanmoins, l'orateur est mal à l'aise dans la langue française au point qu'il tisse son propos de longues citations latines, comme pour se raccrocher à du familier. Dans ce discours-diatribes contre l'épître de Toulouse, Pierre Plaoul cite des passages de l'épître, rédigée en latin, parfois sur plus de quinze lignes³⁸.

Le lendemain, Jean Juvénal prend la parole à son tour, le 8 juin 1406. Dans la même rhétorique, il s'excuse lui aussi, devant le Parlement, de sa maladresse à parler :

³⁵ Plaoul avait prononcé un premier discours en latin, dans le même cadre, sur les avantages de la soustraction le 27 mai, voir *1^{er} Discours pour la soustraction d'obédience*, inc. : *Querite pacem civitatis et orate pro ea...* (27 mai 1406), Arch. Nat., X 1a 4787, fol. 354r-355v.

³⁶ Respectivement Jean Petit, *Discours*, inc. : *Il est digne de proposer...* (17 mai 1406), Arch. Nat., X 1a 4787, fol. 361r-364r ; Pierre Plaoul, *2^{ème} Discours, Contre l'épître de Toulouse*, inc. : *Quant Moyse le prophete fu envoié pour parler au Roy Pharaon...* (7 juin 1406), Arch. Nat. X, 1a, 4787, fol. 359r-361r ; Jean Juvénal, *Discours* (8 juin 1406), Arch. Nat., X 1a 4787, fol. 364r-365v.

³⁷ Jean Petit, *Discours...*, fol. 359r.

³⁸ Ibidem, fol. 360r-v.

Maistre Juvenel advocat du roy en soy excusant et protestant de soy adreecer et revenir a raison se aucunement faut ou devie, dont il croit nomine sanz cause quant il a a parler apres les maistres qui hier parlerent qui sont si notables hommes maistres en philosophie et en theologie. Et il est lay et come beste au regart des dits maistres qui en entendement sont come anges³⁹.

Certes, Jean Juvénal semble reprendre à son compte la vieille dichotomie, quasi grégorienne, entre clercs et laïcs, mais n'en soyons pas dupes. Derrière la clause de style d'une *captatio benevolentiae* en bonne et due forme, ne lit-on pas la haute maîtrise du savoir de l'avocat du roi qui cite sans le nommer le Premier Livre de la *Politique* d'Aristote par la métaphore de l'ange et de la bête⁴⁰ ? Indéniablement, il s'adresse à ses pairs en savoir, qui, quoique philosophes et théologiens, n'ont rien à lui envier en terme de culture savante.

En 1406, du 17 novembre au 22 décembre, sont réunis, sur ordre du roi, huit orateurs, parmi les personnalités les plus en vue du temps pour disserter devant le roi et le conseil royal. Les docteurs sont répartis en deux camps identifiés comme étant d'un côté « la partie du pape », de l'autre « la partie de l'université ». Dans la partie du pape, trois hommes, Guillaume Fillastre qui discourt à deux reprises, Ameilh du Breuil (deux discours également) et Pierre d'Ailly. Du côté de l'Université, se trouvent Simon de Cramaud (deux discours), Pierre le Roy, Pierre Plaoul, Jean Petit et Jean Jouvenel, le chancelier du roi. Dans cette répartition se retrouvent les lignes de fond apparues dès les années 1395 : les avocats du pape contre les cessionnistes-soustractionnistes derrière Simon de Cramaud. Tous les débats, il va sans dire, sont ici oraux et en langue française, car le roi et les princes entendent mieux le français⁴¹. Officiellement la question imposée aux orateurs est la suivante : « Benoît XIII est-il schismatique et hérétique ? » En réalité, il s'agit de débattre pour profondément sur l'enjeu d'un maintien de la restitution d'obédience ou d'un retour à une seconde soustraction. Car le thème est bel et bien celui de l'obéissance au pape : faut-il obéir ou ne pas obéir au pape Benoît XIII ? Ce débat ponctué en onze discours devant le conseil royal restitue la quintessence des polémiques du moment, 1406-1407. Il aboutit le 4 janvier 1407 à un refus d'obédience au temporel proclamé dans le royaume

³⁹ Jean Juvenal, *Discours...*, fol. 364r.

⁴⁰ Aristote, *Politique*, I, 1263 a 29.

⁴¹ Serge Lusignan rappelle que les Valois, y compris Charles V, ne possède que quelques rudiments de latin qu'il lisent avec difficulté, S. Lusignan, *La langue des rois au Moyen Âge. Le français en France et en Angleterre*, Paris 2004, p. 124 : « Charles V maîtrisait mal le latin et il tenait à suivre de très près les affaires du royaume : ce pourrait être une autre explication d'un retour du français à la chancellerie » et p. 130 : « À la fin du Moyen Âge, le latin semble ne pas avoir été toujours bien maîtrisé par les rois de France ».

de France. Il est contenu dans le manuscrit de la BnF de Paris, fonds français, coté 23428 (fonds de Saint-Victor, ancienne cote 266) et publié par Bourgeois de Chastenet⁴². Le recueil aurait appartenu à Simon de Plumetot qui l'aurait annoté, selon Gilbert Ouy⁴³.

Improprement appelée « IV^e assemblée du clergé », cette réunion s'avère plutôt une consultation d'experts. Le roi prend conseil avant de délibérer avec son conseil et de prendre sa décision. Au final, c'est le roi qui arbitre et décide. Parce qu'il est consultation, le débat est une commande royale. D'où la courtoisie des échanges dans leur forme plus polissée qu'à l'ordinaire ou qu'à l'écrit. On remarque que les mêmes arguments sont servis mais dans une configuration discursive autre : le face à face de l'oral, dans la langue française, dans le contexte des années 1404-1408, contexte des doute et des remises en cause avant que la voie conciliaire ne s'impose à tous vers 1407-1408. Les auteurs échangent oralement et en français sur des sujets qu'ils connaissent très bien et avec des arguments dont on ne compte plus les réemplois. Or, dans leur prologue, les orateurs disent leur gêne et leur inconfort à s'exprimer en français sur ces sujets :

Cette matiere est haute, et ne puet pas estrer expliquée en Langue Franczoise, ne devant les Loix et aussi *hoc* est deffendu en Droit. Cette matiere n'appartient pas si bien aux Juristes, comme aux Theologiens. [...] C'est une matiere trop pesante⁴⁴.

Nul doute que la transposition en français d'une sémantique latine et technique soit délicate. Quoi qu'il en soit, la vernacularisation des débats autour du maintien de la restitution ou d'un retour à la soustraction n'est pas vulgarisation. Tant s'en faut. La consultation de 1406 reste une consultation d'experts avec force arguments et *auctoritates*. La technicité des débats reste élevée, malgré les difficultés techniques et sémantiques à passer dans une autre langue. Nous sommes ici dans un autre registre, celui d'une commande royale, et dans un autre champ linguistique, celui du français royal, et non dans une infériorité de technicité. Arguments et démonstrations restent les mêmes que ceux des débats écrits en latin.

Pierre Le Roy ne se cache de la difficulté à changer de registre linguistique. Il déclare ne pas avoir l'habitude de parler en français sur ces sujets. Il ne manie que le latin, sa langue professionnelle quotidienne. D'où son manque d'assurance :

⁴² Bourgeois Du Chastenet, *Histoire du concile de Constance*, Paris 1718, *Preuves*, p. 94 sq.

⁴³ G. Ouy, *Simon de Plumetot...*, p. 374.

⁴⁴ Pierre d'Ailly, *Discours au IV^e Concile de Paris*, inc. : *Pax Dei que exuperat omnem sensum...* (11 décembre 1406), dans : Bourgeois du Chastenet, *Histoire...*, p. 149-164, ici p. 157.

Sire, en cette matiere je aurois plus chier oir, que parler et say que chacun de ceux qui sont députés de cette partie, est plus suffisant pour le faire, que je ne suy : je n'ay point de faconde, je suis tout indisposé et tout enreumé et ne puis pas bien parler et especialement en François : je eusse moult plus chier en parler en latin. Aussi je n'ay pas suffisance pour parler en si haute matiere, come est la matiere presente et ne suy point usité à parler en François et aussi je suis craintif et ne suis point bien seur à parler : je vous supplie que vous preniés mes deffauts en patience et que vous me supportiés⁴⁵.

Celui dont Guillaume Fillastre déclare qu'il est le plus grand canoniste du royaume⁴⁶, le voilà en position de fragilité, comme si en imposant le français au débat, le roi avait en quelque sorte démuni les savants et les juristes de leur puissance savante et de leurs facilités de penser, d'autant plus quand ils ne sont pas pasteurs, ni prédicateurs en paroisse, ce qui est le cas de Pierre Plaoul, par exemple, à la différence de Jean Gerson⁴⁷. En reprenant dans le débat de 1406 les mêmes personnes, les mêmes contenus, les mêmes destinataires, les mêmes enjeux, il n'y a pas changement de public mais changement de symbolique. La symbolique y est puissante : c'est le roi qui domine de son autorité les débats, en les commanditant et en leur imposant sa langue, le français royal, en prenant conseil auprès des experts mais, en dernier ressort, en décidant lui-même. Les savants sont convoqués pour leur expertise, non pour participer au pouvoir.

Évoquons, avant de clore le sujet de la vernacularisation, la question de Jean Gerson. Le corpus des débats à l'époque du Grand Schisme ne contient pas tant de textes gersoniens en français. Il y aurait bien, ici ou là, quelques harangues comme *Vivat rex* ou quelques sermons, mais peu nombreux à vrai dire et plutôt dans le style homilétique et la sémantique traditionnelle autour des « tres devottes considerations⁴⁸ » que dans le vocabulaire technique de l'ecclésiologie⁴⁹. S'il est vrai que de nombreux travaux ont été consacrés

⁴⁵ Pierre le Roy, *Discours au IV^e Concile de Paris* (6 décembre 1406), inc. : *Mon tres redouté et Souverain Seigneur, il vous a plu me deputer avec aucuns de Messeigneurs...*, dans : Bourgeois du Chastenet, *Histoire...*, p. 164-176, ici p. 164.

⁴⁶ Guillaume Fillastre, *2^{ème} Discours au IV^e Concile de Paris* (7 décembre 1406), inc. : *Obmutui et siloi a bonis quia dolor meus renovatus est...*, dans : Bourgeois du Chastenet, *Histoire...*, p. 199-211, ici p. 199.

⁴⁷ Voir H. Millet, *Pierre Plaoul (1353-1415) : une grande figure de l'université de Paris éclipsée par Gerson*, dans : *Itinéraires du savoir de l'Italie à la Scandinavie (X^e-XVI^e siècle). Études offertes à Elisabeth Mornet*, dir. C. Péneau, Paris 2009, p. 179-200.

⁴⁸ Jean Gerson, *Discours sur la paix*, VII/2, § 396, inc. : « *Veniat pax. Reviengne paix...* », p. 1100-1123, ici p. 1117.

⁴⁹ Jean Gerson, *Vivat rex* ou *Pour la réforme du royaume*, inc. : *Vivat rex...* (7 novembre 1405), éd. Glorieux, VII/2, § 398, p. 1137-1185. Notons un sermon pour la procession pour la

à l'œuvre française ou à la question du bilinguisme chez Gerson, peu d'études ont noté que la réflexion ecclésiologique de Gerson restait invariablement latine⁵⁰. L'histoire de la spiritualité a été largement étudiée et les spécialistes ont montré le constant souci de Gerson d'adapter le langage « aux gens simples et sans lettres » dans un but d'édification et de dévotion⁵¹. Isabel Iribarren a pu écrire que « le projet de vulgarisation gersonien se réalise ainsi par un dépassement du vocabulaire scolastique et du statut social du théologien, vers un langage spirituel commun à tous les chrétiens »⁵². Lorsque, par exemple, Gerson prêche sur le thème de la Passion à partir du verset biblique *Ad Deum vadit*, Jean 13, 3, il délivre deux sermons : l'un en latin devant une assemblée universitaire le 12 avril 1403⁵³ ; l'autre en français devant un public de laïcs, le lendemain, 13 avril 1403, lequel se divise en un sermon et en une collation⁵⁴. Gerson annonce la couleur de son propos

Doncques je laisseray tout ce qui fut fait jusques icy, tant a la Cene comme paravant, et commencerai l'histoire de la benoite passion ou sainte eglise la commence a ce jourd'hui. Et comprendrai le sens des quatre evangelistes ensemble, sans moi arrester longueument a allegacions ou quotacions ou histoires impertinentes ou aux doubtes et questions qui se pourraient faire. Et m'efforceraï principalement a esmouvoir nos cueurs a devociions et a deuil de ceste tres angoisseuses passion⁵⁵.

paix, vraisemblablement le 18 mars 1407, cf. *Ceuvres complètes*, VII/2, § 395, p. 1093-1100, inc. : *Vade in pace. Graces à Dieu, louenge et gloire...* ; et un discours au roi peut-être en novembre 1408 (ou janvier 1407 ?), § 396, inc. : *Veniat pax. Reviengne paix...*, p. 1100-1123 ; ainsi qu'un sermon après le concile de Pise, 25 décembre 1409 pour la paix et l'union, § 365, inc. : *Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis...*, p. 763-778.

50 Sur les travaux consacrés à l'œuvre française de Gerson, voir G. Ouy, *Gerson bilingue. Les deux rédactions, latine et française, de quelques œuvres du chancelier parisien*, Paris 1998 ; G. Ouy, *Bilinguisme ou trilinguisme ? Latin commun, latin savant et français aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, dans : *État et Église dans la genèse de l'État moderne*, éd. J.-P. Genet, B. Vincent, Madrid 1986, p. 86-101 ; S. Lusignan, G. Ouy, *Le bilinguisme latin-français à la fin du Moyen Âge*, dans : *Acta conventus neo-latini Torontonensis*, Binghamton 1991, p. 155-164. Voir aussi, plus récemment, les travaux d'Isabel Iribarren, entre autres *Le Paradis retrouvé : l'utopie linguistique de Jean Gerson*, dans : *Langue et autorité théologique à la fin du Moyen Âge*, dir. I. Iribarren, Numéro thématique de la « Revue de l'histoire des religions » CCXXXI (2014), 2, p. 223-251.

51 Voir L. Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, Bruges 1952 ; D. Hobbins, *Jean Gerson on Lay Devotion*, dans : *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, éd. B.P. McGuire, Leiden-Boston 2011, p. 41-78.

52 I. Iribarren, entre autres *Le Paradis retrouvé...*, p. 16.

53 Jean Gerson, *Sermon sur la Passion*, inc. : *Ad Deum vadit. Originaliter Joann. XIII, et in evangelio recitato praesentialiter*, § 207, V, p. 1-11.

54 Jean Gerson, *Sermon sur la Passion*, inc. : « *Ad Deum vadit. Ideo poenitemi.* », § 341, t. VII/2, p. 449-519. Le sermon, p. 449-493 et la collation, p. 493-519.

55 Jean Gerson, *Sermon sur la Passion...*, p. 453.

Les différences entre les deux sermons parlent d'elles-mêmes :

Sermon en latin, 12 avril 1403 <i>Ad Deum vadit</i>	Sermon en français, 13 avril 1403 <i>Ad Deum vadit</i>
Structure du sermon	Structure du sermon : commentaire linéaire de l'évangile en 24 parties : « Et diviserai le texte en vingt quatre parties selon vingt quatre heures qui sont au jour et en la nuit, douze pour le sermon et douze pour la collation »
Sermon court (11 pages dans l'édition Glorieux)	Sermon très long (70 pages dans l'édition Glorieux : sermon, 44 pages et collation, 26 pages) Le sermon : le matin La collation : l'après-midi (cf. p. 494 : « Commencons ou nous finasmes au matin »)
Public de savants universitaires : « Ecce viri patres et fratres » (p. 1)	Public de fidèles : « O devotes gens », « Sire, vostre peuple », « o devot peuple chrestien »
Teneur doctrinale	Pas de spéculation doctrinale. Exégèse adaptée à la dévotion laïque : autre explication du même verset
Références savantes (Augustin, Denys, Pythagore, Averroès, Bonaventure)	Peu voire pas de références savantes
Forme scolastique, structure ternaire des argumentations	Refus des <i>questiones</i> et des <i>dubia</i> : « sans moi arrester longuement [...] aux doubtes et aux questions »
Métaphores recherchées	
Condamnation et dénonciation des erreurs des philosophes	Souci d'éveiller les affects et l'émotion
	Forme de « théologie vernaculaire » (Bernard McGinn et Nicholas Watson)
	Sémantique homilétique, adresse stéréotypée : « O devotes gens »
	Apostrophe et exclamation : « Helas », « o belle tres douce mere », « O traiteur et desloyal Judas, [...] »
	Mise en scène de la Vierge au cours de la Passion
	Description narrative et mise en scène de la Passion : l'entrée à Béthanie, la Cène, « l'histoire de la benoite passion »
	Invitation à la méditation : « Avise icy [...] »

La vulgarisation gersonienne ne se réduit pas à une vernacularisation, laquelle n'en est qu'un élément. La vulgarisation gersonienne ne retravaille pas un matériau savant qui en serait le point de départ : elle se déplace sur un autre terrain, celui des affects, de l'émotivité et de l'excitation à la dévotion par les sens (imagination, représentation, appel à l'effusion des sentiments, mise en scène, apostrophes et dialogues, adresse à la deuxième personne du singulier). L'exégèse gersonienne est ici tropologique et mystique⁵⁶. Dans le même ordre d'idée, Gilbert Ouy avait montré que Gerson confectionnait des recueils bilingues avec le même texte en latin et en français, comme l'*Opus tripartitum* : « À partir de son brouillon en latin courant, notre lettré pouvait ensuite composer soit une version française de son texte, soit une nouvelle rédaction latine retravaillée, plus élégante, soit – exceptionnellement – les deux ; mais dans ce dernier cas, rien n'autoriserait à considérer le texte latin comme une traduction du français »⁵⁷. Gerson pense différemment selon ses publics de réception et la langue qu'il choisit pour eux.

Pour conclure sur ce point, il faut bien concéder que la frontière entre le latin et le français qui recouvrait une répartition entre clercs et laïcs est à relativiser fortement, plus encore la transposition d'un matériau savant vers un matériau rendu accessible. Les savants manient le vernaculaire sur demande royale. Surtout, ils manient le vernaculaire pour lui-même. Quant aux simples, on leur donne un autre enseignement adapté et accessible, non issu du discours savant et qui se situe sur un autre terrain, celui de l'affectif et de la mystique. Gerson ne préconise-t-il pas l'interdiction de traduire les Livres saints en langue vulgaire, tant le texte pourrait en être interpolé⁵⁸ ? Mieux vaut pas de vulgarisation-traduction qu'une mauvaise traduction, qui tourne alors plutôt au scandale qu'à l'édification⁵⁹.

La vernacularisation des débats ne nous permet pas d'observer un franchissement des sphères savantes vers les sphères non-savantes mais bien plutôt une instrumentalisation des savants par le roi, d'une part, et un approfondissement de la visée pastorale par les prédicateurs, d'autre part. La vulgarisation ne semble donc pas impliquer un enjeu de domination sur

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 456 : « Selon le sens mytique et moral, nous devons en nostre oraoison accompagner ces trois disciples... ».

⁵⁷ G. Ouy, *Gerson bilingue...*, p. xx.

⁵⁸ Jean Gerson, *Contra curiositatem studentium...*, p. 249 : *Rursus sequitur ex praemissis prohibendam esse vulgarem translationem sacrorum librorum nostrae Bibliae praesertim extra moralitates et historias. Claras rationes ad hoc plurimas invenire facile est. Rursus expediret pauciores esse aut electiores praedicatores verbi Dei ad populum, qui non adulterarent verbum Dei modis nescio quibus, vitiosissimis praedicandi.*

⁵⁹ Ibidem : *Si enim res omnium difficillima, arduissima et sanctissima commissa est passim multis insciis, incompositis, dissolutis, quid mirandum si scandala potius in audientibus et praedicantibus quam aedificatio solida suscitentur ?*

la société. S'il y avait enjeu de pouvoir, ce serait éventuellement à l'intérieur de la sphère savante, l'université contre d'autres instances ecclésiales de savoir puisque ce qui ressort de l'étude de la diffusion des débats et de leur vulgarisation, c'est la complexité des rapports de force entre les instances dominantes de pouvoir.

4. LA VULGARISATION DES DÉBATS PAR L'ÉLARGISSEMENT

La question de la vulgarisation par élargissement rencontre une modalité quantitative, d'une part, et géographique, d'autre part. En effet, l'élargissement des débats se joue par diffusion manuscrite ainsi que par rayonnement spatial.

Dans l'ensemble, les traités polémiques du Grand Schisme sont peu diffusés, même s'ils sont très connus. Le paradoxe de ce constat tient à la modalité de diffusion propre à la littérature polémique du Grand Schisme qui s'opère par des recueils de dossiers, très travaillés. Howard Kaminsky a recensé les manuscrits qui contiennent le *De substraccione obediencie* de Simon de Cramaud dès 1397, un des textes fondateurs d'une alternative ecclésiologique. Il compte 10 manuscrits dont deux copies dans le même recueil, le Paris, BnF lat. 14644. Il repère que des copies sont envoyées dans la sphère diplomatique française, à l'Angleterre, l'Espagne, Avignon, l'Empire et la Bohême. Pierre Ravat se plaint d'une telle diffusion presque au monde entier : « Cum enim liber missus sit in Almaniam, Yspaniam et quasi per totum mundum »⁶⁰. Indéniablement, au regard de la force de ce traité, de son impact sur les élaborations ecclésiologiques à venir et de son statut d'œuvre programmatique, la quantité de manuscrits ne correspond pas à l'importance du texte. C'est que les textes manuscrits sont lus et travaillés pour être eux-mêmes, assimilés et resservis dans d'autres productions, orales ou écrites d'ailleurs. Le nombre des copies des *tractatus* polémiques du Grand Schisme ne sont donc pas l'indice, comme le pensait Bernard Guenée de manière générale, du succès d'un texte.

Prenons encore un autre exemple, celui de Bernard Alaman, étudié par Hugues Labarthe. Autres grands textes du temps, les deux traités de Bernard Alaman, l'évêque de Condom, datent respectivement de 1393 et de 1398. On recense pour le premier traité huit témoins et pour le second sept. Cette diffusion, comme l'explique Hugues Labarthe, tend à montrer que les relais parisiens ont bien fonctionné. Deux copies, en effet, sont repérées à Paris dans les années 1390, c'est-à-dire quatre manuscrits. Philippe de Mézières

⁶⁰ Pierre Ravat, le 3 juin 1398, ASV, *Arm.* LIV, t. 21, fol. 235v, cité par H. Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism*, New Brunswick 1983, p. 177, note 94.

en possède une copie qu'il confie ensuite au couvent des Célestins. Dans la bibliothèque de Simon de Plumetot, on retrouve une copie de chaque traité : le Paris, BnF, lat. 14643 contient le traité de 1398 aux folios 196r-222r et le BnF lat. 14644 aux folios 13r-148r. De même, une copie du premier traité (1393) aurait appartenu à Simon du Bosc, abbé de Jumièges du fait même qu'elle se lit dans cet autre recueil *De Schismate*, le manuscrit de Rouen, BM, 1355, fol. 134r-168r. Dans la sphère avignonnaise, Benoît XIII possède deux copies de chacun des traités⁶¹ et Martin de Zalba au moins une copie du premier traité, peut-être deux⁶². Trois autres témoins disent la circulation des traités dans des milieux royaux (deux témoins de belle facture issues des anciennes bibliothèques royales anglaises et bavaroises) et des milieux de grands prélats, comme le traité de 1398 dans le Paris, BnF, lat. 3180b, commande de Georges Ier d'Amboise, cardinal ministre de Louis XII et conservé dans sa librairie du château de Gaillon⁶³. L'œuvre circule donc, mais elle reste confinée à des sphères sociologiquement et culturellement privilégiées.

Il est une dernière modalité de l'élargissement, géographique et quantitatif, lorsque la diffusion des productions universitaires sortent du monde savant. En étudiant les manuscrits de Gerson et leur diffusion, Daniel Hobbins a montré comment Gerson avait mis en place, avec l'aide de son frère Jean Le Célestin et des réseaux cartusiens et célestins, français et surtout allemands, une véritable politique éditoriale, déjà humaniste⁶⁴. Gerson lui-même étudie les agencements de ses textes dans des compilations de recueils⁶⁵. N'avait-il pas d'ailleurs, dans le *De auferabilitate* de 1417, renvoyé son lecteur à deux autres œuvres antérieures, le sermon de Tarascon de 1404 et son traité *De unitate ecclesie* de 1409 ? La diffusion organisée par les deux frères, appuyée sur les réseaux de monastères germaniques qui en organisait la distribution, visait un public non-universitaire et non-académique, en premier lieu, un public

61 Il s'agit de Vaticano, ASV, *Armarium*, LIV, t. 38, fol. 7r-71r et Paris, BnF, lat. 1481, fol. 39r-73r pour le traité de 1393 et Vaticano, ASV, *Armarium*, LIV, t. 26, fol. 28r-68r et Grenoble, BM, 988, fol. 184r-226r pour le traité de 1398.

62 ASV, *Arm.* LIV, t. 21, fol. 5r-34v au moins. Hugues Labarthe attribue l'autre copie du ms BAV, Barb. Lat. 872, fol. 61r-92r à Martin de Zalba, alors qu'il semblerait que le volume ait plutôt appartenu à Benoît XIII.

63 Respectivement London, British Library, Add. 15104, fol. 1 sq. et München, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 15725, fol. 1r-98r et Paris, BnF, lat. 3180b, 86ff.

64 D. Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print : Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*, Philadelphia 2009. Voir aussi G. Ouy, *Gerson bilingue...*, p. x : « C'est d'abord au plus jeune frère de l'auteur, le célestin Jean, que cette œuvre doit de nous avoir été si bien conservée : pendant plus de vingt-cinq ans, il servit à son illustre aîné de secrétaire, de copiste et d'éditeur. Il recueillait et classait scrupuleusement les moindres brouillons, mettait au net des *exemplaria* aussi corrects que possible et les faisait parvenir non seulement en France, mais parfois aussi hors du royaume, aux couvents de célestins ou de chartreux dont les scriptoria en assureraient la diffusion ».

65 Ibidem, p. 207-213.

de moines, solitaires, plutôt bénédictins, puis par la suite le public de la congrégation de Melk⁶⁶. Hobbins note même le succès de Gerson dans les milieux dévôts laïques comme les cercles des dévôts flamands. Indéniablement, l'importation des débats hors de la sphère des spécialistes savants permet d'ouvrir l'espace social de la discussion : « Les débats sont déportés vers d'autres horizons pour d'autres emplois ».

Certes, l'on pourrait objecter que les œuvres spirituelles, pastorales ou mystiques ont pu intéresser en priorité l'entreprise de distribution vers les cercles monastiques et dévôts. Or, les traités ecclésiologiques de Gerson, indice et caisse de résonance des débats du temps, furent à leur manière aussi distribués. Pour Daniel Hobbins, la forme du traité-*tractatus*, marque de la fabrique théologique du XV^e siècle, reste la meilleure modalité de la circulation des œuvres⁶⁷. Les traités sont courts, ils sont rapidement écrits dans le vif de l'actualité brûlante. Ils constituent autant de réponses ou répliques rapides aux débats du temps. C'est leur caractère urgent, pressé et rapidement copié qui les caractérise : « It could be produced hastily (*cursim*) and on the fly (*in transcursu*), then quickly copied and circulated »⁶⁸. Elie de Lestranges écrit un traité en sept heures et s'en plaint un peu...⁶⁹ Ces traités, sans cesse réécrits, sont corrigés, colportés, distribués et bénéficient du dynamisme insufflé par les conciles de Constance puis de Bâle, devenus, on le sait, véritables foires aux livres et forum de l'opinion publique comme l'ont bien montré Jürgen Miethke, U. Neddermeyer ou Peter Lehmann. Gerson apporte ses œuvres à Constance⁷⁰. Il en corrige certaines sur place, comme l'*Opus tripartitum*. Deux copies sont réalisées à Constance. C'est à partir de Constance que l'*Opus tripartitum* se répand rapidement à travers l'Allemagne et l'Autriche et les copies sont datées des années 1420. En 1423, l'œuvre est traduite en allemand

66 Ibidem, notamment p. 196, 202.

67 Ibidem, p. 135-147.

68 Ibidem, p. 136.

69 Elie de Lestrangle, *Allegationes reprobantes viam cessionis solius domini pape Benedicti per quosdam aperta scilicet quod pro unione sue obediencie cederet et certo modo*, Paris, BnF, lat. 1475, fol. 57r-63v, inc. : *Pro bono unionis expeditius et brevius habende...*, fol. 62v, 6^e ligne, pour la citation *sine aliqua provisione et in librorum absentia*. Voir Valois, III, p. 237-238, note 5 : « Ce sont les *Allégations* composées, en six ou sept heures ».

70 Pour les conciles de Constance et de Bâle comme « marchés aux livres » et « forum de l'opinion publique », voir les études de U. Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch : Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*, I-II, Wiesbaden, 1998, ici I, p. 280-282 : « Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte » ; voir aussi J. Miethke, *Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung*, « Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters »XXXVII (1981), p. 736-773, exactement p. 753-755. L'article prend appui sur celui de P. Lehmann, *Konstanz und Basel als Büchermärkte während der grossen Kirchenversammlungen*, cité d'après P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, « Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze » I (1941), p. 253-280.

et son impact en terre allemande est prodigieuse⁷¹. De même, le sermon *Prosperum iter faciat* connaît une belle diffusion en terres germaniques. Quant au *De ecclesiastice potestate*, retravaillée par Gerson en 1416, au cœur du concile de Constance, c'est l'œuvre gersonienne dont on repère aujourd'hui le plus grand nombre de témoins. Carla Bozzolo a montré que Gerson est l'auteur le plus copié aux conciles de Constance et de Bâle, après Nicolas de Lyre⁷².

L'on peut ainsi se risquer à conclure que la période du Grand Schisme aura été l'occasion d'une sortie des textes et des idées hors de leur confinement scolastique, voire l'opportunité pour le monde universitaire d'atteindre à une plus large diffusion de ses productions et de reconsidérer le monde des laïcs. Daniel Hobbins parle d'«une vulgarisation de la théologie». Par ses formes – le *tractatus* d'une part, les recueils *De schismate*, d'autre part-, par les marchés aux livres du XV^e siècle que furent les grands conciles ou par la stratégie éditoriale d'un homme, les débats se diffusent, les débats s'exportent. En ce sens, et en ce sens seulement, les débats se vulgarisent. Ils se vulgarisent, non pas conformément à la règle traditionnelle de diffusion des œuvres à succès au regard du nombre de manuscrits mais par les mécanismes de la polémique eux-mêmes : les recueils de dossiers, dits *Tractatus de schismate* font aux débats la caisse de résonance des nœuds polémiques. Les textes polémiques des recueils, peu copiés, mais abondamment annotés, travaillés, assimilés et discutés s'avèrent les véritables vecteurs d'une vulgarisation des polémiques. Par les *Tractatus de schismate*, les débats sont vulgarisés sans déperdition de leur dimension polémique, tant il est vrai que les recueils permettent le rayonnement des débats par leur constitution même.

ABSTRACT

L'article se concentre sur la vulgarisation des débats à l'époque du Grand Schisme en cherchant à pointer la spécificité d'un type de vulgarisation et de ses modalités. Après les rapides prolégomènes, qui introduisent la notion d'espace public au sens habermassien du terme, *Öffentlichkeit*, la question s'est posée de savoir si la vulgarisation des polémiques à l'époque du Grand Schisme vise à ouvrir plus largement l'espace du dialogue et de la controverse ou bien impose à la société un prêt-à-penser de thèmes déjà élaborés, en amont, dans la sphère savante ? Pour envisager cette question, trois temps ponctuent le propos : 1. La vulgarisation des débats par simplification, 2. La vulgarisation des débats par vernacularisation, 3. La vulgarisation des débats par élargissement. L'article conclut que les débats de l'époque considérée se vulgarisent non pas conformément à la règle traditionnelle de diffusion des œuvres à succès au regard du nombre de manuscrits mais par les mécanismes de la polémique eux-mêmes : les recueils de dossiers, dits *Tractatus de schismate* sont aux débats la caisse de résonance des nœuds polémiques.

⁷¹ Voir l'étude de R. Bast, *Honor Your Fathers : Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400-1600*, Leiden 1997.

⁷² C. Bozzolo, *La production manuscrite dans les pays rhénans au XV^e siècle (à partir des manuscrits datés)*, « *Scrittura e civiltà* » XVIII (1994), p. 183-242.

GISELA NAEGLÉ
GIESSEN

**RATGEBER DES KÖNIGS UND WÜRDENTRÄGER
DER KIRCHE: WISSEN UND MACHT BEI JEAN JUVÉNAL
DES URSINS, ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI
UND NIKOLAUS VON KUES**



Jean Juvé­nal des Ursins (1388-1473), Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464) und Nikolaus von Kues (1401-1464) hatten Einiges gemeinsam. Sie waren nicht nur direkte Zeitgenossen, sondern standen im Dienst der Kirche und im Fall von Piccolomini und Jean Juvé­nal des Ursins auch des Kaisers bzw. des französischen Königs. Das höchste kirchliche Amt bekleidete von 1458 bis 1464 als Papst Pius II. Enea Silvio Piccolomini.¹ Jean Juvé­nal des Ursins wurde nacheinander Bischof von Beauvais (1432), von Laon (1444) und schließlich Erzbischof von Reims und *pair de France* (1449). Er krönte Ludwig XI. und wirkte ab 1455

1 Die Sekundärliteratur zu Enea Silvio Piccolomini ist äußerst umfangreich und kann deshalb nicht ausführlich vorgestellt werden. Siehe z.B. *Pio II umanista europeo, atti del XVII convegno internazionale*, hrsg. L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, Florenz 2007; *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Arte, storia e cultura nell'Europa di Pio II*, hrsg. R. Di Paola, A. Antoniutti, M. Gallo, Roma 2006; *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Uomo di lettere e mediatore di culture. Gelehrter und Vermittler der Kulturen*, hrsg. M.A. Terzoli, Basel 2006; *Conferenze su Pio II: nel sesto centenario della nascita di Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-2005)*, hrsg. E. Mecacci, L. d'Ascia, Siena 2006; *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Pius Secundus poeta laureatus Pontifex maximus, atti del convegno internazionale, 29 settembre - 1 ottobre 2005, Roma*, hrsg. M. Sodi, A. Antoniutti, Città del Vaticano 2007; M. Wagendorfer, *Von olantischen Bädern, humanistischen Kursiven und tiefem Rausch. Anmerkungen zu Veröffentlichungen anlässlich des 600. Geburtstages des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, „Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung“ CXIV (2006), S. 404-417; F.-J. Worstbrock, *Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon*, 2. neu bearbeitete Aufl., VII, Berlin, New York 1989, Sp. 634-669; E. Meuthen, *Pius II.*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, XXVI, Berlin - New York 1996, Sp. 649-652; M. Pellegrini, *Pio II*, in: *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, I-III, Roma 2000, hier II, Sp. 663-685; G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter*, I-III, Berlin 1856-1863; V. Reinhardt, *Pius II. Piccolomini*, München 2013.

als Richter am Rehabilitationsprozess Jeanne d'Arcs mit.² Dem bürgerlichen Nikolaus von Kues gelang ein für die Verhältnisse im mittelalterlichen Reich außergewöhnlicher Aufstieg zum Kardinal und Fürstbischof von Brixen (1450, Aufenthalt vor Ort 1452-1458, kurze Rückkehr noch einmal 1460).³ Er liefert damit zugleich ein eindrucksvolles Beispiel für die Chancen, die ein universitäres Studium und juristische Fachkenntnisse einem gesuchten „Experten“ zumindest in Ausnahmefällen ermöglichen konnten.

Alle drei Protagonisten des Artikels waren nicht nur Kleriker, die im Verlauf ihrer Karriere selbst zu hochrangigen Herrschaftsträgern wurden und Macht ausübten, sondern auch Autoren politisch-juristischer Werke und von an Fürsten und Amtsträger gerichteten Ratschlägen.

Piccolomini hinterließ darüber hinaus ein bedeutendes literarisches Werk mit einer umfangreichen Autobiographie,⁴ den *Commentarii*⁵ und spielte eine zentrale Rolle für die Vermittlung des Humanismus im Reichsgebiet

2 H. Müller, *Jean II Juvénal des Ursins und seine Familie: Jean I^{er} – Guillaume – Jacques* (mit einem Exkurs zu *Thomas de Courcelles und Jean de Grôle*), in: H. Müller, *Die Franzosen, Frankreich und das Basler Konzil (1431-1449)*, I-II, Paderborn-München 1990, hier I, S. 393-414; *Écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I-III, Paris 1978-1992, III: *La vie et l'œuvre*, Paris 1992; P. Arabeyre, *Juvénal des Ursins, Jean*, in: *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français (XII^e-XX^e siècle)*, hrsg. P. Arabeyre, J.-L. Halpérin, J. Krynen, Paris 2007, S. 436-437; P. Contamine, *Juvénal des Ursins, Jean (1388-1473)*, in: *Jeanne d'Arc, histoire et dictionnaire*, hrsg. P. Contamine, O. Bouzy, X. Hélary, Paris 2012, S. 781-783; G. Naegle, *Jean Juvénal des Ursins (1388-1473)*, in: *Écrivains juristes et juristes écrivains du Moyen Âge au siècle des Lumières*, hrsg. B. Méniel, Paris 2015, S. 642-648.

3 Wie für Piccolomini können auch die Veröffentlichungen zu Cusanus hier nicht detailliert präsentiert werden. Siehe z.B. E. Meuthen, *Nikolaus von Kues 1401-1464. Skizze einer Biographie*, Münster 1992; K. Flasch, *Nikolaus von Kues*, Frankfurt am Main 2008; M. Watanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa. A Companion to His Life and His Times*, hrsg. G. Christianson, T.M. Izbicki, Farnham 2011; T. Müller, *Der junge Cusanus*, Münster 2013; *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues. Leben und Werk*, hrsg. M. Brösch, W.A. Euler, A. Geissler, V. Ranff, Darmstadt 2014; H.G. Senger, *Nikolaus von Kues. Leben – Lehre – Wirkungsgeschichte*, Heidelberg 2017; Übersicht: <http://www.cusanus-portal.de/> [eingesehen am 10. Mai 2017].

4 Siehe u. a. G. Bürck, *Selbstdarstellung und Personenbildnis bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II.)*, Basel-Stuttgart 1956; A. Esch, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. Herrschaftspraxis und Selbstdarstellung*, in: *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, hrsg. H. Boockmann, B. Moeller, K. Stackmann, Göttingen 1989, S. 112-140; L. Totaro, *Pio II nei suoi Commentarii. Un contributo alla lettura della autobiografia di Enea Silvio de Piccolomini*, Bologna 1978; C. Märkl, *Les 'Commentarii' d'Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pie II, 1405/1458-1464)*, in: *Les autobiographies souveraines*, hrsg. P. Monnet, J.-C. Schmitt, Paris 2012, S. 221-245; eadem, *Pius II. (1458-1464). Offensive und defensive Strategien seiner Selbstdarstellung als Papst*, in: *Eigenbild im Konflikt. Krisensituationen des Papsttums zwischen Gregor VII. und Benedikt XV.*, hrsg. M. Matheus, L. Klinkhammer, Darmstadt 2009, S. 63-87.

5 Editionen: *Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, hrsg. A. van Heck, I-II, Città del Vaticano 1984; Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Papa Pio II, I Commentarii*, hrsg. L. Totaro, I-II, 2. Aufl., Milano 2004; *Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii*, hrsg. I. Bellus, I. Boronkai, I-II, Budapest 1993-1994; *Pius II, Commentaries*, I [lib. I-II], ed. M. Meserve, M. Simonetta, Cambridge (Mass.) - London 2003, I [lib. III-IV], Cambridge (Mass.) 2007.

nördlich der Alpen.⁶ Nikolaus von Kues wird noch heute vor allem wegen seiner philosophisch-theologischen Werke sehr geschätzt.⁷ Jeder der drei titelgebenden Autoren verfasste Reformschriften und trat als Redner auf großen Versammlungen wie Konzilien, Synoden, Reichstagen⁸ oder *états généraux* auf.⁹ Als die Tätigkeit als (Erz-)bischof oder Papst die Chance bot, Reformideen praktisch umzusetzen, stießen Kues, Juvénal des Ursins und Piccolomini jedoch auf Schwierigkeiten. Keiner von ihnen ist als besonders erfolgreicher Reformers seiner Diözese, der Kirche als solcher oder als Anreger tatsächlich durchgeführter Reformen des Königreichs in Frankreich oder dem Reich in Erinnerung geblieben.¹⁰ Kues hatte mit heftigen Konflikten in seiner Diözese zu kämpfen, die sogar mit Waffengewalt ausgetragen wurden. Er zog sich schließlich nach Rom zurück.¹¹

6 J. Helmrath, „*Vestigia Aeneae imitari*“. *Enea Silvio Piccolomini als ‚Apostel‘ des Humanismus. Formen und Wege seiner Diffusion*, in: *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten*, hrsg. J. Helmrath, U. Muhlack, G. Walther, Göttingen 2002, S. 99-141; Pio II *umanista*; P. Weinig, *Aeneam suscipite, Pium recipite. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. Studien zur Rezeption eines humanistischen Schriftstellers im Deutschland des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998; F. Fürbeth, *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini Deutsch. Aspekte der Überlieferung in Handschriften und Drucken*, in: *Humanismus und früher Buchdruck*, hrsg. S. Füssel, V. Honemann, Nürnberg 1997, S. 83-114; P. Weinig, *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini in Deutschland. Beobachtungen zur Überlieferung der lateinischen Handschriften*, in: *Humanismus und früher Buchdruck* (siehe oben), S. 71-82; *Enea Silvio Piccolomini nördlich der Alpen*, hrsg. F. Fuchs, Wiesbaden 2008.

7 H.G. Senger, *Nikolaus von Kues* [2017], S. 269-293, *Bibliographien zur Wirkungsgeschichte*, S. 294-347.

8 Zu den Reden siehe: J. Helmrath, *Die Reichstagsreden des Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1454/55. Studien zu Reichstag und Rhetorik, I-II*, Universität Köln, Habilitationsschrift, 1994.

9 Zu Jean Juvénal des Ursins als Redner auf Ständeversammlungen siehe: G. Naegle, „*Quant ilz avoient affaire pour la guerre, ilz faisoient assembler les trois estats*“: *royauté et assemblées d'états à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in: *Les états: ordres, institutions et formes (France 1302-1614)*, hrsg. M. Martin, Paris 2013, S. 13-41. Zu Oratorik / Ständeversammlungen im mittelalterlichen Reich und in Frankreich siehe: J. Feuchter, J. Helmrath, *Oratory and Representation: The Rhetorical Culture of Political Assemblies, 1300-1600*, „*Parliaments, Estates & Representation*“ XXIX (2009) 1, S. 53-66; *Politische Redekultur in der Vormoderne. Die Oratorik europäischer Parlamente in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, hrsg. J. Feuchter, J. Helmrath, Frankfurt am Main - New York 2008; *Parlamentarische Kulturen vom Mittelalter bis in die Moderne: Reden – Räume – Bilder*, hrsg. J. Feuchter, J. Helmrath, Düsseldorf 2013; M. Hébert, *Parlementer. Assemblées représentatives et échange politique en Europe occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris 2014; N. Bulst, *Die französischen Generalstände von 1468 und 1484*, Sigmaringen 1992; *Deutscher Königshof, Hoftag und Reichstag im späteren Mittelalter*, hrsg. P. Moraw, Stuttgart 2002; G. Annas, *Hoftag – Gemeiner Tag – Reichstag, I-II* und CD-Rom, Göttingen 2004.

10 Zu Kues als Reformers siehe: *Renovatio et unitas – Nikolaus von Kues als Reformers. Theorie und Praxis der reformatio im 15. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. T. Frank, N. Winkler, Göttingen 2012; zum Vergleich von Kues, Piccolomini und Juvénal des Ursins siehe: G. Naegle, „*Mortalis morbus imperium germanicum invasit*“. *Cusanus und seine Zeitgenossen als Reichsreformers*, in: *Renovatio et unitas*, S. 177-203.

11 W. Baum, *Nikolaus Cusanus in Tirol: Das Wirken des Philosophen und Reformators als Fürstbischof von Brixen*, Bozen 1983; H.J. Hallauer, *Nikolaus von Kues als Bischof und Landesfürst*

Die Gegenüberstellung dieser drei Personen wirft eine Reihe von Fragen auf: 1. Wie beurteilten die genannten Autoren die Rolle von Bildung und Gelehrsamkeit? 2. Wie beeinflussten ihre Herkunft und Ausbildung ihre Tätigkeit als gelehrte „Experten“ im Dienste weltlicher Herrschaftsträger und der Kirche? 3. Wie sahen Ratschläge und Kritik an Herrscher, Fürsten und Kanzler aus?

„EXPERTEN“, GELEHRSAMKEIT UND DIE MACHT DES WORTES

Der Begriff des Experten und die Erforschung der Formen und Akteure der Vermittlung gelehrten Wissens in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit gaben in den letzten Jahrzehnten Anlass zu einer Reihe von Publikationen. Dabei wurden neben der zeitgenössischen lateinischen Terminologie und ihren „Gegenbegriffen“ wie *expertus*, *litteratus*, *eruditus*, *peritus*, (*i*)*gnarus*, *scitus* / (*in*)*sciens*, *prudens*, *doctus*, *cognitus*, *consultus* auch konkurrierende und benachbarte Begriffsfelder und die volkssprachlichen Ausdrücke für „Wissen“, „Weisheit“ und „Erfahrung“ (*scientia*, *sapientia*, *prudentia*, *sophia*, *auctoritas*, *charisma*)¹² mit einbezogen, sowie methodische Ansätze diskutiert.¹³ Gegenüber der älteren,

in Brixen, Trierer Cusanus Lecture, VI, Trier 2000; idem, *Nikolaus von Kues als Kirchenreformer und Fürstbischof von Brixen*, „Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft“ XXVIII (2003), S. 102-134; A. Jäger, *Der Streit des Cardinals Nikolaus von Cusa mit dem Herzoge Sigmund von Österreich als Grafen von Tirol*, I-II [in einem Volumen], Innsbruck 1861, Neudr. Frankfurt am Main 1968.

¹² H. Röckelein, *Einleitung: Experten zwischen scientia und experientia*, in: *Experten der Vormoderne zwischen Wissen und Erfahrung*, hrsg. H. Röckelein, U. Friedrich, „Das Mittelalter. Zeitschrift des Mediävistenverbandes“ XVII (2012) 2, S. 1-144, hier S. 3. Siehe dort auch: K. Ubl, *Der Gelehrte bei Marsilius von Padua und Wilhelm von Ockham. Zur Abgrenzung von politischer und gelehrter Autorität in der Philosophie des 14. Jahrhunderts*, S. 16-33; K. Nörr, *Drei Proben aus dem Fragenkreis „Erfahrung“ im mittelalterlichen gelehrten Recht*, ibidem, S. 34-46; J. Sarnowsky, *Expertus – experientia – experimentum. Neue Wege der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis im Spätmittelalter*, ibidem, S. 47-59; E. Kessler, *‘O vitae experientia dux’. Die Rolle der Erfahrung im theoretischen und praktischen Weltbezug des frühen Humanismus und ihre Konsequenzen*, ibidem, S. 60-74; *Experts et expertise au Moyen Âge. Consilium quaeritur a perito*, hrsg. Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public, Paris 2012.

¹³ S. Steckel, *Wissensgeschichten. Zugänge, Probleme und Potentiale in der Erforschung mittelalterlicher Wissenskulturen*, in: *Akademische Wissenskulturen. Praktiken des Lehrens und Forschens vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne*, hrsg. M. Kintzinger, S. Steckel, Mitarbeit J. Crispin, Basel 2004, S. 9-58; C. Lüdecke, N. Helm, *Auswahlbibliographie*, in: H. Röckelein, *Experten der Vormoderne*, S. 8-15; M. Füssel, *Auf dem Weg zur Wissensgesellschaft. Neue Forschungen zur Kultur des Wissens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, „Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung“ XXXIV (2007), S. 273-289; M. Kintzinger, *Wissen wird Macht. Bildung im Mittelalter*, Ostfildern 2003; F. Rexroth, *Die Weisheit und ihre 17 Häuser. Universitäten und Gelehrte im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, in: *Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806, Essays*, hrsg. M. Puhle, C.-P. Hasse, Dresden 2006, S. 424-437; *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. R.C. Schwings, Berlin 1996; idem, *Studenten und Gelehrte. Students and*

auf Institutionen und Gelehrte konzentrierten Historiographie, gewannen dabei die Erforschung von Netzwerken,¹⁴ Transfer- und Rezeptionsvorgängen, vergleichende Gesichtspunkte und die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Wissen, Macht und Autorität¹⁵ erheblich an Bedeutung.

Die Forderung nach einem gebildeten Herrscher gehörte im Mittelalter zu den „Standardargumenten“ von Fürstenspiegeln. Schon Johann von Salisbury traf um 1159 die in den folgenden Jahrhunderten immer wieder viel zitierte Feststellung, ein ungebildeter Fürst sei ein gekrönter Esel (*rex illiteratus est quasi asinus coronatus*).¹⁶ Um 1439 ging im Umfeld des Konzils von Basel ein Zeitgenosse der hier behandelten drei Autoren, der anonyme Verfasser der *Reformatio Sigismundi*, sogar so weit, zu fordern, der Kaiser solle eine universitäre juristische Ausbildung und den Dokortitel besitzen:

Item es sol ein keyser gelert sin; er solt züm minsten ein doctor legum und iuris sin; wer er öuch priester, so wer er deste würdiger und alle weltlich reht stand in seiner hand; er sol das ewangelium lesen, das bezeichnet, das er der kirchen und des glöben schirmer sol sin.¹⁷

Die Forderung eines promovierten Juristen als Kaiser war zwar noch weit von der Realität entfernt, dennoch wuchs allmählich das Bewusstsein für die Bedeutung gelehrter Bildung und der Macht des Wortes. In seinem *Pentalogus* (1443),¹⁸ einem Fünfergespräch¹⁹ der fiktiv-realen Personen ‘Friedrich’ (des künftigen Kaisers Friedrich III. [*1415 - †1493, Kaiser seit 1452]²⁰), ‘Eneas’, des

Scholars. Studien zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte deutscher Universitäten im Mittelalter, Leiden-Boston 2008; P. Moraw, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur deutschen und europäischen Universitätsgeschichte*, Leiden-Boston 2008; N. Hammerstein, *Bildung und Wissenschaft vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, München 2010.

14 Grundlegend für die Anwendung dieser Methode war im deutschen Sprachraum: W. Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen. „Verflechtung“ als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen um 1600*, München 1979; kritische Diskussion in: K. Hitzbleck, *Verflochten, vernetzt, verheddert? Überlegungen zu einem erfolgreichen Paradigma*, in: *Die Grenzen des Netzwerks 1200-1600*, hrsg. K. Hitzbleck, K. Hübner, Ostfildern 2014, S. 17-40.

15 M. Kintzinger, *Gelehrte Autorität. Das späte Mittelalter und die Anfänge der europäischen Wissensgesellschaft*, in: *Autorität und Akzeptanz. Das Reich im Europa des 13. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. H. Seibert, W. Bomm, V. Türck, Stuttgart 2013, S. 203-222; *Autorität und Wahrheit. Kirchliche Vorstellungen, Normen und Verfahren*, hrsg. G.L. Potestà, München 2012.

16 [Johann v. Salisbury], *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, hrsg. C.C.I. Webb, London 1909, Ndr. Frankfurt am Main 1965, I, 4, c. 6, 524 d.

17 *Reformation Kaiser Siegmunds*, hrsg. H. Koller, Stuttgart 1964, S. 243.

18 Eneas silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, Hannover 2009.

19 Zur literarischen Form des Dialogs siehe C. Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge 1200-1400. Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium*, Leiden-Boston 2007.

20 Zu Friedrich III. siehe: P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440-1493). Hof, Regierung und Politik*, I-III, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1997; *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440-1493) in seiner Zeit*, hrsg. P.-J. Heinig, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1993; H. Koller, *Friedrich III.*, Darmstadt 2005.

Kanzlers Kaspar Schlick (†1449)²¹, des Bischofs von Freising Nicodemo della Scala²² und des Bischofs von Chiemsee Sylvester Pflieger²³ legt Piccolomini seiner Figur des 'Eneas' in den Mund, eine geschickte Rhetorik sei eine äußerst effektvolle Waffe. Sie habe sich bereits unter Kaiser Augustus sogar durchaus mit militärischen Mitteln messen können.²⁴ Für seine eigene Zeit demonstriert er dies auch am Beispiel König Alfons' I. (V.) von Aragón und Neapel (1396-1458),²⁵ den er mehrfach als besonders vorbildlich darstellt²⁶ und für Kaiser Sigismund (*1368 - †1437, Kaiser seit 1433).²⁷ Beide präsentiert er König Friedrich III. (den er im *Pentalogus* vor dem Romzug und seiner Krönung mitunter bereits als Kaiser anspricht) als nachahmenswerte Vorbilder:²⁸

Sigismund, kennst du [Friedrich III. – G.N.] selbst noch, denn du warst oft bei ihm [...]. Ihn lobten alle, weil er auch zu bedeutenden Anlässen immer selbst sprach, und um so mehr bewunderten sie ihn, je eifriger er bemüht war, eher alltägliche Themen neu anzugehen. Wer mit ihm

21 Zu Kaspar Schlick siehe P.-J. Heinig, *Schlick, Kaspar*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VII, München 1995, Sp. 1489-1490; P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III...* [1997], I, S. 638-646.

22 M. Heim, *Nicodemus della Scala (Bischof von Freising, †1443)*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, XIX, Berlin 1998, S. 261-262; H.J. Hallauer, *Der Pentalogus des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, Dissertation, Universität Köln 1951, S. 26-29.

23 Zu Sylvester Pflieger siehe P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III* [1997], I, S. 581-584.

24 Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, S. 68: *Quod in Augusto declaratum est, cui non minus eloquentia quam militaris disciplina ad robur imperii profuit*.

25 Siehe E. Sáez, R. Manselli, W. Rüegg, *Alfons I. (V.)*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, I, München-Zürich 1980, Sp. 401-403. Alfons I. als König von Aragon und Sizilien (seit 1416), Alfons V. als König von Neapel (seit 1442).

26 An einer anderen Stelle sagt die Figur des 'Eneas' über ihn: *Quem et in pace iustum et in bello fortem et in omni tempore providum liberalissimumque intellexeris, in quo non modo et imperatorie, sed et oratorie artes eluceant [...]* (Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, S. 184-185). M. Nejedly, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pentalogus de rebus ecclesiae et imperii*, Dissertation, Universität Wien 1953, S. 132-134 (mit Verweisen auf weitere Erwähnungen dieses Königs in den Schriften Enea Silvio Piccolominis). Siehe auch: Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *De Alfonso Rege Aragonum*, in: *Enea Silvii Piccolominei postea PII De Viris Illustribus*, hrsg. A. van Heck, Città del Vaticano 1991, S. 80-84.

27 Zu Sigismund siehe: *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa*, hrsg. M. Pauly, F. Reinert, Mainz 2006; *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa 1387-1437*, hrsg. J. Macek, E. Marosi, F. Seibt, Warendorf 1994; *Kaiser Sigismund (1368-1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, K. Hruza, A. Kaar, Wien 2012; J.K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368-1437*, München 1996; W. Baum, *Kaiser Sigismund. Hus, Konstanz, Türkenkriege*, Graz-Wien 1993; *Hof und Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismunds als politisches und soziales System, Tagung Brunn-Brno, 18.-21. November 2015* (im Druck); J. von Aschbach, *Geschichte Kaiser Sigmunds*, I-IV, Hamburg 1838-1845, Ndr. Aalen 1964; E. Mályusz, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn, 1387-1437*, Budapest 1990.

28 Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, S. 72-73; G. Naegle, *Beobachten, erinnern, belehren: Fürst und Hof bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Christine de Pizan*, in: *Historische Exempla in Fürstenspiegeln und Fürstenlehren*, hrsg. C. Reinle, H. Winkel, Frankfurt am Main 2011, S. 99-144, hier S. 138-139.

sprach, hielt sich für selig, sobald er die Antwort aus kaiserlichem Mund hörte. [...]. Genauso macht es heutzutage Alfons, der König von Aragón, was ihm nicht weniger nützt, als seine Heeresmacht (*quod sibi non minus prodest quam vires exercitus*). Wenn du auch nur dies eine schaffst, Kaiser (*cesar*), dass diejenigen, die zu dir kommen, dich hören, werden dir alle Herrscher unterlegen sein und du wirst als der einzige wahre Fürst auf der ganzen Welt gerühmt werden. Denn da du durch Menschlichkeit (*humanitas*), Milde (*clementia*), Frömmigkeit (*pietas*), Gottesfurcht (*religio*), Gerechtigkeit (*iustitia*) und die übrigen Tugenden des Geistes die anderen übertriffst, darfst du nicht zulassen, dass du allein in der Redegabe (*locutionis dote*) zurückstehst [...]. Für schriftliche Bildung (*litteris*) ist also etwas Zeit aufzuwenden, und der Geist muß durch Gelehrsamkeit (*doctrina*) geformt werden. Wenn wir nämlich recht sehen, so gehorcht alles den Wissenschaften und der Gelehrsamkeit (*Namque si recte volumus iudicare, scientiis atque doctrinis omnia parent*).²⁹

Unmittelbar im Anschluss folgt die Feststellung, es seien nicht so sehr militärische Mittel, sondern Wissen und Bildung (*studia litterarum, scientia litterarum, litteras*), die dem Kaiser die Überlegenheit gegenüber dem Papst verschaffen könnten, dies solle Friedrich beherzigen:

Jedenfalls denke ich oft darüber nach, warum das Papsttum heutzutage dem Kaisertum so sehr überlegen ist, und es scheint mir keinen besseren Grund dafür zu geben als dass das Bildungsstreben (*studia litterarum*) vom Kaisertum auf das Papsttum übergegangen ist. An Waffengewalt (*armis imperium*) war das Kaisertum dem Papsttum nämlich immer überlegen. Daraus geht klar hervor, dass Bildung (*scientia litterarum*) das römische Papsttum hat aufsteigen lassen, während das Kaisertum durch Unbildung (*ignorantia*) abgestiegen ist, weil sich die Machthaber bei den Völkern nur durch diese beiden Sachen, Waffen und Wissen (*armis et litteris*), behaupten können. Beginne also, mein König, dich um Bildung (*litteras*) zu bemühen, gelehrte Männer (*viros doctos*) um dich zu versammeln und überzeuge dich vor allem davon, dass es nützlich ist, wenn du öffentlich sprichst (*utilem rem esse te publice loqui*) und deinen Besuchern Lateinisch antwortest.³⁰

Angesichts der daraufhin von der Figur des 'Friedrich' geäußerten Zweifel lobt Piccolomini die Bemühungen Herzog Amadeus VIII. von Savoyen (des Gegenpapstes Felix V.),³¹ auch im fortgeschrittenen Alter noch seine Lateinkenntnisse zu verbessern:

²⁹ Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, dt. S. 69, 71, lat. S. 68, 70.

³⁰ Ibidem, dt. S. 71, lat. S.70.

³¹ *Amédée VIII – Félix V, premier duc de Savoie et pape (1383-1451)*, hrsg. B. Andenmatten, A. Paravicini Bagliani, Lausanne 1992; U. Giessmann, *Der letzte Gegenpapst: Felix V. Studien zu Herrschaftspraxis und Legitimationsstrategien (1434-1451)*, Köln-Weimar 2014.

Was aber sagst du zu Felix, der mit 61 Jahren und daran gewöhnt, sein Volk in der Muttersprache (*materna lingua*) anzureden, zum höchsten Priesteramt berufen wurde? Als bald begann er sich die lateinische Sprache anzueignen, redete in seinem Privatgemach Lateinisch und kam soweit, dass er später auf dem Stuhl Petri nicht anders sprach, als wäre er dazu geboren worden.³²

Da Friedrich noch nicht einmal 28 Jahre alt sei, müsse ihm dies umso leichter fallen.³³ Zeitgenossen lobten die Sprachkenntnisse Kaiser Karls IV. (*1316 - †1378), Sigismunds und Maximilians I. (1459-1519). Letzterer hebt seine Sprachbegabung in seinen autobiographischen Werken auch selbst hervor.³⁴ Karl IV. entwarf im Artikel 31 der Goldenen Bulle (1356) ein faktisch nie umgesetztes 'pädagogisches Programm', um die Sprachkenntnisse der Kurfürstensöhne zu verbessern, die die Sprachen des Reiches erlernen sollten.³⁵ Er selbst beherrschte seinen Aussagen nach außer Deutsch und Tschechisch auch Französisch (*Gallicum*), Italienisch (*Lombardicum*) und Latein in Wort und Schrift³⁶ und verfasste seine Autobiographie in Latein.³⁷ Nach Aussagen des *Religieux de Saint-Denis*, Michel Pintoin (†1421) verspürte sein Sohn der König und spätere Kaiser Sigismund bei Besuchen in Paris das Bedürfnis, an Veranstaltungen der Universität teilzunehmen, da er über die dazu erforderliche Bildung in Theologie und Latein verfügte. Er sei dort auch mehrfach ins *Parlement* gegangen, was diplomatische Verwicklungen auslöste, da er Gerichtssitzungen vorsitzen wollte.³⁸ Kaiser Friedrich II. (*1194 - †1250) hatte

32 Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, dt. S. 73, lat. S. 72.

33 Ibidem.

34 *Kaiser Maximilians I. Weisskunig*, hrsg. H.T. Musper et al., I-II, Stuttgart 1956, hier I, Nr. 64, S. 245; Nr. 65 (*flemisch*), 66 (*englisch*), S. 246; Versuche, slawische Sprachen zu lernen: ibidem, Nr. 28, S. 228.

35 *Die Goldene Bulle Kaiser Karls IV. vom Jahre 1356*, hrsg. W.D. Fritz, Weimar 1972, Art. 31, S. 90.

36 *Vita Caroli Quarti*, übers. / hrsg. E. Hillenbrand, Stuttgart 1979, S. 116-117; *Vie de Charles IV de Luxembourg*, übers. / hrsg. P. Monnet, J.-C. Schmitt, Paris 2010, S. 56-57. Zu diesem Programm und zur Sprachenvielfalt des mittelalterlichen Reiches siehe G. Naegle, *Diversité linguistique, identités et mythe de l'Empire à la fin du Moyen Âge*, „Revue française d'histoire des idées politiques“ XXXVI (2012), S. 253-279.

37 Siehe zu diesem Text: A. Paravicini-Ebel, *Die Vita Karls IV., ein „Ego-Dokument“?*, „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters“ LXIII (2007), 1, S. 101-109; B.-U. Hergemöller, *Cogor adversum te. Drei Studien zum literarisch-theologischen Profil Karls IV. und seiner Kanzlei*, Warendorf 1999, S. 221-253.

38 *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, übers. / hrsg. L. Bellaguet, I-VI, Paris 1839-1852, hier V, S. 744, frz. S. 745: [...] *diu ardentem affectaverat, Universitatem Parisiensem venerabilem videre voluit et in actibus scolasticis interesse; nam sacris litteris et latino ydiomate erat sufficienter eruditus. In discucionibus causarum eciam regalis curie Parlamenti pluries voluit presidere.*

sein Buch über die Jagd mit Falken (*De arte venandi cum avibus*) ebenfalls in Latein geschrieben.³⁹

Auch für Kaiser waren derartige Fähigkeiten jedoch eine Ausnahme. Die Wirklichkeit am Hof Friedrichs III. entsprach nur wenig den Idealvorstellungen Piccolominis. Unter den französischen Königen des Spätmittelalters tritt wegen der Veranlassung einer Reihe von Übersetzungen (wie der 1372 von Denis Foulechat vorgenommenen Übersetzung des *Policraticus* des Johann von Salisbury,⁴⁰ der 1379 von Jean Golein angefertigten Übersetzung von *De informatione principum*⁴¹ oder der Aristoteles-Übersetzungen des Nicolas Oresme vor allem der Neffe Karls IV., Karl V. (1338-1380), der den Beinamen „le Sage“ / „der Weise“⁴² erhielt) als Förderer der Wissenschaft hervor.⁴³

Von den drei hier behandelten Autoren setzte sich nicht nur Piccolomini intensiv mit Fragen von Wissen und Bildung auseinander. Mehrere Werktitel von Nikolaus von Kues nehmen ausdrücklich auf Wissen und Gelehrsamkeit (oder ihr Gegenteil) Bezug wie *Idiota de sapientia*, *Idiota de mente*, *Idiota de staticis experimentis*⁴⁴ oder *De venatione sapientiae* / „die Jagd nach Weisheit“.⁴⁵ Die zuletzt genannte Schrift von 1462/1463 enthält eine Art „Ergebniszusammenfassung“ der lebenslangen Weisheitssuche des Cusanus, ein „philosophisches

39 C.A. Willemsen, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, in: *Verfasserlexikon*, II, Berlin-New York 1980, Sp. 926-931.

40 Denis Foulechat, *Policratique, Livres I-III*, hrsg. C. Brucker, Genf 1994; idem, *Policratique, Livre IV*, hrsg. C. Brucker, Nancy 1985; idem, *Policratique Livres IV et VIII*, hrsg. C. Brucker, Montréal 1987; idem, *Le Policratique de Jean de Salisbury (1372), Livre V*, hrsg. C. Brucker, Genf 2006; idem, *Policratique Livres VI et VII*, hrsg. C. Brucker, Genf 2013; E. Hicks, *John of Salisbury's Policraticus (VIII, 11) in the Translation of Denis Foulechat (1372)*, in: *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*, hrsg. E.J. Richards, Athens (Georgia) 1992, S. 77-107 (Edition des Kapitels 11 des Buches VIII, mit englischer Übersetzung).

41 S. Lefèvre, *Information des princes*, in: *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, hrsg. G. Hasenohr, M. Zink, Paris 1994, S. 713.

42 J. Quillet, *Charles V. Le roi lettré*, Paris 2002, S. 96-105; F. Autrand, *Charles V le Sage*, Paris 1994.

43 Zu den Übersetzungen / sprachlichen Aspekten siehe: *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge*, hrsg. G. Contamine, Paris 1989; S. Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement. Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 2. Aufl., Paris 1987; J. Hamesse, *Les traducteurs au travail – leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes*, Turnhout 2001; J. Monfrin, *Les traducteurs et leur public en France au Moyen Âge*, „Journal des Savants“ (1963), S. 5-20; idem, *Humanisme et traductions au Moyen Âge*, „Journal des Savants“ (1964), S. 161-190; *Traduction et adaptation en France à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, hrsg. C. Brucker, Paris 1997.

44 *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, V: *Idiota de sapientia. Idiota de mente. Idiota de staticis experimentis*, hrsg. R. Steiger, 2. Aufl., Hamburg 1983. Lat. mit dt. Übersetzung: *Idiota de sapientia. Der Laie über die Weisheit*, hrsg. E. Bohnenstädt, 3. Aufl., Hamburg 1958; *Idiota de mente. Der Laie über den Geist*, neu übers. / hrsg. R. Steiger, Hamburg 1995.

45 *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, XII: *De venatione sapientiae. De apice theoriae*, hrsg. R. Klībasky, H.G. Senger, Hamburg 1982; *De venatione sapientiae. Die Jagd nach der Weisheit*, auf der Grundlage der Ausgabe von P. Wilpert, neu hrsg. K. Bormann, Hamburg 2003.

Testament“ (Flasch).⁴⁶ Sie orientiert sich in zehn „Jagdrevieren“ (*campi*) teilweise an früheren Werktiteln ihres Autors. Kues kommentiert und bilanziert hier im Alter von 61 Jahren seine eigene Entwicklung:⁴⁷ „Da ich nicht weiß, ob mir noch geraume und dem Denken förderliche Frist beschieden sein wird, möchte ich in dieser Schrift eine kurze Darstellung meiner Jagdzüge nach Weisheit der Nachwelt hinterlassen [...]“.⁴⁸

Gegenstand von *De docta ignorantia* (1440), der „belehrten Unwissenheit“ des Cusanus⁴⁹, deren Entstehungsgeschichte eine Reihe von Rätseln aufgibt, sind erkenntnistheoretische, kosmologische und theologische Themen. Im ersten Buch stellt Kues u.a. die Behauptung auf, das Nichtwissen sei die höchste Form des Wissens, aber auch der geeignetste Weg, Gott als unerreichbares Maximum zu begreifen. Seine Argumentation stützt er auf mathematische Überlegungen, wobei seiner Ansicht nach einerseits allein Gott die Welt mathematisch vollkommen erfassen kann und andererseits die Mathematik zugleich das klarste Zeichen menschlicher Endlichkeit und Beschränktheit darstellt.⁵⁰

Da nun überdies unser Verlangen nach Wissen nicht sinnlos ist, so wünschen wir uns [...] ein Wissen um unser Nichtwissen. Gelingt uns die vollständige Erfüllung dieser Absicht, so haben wir die belehrte Unwissenheit erreicht. Auch der Lernbegierigste wird in der Wissenschaft nichts Vollkommeneres erreichen, als im Nichtwissen, das ihm seinsgemäß ist, für belehrt befunden zu werden. Er wird umso gelehrter sein, je mehr er um sein Nichtwissen weiß.⁵¹

Bei seinen Zeitgenossen stießen seine in *De docta ignorantia* niedergelegten Ideen bereits zu seinen Lebzeiten auf Widerspruch. Der Heidelberger Ge-

⁴⁶ K. Flasch, *Nikolaus von Kues. Geschichte einer Entwicklung*, 3. Aufl., Frankfurt am Main 2008, S. 603.

⁴⁷ H.G. Senger, *De venatione sapientiae. Die Jagd nach Weisheit*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 250-255; K. Flasch, *Nikolaus von Kues* [2008], S. 603-622.

⁴⁸ Nikolaus von Kues, *De venatione sapientiae. Die Jagd nach der Weisheit*, lat.-dt., hrsg. K. Bormann [2003], S. 1; *Propositum est meas sapientiae venationes, quas usque ad hanc senectam mentis intuitu veriores putavi, summarie notatas posteris concedatur...* (ibidem, S. 1).

⁴⁹ Nikolai de Cusa *De docta ignorantia. Die belehrte Unwissenheit, Buch 1*, lat.-dt., hrsg. P. Wilpert, H.G. Senger, 4. erweiterte Aufl., Hamburg 1994; *Buch 2*, lat.-dt., ed. P. Wilpert, H.G. Senger, 3. erweiterte Aufl., Hamburg 1999; *Buch 3*, lat.-dt., hrsg. R. Klibansky, H.G. Senger, 2. verbesserte Aufl., Hamburg 1999.

⁵⁰ Kurze Charakterisierung: D. Albertson, *De docta ignorantia I-III, Über die belehrte Unwissenheit*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 142-152.

⁵¹ Nikolai de Cusa *De docta ignorantia. Die belehrte Unwissenheit, Buch I*, lat.-dt., hrsg. P. Wilpert, H.G. Senger [1994], S. 9; *Si igitur hoc ita est [...] cum appetitus in nobis frustra non sit, desideramus scire nos ignorare. Hoc si ad plenum assequi poterimus, doctam ignorantiam assequemur. Nihil enim homini etiam studiosissimo in doctrina perfectius adveniet quam in ipsa ignorantia, quae sibi propria est, doctissimus reperiri. Et tanto quis doctius erit, quanto sciverit magis ignorantem* (ibidem, S. 8).

lehrte Johannes Wenck verfasste als Reaktion darauf *De ignota litteratura*,⁵² in der er Cusanus eine nutzlose Demonstration von Pseudowissen und die Pervertierung der Trinitätslehre vorwarf und ihn in die Nähe von Ketzerei rückte.⁵³ In der Folgezeit zog die Debatte noch weitere Kreise. Kues schrieb zur Verteidigung seine *Apologia doctae ignorantiae* (1449).⁵⁴ In diesem Zusammenhang findet sich abermals eine Diskussion des Wissens / Nichtwissens.⁵⁵ Im 16. Jahrhundert beschäftigte sich eine Gruppe französischer Humanisten um Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (+1536), die sich für den Gebrauch mathematischer Ideen in der mystischen Theologie interessierte, intensiv mit dem Text und bereitete eine neue Edition vor.⁵⁶

In Cusanus' „Dialogen des Laien“ (*idiotia*) führt dieser Gespräche mit einem gelehrten Redner oder Philosophen. Er tritt in verschiedener Gestalt auf: als einfacher armer Mann und als Handwerker, der hölzerne Löffel und andere Tischgeräte anfertigt. Am Ende, in *De staticis experimentis*, führt er selbst Versuche durch.⁵⁷ Im *Idiotia de sapientia* findet sein Gespräch mit dem Gelehrten auf dem Marktplatz von Rom statt. Der Laie staunt über den Hochmut des Gelehrten. Faktisch erscheint er, der sein Unwissen erkannt hat, letztlich der Demonstration des Cusanus zufolge der Weisheit näher zu sein als der Gelehrte.⁵⁸

Zu Lebzeiten der hier vorgestellten drei Autoren setzten sich Humanisten auch in satirischer oder unterhaltsamer Form mit dem Thema der Gelehrsamkeit auseinander. Sebastian Brant (1457-1521) kritisierte in seinem *Narrenschiff*⁵⁹ unnützes Buchwissen. Zu Beginn seines Werkes verspottet er unter der Rubrik „Von unnützen Büchern“ als erstes in Wort und Bild einen

52 E. Vansteenbergh, *Le „De ignota litteratura“ de Jean Wenck de Herrenberg contre Nicolas de Cuse*, Münster 1910; J. Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's Debate with John Wenck: A Translation and an Appraisal of „De ignota Litteratura“ and „Apologia Doctae Ignorantiae“*, 3. Aufl., Minneapolis 1988; K. Flasch, *Wissen oder Wissen des Nicht-Wissens. Nikolaus von Kues gegen Johannes Wenck*, in: *Kampfplätze der Philosophie. Große Kontroversen von Augustin bis Voltaire*, hrsg. K. Flasch, Frankfurt am Main 2008, S. 227-241.

53 D. Albertson, *De docta ignorantia I-III*, S. 151.

54 *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, XII: *Apologia doctae ignorantiae*, hrsg. R. Klibansky, 2. Aufl., Hamburg 2007, siehe zu diesem Werk: M. Rohstock, *Apologia de doctae ignorantiae. Verteidigung der belehrten Unwissenheit*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 174-179.

55 Siehe z.B. *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, II: *Apologia*, hrsg. R. Klibansky, 2. Aufl., S. 18.

56 D. Albertson, *De docta ignorantia I-III*, S. 151-152.

57 G. Santinello, *Einleitung*, in: *Nicolai de Cusa Idiota de mente. Der Laie über den Geist*, übers. / hrsg. R. Steiger, Hamburg 1995, S. IX-XXVIII, hier S. IX.

58 C. Bacher, *Idiotia de sapientia, Idiota de mente, Idiota de staticis experimentis. Der Laie über die Weisheit, Der Laie über den Geist, Der Laie über Versuche mit der Waage*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 179-191, hier S. 181, 185.

59 Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, 3. erweiterte Aufl., hrsg. M. Lemmer, Tübingen 1986.

Gelehrten, der zwar sehr stolz auf seine Bücher und seinen Dokortitel ist. Er hält aber lieber Fliegen von seinen Büchern fern, als darin zu lesen und versteht ihren Inhalt auch gar nicht:

Von büchern hab ich grossen hort / Verstand doch drynn gar wenig
wort / Und halt sie dennacht in den eren / Das ich inn will der fliegen
weren [...]. Ich hab vil bücher ouch des glich / Und lys doch gantz wenig
dar inn [...].⁶⁰

Brant, studierter und promovierter Jurist und Humanist, spielte eine aktive Rolle bei der Gründung der Universität Basel und stand als Jurist im Dienst des Kaisers und der Stadt Straßburg. Mit seinem äußerst erfolgreichen *Narrenschiff* gehörte er überdies zu den ‚Erfolgsautoren‘ des späten Mittelalters.⁶¹ Nachdem er festgestellt hat „Wer vil studiert / würt ein fantast“, macht er sich auch über den Stolz von (Pseudo-)gebildeten auf ihre in Wirklichkeit eher schlechten Lateinkenntnisse lustig und bezeichnet sie als Esel:

Doch so ich by gelerten bin / So kann ich ita sprechen jo / Des tütschen
orden bin ich fro / Dann ich gar wenig kan latin / Ich weyß das vinum
heysset win / Gucklus ein gouch / stultus eyn dor / Und das ich heyß
domne doctor / Die oren sint verborgen mir / Man sãh sunst bald eins
mullers thier.⁶²

In der 1511 entbrannten auch politisch brisanten Auseinandersetzung um die Konfiszierung und Verbrennung jüdischer Bücher stellten sich Gelehrte, darunter auch Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1523), auf die Seite des Humanisten und Juristen Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), der sich für die Bewahrung dieser Schriften einsetzte. Sie verspotteten in den anonym publizierten *Dunkelmännerbriefen* (1515-1517) ebenfalls falsche Gelehrsamkeit und schlechte Lateinkenntnisse und schrieben dieses satirische Werk absichtlich in fehlerhaftem Latein.⁶³ Piccolomini spottete seinerseits über die von Gelehrten seiner Zeit als Vorfahren des österreichischen Herrscherhauses präsentierten mythischen Könige der Vergangenheit, die sog. „Fabelfürsten“.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ibidem, Nr. 1, S. 7-8.

⁶¹ Sebastian Brant und die Kommunikationskultur um 1500, hrsg. K. Bergdolt et al., Wiesbaden 2010.

⁶² Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, hrsg. M. Lemmer, Nr. 1, S. 7-8.

⁶³ F.-J. Worstbrock, *Dunkelmännerbriefe (Epistolae obscurorum virorum)*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, III, Freiburg-Basel 2009, Sp. 402.

⁶⁴ M. Wagentorfer, *Horaz, die Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften und Friedrich III.*, in: *Handschriften, Historiographie und Recht, Winfried Stelzer zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. G. Pfeifer, München 2002, S. 109-127, hier S. 120-123.

TRADITIONEN UND PRÄGUNGEN

Für die drei hier behandelten Personen spielten zunächst ihr Herkunftsmilieu, ihre Ausbildung und die ersten beruflichen Prägungen und Erfahrungen eine wichtige Rolle. Alle erwarben praktische politische Erfahrung bei der Durchführung diplomatischer Missionen und Verhandlungen.⁶⁵ Der Lebensweg Jean Juvénal des Ursins, dem mathematisch-erkenntnistheoretische Überlegungen wie die eben geschilderten Erörterungen des Cusanus fern lagen, war vor allem durch Frankreich und die französisch-englischen Auseinandersetzung des Hundertjährigen Krieges geprägt, während Piccolomini wie Kues umfangreiche 'internationale' Erfahrungen sammelte und ein weites Netz gelehrter Kontakte knüpfte. Am Ende seines Lebens wollte Piccolomini als Papst und Oberhaupt der (west)europäischen Christenheit persönlich an einem von ihm initiierten Kreuzzug teilnehmen, verfasste aber auch 1461 die rätselhafte an Sultan Mehmet II. (Sultan 1444-1446 und 1451-1481; †1481), den Eroberer Konstantinopels⁶⁶ gerichtete *Epistula ad Mahumetem*. Unter der Bedingung seiner Konversion zum Christentum stellte er dort dem Sultan in Aussicht, er könne zum großen Beschützer der Kirche werden und die von Pippin und Karl dem Großen begründete Tradition fortsetzen.⁶⁷

Nikolaus von Kues erfuhr die Inspiration zu seinem Werk *De docta ignorantia* eigenen Aussagen nach 1438 auf der Seereise zwischen Konstantinopel und Venedig, als er im Zusammenhang mit seiner im Auftrag Papst Eugens IV. unternommenen Verhandlungsmision zur Union mit der Ostkirche unterwegs war.⁶⁸ Seine Deutung der Entstehungsgeschichte wird allerdings von Teilen der Forschung als Topos und bewusste Selbststilisierung abgelehnt. Für Kues selbst war diese Reise außerordentlich wichtig. Er erwähnt sie mit Stolz in seinem im Herbst 1449 anlässlich seiner Kardinalserhebung verfasstem Lebensabriss, in dem er davon spricht, er habe im Auftrag Papst Eugens den griechischen Kaiser, den Patriarchen und 28 Erzbischöfe der Kirche des Orients herübergebracht, die auf dem Konzil von Florenz den Glauben der römischen Kirche angenommen hätten („adduxit imperatorum Graecorum

65 D. Albertson, *De docta ignorantia I-III*, S. 142.

66 *Sultan Mehmet II.: Eroberer Konstantinopels – Patron der Künste*, hrsg. N. Asutay-Effenberger, U. Rehm, Köln-Weimar 2009; J. Freely, *The Grand Turk. Sultan Mehmet II – Conqueror of Constantinople, Master of an Empire and Lord of Two Seas*, London 2010.

67 Pie II [Pius II], *Epistola ad Mahumetem*, hrsg. R.F. Gleis, M. Köhler, Mitarbeit B. Kobusch, Trier 2001, S. 148-149. Über die deutsche Übersetzung dieses Briefes durch Michael Christan (Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts) siehe: *Papst Pius II. an Sultan Mehmet II., die Übersetzung der „Epistola ad Mahumetem“ durch Michael Christan*, hrsg. K. Wolf, J. Göhler, Berlin 2016.

68 Nikolaus von Kues (an Kardinal Julianus Cesarini, 1398-1444), *Epistula auctoris ad dominum Iulianum cardinalem*, Kues, 12. Februar 1440, in: *De docta ignorantia. Die belehrte Unwissenheit*, Buch 3, lat.-dt., hrsg. R. Klübansky, H.G. Senger, 2. Aufl., Hamburg 1999, S. 98-101.

et patriarcham cum 28 archiepiscopis ecclesiae orientalis, qui in concilio Florentino sanctae Romae ecclesiae fidem acceptarunt“).⁶⁹ Unter seinen Reisegefährten befanden sich damals tatsächlich der Kaiser von Byzanz, Johannes VIII. Palaiologus, der Patriarch von Konstantinopel, Joseph II. und Kardinal Bessarion. Während dieser Gesandtschaftsreise hatte sich Kues auch auf die Suche nach neuen Handschriften und Werken von Basilius dem Großen, Johannes Chrysostomus, Proklos und einer seltenen Übersetzung des Korans begeben.⁷⁰ In dieser Darstellung seines Lebens kommt Kues auch auf seine Herkunft⁷¹ zu sprechen. Er legt dabei einen gewissen Stolz auf die eigene Leistung an den Tag:

[...] und damit alle erkennen, dass die heilige römische Kirche nicht auf den Geburtsort noch die Abkunft eines Mannes sieht, sondern Verdienste auf das großzügigste vergilt, veranlasste der Kardinal selbst, dass dieser Bericht zum Lobe Gottes niedergeschrieben wurde, als er sich am 21. Oktober 1449 in Kues aufhielt, um von seinem altersschwachen Vater, von seinem Bruder Johann, dem Priester, und von Klara, seiner Schwester der Ehefrau des Trierer Gerichtsschöffen und Schultheißen Pauls von Bristge, Abschied zu nehmen und dann binnen kurzem zum Apostolischen Stuhl aufzubrechen [...].⁷²

Ziel der erwähnten Reise war die Annahme der Kardinalswürde.

Rund zwei Jahrzehnte früher, auf einer Frankreichreise nach Paris und Laon (1428), hatte Cusanus eigenhändig Exzerpte aus Schriften Ramon Llulls (†1316) angefertigt. Er verwendete daraus empfangene Anregungen für einige seiner Schriften.⁷³ Seine Interessen griffen über den engeren euro-

⁶⁹ Kues, 21. Oktober 1449, Edition (Original in Latein), in: *Acta Cusana. Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Nikolaus von Kues, Band 1, Lieferung 2: 1437 Mai 17 - 1450 Dezember 31*, hrsg. E. Meuthen, Hamburg 1983, Nr. 849, S. 602-603, Zitat S. 603.

⁷⁰ D. Albertson, *De docta ignorantia I-III*, S. 142.

⁷¹ Zu den Stiftungen des Cusanus und der Beteiligung seiner Familie daran, siehe: S. Tritz „... uns Schätze im Himmel zu sammeln“. *Die Stiftungen des Nikolaus von Kues*, Mainz 2008; M. Hensel-Grobe, *Das St.-Nikolaus-Hospital zu Kues. Studien zur Stiftung des Cusanus und seiner Familie*, Stuttgart 2007.

⁷² Deutsche Übersetzung zitiert nach T. Müller, *Der junge Cusanus*, S. 38-39; Edition (lat.), in: *Acta Cusana, Band 1, Lieferung 2*, hrsg. E. Meuthen, Nr. 849, S. 602-603: *Et ut sciant cuncti sanctam Romanam ecclesiam non respicere ad locum vel genus nativitatis, sed esse largissimam remuneratricem virtutum, hinc hanc historiam in dei laudem iussit scribi ipse cardinalis anno 1449 die 21. Octobris [...]* (Zitat, S. 603).

⁷³ Nikolaus de Cusa, *Cusanus-Texte*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, III: *Marginalien 3, Raimundus Lullus. Die Exzerpte und Randnoten des Nikolaus von Kues zu den Schriften des Raimundus Lullus. Extractum ex libri meditationum Raymundi*, hrsg. T. Pindl-Büchel, Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, I, Heidelberg 1990; III: *Marginalien 4, Raimundus Lullus. Die Exzerptensammlung aus Schriften des Raimundus Lullus*

päischen Rahmen hinaus und er setzte sich theoretisch mit philosophischen Fragen und dem Islam auseinander.⁷⁴ Er verfasste zahlreiche Schriften mit ausgesprochen gelehrt-philosophischem Anspruch und ist damit innerhalb der drei Autoren, derjenige, der am stärksten den Typus des universitär ausgebildeten Gelehrten verkörpert.

Anders als der adelige Piccolomini wurde Kues als Kaufmannssohn in der kleinen Moselstadt Kues geboren. 1416 begann er ein Studium an der Universität Heidelberg. Er entschloss sich dazu, seine Studien in Italien an der angesehenen Universität von Padua fortzusetzen und den prestigeträchtigen und karriereförderlichen Titel eines *doctor decretorum* zu erwerben. Dort hörte er juristische Vorlesungen bei Zabarella.⁷⁵ Er kehrte nach einigen Jahren wieder nach Deutschland zurück. Piccolomini und Kues hatten ausgedehnte Kontakte zu Humanisten. In seiner *Concordantia catholica* schreibt Cusanus jedoch, ihm als Deutschen falle es schwerer Latein zu schreiben, als gebürtigen Italienern und es dürfte sich hier nicht, nur um einen Bescheidenheitstopos handeln.⁷⁶

Piccolomini und Kues standen in direktem Kontakt miteinander.⁷⁷ Piccolomini kannte auch Cusanus' *Concordantia catholica*.⁷⁸ 1451/1452 führte Kues in päpstlichem Auftrag eine Legationsreise durch Deutschland durch, scheiterte in den 1450er Jahren in seinem Bistum Brixen jedoch an heftigen Auseinandersetzungen, unter anderem mit dem Tiroler Landesherren Graf Siegmund von Tirol, Herzog von Österreich. Hier ergibt sich abermals eine Verbindungslinie zur Biographie Piccolominis. Enea Silvio hatte diesem Fürsten zwar ebenso wie Ladislaus Postumus⁷⁹ einen Erziehungstraktat

im *Codex Cusanus* 83, hrsg. U. Roth, Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, XIII, Heidelberg 1999; E. Colomer, *Nikolaus von Kues und Raimund Lull: Aus Handschriften der Kueser Bibliothek*, Berlin 1961; T. Pindl-Büchel, *Die Exzerpte des Nikolaus von Kues aus dem ‚Liber Contemplacionis‘ Ramon Lulls*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin 1992.

⁷⁴ *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, VIII: *Cribratio Alcorani*, hrsg. L. Hagemann, Hamburg 1986; dt. Übersetzung: *Cribratio Alcorani. Sichtung des Korans*, III, Hamburg 1989-1993, siehe auch: *Cusanus und der Islam*, hrsg. W.A. Euler, T. Kerger, Trier 2010.

⁷⁵ T.E. Morrissey, *Ein unruhiges Leben. Franciscus Zabarella an der Universität von Padua (1390-1410). Die Welt, die Nikolaus von Kues vorfand*, in: *Nikolaus von Kues als Kanonist und Rechtshistoriker*, hrsg. K. Kremer, K. Reinhardt, Trier 1998, S. 5-40.

⁷⁶ *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, XIV: *De Concordantia catholica Libri Tres*, hrsg. G. Kallen, Hamburg 1963, *Praefatio* 2, S. 2-3.

⁷⁷ W. Baum, *Nikolaus von Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini – eine Humanistenfreundschaft?*, in: *Nikolaus Cusanus zwischen Deutschland und Italien*, hrsg. M. Thurner, Berlin 2002, S. 315-337, hier S. 322.

⁷⁸ S. Iaria, *Introduzione*, in: Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Libellus Dialogorum*, hrsg. S. Iaria, Roma 2015, S. LXXXIII; W. Baum, *Nikolaus von Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini – eine Humanistenfreundschaft?*, S. 324-325.

⁷⁹ Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Bischof Eneas an K. Ladislaus, Wiener Neustadt, Februar 1450, Über die Erziehung der Kinder*, in: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, hrsg. R. Wolkan,

gewidmet, geriet nun als Papst im Zuge der Brixener Auseinandersetzungen jedoch ebenfalls mit ihm in Konflikt und exkommunizierte ihn 1460.⁸⁰ Pius II. berief Cusanus nach Rom. Er ernannte ihn am 11. Dezember 1458 zum Legaten und am 11. Januar 1459 zum Generalvikar *in temporalibus* für die Stadt Rom und Teile des Kirchenstaates. Nachdem Kues unter dem Titel *Reformatio generalis* eine Schrift verfasst hatte, die auch den Papst selbst in die Reformbestrebungen einbezog (1459),⁸¹ kam es im Dezember 1461 im Zusammenhang mit der von Kues abgelehnten Kardinals-Ernenennung Jean Jouffroys (um 1412 - †1473)⁸² jedoch zu einem heftigen Konflikt.⁸³ Schließlich starben Kues und Pius II. beide innerhalb weniger Tage im selben Jahr in Italien. Piccolomini bereitete damals einen Kreuzzug bzw. die Einschiffung der Kreuzritter vor, die von Ancona aus stattfinden sollte.⁸⁴

Der dritte hier vorgestellte Autor, Jean Juvénal des Ursins, der sich selbst als *docteur en loix et en décret* bezeichnete,⁸⁵ wurde 1388 in Paris als Sohn von Jean Jouvenel I. (*um 1360 - †1431) und Michelle de Vitry geboren. Er war durch seine Herkunft zu einer Karriere als königlicher *officier* und Jurist geradezu prädestiniert. Sowohl sein Vater als auch sein Großvater mütterlicherseits waren bereits als Juristen im Königsdienst und am *Parlement* tätig

2. Abteilung: *Briefe als Priester und als Bischof von Trient (1447-1450)*, Wien 1912, S. 103-158, Nr. 40; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *The Education of Boys*, in: *Humanist Educational Treatises*, hrsg. C.H. Kallendorf, Cambridge (Mass.) 2002, S. 126-259; *Aeneae Silvii De liberorum educatione*, übers. / hrsg. J.S. Nelson, Washington (D.C.) 1940.

⁸⁰ *Eneas Silvius an Herzog Sigismund von Österreich, Graz, 5. Dezember 1443, über Lesen und Bildung*, in: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, hrsg. R. Wolkan, 1. Abteilung: *Briefe aus der Laienzeit (1431-1445)*, I: *Privatbriefe*, Wien 1909, S. 222-238, Nr. 99. Zum späteren Konflikt siehe: M. Watanabe, *Humanism in the Tyrol: Aeneas Sylvius, Duke Sigismund, Gregor Heimbürg*, in: idem, *Concord and Reform. Nicholas of Cusa and Legal and Political Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, hrsg. T.M. Izbicki, G. Christianson, Aldershot 2001, S. 241-266; W. Baum, *Nikolaus Cusanus in Tirol*; A. Jäger, *Der Streit des Cardinals Nikolaus von Cusa*.

⁸¹ T. Woelki, *Reformatio generalis – Generalreform der Kirche*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 226-230.

⁸² Zu Jean Jouffroy, Kardinal von Albi, der ebenfalls eine für diese Zeit beachtliche Bibliothek besaß siehe: C. Märkl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (†1473). Leben und Werk*, Sigmaringen 1996; M. Desachy, *Deux bibliophiles humanistes: Jean et Hélicon Jouffroy. Bibliothèques et manuscrits de Jean Jouffroy et d'Hélicon Jouffroy*, Paris 2012 (zu Bibliothek und Buchbesitz des Kardinals und seines Neffen).

⁸³ J. Gelmi, *Cusanus. Leben und Wirken des Universalgenies Nikolaus von Kues*, Kevelaer 2017, S. 85; W.A. Euler, *Die römischen Jahre des Nikolaus von Kues*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 93-103, hier 97-99; W. Baum, *Nikolaus Cusanus in Tirol*, S. 413.

⁸⁴ Zu ihrem Verhältnis zueinander siehe: W. Baum, *Nikolaus von Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini – eine Humanistenfreundschaft?*, S. 315-337; E. Meuthen, *Ein ‚deutscher‘ Freundeskreis an der römischen Kurie in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts von Cesarini bis zu den Piccolomini*, in: *Synodus. Beiträge zur Konzilien- und allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. Festschrift für Walter Brandmüller*, hrsg. R. Bäumler et al., Paderborn-München 1997, S. 487-542; G. Kisch, *Nikolaus Cusanus und Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, in: *Cusanus-Gedächtnisschrift*, hrsg. N. Grass, Innsbruck 1970, S. 35-43.

⁸⁵ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Audite illos*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 17-45, hier S. 25.

gewesen. Zwei seiner Brüder begannen ihre Laufbahn ebenfalls dort. Sein Bruder Guillaume (1401-1472) übte zwei Mal das Amt des Kanzlers von Frankreich aus (1445-1461 und 1465-1472). Sein Amtsantritt inspirierte Jean zu dem politischen Traktat *A, a, a nescio loqui* (1445), in dem er ihm Ratschläge für die Amtsführung erteilte.⁸⁶ Sein eigenes Amt als Bischof von Beauvais veranlasste ihn zu einem Traktat über die Pflichten seiner Untergebenen, insbesondere der geistlichen Richter seiner Diözese (*Audite illos*, 1432).⁸⁷ Ein weiterer Bruder Jeans I., Jacques (1410-1457), war nacheinander als *avocat* an den *Parlements* von Poitiers und Paris tätig (1436) und wurde Präsident der *chambre des comptes*. Ihr Vater, der unter der Regierung Karls VI. zur Reformerguppe der *Marmousets* gehörte, übte im Laufe seines Lebens eine Reihe wichtiger Ämter aus: als *conseiller* am *Châtelet* (1381), *garde de la prévôté des marchands* von Paris (1389), Kanzler des Dauphin Ludwig, Herzog von Guyenne (1413), Präsident des *Parlements* von Toulouse und schließlich, bis zu seinem Tod 1431, des Exil-*Parlements* von Poitiers. Die Ämterkarriere der Familie Jouvenel war durchaus typisch für das Milieu der königlichen Juristen ihrer Zeit: Herkunft aus der Provinz (in diesem Fall aus Troyes), Studium in Orléans, Niederlassung in Paris, Heiraten im Milieu der *Parlement*-Juristen.⁸⁸ Aus der Sicht Juvénal des Ursins war sein Studium in Orléans vor allem eine Vorbereitung auf seine spätere Tätigkeit am *Parlement*:

Et si a long temps que je suis distrait de l'estude, [...] et ay esté à Orléans licencié et docteur en loix et en décret, ou j'ay aucunement et bien petit aprins de la spéculative, laquelle ay mise en pratique au Parlement, ou j'ay esté advocat du roy assés longuement.⁸⁹

Er sah den universitären Lehrbetrieb seiner Zeit durchaus kritisch und hielt ihn für reformbedürftig:

Item seroit aussi expedient que le roy advisast a reformer toutes les universitez de son royaume, car Dieu scet aujourduy quelz graduez on fait, et aussi quelz abus il y a en leurs privilegez et sous ombre d'iceulx.⁹⁰

1418 hatten die Jouvenel für die Loyalität zum Dauphin und späteren König Karl VII. einen hohen Preis bezahlt, da sie Paris unter dramatischen Umständen verlassen mussten, bevor sie in Poitiers und am dortigen Exil-*Parlement* eine neue Bleibe fanden und ihre Tätigkeit fortsetzen konnten.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *A, a, a nescio loqui*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 437-551.

⁸⁷ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Audite illos*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 17-45.

⁸⁸ Zu diesem Milieu siehe: F. Autrand, *Naissance d'un grand corps de l'État. Les gens du Parlement de Paris (1345-1454)*, Paris 1981.

⁸⁹ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Audite illos*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 41.

⁹⁰ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *A, a, a nescio loqui*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 548.

⁹¹ Eine Beschreibung dieser Flucht findet sich in der *Histoire de Charles VI*. Der tatsächliche Anteil Jean Juvénal des Ursins an dieser ihm zugeschriebenen Chronik ist jedoch nach Ansicht

Nachdem seit 1436 das *Parlement* wieder an seinem angestammten Sitz in Paris tätig war, kehrten sie dorthin zurück. In einigen seiner Selbstaussagen thematisiert Juvénal des Ursins explizit die große Bedeutung des Königsdienstes und der diesbezüglichen Familientradition.⁹² Er starb am 14. Juli 1473 in Reims.⁹³

RATSCHLÄGE AN DEN HERRSCHER, DANKBARKEIT UND DIE PFLICHT ZUR KRITIK

Alle drei Autoren verfassten Werke zur Belehrung von Fürsten, des Königs oder anderer weltlicher oder kirchlicher Amtsträger. Piccolomini legte seinen *Pentalogus* dem Kanzler Kaspar Schlick vor und war selbst zeitweise Angehöriger der königlichen Kanzlei. Jean Juvénal des Ursins erteilte seinem Bruder, der zum Kanzler ernannt worden war, Ratschläge für seine Amtsführung. In seinem „Dialog über das Kugelspiel“ (*Dialogus de Ludo Globi*, 1462/1463)⁹⁴ lässt Kues ebenso wie Enea Silvio Piccolomi im *Pentalogus*, fiktiv-reale Personen und in diesem Fall junge Fürsten als Dialogpartner auftreten: den damals knapp 20jährigen Herzog Johannes von Bayern, Sohn des Pfalzgrafen Otto von Mosbach im ersten Buch, im zweiten dessen jüngeren Verwandten Albert IV. von Bayern-München, die beide 1463 nach Rom gekommen waren.⁹⁵ Sie wollten dort dem Text zufolge Papst Pius II., Cusanus und weitere Kardinäle kennenlernen und hofften auf deren Förderung.⁹⁶

Zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn war Enea Silvio Piccolomini selbst auf die Förderung durch wohlwollende Gönner angewiesen. Er war zwar von adeliger

von P.S. Lewis überprüfungsbedürftig. Siehe P.S. Lewis, *L'histoire de Charles VI attribuée à Jean Juvénal des Ursins: pour une édition nouvelle*, „Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres“ CXL (1996), S. 565-569.

⁹² Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Verba mea auribus percipe, domine* [1452], in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, II, S. 179-405, hier S. 186: „Et si avons feu monsr. mon pere et nous ses enfans servi loyalment de nostre povoir; et mesmement moy en la garde de vostre ville de Beauvais, moy estant evesque d'icelle, ou j'ay esté de xij a xij ans en guerre continuelle, et eulx des paines et travaux et despences infinis sans avoir aucun profit de vous ne d'aultres, et y ay acomply la loyauté que doy avoir envers vous et hommages et seremens que avoye fais de mon povre povoir“.

⁹³ Zu den biographische Angaben: siehe die oben in Anm. 2 zitierte Literatur.

⁹⁴ *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, IX: *Dialogus de ludo globi*, hrsg. H.G. Senger, Hamburg 1998; *Nicolai de Cusa ‚Dialogus de ludo globi‘. Gespräch über das Globusspiel*, lat.-dt., übers. / hrsg. G. von Bredow, Hamburg 1999; N. Winkler, *Fürstliche Laien von Cusanus spielerisch belehrt: philosophische Begrifflichkeit und metaphorische Rede in ‚De ludo globi‘*, in: *Können – Spielen – Loben: Cusanus 2014*, hrsg. T. Borsche, H. Schwetzer, Münster 2016, S. 357-372.

⁹⁵ *Nicolai de Cusa ‚Dialogus de ludo globi‘*, übers. / hrsg. G. von Bredow, S. 2-3, 68-69; H.G. Senger, *De ludo globi, Dialog über das Kugelspiel*, in: *Handbuch Nikolaus von Kues*, S. 255-261, hier S. 156-257; E. Meuthen, *Nikolaus von Kues und die Wittelsbacher*, in: *Festschrift für Andreas Kraus zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. P. Fried, W. Ziegler, Kallmünz-Oberpfalz 1982, S. 95-113.

⁹⁶ [...] *ut Papae nostro Pio atque tibi [Cusanus – G.N.] et aliis cardinalibus notior fierem et proficerem* (*Nicolai de Cusa ‚Dialogus de ludo globi‘*, übers. / hrsg. G. von Bredow, S. 68-69).

Abstammung, seine Familie war jedoch verarmt und infolge der politischen Ereignisse in Siena wie alle dortigen Adeligen von der Machtausübung ausgeschlossen. Wie andere Italiener in ähnlicher Lage⁹⁷ trat Enea Silvio daher in den Dienst eines anderen Herren und ergriff die Gelegenheit, Kardinal Domenico Capranica auf das Konzil von Basel zu folgen.⁹⁸

Piccolomini besaß eine umfassende literarische Bildung, hatte jedoch auch zeitweise Rechtswissenschaft studiert. Kurz vor seinem Eintritt in die königliche Kanzlei, in der er sich zunächst emporarbeiten musste,⁹⁹ hatte ihn Friedrich III. auf einem Reichstag in Frankfurt 1442 zum Dichter gekrönt und zu Beginn des *Pentalogus* reflektiert er noch über sein Selbstverständnis als *poeta* und beschreibt seine Aufgabe als *prodesse et delectare*.¹⁰⁰ Er integrierte mitunter Mäzene in seine Texte. Die im *Pentalogus* als *dominos suos* angesprochenen königlichen Räte Kanzler Kaspar Schlick und Bischof Silvester von Chiemsee, hatten seine Karriere gefördert. Piccolomini widmet ihnen dieses Werk und weist auch ausdrücklich auf diesen Zusammenhang hin:

Ebenso freut es mich sehr, sichtlich von euch geschätzt zu werden, da der eine mir den Titel des Poeten und die Gunst des Königs (*poete titulum et regis gratiam*) verschafft und der andere dieses Unterfangen unterstützt hat. Ich lasse euch also zusammen mit dem trefflichen Herrn Nicodemo della Scala, dem Bischof von Freising, in meinem Werk auftreten (*introduxi igitur vos colloquentesque*) [...]. Damit möchte ich vermeiden, als undankbar dazustehen.¹⁰¹

Enea Silvio Piccolomini trat zu der Zeit in die Kanzlei Friedrichs III. ein, als der Kanzler Sigismunds, Kaspar Schlick,¹⁰² dorthin zurückkehrte. Schlick erleichterte ihm dort erheblich den schwierigen Anfang.¹⁰³ Als Dank dafür setzte ihm Enea Silvio in mehreren Schriften ein literarisches Denkmal. In einem Brief an

97 G. Beinhoff, *Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds (1410-1437)*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, S. 331-336; siehe auch M. Heim, *Nicodemus della Scala [Bischof von Freising seit 1422, †1443]*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, XIX, S. 261-262.

98 Pius II, *Commentarii*, hrsg. A. van Heck, I,1, cap. 1-2, S. 41-43.

99 K. Wengorz, *Schreiben für den Hof als Weg in den Hof. Der Pentalogus des Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1443)*, Frankfurt am Main 2013. Zum Aufstieg Enea Silvios siehe P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III.* [1997], I, S. 530-531 (Tätigkeit als Rat Friedrichs III.) und S. 737-739 (Anfänge in der Kanzlei).

100 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, S. 48-49.

101 *Ibidem*, S. 50-51.

102 P.-J. Heinig, *Schlick*; *idem*, *Kaiser Friedrich III.* [1997], I, S. 638-646.

103 Enea Silvio war Kaspar Schlick beispielsweise dankbar dafür, dass er für eine ordnungsgemäße Auszahlung seines Gehaltes sorgte: *Multa sunt, propter que magnifico domino Gaspari cancellario teneor, sed in hoc quoque sue magnificentie sum obnoxius, quia me non patitur salario meo frustrari sicut alios video [...]* (*De Curialium miseriis*, in: *Enee Silvii Piccolominei Epistolarium Seculare, post Rudolf Wolkan iterum recognovit*, hrsg. A. van Heck, Città del Vaticano 2007, S. 415).

Kaspar Schlick ließ er durchblicken, dessen zahlreiche Liebesaffären in Siena hätten ihm als Vorbild für *De Euriolo et Lucretia* (1444) gedient.¹⁰⁴ Später, als Papst Pius II., distanzierte er sich in der Bulle *In minoribus agentis* 1462 völlig von einem Teil seiner Schriften, darunter auch solchen literarischen Werken und von seinen früheren Ansichten.¹⁰⁵

Auch die Biographie des Cusanus weist einige erhebliche Brüche auf. Wie Piccolomini wechselte er die Seiten. Beide durchliefen dieselbe Entwicklung und wandelten sich von Vertretern konziliarer Ideen zu Verteidigern der päpstlichen Position, was sie in Konflikte mit früheren Weggefährten brachte. Seit 1432 nahm Kues am Konzil von Basel ein, vertrat dort als Jurist im Trierer Bischofsstreit die Position Ulrichs von Manderscheid gegen den päpstlichen Kandidaten. Da der Trierer Erzbischof zugleich Kurfürst war, hatte dieser Konflikt zugleich reichspolitische und grundsätzliche Bedeutung.¹⁰⁶ 1433/1434 verfasste er eines seiner bekanntesten Werke, die *Concordantia catholica*, vollzog aber 1437 eine Kehrtwende und wandelte sich vom Konziliaristen zu einem überzeugten Anhänger der päpstlichen Partei. Bei seinen Zeitgenossen, damals auch noch bei Piccolomini, brachte ihm dies teilweise einen gewissen Spott ein.

Cusanus entwickelte sich vom Anhänger und Theoretiker des Konzils von Basel zu seinem Kritiker, den Enea Silvio in seinem *Commentarium de gestis concilii Basiliensis* als „Hercules der Anhänger Papst Eugens IV.“ bezeichnete. Zeitweise standen beide auf gegnerischen Seiten. Im Juni 1442 nahm Cusanus als Gesandter Papst Eugens IV. am Frankfurter Reichstag teil, Piccolomini noch als Vertreter Felix' V. und des Basler Konzils.¹⁰⁷ Er ließ Cusanus als Figur in seinem *Libellus Dialogorum* (1440) auftreten. Dort endet der 14. Dialog, der zwischen Cusanus und Stefano Caccia von Novara auf

¹⁰⁴ Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Histoire de deux amants*, traduction, introduction et notes d'I. Hersant, note philologique de A.-Ph. Segonds, Paris 2001 [zweisprachige Ausgabe Latein-Französisch], S. 1-3; Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Ceuvres érotiques. Cinthia, Historia de duobus amantibus avec L'ystoire de Euriolus et Lucrese d'Octovien de Saint-Gelais*, übers. / hrsg. F. Duval, Turnhout 2003, S. 14-21; Textedition: S. 82-209; Brief an Kaspar Schlick, S. 210-214; Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Euryalus und Lucretia* (lat. / dt.), übers. / hrsg. H. Rädle, Stuttgart 1993.

¹⁰⁵ T.M. Izbicki, *Reject Aenea! Pius II on the Errors of His Youth*, in: *Pius II, „El più expeditivo pontifice“*. *Selected Studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 1405-1464*, hrsg. Z. von Martels, A. Vanderjagt, Leiden-Boston 2003, S. 187-203.

¹⁰⁶ E. Meuthen, *Nikolaus von Kues als Jurist*, in: *Recht und Verfassung im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, hrsg. H. Boockmann, L. Grenzmann et al., II, Göttingen 2001, S. 247-275; E. Meuthen, *Das Trierer Schisma von 1430 auf dem Basler Konzil*, Münster 1964; *Nikolaus von Kues als Kanonist und Rechtshistoriker*; I. Riedel-Spangenberg, *Ne confusio fiat – der Rechtsgelehrte Nicolaus Cusanus zwischen Kirchentheorie und Rechtsanwendung*, „Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte“, Kanonistische Abteilung CXIX (2002), S. 362-375.

¹⁰⁷ W. Baum, *Nikolaus von Kues und Enea Silvio Piccolomini – eine Humanistenfreundschaft?*, S. 323.

dem Konzil in Basel inszeniert wird, mit der Niederlage des Cusanus, der in dieser Fiktion seine Ansichten revidiert und zur konziliaristischen Position zurückkehrt.¹⁰⁸ Cusanus schrieb einen Dialog über die Irrtümer der Anhänger Felix' V. (*Dialogus concludens Amedistarum errorem ex gestis et doctrina concilii basiliensis*, 1441).¹⁰⁹

Trotz seiner kirchlichen Ämter und obwohl er die kirchliche Rechtsprechung verteidigte (*Verba mea auribus percipe, domine*, 1452), sah sich Juvénal des Ursins weiterhin auch als Königsdiener¹¹⁰. Er leitete daraus und aus seinem dem König gegenüber geleisteten Eid eine Pflicht zur Kritik ab und wollte dem Herrscher die Klagen des Volkes nahebringen:

[...] car sur mon arme et par le serement que je vous ay fait je cuide bien dire et faire, et ne le ditz [Dinge, die dem König missfallen könnten – G.N.] [...] que pour advertissemens au bien de vous et de vostre seigneurie. Mais il y a une aultre plus grant raison que je suis comme contraint de le faire; car moy estans en grans pensees et ymaginacions et a proprement parler chagrins et desplaisirs de plusieurs merveilloses choses que je veoyoie, oyoye et savoye, les clameurs et plaintes du peuple, craignant et doubtant les vous exposer ou de ce vous en advertir, me sembla que a moy vint une voix et par plusieurs et diverses foys, qui me disoit les parolles que Dieu dit a Samuel du roy d'Israel, primo regum IX capitulo [Vulg. I reg. 9, 17]: Hic est vir quem dixeram eis, ipse dominabitur populo meo, en me demonstrant, mon souverain seigneur, vostre personne¹¹¹.

In *Loquar in tribulacione* begründet er diese Kritikpflicht auch mit seiner doppelten Funktion als *pair de France* und Kleriker und mit dem Gebot Gottes. Er weist den Einwand, der König könne auf Kritik verärgert reagieren und er solle deshalb darauf verzichten, da er sich schaden könne, folgendermaßen zurück:

[...] je cuide dire verité, pour le bien de luy [des Königs – G.N.] et de sa seigneurie; j'ay esté son advocat, je suis son per, je luy ay promis de luy reveler son dommage et de faire son prouffit; je cuide en luy monstrant ce qui dit est que c'est m'acquiter loyalment [...]. Et aussi Dieu me le

108 S. Iaria, *Introduzione*, in: Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Libellus Dialogorum*, S. LXXXIX.

109 E. Meuthen, *Nikolaus von Kues: Dialogus concludens Amedistarum errorem ex gestis et doctrina concilii Basiliensis*, „Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft“ VIII (1970), S. 11-114, Text, S. 78-114; T.M. Izbicki, *Nicholas of Cusa. Writings on Church and Reform*, in: *The I Tatti Renaissance Library* 33, Cambridge (Mass.) - London 2008, S. 272-333 (mit englischer Übersetzung).

110 Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Verba mea*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, II, S. 186: [J'] ay esté vostre advocat et conseillier [des französischen Königs – G.N.] en vostre court de Parlement, ou j'ay gardé a mon povoir les drois de la coronne et de vous, et encores seroye et suis prest de ce faire...

111 Ibidem, S. 187.

commande, qui suis homme d'église, par la bouche du prophète, Ysay LVIII [Vulg. Is. 58, 1], Clama ne cesses, quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam et annuncia peccata eorum: c. Sit rector XLIII di. [Décret 1, 43, 1].¹¹²

Juvénal des Ursins kritisierte Karl VII. auch erheblich, weil er sich nicht an die gute Tradition hielt, vor Abgabenerhebungen Ständeversammlungen einzuberufen:

Je ne sçay se le dyable est si soultil de vous avoir fait et a vostre royaume ce bien, pour venir a y faire plus grant mal advenir, que paradvant les aydes ordinaires, depositions, quatriemes, vous les mettés, ou souffrez mettre, comme demaine ordinaire, sans le consentement de vos trois estas.¹¹³

Wie man sieht, konnte die Kritik Jean Juvénal des Ursins mitunter sehr heftig ausfallen:

[...] vous [der König – G.N.] estes comme une personne dormant ou melieu de la mer, et comme ung gouverneur estant en ung vaissel qui a perdu le clou et dit, 'Ilz m'ont batu et navré et si ne m'en suis point dolu, ilz m'ont tiré et ne l'ay je point sentu'. Helas, ce royaulme est une mer, et estes le principal gouverneur du vaissel qui est taillé de perir, et on vous bat et tire, mais vous ne vous en doulez ne sentés rien.¹¹⁴

In seiner *Exortation faite au Roy*, rief Juvénal des Ursins im Zusammenhang mit dem Majestätsverbrecher-Prozess gegen den Herzog von Alençon zur Milde auf (1458) und richtete 1461 vor seiner Krönung Ermahnungen an den künftigen König Ludwig XI. (*Proposicion faite ... devant le Roy Louis*). Nach dem Ende der *Guerre du Bien public* war er 1465 Mitglied einer 36-köpfigen Reformkommission und nahm 1468 an den *états généraux* von Tours teil.¹¹⁵

Auch Piccolomini kritisierte seinen König. Ob Friedrich III. seinen ihm zgedachten *Pentalogus* (1443) tatsächlich gelesen hat, ist jedoch nicht bekannt.

112 Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Loquar in tribulacione*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 295-435, hier S. 365. Zum Selbstverständnis von Juvénal des Ursins siehe ausführlicher: G. Naegle, „*Qui desiderat pacem preparat bellum*“. *Guerre et paix chez Jean Juvénal des Ursins et Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, in: *Frieden schaffen und sich verteidigen im Spätmittelalter / Faire la paix et se défendre à la fin du Moyen Âge*, hrsg. G. Naegle, München 2012, S. 267-314; eadem, *Im Dienst von König und Königreich? Französische 'officiers' im Spätmittelalter*, in: *Europa im späten Mittelalter. Politik – Gesellschaft – Kultur*, hrsg. R.C. Schwinges, C. Hesse, P. Moraw, München 2006, S. 169-196.

113 Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Verba mea*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, II, S. 268. Zur Theorie der mittelalterlichen Steuern siehe L. Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien'. *La théorie de l'impôt en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, Paris 2005. Zu Juvénal des Ursins und Ständeversammlungen siehe: G. Naegle, "Quant ilz avoient affaire", S. 13-41.

114 Jean Juvénal des Ursins greift hier auf ein Bibelzitat zurück: Vulg. Prov. 23, 34-35, siehe Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Loquar, in tribulacione*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 326-327.

115 G. Naegle, *Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, S. 642-648.

Einige Passagen hätten ebenfalls regelrecht beleidigend wirken können. So warf Enea Silvio einigen der wichtigsten Hofleute Friedrichs mangelnde Lateinkenntnisse und Ignoranz vor. Er forderte auch ihn selbst auf, seine diesbezüglichen Kenntnisse zu verbessern (siehe oben), rasch auf den Romzug zu gehen und nicht zu zögern, zur Befriedung mit militärischen Mitteln in die politischen Verhältnisse in Italien einzugreifen. Das in diesem Text entworfene Bild der ebenfalls im Prolog genannten Förderer Piccolominis, Kaspar Schlick, Sylvester Pflieger und Nicodemo della Scala, war jedenfalls weitaus schmeichelhafter. Schlick, Kanzler Sigismunds und Friedrichs III., war ursprünglich wie Kues ein durch besondere persönliche Fähigkeiten aufgestiegener Bürgerlicher. Er brachte es bis zum Freiherrn des ungarischen Weißkirchen und heiratete 1437 eine schlesische Herzogstochter. Die Urkunden über seine Erhebung zum Grafen von Bassano del Grappa sind allerdings wahrscheinlich Kanzleifälschungen.¹¹⁶

In ihren Schriften behandelten alle drei hier vorgestellten Autoren auch grundsätzliche Fragen des Krieges und des Friedens, kamen dabei jedoch zu unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen. Im *Pentalogus* plädierte Piccolomini für den Krieg und einen bewaffneten Italienzug Friedrichs III., während sich Juvénal des Ursins trotz Zweifeln letztlich doch für den Frieden aussprach.¹¹⁷

1446 hatte er im Auftrag von Karl VII. im Vorfeld eines geplanten Treffens dieses französischen Königs mit Heinrich VI. von England in seinem Traktat *Tres crestien, tres hault, tres puissant Roy ou Traictié compendieux de la querelle de France contre les Anglois*¹¹⁸ auf Archivalien gestützt versucht, die englischen Ansprüche auf Normandie und Guyenne zurückzuweisen. Die im *Pentalogus* entworfenen politischen Szenarien und Gedankenspiele über die Machtkonstellation in Italien sind realitätsnah und haben dazu geführt, den Traktat trotz seiner literarischen und fürstenspiegelartigen Elemente auch als „politisches Gutachten“ zu bezeichnen.¹¹⁹ Faktisch wurde Enea Silvio Piccolomini schon während seiner Tätigkeit am Hof Friedrichs III. zu einem wichtigen politischen Akteur seiner Zeit. So spielte er beispielsweise bei der

¹¹⁶ P.-J. Heinig, *Schlick*, Sp. 1489-1490; P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III.*, I, S. 638-646.

¹¹⁷ Siehe G. Naegle, „*Qui desiderat pacem*“, S. 267-314.

¹¹⁸ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Tres crestien, tres hault, tres puissant Roy*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, II, S. 1-177. Zur Entwicklung der politischen Ansichten Jean Juvénal des Ursins und den Bemühungen zur Stärkung königlicher Rechte, siehe: A. Rigaudière, *Le prince et la loi d'après Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, in: *Le prince et la norme. Ce que légiférer veut dire*, hrsg. J. Hoareau-Dodinau, G. Métairie, P. Texier, Limoges 2007, S. 81-115; A. Rigaudière, *Jean Juvénal des Ursins, précurseur de l'absolutisme*, in: *Absolutismus, ein unersetzliches Forschungskonzept? L'absolutisme, un concept irremplaçable?*, hrsg. L. Schilling, München 2008, S. 55-106; J. Krynen, *L'empire du roi*, Paris 1993, S. 339-455.

¹¹⁹ C. Schingnitz, *Einleitung*, in: Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, S. 1-42, hier S. 15.

Vorbereitung von Romzug, Kaiserkrönung und Hochzeit Friedrichs III. bereits eine wichtige Rolle für die Herstellung der Kontakte zu Papst Nikolaus V. In seinem Bericht über die Kaiserkrönung¹²⁰ bemühte er sich, die eigene Rolle gebührend ins rechte Licht zu setzen. Er arbeitete gezielt an seiner Karriere und bemühte sich sehr aktiv und intensiv um die Verbreitung seiner Schriften und Briefe. Im Gegensatz zu Kues, der im engeren Sinn gelehrt-juristisch argumentiert und Autoritäten und seine Quellen zitiert, greift Piccolomini sehr häufig auf die antike Literatur und Philosophie und nicht auf juristische Allegationen zurück. Juvénal des Ursins erhebt den Verzicht auf genaue Zitate manchmal sogar zum Prinzip. In seiner Schrift *Audite celi* (1435), die besonders ausgeprägte literarische Elemente aufweist und sich wie eine ganze Reihe spätmittelalterlicher Traktate (z.B. der *Songe du Vergier*, der *Songe véritable*, *Le livre de l'Advision de Christine* oder der *Quadriloge invectif*, der Traum des Hans von Hermansgrün oder die Vision Kaiser Sigismunds in der *Reformatio Sigismundi*)¹²¹ als (*ad*)vision bzw. Traum (*songe*) präsentiert,¹²² lässt er eine seiner fiktiven Personen über die Allegationen aus dem kanonischen Recht sowie dem Zivil- und Strafrecht sagen, es handele sich lediglich um „l'effect et substance desdis droys“.¹²³

Die Verwendung der Form eines Traums oder einer Vision war für mittelalterliche Autoren zugleich ein Weg, sich in gewissem Maß von allzu kritischen Aussagen etwas zu distanzieren und sich im Falle von Anfeindungen auf die Fiktion zurückzuziehen, es habe sich ja nur um einen Traum gehandelt.¹²⁴ Das Verhältnis von Fiktion / Traum und Realität gab gelegent-

¹²⁰ Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Historia Austriacalis*, I, 1: *Redaktion*, hrsg. J. Knödler, Hannover 2009, S. 157-174; *Historia Austriacalis*, II, 2. und 3. = 1. *Redaktion*, hrsg. M. Wagendorfer, Hannover 2009, Buch III, S. 589-622. Zum Romzug siehe auch: A.T. Hack, *Ein anonymes Romzugsbericht von 1452 (PS-Enenkel) mit zugehörigen Personenlisten*, „Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur“. Beihefte VII (2007) und zum Aspekt der Selbstdarstellung Enea Silvio Piccolominis M. Wagendorfer, *Der Blick des Humanisten – Aussenpolitik in der „Historia Austriacalis“ des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, in: *Aussenpolitisches Handeln im ausgehenden Mittelalter: Akteure und Ziele*, hrsg. S. Dünnebeil, C. Ottner, Wien-Köln 2007, S. 341-369, hier 347-363.

¹²¹ G. Naegle, „Resveillier ceulx qui dorment en pechié“: *Philippe de Mézières et la tradition des miroirs du prince*, „Le Moyen Âge“ CXVI (2010), 3-4, S. 625-643, hier S. 637-638 (mit weiterer Literatur); C. Marcello-Nizia, *Entre l'histoire et la poétique, le „Songe politique“*, „Revue des Sciences humaines“ CLXXXIII (1981), S. 39-53; J. Quillet, *Songes et songeries dans l'art de la Politique au XIV^e siècle*, „Les études philosophiques“ III (1975), S. 327-349. *Traum und Träumen, Inhalt, Darstellung, Funktionen einer Lebenserfahrung in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, hrsg. R. Hiestand, Düsseldorf 1994; *I sogni nel medioevo*, hrsg. T. Gregory, Roma 1985.

¹²² Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Audite celi*, in: *Écrits*, hrsg. P.S. Lewis, I, S. 146.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, S. 183.

¹²⁴ Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du Viel Pelerin*, hrsg. J. Blanchard, I-II, Genf 2015, I, S. 20: „Si donques ceulx qui se sentiront ferus en cestui livre de la lance de Verite la royne et auront aucune desplaisance s'il ne se vouldront amender, pour eulx apaisier, s'il leur plaira, il pourront reputer cestui livre pour un songe. Et ceulx qui prendront en bon gré la doctrine [...]

lich Anlass zu expliziten Thematisierungen des Wahrheitsanspruchs solcher Texte, wie im *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* (1389) von Philippe de Mézières, der wie der Vater Jean Juvénals des Ursins' der Gruppe der *Marmousets* nahestand. Solche Autoren bemühten sich dennoch, zu zeigen, dass ein Traum (*songe*) nicht zwangsläufig eine Lüge (*mensonge*) sein müsse. Mittelalterliche Leser waren an solche literarischen Techniken gewöhnt.¹²⁵

In der Zeit der praktischen juristischen Tätigkeit von Jean Juvénal des Ursins am *Parlement* von Poitiers (1418-1436) finden sich in den damaligen Registern ebenfalls nur sehr selten explizite konkrete Allegationen des römisch-kanonischen Rechts. Bezüglich des römischen Rechts wurde dies von Seiten des französischen Königtums und seiner Juristen oft auch bewusst vermieden, da man getreu der Maxime „le roi est empereur en son royaume“¹²⁶ den Standpunkt vertrat, der französische Herrscher sei nicht an das römische Recht gebunden und es werde ggf. wie eine *coutume* angewandt. Für den Kaiser des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, der sich selbst als Nachfolger der römischen Kaiser sah, war eine solche Debatte nicht erforderlich. Sowohl Enea Silvio als auch Kues verwenden in ihren Traktaten die römisch-lateinische Terminologie, um vom Kaiser zu sprechen. Enea Silvio redet von Friedrich III. als *Cesar invictissime, rex optime* oder *maxime Cesar*.¹²⁷ An den Stellen, an denen er Sigismund anspricht, schreibt Cusanus vom *invictissimo a Deo coronato imperatori nostro, Sigismundo*,¹²⁸ *caesar optime*¹²⁹ oder *invictissime imperator*.¹³⁰ Zur Regierungszeit Friedrichs III. gab es eine Unterscheidung zwischen der *österreichischen / erbländischen Kanzlei* und der *römischen Kanzlei / Reichshofkanzlei*, deren Kompetenzen sich allerdings in der Praxis teilweise überschneiden.¹³¹ Im Reich blieb Latein als Verwaltungssprache bedeutender als in Frankreich, wo königliche *Ordonnances* und Verwaltungsschriftgut bereits früh in Französisch verfasst wurden.¹³² 1539 schrieb die *Ordonnance*

ne le tendront pas a songe, mais le receperont comme morale doctrine et nouvelle pratique de reformation de toute la crestienté et par la bonté divine il feront leur profit de ce que les dessus dis obstinés porroient faire leur damage“.

125 G. Naegle, „*Resveillier ceulx*“, S. 633-638.

126 A. Bossuat, *La formule 'Le roi est empereur en son royaume'*, „Revue historique de droit français et étranger“ 4. Serie, XXXIX (1961), S. 371-381; J.-M. Moeglin, *L'Empire et le Royaume. Entre indifférence et fascination 1214-1500*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2011 [Aufl. orig.: *Kaisertum und allerchristlichster König 1214 bis 1500*, Darmstadt 2010], S. 292-294.

127 Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Pentalogus*, hrsg. C. Schingnitz, S. 50, 102, 272.

128 Nicolai de Cusa *De Concordantia catholica*, hrsg. G. Kallen, *Praefatio* 2, S. 3.

129 Ibidem, III 596, S. 473.

130 Ibidem, III 595, S. 473.

131 P.-J. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III.* [1997], II, S. 637-638.

132 Siehe die Forschungen von S. Lusignan, *La langue des rois au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2004; idem, *Le choix de la langue d'écriture des actes administratifs en France. Communiquer et affirmer son identité*, in: *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, hrsg. C. Boudreau, K. Fianu,

von Villers-Cotterêts endgültig den Gebrauch des Französischen fest. Sie wies auch ausdrücklich darauf hin, bei lateinischen Ausdrücken sei es in der Vergangenheit zu Verständnisproblemen gekommen (Art. 111).¹³³

Der Blick auf die unterschiedliche sprachliche und rechtliche Entwicklung des mittelalterlichen Reiches und Frankreichs zeigt noch einmal, wie sehr die politischen und kulturellen Rahmenbedingungen auch die Form des Umgangs mit Wissen und Gelehrsamkeit bestimmten. Dennoch wurde trotz der Abwehr des französischen Königs gegen etwaige Ansprüche des Kaisers auch Frankreich ebenso wie das Reich stark sowohl durch das römische als auch durch das kanonische Recht geprägt. Der Vergleich der drei Autoren zeigt daher nicht nur Unterschiede, sondern auch erhebliche Gemeinsamkeiten. Wollte man sie etwas vereinfachend charakterisieren, könnte man sie dennoch unterschiedlichen Autorentypen zuordnen: während Jean Juvénal des Ursins vor allem Rechtspraktiker, königlicher Amtsträger und Erzbischof war, blieb Piccolomini auch als Papst und Reichstagsredner, der zum Kreuzzug aufrief, ein von dem Glauben an die Macht des Wortes durchdrungener Humanist. Diese Auffassung brachte er wiederholt deutlich zum Ausdruck. Es gäbe nichts, das die Welt so beherrsche, wie die Redekunst: *nichil est, quod tam regnat orbem quam eloquentia. Quoniam, quicquid agimus in re publica, persuasi verbis agimus et illius in populis sententia manet, qui melius novit persuadere.*¹³⁴ Geschliffene lateinische Rhetorik blieb für ihn auch nach der Distanzierung von früheren Werken wichtig. Die wirklichen Ereignisse in Italien kamen schließlich den Spekulationen Piccolominis über die Aufteilung der beiderseitigen Interessensphären zwischen Filippo Maria Visconti (†1447) und König Alfons von Aragón oder bezüglich der Folgen

C. Gauvard, M. Hébert, Paris 2004, S. 187-201; idem, *Traduction, bilinguisme et diglossie. Le français écrit à la cour de France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in: *Actes du colloque „Méthodologie de la traduction: de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance“*, hrsg. C.-M. Ternes, Luxembourg 1994, S. 58-85.

133 *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts sur le fait de la justice, août 1539*, in: *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, hrsg. F.A. Isambert et al., I-XXIX, Paris 1821-1833, XII: 1414-1546, Paris 1828, S. 600-641, Zitat S. 622-623: „Art. 110. – Et afin qu'il n'y ait cause de douter sur l'intelligence desdits arrêts, nous voulons et ordonnons qu'ils soient faits et écrits si clairement, qu'il n'y ait ni puisse avoir aucune ambiguïté ou incertitude ne lieu à demander interprétation. Art. 111. – Et pour ce que telles choses sont souvent advenues sur l'intelligence des mots latins contenus esdits arrêts, nous voulons d'oresnavant que tous arrêts, ensemble toutes autres procédures, soient de nos cours souveraines et autres subalternes et inférieures, soient de registres, enquestes, contrats, commissions, sentences, testaments, et autres quelconques, actes et exploits de justice, ou qui en dépendent, soient prononcés, enregistrés et délivrés aux parties en langage maternel françois et non autrement“.

134 Eneas Silvius an Adam von Molins, päpstlichen Protonotar, Wien, 29. Mai 1444, in: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, hrsg. R. Wolkan, 1. Abteilung: *Briefe aus der Laienzeit*, I, S. 325, Nr. 143; P. Gilli, *Culture et diplomatie en Italie, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, „Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge“ CVIII (1996) 2, S. 609-614, hier S. 612.

des Todes Viscontis recht nahe.¹³⁵ Die Stärken von Cusanus lagen, wie auch die Nachwelt und die spätere Forschung bestätigten, letztlich vor allem auf philosophisch-theoretischem Gebiet.

ABSTRACT

Jean Juvénal des Ursins (1388-1473), Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464, Pope Pius II 1458-1464) and Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) lived contemporaneously and shared several characteristics. They served the Church and/or their king/emperor, wrote theoretical treatises, accomplished diplomatic missions and took part in assemblies of estates and the Church. This study compares their attitudes to knowledge and wisdom and their role as learned 'experts'. For their work, the social and intellectual background and the experiences of their lifetime played an important role. Piccolomini's writings and speeches were decisive for spreading ideas of Italian humanism in the German-speaking parts of the Empire. At his beginnings, he was a member of the chancery of Emperor Frederick III. He stood in direct contact with Cusa, and, in his *Libellus Dialogorum* (1440), he staged him as a literary character. Piccolomini and Juvénal des Ursins addressed advice and warnings to their king. According to his family's tradition as high royal officials and as a cleric, the latter thought that it was his duty to do so. For Cusa, scholarship and knowledge had yet another more fundamental significance. In 'On Learned Ignorance' (*De docta ignorantia*) and in his 'dialogues of the layman' (*Idiota de sapientia*, *Idiota de mente*, *Idiota de staticis experimentis*), he presented philosophical reflexions about erudition and wisdom. In the medieval Empire, power positions were still dominated by nobility. Cusa, who became prince-bishop of Brixen, proudly recognizes that he owed his ascension to learning, erudition and personal merit. For him and Piccolomini, 'international' experiences and diplomatic missions, as Cusa's embassy to Constantinople, were important. Both reflected on relations with the Islamic world and its rulers. In his earlier years, Piccolomini gave political advice about the power equilibrium in Europe, especially referring to Italy. Juvénal des Ursins was more preoccupied by the Hundred Years' War. So, the three authors represent different types of scholars. For all his life, the experience of Juvénal des Ursins as jurist and royal official left indelible, decisive marks. Even as pope, in spite of his rejection of his own former life, Piccolomini, the author of the autobiographical *Commentarii*, stayed a humanist, and, in many respects, a *poeta*. In comparison, Nicholas of Cusa represents a 'typical' scholar: he failed as administrator of his diocese, but he is still famous as a philosopher and author of important theoretical treatises.

135 A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458*, Oxford 1990, S. 207-208, 252-305; J. Ametller y Vinyas, *Alfonso V de Aragón en Italia y la crisis religiosa del siglo XV*, I-III, Gerona 1903-1928, II, S. 9, Anm. 1.



LYDWINE SCORDIA
ROUEN

LES ENSEIGNEMENTS DE LOUIS XI
AU FUTUR CHARLES VIII :
LE MÉTIER DE ROI DANS LE *ROSIER DES GUERRES*,
CULTURE SAVANTE ET POLITIQUE DANS L'EUROPE
CHRÉTIENNE, DÉBUT XII^E-DÉBUT XV^E SIÈCLE



Avant d'être « l'universelle araigne » des Bourguignons, Louis XI a d'abord été désigné par les princes révoltés de la ligue du Bien Public en 1465 comme celui qui avait instauré le « Mal Public »¹. Les princes n'auront de cesse de dénoncer, ouvertement ou pas, un roi maléfique qu'ils entendaient écarter ou tout au moins cantonner, à la chasse, disaient certains. Les émotions populaires contre l'impôt multiplié par quatre ont assez montré l'hostilité et même la haine du peuple de France contre son roi². L'historiographie a très vite bâti la légende noire d'un Louis XI mauvais fils (de Charles VII), mauvais frère (de Charles de France), mauvais mari (de Marguerite d'Écosse et de Charlotte de Savoie) et mauvais père (de Charles VIII), tout l'inverse, selon Claude de Seyssel, de Louis XII qui avait su se faire aimer des siens et de son peuple³. De ses

1 Jean Le Clerc, *Interpolations et variantes de la Chronique scandaleuse. Journal connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse, 1460-1483*, éd. Bernard de Mandrot, II, Paris 1896, p. 139-400, p. 261-263 ; *Le Procès Jacques d'Armagnac (Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, manuscrit 2000)*, éd. critique avec notes, glossaire et index J. Blanchard, introduction J. Blanchard, collaboration J-P. Boudet, F.F. Martin, O. Mattéoni, Genève 2012, p. 306-308, 315-316. Recherche en cours d'Olivier Mattéoni sur le Bien Public.

2 A. Leguai, *Émeutes et troubles d'origine fiscale sous le règne de Louis XI, « Le Moyen Âge » III-IV (1967)*, p. 447-487 ; J-F. Lassalmonie, *La boîte à l'enchanteur. Politique financière de Louis XI*, Paris 2002 ; L. Scordia, *Louis XI. Mythes et réalités*, Paris 2015, p. 271-274.

3 Claude de Seyssel, *Les Louenges du roy Louys XII (1508)*, éd. P. Eichel-Ljkine, L. Vissière, Genève 2009, ch. VIII-IX.

mauvaises relations avec Charles VII, tout a été dit, y compris l'accusation de l'avoir empoisonné. La mort de son très influençable cadet, Charles de France, le 24 mai 1472, a suscité les mêmes rumeurs. Quant à sa rudesse matrimoniale, elle est surtout devenue un ressort dramatique aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles. J'aimerais ici attirer l'attention sur les liens de Louis XI avec son fils. Le dauphin, né en 1470, a été isolé à Amboise auprès de la reine Charlotte⁴. Louis XI ne l'a pratiquement pas revu avant septembre 1482. Le roi malade lui fait alors ses recommandations. Le texte sera enregistré par le Parlement le 7 novembre 1482⁵.

Le dauphin Charles n'a pas vu son père gouverner, il ne l'a pas accompagné sur les champs de bataille, n'a pas été son lieutenant dans telle ou telle partie du royaume, autant de moyens d'apprentissage pour un futur roi. Il n'a pas expérimenté cet art de la transmission des savoirs par mimétisme, par imitation, plus visuelle que verbale, si spécifique aux temps anciens. Le dauphin était-il trop jeune, trop fragile ? Il l'était. Les lettres inquiètes de Louis XI à Jean Bourré, gouverneur de l'enfant, en témoignent⁶. L'éloignement du dauphin par son père a inspiré les dramaturges autant qu'il a fait frémir les publics des scènes de théâtre. Le roi n'avait-il pas interdit de faire de Charles VIII un prince lettré en ordonnant qu'il n'apprenne que cinq mots de latin : « Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare »⁷ ?

Entre zones d'ombre et légendes, il existe pourtant un traité en français et en latin, commandé par Louis XI à son médecin et astrologue Pierre Choinet pour l'éducation de son fils, qui s'appelle le *Rosier des guerres*, le titre est d'origine. Les historiens en connaissent l'existence, des articles ont paru, il y eut même des projets d'édition, mais pour des raisons tenant à son caractère composite, à sa longueur et aux nombre de témoins, le *Rosier des guerres* n'a jamais été édité malgré le profit qu'on pouvait en tirer pour la connaissance de ce roi singulier⁸.

4 Mariée en 1451, Charlotte perd plusieurs fils en très bas âge (1458, 1459, 1466).

5 *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, recueillies par ordre chronologique* [suivant : ORF], éd. E.J. de Laurière, I-XXII, Imprimerie royale, 1723-1849 [1659-1728], ici XIX, p. 56-60.

6 Pour donner un exemple, lire *Lettres de Louis XI, roi de France*, éd. J. Vaësen, É. Charavay, B. de Mandrot, I-XI, Paris 1883-1909, ici X, 13 novembre 1480, p. 429.

7 Robert Gaguin regrette que Louis XI n'ait pas voulu faire enseigner le latin à son fils (*Que nulla eruditione latina institui pater voluit, existimans litteras impedimento esse regnantibus*), *Compendium super Francorum gestis*, chez Thielman Kerver pour Jean Petit et Durant Gerlier, Paris, 1500/1, f. 161v. Voir Y. Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII et son milieu (1470-1498). La jeunesse au pouvoir*, Paris 1975, p. 22. Et pour une appréciation de la langue latine au XV^e siècle, F. Collard, *Robert Gaguin : un historien au travail à la fin du XV^e siècle*, Genève 1996.

8 Projet de J. Kaulek, l'auteur de *Louis XI est-il l'auteur du Rosier des guerres ?*, « Revue Historique » XXI (1883), p. 312-322. Les éditions disponibles étaient donc soit le texte présenté par M. Diamant-Berger, *Le Rosier des guerres. Enseignements de Louis XI, roy de France pour le*

Pour éclairer la commande du *Rosier des guerres*, il est nécessaire de commencer par le remettre en contexte avant d'en analyser la structure (1). Ce qui permettra de distinguer successivement la conception du pouvoir royal transmise par Louis XI (2) et, plus concrètement, l'art de gouverner qu'il incombe au roi de France d'exercer (3).

1. MISE EN CONTEXTE DU *ROSIER DES GUERRES*

L'une des premières questions que se pose, après d'autres, l'éditeur scientifique du *Rosier* porte sur la date de composition, même si l'on peut évidemment affirmer que le traité est postérieur à la naissance du jeune prince puisqu'il est dédié au dauphin (1470) et antérieur à la mort du commanditaire (1483). Mais qui pouvait dire en 1470 que le jeune Charles survivrait au dangereux temps de l'enfance ? Conservons pour le moment cette fourchette un peu trop large pour présenter le contexte de la naissance du traité (1) avant d'en analyser la structure (2).

Les années 1470

Les années 1461-1468 ont été défavorables à Louis XI, obligé de signer les 5 et 27-29 octobre 1465 les traités de Conflans et de Saint-Maur après la guerre du Bien Public et le traité de Péronne, le 14 octobre 1468, après la célèbre entrevue avec le duc Charles de Bourgogne. Les années 1470 voient le roi s'appliquer à traiter, il faut entendre diviser, ses ennemis. Le traité d'Ancenis du 10 septembre 1468 et la paix de Senlis du 29 septembre 1475 (traité signé le 9 octobre) ont amélioré les relations avec le duc de Bretagne. Les pourparlers et de grosses sommes d'argent aboutissent à la signature de la paix de Picquigny avec l'Angleterre : elle clôt la guerre de Cent Ans le 29 août 1475, 22 ans après la bataille de Castillon. Enfin, pour limiter la liste, car les ennemis de Louis XI sont beaucoup plus nombreux, le danger bourguignon s'atténue avec la trêve de Soleure du 13 septembre 1475 et la mort du duc Charles devant Nancy en janvier 1477, même si la guerre commence entre le royaume et Maximilien de Habsbourg, le mari de Marie la fille du Téméraire.

dauphin son fils, Paris 1930, soit un reprint de l'édition de Jean d'Espagnet, *Le Rozier des guerres composé par le feu roy Loïs XI de ce nom pour Monseigneur le Daulphin Charles son fils*, suivi *De l'institution du jeune prince*, Paris 1616, soit les impressions de la fin du XV^e-début XVI^e siècle. Toutes ces éditions non scientifiques sont partielles et fautives. J'entreprends l'édition du *Rosier des guerres* grâce à Jean-Patrice Boudet, que je remercie très chaleureusement, puisqu'il en avait initialement le projet, lire son article fondateur *Les astrologues et le pouvoir sous le règne de Louis XI*, dans : *Observer, lire, écrire le ciel au Moyen Âge*, dir. B. Ribémont, Paris 1991, p. 7-61.

Si l'on peut *a posteriori* considérer que ces années ont profité à Louis XI, l'instabilité chronique des positions et la fragilité des traités et des serments, y compris ceux que Louis XI fait prêter sur la croix de Charlemagne, expliquent l'état d'alerte qui règne dans le royaume. Pendant les neuf premières années du règne, le successeur de Louis XI fut son frère Charles, successivement titré duc de Berry (1461), de Normandie (1465), puis de Guyenne (1469), impliqué dans tous les complots. Enfin, le 30 juin 1470, naquit le futur Charles VIII. Sa naissance est fêtée comme un avènement. Le chronogramme de la table des matières du *Rosier des guerres* salue « l'an de sa nativité » caché dans le lemme des Psaumes qui célèbre la germination bénie par Dieu : *In stillicidiis ejus letabitur germinans benedices corone*⁹.

Il faut rechercher les chiffres romains sans retenir le D qu'on ne compte pas alors. Ce qui donne :

In stILlICIdIIs eIVs LetabItVr gerMIInans benedICes Corone – et dans l'ordre, M CCCLL LVVllllllllll [1470].

Dès 1470, se succèdent les vœux de Louis XI à Notre-Dame pour la survie du dauphin, qui prennent la forme de statues d'argent du poids de l'enfant à cinq ans, à dix ans. Ce sont des ex-voto à la forme du vœu, offerts au Puy-Notre-Dame en Anjou, comme le roi les pratique par ailleurs pour protéger ses villes ou retrouver ses faucons perdus¹⁰. Louis XI s'inquiète des pestilences autant que des risques de contamination seigneuriale que risquerait de subir l'enfant s'il vivait au Plessis-lès-Tours. En octobre 1476, Jean de Roye rapporte une tentative d'empoisonnement du dauphin par Charles le Téméraire¹¹. L'âge de l'enfance a aussi ses dangers intrinsèques, dus à l'absence de discernement de celui qui n'a pas atteint l'âge de raison¹². Charles ressemble aux enfants que décrivent les encyclopédies : absorbé par le temps présent, aimant les « esbatements ». C'est dans ces années-là que l'éducation est la plus nécessaire, le *Rosier des guerres* y contribue.

Dans une lettre liminaire qui n'est présente que dans le manuscrit français 442 (f. 17v-18v), Louis XI invite « le très amé » Charles à lire le *Rosier* « quant tu seras venu en l'aage de ta flourissant jennesse », car pour l'heure l'enfant

⁹ Ps. 64, 11-12. Voir la table des chapitres du *Rosier des guerres* dans l'Annexe.

¹⁰ A. Lapeyre, *Louis XI, mécène dans le domaine de l'orfèvrerie religieuse*, Meudon 1986 ; L. Scordia, *Louis XI...*, p. 293-297.

¹¹ Jean de Roye, *Journal connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse, 1460-1483*, éd. B. de Mandrot, I-II, Paris 1894-1896, ici II, p. 30-31.

¹² L'Enfance s'étend de 0 à 11 ans (le nourrisson de 0-1 an, le petit enfant de 1-3/4 ans, l'enfant de 3/4-11 ans) ; la jeunesse de 11 à 24 ans (la jeunesse 11-13 ans, la puberté 13-17 ans et l'adolescence 17-24 ans). Lire M. Newels, *Les Âges de la Vie dans quelques moralités françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge*, dans : *Les Âges de la vie au Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque du département d'Études médiévales de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne et de l'Université Friedrich-Wilhelm de Bonn, Provins, 16-17 mars 1990*, textes réunis par H. Dubois, M. Zink, Paris 1992, p. 253-268, aux p. 257-261.

est trop jeune : il appartient encore à l'âge de l'enfance. Peut-être a-t-il atteint l'âge de raison, l'âge auquel le jeune prince passe sous le gouvernement des hommes¹³. Des précédents l'attestent, c'est vers l'âge de dix ans que les jeunes princes sont appelés à lire les traités de bon gouvernement : le *De regimine principum* de Gilles de Rome date des années 1277-1278, le futur Philippe IV va avoir dix ans ; c'est l'âge de Louis, duc de Guyenne, quand il reçoit le *Livre du corps de policie* (1406/7) de Christine de Pizan. Une datation du *Rosier* à la fin des années 1470 paraît raisonnable¹⁴.

Il faut aussi évaluer le temps de la composition. Le traité est long, il compte, selon les formats des manuscrits conservés, à l'exception du grand manuscrit de Rouen (313 × 235 mm ; 79 folios), entre 126 et 188 folios. Louis XI confie cette mission à son « medecin astrologien » le Rouennais Pierre Choinet¹⁵. Ses fonctions sont attestées dans les comptes de l'Hôtel du roi de 1466 à 1480¹⁶. Choinet naît en 1411 à Rouen ou à Monville dans une famille de la bourgeoisie normande, il y meurt vraisemblablement entre octobre 1483 (18 octobre 1483 : dernier acte de tabellionage) et octobre 1484 (autre acte attestant que sa fille mineure est mise sous tutelle)¹⁷. Choinet entre donc au service du roi en 1466, assurément par ses compétences et, compte tenu du caractère de Louis XI et du contexte, par sa fidélité lors de la guerre du Bien public qui a secoué le royaume et chahuté bien des carrières. À partir de 1470, Pierre Choinet devient l'un des astrologues du roi, une fonction officielle apparue en 1451. Sa pension tourne autour de 200 livres tournois par an. La somme se situe dans la moyenne des pensions de l'Hôtel, équivalente à celle des barbiers¹⁸.

13 Son éducation a commencé dès 1475 avec son précepteur, l'humaniste Guillaume Tardif. Et en 1478, Charles quitte sa gouvernante Louise de Crussol (en fonction d'octobre 1471 à 1478, voir Paris, BnF, français 7855, p. 769, en fait jusqu'en 1481) pour passer sous le gouvernement de Jean Bourré. Lire Y. Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII...*, p. 15-22.

14 Elle est corroborée par l'allusion faite à la fin du *Livre des trois âges*, offert par Pierre Choinet à Louis XI la dernière année du règne. Voir infra.

15 Pourquoi la commande n'a-t-elle pas été confiée au précepteur du jeune prince, Guillaume Tardif ?

16 Paris, BnF, fr. 32511, f. 358r ; fr. 26093, n° 1042, 1474 ; fr. 32511, f. 358v ; BnF, Pièces Originales 755, n° 17214 ; fr. 32511, f. 377r ; fr. 32511, f. 385v.

17 Choinet a habité dans la vaste paroisse de Saint-Godart, au Nord de la ville de Rouen, dont il a été le trésorier en 1454. Il se marie à Jeanne Dumont, qui appartient à la même paroisse, veuve du bourgeois Robert Le Vigneron. Pierre Choinet se remarie en 1475, il a 64 ans, à Marion de Rémy, toujours à Rouen. Deux enfants sont attestés : Marguerite et Jacques. En octobre 1484, Marguerite Choinet « sous age », c'est-à-dire mineure, fille de défunt Pierre Choinet, est mise en justice sous la tutelle de Nicolas Hommel. Lire Ch. Samaran, Pierre Choinet, le *Rosier de guerres* et le *Livre des trois âges*, « Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes » LXXXVII (1926), p. 372-380, aux p. 377-379 ; Mémoire d'HDR en cours sur Pierre Choinet, l'auteur du *Rosier des guerres*.

18 Simon de Phares, *Le recueil des plus célèbres astrologues de Simon de Phares*, éd. J.-P. Boudet, I-II, Paris 1997-1999, ici II, p. 274-279.

Le médecin et astrologue suit le roi dans ses déplacements et répond à ses appels, mais c'est à Rouen qu'il réside la majeure partie du temps : il y a sa famille et ses biens¹⁹. Certains comptes font référence à des voyages payés pour aller donner une consultation au roi Louis XI à Meung-sur-Loire (juin 1466)²⁰ ou au château des Forges, près de Chinon (1479)²¹. Les sommes sont respectivement de 82 et 150 livres ; elles viennent s'ajouter à sa pension. Comme bon nombre, Choinet exerce d'autres fonctions : il tient comptabilité des assignations financières en Normandie²². Vingt actes signés de sa main entre 1467 et 1475 l'attestent. Ce sont des assignations de mouvements de fonds, plus précisément des « décharges ». Elles sont conjointement signées par « Picart » (Guillaume Picart, bailli de Rouen, général de Normandie), « Le Barge » (Noël Le Barge, receveur général sur le fait des aides de Normandie en 1466-1469), trésorier des guerres en 1469-1474 ou « Raguier » (Jean Raguier, trésorier des guerres en Normandie, receveur général des finances en Normandie) et « Choinet »²³. Le « medecin astrologien » est également le commis de Jean Bourré, contrôleur de la recette générale des finances de Normandie entre 1466 et 1474²⁴. Le même Jean Bourré, seigneur du Plessis, proche de Louis XI depuis le temps du Dauphiné, l'homme qui a toute la confiance du roi, qui devient le gouverneur du dauphin Charles.

C'est donc à cet homme polyvalent, dont les fonctions sont proportionnelles aux compétences et à son efficacité, que Louis XI confie la rédaction du *Rosier des guerres*.

Composition du traité

On imagine mal le temps qu'il a fallu pour réaliser le *Rosier des guerres* qui, outre une centaine de folios, aborde des thèmes variés (histoire, astrologie, art militaire). Il semble n'y avoir que deux possibilités : soit Choinet a consacré plusieurs mois, sinon plusieurs années à ce travail, soit il disposait d'une

¹⁹ Choinet est possessionné dans la ville et ses alentours. Une quarantaine d'actes du tabellionage de Rouen (1460-1468) atteste ses activités. Il obtiendra de Louis XI en mars 1472 la concession d'une foire à Monville « le jour et veille de la Conception Nostre Dame ou moys de decembre » XVII, p. 477.

²⁰ Paris, BnF, fr. 32511, f. 252v et 259r.

²¹ Paris, BnF, fr. 32511, f. 378v.

²² J. Kaulek, *Louis XI...*, p. 318-321.

²³ Pour plus de renseignements sur les officiers des finances, lire J.-F. Lassalmonie, *La boîte à l'enchanteur. Politique financière de Louis XI, 1461-1483*, Paris 2002.

²⁴ L. Borelli de Serres, *Recherches sur divers services publics du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle*, III, Michigan 1895, n. 2, p. 375 ; G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Études sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, I-II, Paris 1930-1932, ici I, p. 180-190 (« Catalogue des contrôleurs généraux sur le fait des aides et de leurs commis des origines à 1483 »), appendice V, p. 297, n° 15.

équipe qui travaillait pour lui. J'ai pour ma part mis plusieurs années à retracer, et encore pas exhaustivement, les sources du *Rosier*. Comment le Rouennais a-t-il pu, en plus de ses fonctions médicales, astrologiques et financières, entreprendre et venir à bout de cette commande royale ?

Le *Rosier des guerres* est composite, il compte neuf chapitres, à subdiviser en deux parties précédées d'un prologue (ch. 1) : première partie, les chapitres 2 à 7 avec des conseils religieux dans le ch. 2, politiques aux ch. 3 et 5 et 7, militaires dans les ch. 4 et 6 ; et une seconde partie, précédée d'un préambule (ch. 8), avec le chapitre 9 contenant une chronique historique dite « abrégée » qui commence aux origines troyennes et se termine en 1470, et occupe les trois-quarts du traité. Mais si l'ouvrage est clairement structuré par des titres et sous-titres, cela n'augure pas une cohérence thématique radicale. Choinet passe d'un thème à l'autre, y revient, redit les choses autrement. Faut-il y voir le désordre que nous prêtons volontiers aux traités médiévaux, le résultat d'une nécessaire répétition d'ordre pédagogique ou alors l'effet d'une approche radioconcentrique ? Il faut ajouter à ces neuf chapitres les *notae* des ch. 1 à 7 et les manchettes historiques (en français) et astrologiques (en latin) qui ourlent la chronique.

La structure du traité est donc complexe. Son étude suppose l'approche combinée des conseils, de la chronique et des marges astrologiques, car les trois parties marchent de concert. En exclure une composante revient à dénaturer l'objet et perdre de vue son élucidation.

Onze témoins à ce jour contiennent le *Rosier des guerres*, généralement comme unique œuvre du manuscrit (9/11)²⁵. Signalons qu'aucun des manuscrits n'est enluminé. Trois principaux critères permettent de les classer : la présence ou pas d'un poème liminaire où le nom de l'auteur est caché dans une anagramme (« reproche n'y siet », soit « Pierre Choysnet »), la présence ou pas des marges astrologiques et le nombre de dates retenues dans la chronique. Ne restent finalement dans le tamis de l'historien que deux manuscrits qu'on peut dire complets, même si aucun manuscrit ne l'est, ce sont les manuscrits I, 4 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen et le français 1238 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France²⁶.

Le *Rosier* a rapidement connu les honneurs de l'imprimerie, et même si ce n'est pas le lieu d'étudier les différentes impressions, on peut préciser qu'elles

25 Onze manuscrits de la fin du XV^e-début XVI^e siècle recensés à ce jour : Paris, BnF, fr. 442 ; 1238 ; 1239 ; 1240 ; 1965 ; 4986 ; 17273 ; 24261 ; Rouen, BM I, 4 ; Vatican Ottobiani latini 719 ; Vatican Reginensi latini 823. Il faut écarter des sites Jonas (IRHT), et Arlima les manuscrits français 1695, et le Jena, Thüringer Universitäts und Landesbibliothek, El. f. 97. L'analyse codicologique des manuscrits du *Rosier des guerres* est en cours.

26 Les manuscrits Rouen, BM, I, 4 (vélin) et Paris, BnF, fr. 1238 (papier) n'ont pas le poème liminaire. J'utilise dans cet article le fr. 1238.

ont contribué à en compliquer la tradition. En effet, les premières éditions omettent la chronique et les marges astrologiques et elles amputent les conseils (1489, 1521). Il faut attendre 1523 pour voir réapparaître la chronique, mais toujours pas les marges astrologiques. On notera avec intérêt que l'édition de 1528 intervertit l'ordre des chapitres puisque la chronique, à laquelle ont été ajoutées une histoire ancienne et une prolongation jusqu'en 1517, passe à la première place, alors que les conseils (ch. 1-7) ont été rétrogradés à la seconde. L'histoire des éditions en dit beaucoup sur le goût des lecteurs et aussi sur les hasards des manuscrits choisis comme modèles. Ces éditions insistent sur la commande royale et parfois même attribuent l'œuvre au roi. Ce qui a contribué à diviser les lecteurs du *Rosier* entre partisans ou opposants à Louis XI, auteur du traité.

Les érudits ont longtemps cherché le nom de l'auteur caché dans cet « engin » glissé dans le poème du *Rosier des guerres*. Dès 1630, Gabriel Naudé avait développé l'anagramme et proposé sans grande conviction : « Estienne Porchier »²⁷, mais il avait déduit de ce dévoilement que Louis XI n'était pas l'auteur du *Rosier des guerres*, ce que l'on croyait jusque là²⁸. Peu après, André Duchesne avance « Pierre Chenyzot »²⁹, mais son développement ne prend pas en compte la conjonction « en ». C'est finalement Léopold Delisle qui identifie « Pierre Choysnet » comme l'auteur du prologue du *Rosier des guerres*³⁰. Et Jean Kaulek qui justifie le nom en donnant de précieux renseignements biographiques sur un « Pierre Choysnet », médecin et astrologue du roi Louis XI³¹.

De même que les lecteurs du *Rosier* s'interrogent sur l'identité de l'auteur, ils se partagent sur l'intérêt, majeur pour les uns, d'un traité commandé par le plus subtil de nos rois ; faible intérêt pour les autres, car ramassant des lieux communs répétés de siècle en siècle. L'édition que j'entreprends trahit le parti que j'ai pris. Le *Rosier des guerres* appelle plusieurs recherches : quelle est sa place dans la littérature spéculaire, quelle est la conception de l'histoire de la chronique, comment expliquer la place de l'astrologie... On retrouvera ces thèmes dans l'édition ; pour l'heure c'est la conception du pouvoir royal qui sera retenue, comme un moyen de percevoir l'écho des débats et des croyances de la deuxième moitié du XV^e siècle.

27 Gabriel Naudé, *Addition à l'histoire de Louis XI, contenant plusieurs recherches curieuses sur diverses matières*, Paris 1630, p. 72-73.

28 Voir la liste des partisans du roi et du médecin astrologue, Pierre Choinet, *Le Livre des trois âges*, éd. Lydwine Scordia, Rouen 2009, n. 6, p. 24.

29 André Duchesne (1584-1640), cité par Paulin Paris, *Manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, t. IV, Paris 1841, p. 123.

30 Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire général et méthodique des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1878, t. II, p. 185.

31 J. Kaulek, *Louis XI...*, p. 318-321.

2. LA CONCEPTION DU POUVOIR ROYAL

Des contemporains ont décrit Louis XI comme un roi se consacrant à sa fonction, s'intéressant à tout, plein de sa volonté et tendant à gouverner sans prendre conseil. Mais entre la réalité du règne et les pages du *Rosier des guerres*, il y a plus d'un écart comme on le verra en distinguant le thème de l'origine du pouvoir royal (1) et les registres de ce pouvoir (2).

Devenir roi ou être roi ?

Dans la tradition des miroirs au prince, il appartient au prince de se gouverner avant de gouverner autrui. Il y parviendra en cultivant jour après jour les vertus et en fuyant les vices. Les deux septénaires sont absents du *Rosier*. On lit en revanche que la raison doit l'emporter sur la volonté (cf. 7, f. 29v), ce qui n'est pas chose aisée car

c'est plus grant chose de sçavoir seigneurir sa voulenté que seigneurir le monde de Orient en Occident (ch. 3, § De justice, f. 7r).

La sage phrase, adaptée des *Carmina* d'Horace, est alors quasi proverbiale, plus proche d'un idéal intemporel que de la pratique louisonnaise.

L'historiographie s'est plu à classer les traités de bon gouvernement selon le critère de l'origine du pouvoir royal : en simplifiant, on dira qu'avant le XIII^e siècle, la conception augustinienne l'emporte, qui énonce que le pouvoir est peccamineux, né de la Chute et de la méchanceté des hommes et, qu'après le XIII^e siècle, l'approche aristotélicienne d'un pouvoir politique, conséquence naturelle de la vie en communauté, s'impose. Dans la réalité, l'opposition n'est pas aussi nette : il n'y a pas substitution d'une conception par une autre, les temps anciens ne substituent pas, ils superposent ou cherchent des concordances.

Le *Rosier* ne traite pas de l'origine du pouvoir en tant que telle, mais trois références permettent d'apprécier la conception royale donnée par le roi à son fils. La première se trouve dans le chapitre 3 (De l'estat et propriété des roys et des princes) et aborde l'origine des seigneurs :

Quant les mauvaises oeuvres commancerent a multiplier perilleusement au monde, affin que les mauvais feussent chastiez, les hommes soubzmirent leurs colz a la servitude des seigneurs qui furent lors instituez pour justice et droicture garder entre eulx (f. 5v).

Le *Rosier* ne va pas jusqu'à dire que le seigneur est un grand gaillard, « le plus ossu », qui en impose aux petits, comme l'explique ironiquement Jean

de Meung dans le *Roman de la Rose*³², le seigneur – en est-il de même pour le roi ? – est celui par lequel « justice et droicture » sont gardées.

La deuxième référence est diffuse, elle met en avant un pouvoir transcendé par Dieu car le roi est « celluy qui regne par l'auctorité de Luy » (ch. 3, f. 11r). Il n'y a jamais confusion dans le *Rosier* entre « autorité » et « pouvoir », pas d'écho non plus de débats passés.

La phrase vient télescoper un passage du début de la chronique sur les débuts de l'histoire, c'est la troisième référence :

L'an IIIIc XIX, Sonnonnes et Marcomires trespassez, les François d'illec, en commun, delibererent qu'ilz auroient roy comme les autres gens. Et esleurent pour leur roy Ferramond, filz Marcomires (ch. 9, f. 33r-33v).

« Comme les autres gens » renvoie, sans qu'il soit besoin d'insister, tant la formule a été répétée, aux versets de 1 Samuel 8, cent fois remis sur le métier par les exégètes qui ont, tantôt insisté sur la permission donnée par Dieu aux hommes d'avoir un roi, tantôt sur l'origine peccamineuse de la demande qui incluait le rejet par les hommes d'Israël de la royauté divine et du gouvernement des juges (Samuel), eux qui voulaient avoir un roi terrestre (Saul), issu de leur peuple³³. Les « François », comme le peuple d'Israël, jouent un rôle important dans la chronique abrégée, on va y venir.

L'origine du pouvoir royal amène à poser le débat du choix du roi. Dans le passé, les traités avaient pesé les mérites respectifs de l'élection et de la succession *pro et contra*. La forme scolastique autant que le thème sont absents du *Rosier* qui, on vient de le dire, aime assez évoquer la part prise par les « François » (élection ?), mais qui par ailleurs ne cesse d'énumérer les rois qui règnent, trépassent et auxquels succèdent leur fils (succession) :

L'an IIIIc LVIII, trespassa Merovee et, après luy, regna son filz Childerich (ch. 9, f. 33v).

Au-delà de cet entrelacs de générations, le *Rosier* martèle une autre définition du pouvoir royal que Pierre Choinet enracine dans le passé, comme il se doit : est roi celui qui gouverne. L'affirmation est étayée par la réponse du pape Zacharie à la question posée³⁴ : qui est roi ? celui qui porte le titre ou celui qui gouverne ?

³² Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meung, *Le Roman de la Rose*, éd. A. Strubel, *Livre de Poche*, « Lettres gothiques » 1992, p. 518, vers 9613-9616 : *Un grant vilain entr'euls eslurent, / Le plus ossu de quanqu'il furent, / Le plus corsu et le greigneur, / Et le firent prince et seigneur.*

³³ L. Scordia, *Subjectio, subventio et dilectio : les devoirs des sujets envers le prince dans la Postille de Nicolas de Lyre*, dir. G. Dahan, Paris 2011, p. 75-96.

³⁴ C'est la seule intrusion historique des chapitres 1 à 7, on retrouve Zacharie dans la chronique (ch. 9, f. 33v). Voir infra.

Le pape Zacharie rescrivit aux nobles de France, qui avoient envoyer devers luy pour eulx conseiller de la cause des roys qui longtemps avoient regné en France, contens seulement d'en avoir le nom, car les maires de la maison roial gouvernoient et menoient la guerre : « Celluy, dist il, qui bien gouverne la chose publicque et qui plus y entent que a son singulier prouffit est digne d'estre appellé roy » (ch. 2, f. 4v).

Le changement dynastique a fait l'objet de nombreuses études qui permettent de mesurer la spécificité de la version du XV^e siècle³⁵. La divergence ne vient pas de l'expertise de Zacharie en 750 : le roi est celui qui gouverne – et mène la guerre, ajoute le *Rosier* – et non celui qui « fait néant ». Les sources divergent sur l'identité de l'intermédiaire entre Pépin et le pape : l'évêque de Wurzburg et l'abbé de Saint-Denis pour les *Annales regni Francorum* suivies par les *Grandes chroniques de France*³⁶, les « nobles de France » dans le *Rosier*. Il faut noter l'interprétation spécifique du *Rosier* qui réduit ici la réponse du pape à un conseil, éminent certes, mais non une *auctoritas* qui amène le pape à ordonner que Pépin soit roi. Le *Rosier* revient sur l'accession des Pippinides au trône dans le chapitre 9 et, là encore, l'histoire est interprétée pour exalter « le roy et les François » tout en, différence avec le chapitre 2, rendant sa place à « l'auctorité » de Zacharie mais pour la limiter à l'éviction du dernier des mérovingiens. Les quelques lignes méritent d'être citées :

L'an VIIc L, les François, par l'auctorité du pape Zacharie, firent moyne le roy Chilperic, III^{me} de ce nom, et firent roy de France le dessusdit Pepin qui vainquit après les Saxoines qui s'estoient rebellés.

L'an VIIc LII, le pape Estienne de Romme vint en France devers ledit roy Pepin luy requerir aide pour l'Eglise de Romme, qui luy fut accordé. Lequel pape oignit derechief en roy ledit roy Pepin et ses deux enfans, Carloman et Charles, et leur donna la succession de roy et la benediction, et a toute leur lignee, et interdisting tous ceulx qui yroient a l'encontre d'eulx. Puis, le roy s'en alla avecques le pape en Ytalie et, par forte guerre, constraignit le roy de Lombardie a faire paix avec le pape (ch. 9, f. 39r-39v).

³⁵ Lire les pages d'Yves Sassier sur la fondation de la dynastie carolingienne dans : O. Guillot, A. Rigaudière, Y. Sassier, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale*, I : *Des origines à l'époque féodale*, Paris 1994, p. 102-104.

³⁶ *Grandes chroniques de France*, éd. J. Viard, I-X, Paris 1920-1953, ici II, p. 242 : « Li princes Pepins, qui bien vit que li roi de France qui lors estoient ne tenoient nul porfit au roiaume, envoya donc à l'apostoile Zacarie messages Bulcar, l'arcevesque de Borges, et Furre, son chapelain, pour demander conseil sur la cause des rois de France [...] lors dona sentene que li princes Pepins fust coronés come rois. En cele année maimes fut rois clamez par la sentence du pape Zacharie et par l'eslection des François ». En note 3, l'éditeur donne la source de ce passage : les *Annales d'Eginhard* (année 751). Le *Rosier* est proche de Nicole Gilles qui insiste sur l'élection par les Français dans *Les annales et croniques de France, depuis la destruction de Troye jusques au temps du Roy Louis onzième*, Paris 1553, f. 39v. Recherches en cours.

Au pape, l'autorité d'enfermer Childéric III, aux « François » l'élection du roi Pépin. Le sacre de Soissons en 751 est omis par le *Rosier*, mais pas celui de Saint-Denis en 754 : la chronique précise que le pape « Estienne de Romme » « oignit derechief » Pépin et ses enfants, la reine n'est pas évoquée. Enfin, le *Rosier* a repris le contenu de la *Clausula* des années 755/7 qui fonde véritablement la dynastie des Pippinides³⁷.

L'aide de Pépin « pour l'Eglise de Romme » et le sacre sont entremêlés comme dans un lien de cause à effet. L'entente du pape et du roi ne fait pas de doute, mais le *Rosier* circonscrit l'autorité pontificale aux affaires spirituelles (décision de faire de Childéric un moine ; interdit – le *Rosier* omet l'excommunication – pour ceux qui iraient contre les Pippinides). Le sujet n'est pas secondaire à la fin du XV^e siècle, Louis XI évolue entre abolition de la Pragmatique Sanction (1461) et retours ponctuels aux articles de la Pragmatique pendant le règne.

La chronique n'aura pas de tels développements en 987 ou en 1328, sinon pour redire le rôle des « François » – on le voit, le terme « François », à la fois imprécis et orienté, évite de parler des grands du royaume – qui « prindrent Hue Capet, conte de Paris, le quel ilz firent roy » :

Et ainsi ledit royaume fut translaté de la lignee Charlemaigne en la lignee dudit conte de Paris, combien que de par mere feust descendu dudit Charlemaigne (ch. 9, f. 44v-45r).

Cet excursus pippinide permet de repérer ce que l'auteur du *Rosier des guerres* souhaite privilégier aux yeux du futur Charles VIII. Un long *exemplum* historique mettant en scène Alexandre le Grand vient couronner l'enseignement du jeune prince (ch. 3, f. 9v-10r). Alors que Philippe a fait couronner son fils, un dialogue commence entre le nouveau roi et les seigneurs. Même s'il est roi du fait de son père, Alexandre se met en retrait comme si la légitimité de la génération et le couronnement ne suffisaient pas et qu'il fallait, pour être roi, l'élection par les seigneurs. Élisez, leur dit Alexandre, celui « que vous verrez le plus obeissant a Dieu, qui mieulx pensera du bon estat du peuple et qui mieulx sera debonnaire et misericors aux pouvres, qui mieulx gardera justice ». Les seigneurs, impressionnés par la vertu royale, l'acclament :

Si te supplyons et voulons que tu regnes et seigneurisses tousjours sur nous, et ne tenons pas que nul autre ait mieulx desservy estre nostre roy. Et ainsi l'esleurent a roy et a seigneur et le couronnerent et luy donnerent leur beneïçon, et pryèrent a Dieu qu'Il le vouldist maintenir.

³⁷ Lire la mise au point d'Alain J. Stoclet (sans oublier son article de 1980 paru dans « Francia » VIII [1980], p. 1-42), *La Clausula de unctione Pippini regis, vingt ans après*, « Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire » LXXVIII (2002), 3, p. 719-771.

La source de cet *exemplum* à peine modifié par Choinet provient des *Dits moraux des philosophes*³⁸. Il combine la succession, le couronnement paternel, l'élection et un nouveau couronnement par les seigneurs dans une histoire édifiante qui relie, au-delà des mille ans qui les séparent, le roi hellénistique et la tradition française.

Le roi qui gouverne œuvre pour le bien commun – le mot est omniprésent – la justice et la paix. Par conséquent, le prince qui gouverne pour son bien particulier, contre la justice, et qui ne garde pas la paix entre ses peuples, n'est pas roi :

Ung roy regnant en droit et en justice est roy de son peuple, et s'il regne en iniquité et violence, combien que ses subgietz le tieignent a roy, toutesfoiz leur voulenté et leur couraige s'encline a ung autre (ch. 3, f. 6r).

Ce n'est pas un mauvais roi ni un tyran, il n'est plus un roi, car le roi est celui qui régit droitement³⁹, la définition « étymologique » d'Isidore de Séville est sous-jacente.

Les omissions du *Rosier* sont également importantes : il n'est plus question dans les années 1470, en tout cas dans cet enseignement à un jeune prince, de parler de la monarchie comme du meilleur régime politique, ni d'un roi empereur en son royaume, ni de la « posté modérée » des réformateurs du temps de Charles V, ni de l'horreur du tyran ; le roi du *Rosier* gouverne activement grâce à Dieu, à l'aval du pape et à la haute idée qu'il a de sa fonction, autant de garants de son pouvoir. À lui maintenant d'assumer son métier de roi.

Les registres du pouvoir royal

« Garde, défense et gouvernement du royaume », la triade vient ponctuer les chapitres du *Rosier* (table des chapitres et parafes du *Rousier des guerres*, f. 1r ; ch. 1, f. 2r – deux références...). Elle est définie plus loin : le roi doit œuvrer au bien commun grâce à la justice (ch. 3, f. 5r). Aucune de ces thématiques ne surprend, mais quel contenu leur donne le *Rosier* ?

Le bien commun jouit d'un paragraphe particulier spécifique dans le chapitre 3 et il est mentionné tout au long des sept chapitres. Sa définition est simple, le bien commun, c'est la chose publique (ch. 2, f. 4v ; ch. 3, f. 5r, 10v ; ch. 7, f. 28v) :

³⁸ Le conseiller et chambellan de Charles VII, prévôt de Paris à partir de 1401, Guillaume de Tignonville, a traduit avant 1402 le *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum*, recueil-florilège réalisé dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle. Robert Eder a édité la traduction : *Tignonvillana inedita*, « Romanische Forschungen » XXXIII (1915), 3, p. 851-1022, pour la citation attribuée à Alexandre, p. 976-977.

³⁹ Isidore de Séville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, IX, III, 5.

Es citez fut premierement né ou créé le nom du bien commun et de la chose publicque (ch. 3, f. 10v).

Le nom du Philosophe n'a pas besoin d'être cité, l'enseignement aristotélicien forme le soubassement de la vie politique.

« L'estat et vocation du roi est pour le bien commun, tant ecclesiastique comme seculier, deffendre, et d'entretenir justice et paix entre leurs subgietz » (ch. 3, f. 4v-5r). Ici encore, on mesure l'évolution des débats sur l'appartenance ou non des clercs à la communauté, avec les conséquences fiscales qu'elle entraînait. Le *Rosier* n'y revient pas et omet la querelle entre Philippe le Bel et Boniface VIII sur la fiscalité des clercs.

Sont en revanche distingués le bien commun et le bien particulier, opposés lorsqu'il est dit que le roi qui privilégie son bien particulier ne se comporte pas en roi ; mais la plupart du temps, les deux biens sont légitimés : le bien commun, concept transcendant, et un bien commun, matériel. Le bien commun, c'est la « communauté de vie » (ch. 3, f. 5r et 5v) où doivent régner « paix, assurance et tranquillité » (ch. 3, f. 5v). Et le bon gouvernement nécessite « que chascun use en bien des choses communes comme communes et des particulieres comme des particulieres » (ch. 3, f. 5r), c'est-à-dire de distinguer les choses selon leurs statut et objet. Ce qui est une manière de définir la justice, elle qui, grâce au roi, doit :

a ung chascun rendre son droit (ch. 3, f. 11r) ; Donner et faire rendre
a ung chascun ce qui est sien (ch. 7, f. 28v).

La définition d'Ulpian (+ 228) ouvre le *Digeste* (Dig. 1.1.10) et les *Institutes* (Inst. 1.1.1) : *justitia est perpetua et constans voluntas jus suum unicuique tribuere* (la justice est la constante et perpétuelle volonté d'attribuer à chacun ce qui lui est dû)⁴⁰. Le célèbre principe est répété plus qu'approfondi, le *Rosier* n'ira pas plus loin. Il conseille une justice prompte et miséricordieuse, qui fait en sorte que « le fort ne griefve le feible et que chacun ait ce qui est sien et qu'il en use par droit et raison » (ch. 3, f. 10v-11r), que « le droit du feible comme du fort » (*exemplum* d'Alexandre) soit défendu – certains manuscrits ont « le droit contre le fort »⁴¹, dont la résonance est moins harmonieuse, mais plus fidèle à la source du passage⁴².

Le roi de justice doit savoir ne pas punir toutes les fautes « car les hommes ne se pevent pas du tout garder de faillir » (ch. 3, f. 8r-v). Il appréciera chaque cas, spécialement quand il sait « que aucun de ses subgietz a commis delict contre luy ».

40 *Corpus juris civilis*, éd. T. Mommsen, P. Krüger, W. Kroll, I, 1912-1920, p. 1, 29.

41 Paris, BnF, français 442, f. 64v ; français 1965, f. 13v.

42 Pour la source, cf. supra, n. 38.

Il doit, en ce cas, hastivement et sans actendre enquerir la verité du fait et la quantité du delict, et s'il est de fait apensé [prémédité] ou par ignorance, et aussi s'il est acoustumé du faire, et s'il est vraysemblable qui y doye rencheoir [retomber] (ch. 3, f. 7r-v).

Tout dépend finalement du caractère privé ou public de la faute, et il faut distinguer l'extériorité des faits et l'intention intérieure qui pondère la responsabilité⁴³. Si la source fait plonger cet enseignement dans l'Antiquité (Assoron)⁴⁴, le traitement du « delict » contre le prince n'est pas indifférent à Louis XI : les années 1475-1477 voient successivement le connétable Louis de Luxembourg, comte de Saint-Pol, et Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours, passer en procès. Sont alors posées les questions des chefs d'accusation (y compris la lèse-majesté) et de procédures. Les princes félons ne sont pas une nouveauté, mais la désignation de leur félonie comme haute trahison, passible de la justice du roi, tend à utiliser la justice comme moyen de gouvernement⁴⁵. À ses princes, Louis XI n'a pas accordé sa grâce, même si dans la théorie et dans la chronique du *Rosier*, il est dit que le roi doit savoir pardonner. Mais il y a des limites à la grâce royale. Et la limite est justement la conservation du bien commun. Quand un criminel la met en danger, la peine est là pour donner exemple aux autres :

On ne pugnist pas le malfaicteur pour le mal fait mais pour donner exemple aux autres qu'ilz ne s'en enhardissent, mais aient craincte de mal faire ; le juge est dampné qui absout le malfaicteur (ch. 7, f. 29r).

La défense du bien commun par la justice résume le pouvoir royal. La fonction législative est peu présente dans le traité et, quand le thème est abordé, on peut se demander si, compte tenu du contexte, il ne s'agit pas en fait de la loi divine :

Par observacion de la loy [ou Loy ?], les roys et les princes font au peuple ce qu'ilz doivent et qu'ilz sont tenuz de faire, et en ostent ce qu'ilz sont tenus de oster (ch. 3, f. 6r).

Une autre référence renvoie en revanche à l'action législative royale :

Ung roy est bon et noble qui, en son royaume, oste la mauvaise loy pour la bonne et se garde de rompre la loy qui est prouffitabile au peuple (ch. 3, f. 6r) ; ou encore : Les roys sont honnorez pour institucions de

⁴³ Sur le développement de la réflexion sur l'intention individuelle, M-D. Chenu, *L'éveil de la conscience dans la civilisation médiévale*, Paris 1969 ; et plus récemment, *La justice entre droit et conscience du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, dir. B. Garnot, B. Lemesle, Dijon 2014.

⁴⁴ *Dits moraux des philosophes...*, p. 995.

⁴⁵ Pour un point sur les recherches récentes, L. Scordia, *Louis XI et la justice...*, p. 423-450.

bonnes loix, par conqwestz de regions et par peupler terres desertes (ch. 3, f. 7r).

L'art du bon gouvernement présenté au jeune Charles exalte le politique, soit peu de lois et une grande liberté pour celui qui exerce le *regimen*. Les enjeux terrestres sont la paix entre les sujets, surtout celle qui doit régner entre les gens d'armes et le peuple, l'amour que le peuple aura pour le roi, la renommée aussi qui assurera sa « benediction perpetuelle » (ch. 7, f. 30r). À chacun sa récompense : au roi, le salut spirituel ; au royaume, l'augmentation ; et au peuple, la paix et la prospérité.

Dans ce contexte, et peut-être aussi compte tenu de l'âge du lecteur et certainement du faible goût de Louis XI pour les débats théoriques, sont absents la définition des différents types de justice (commutative et distributive), le débat sur le roi et la loi, rien non plus sur le *rex absolutus*... Deux domaines de préoccupation du roi Louis XI ont pris une place majeure dans le traité : les dangers qu'aura à affronter le futur roi et ses relations avec son armée.

3. L'ART DE GOUVERNER

Contrairement à l'opinion de certains qui ne voient dans les traités de bon gouvernement qu'un rabâchage symptomatique d'une pensée immobile, les miroirs reflètent leur époque, c'est bien le moins, on ne peut s'en étonner. Si, sur un temps court, les textes semblent apparentés, sur le temps long, les évolutions sont manifestes. On va dans cette dernière partie en distinguer quelques unes : la mise en garde contre les dangers (1) et l'art militaire (2).

Mises en garde

S'il fallait résumer le *Rosier des guerres*, on dirait qu'avant d'être un ensemble de principes, il est un livre de mises en gardes du dauphin contre les dangers innombrables. Ils ponctuent chaque feuillet, que l'on soit dans la partie des conseils ou dans la chronique, où ils réapparaissent, mis en scène dans des cas concrets. Le vieillissant Louis XI s'inquiète pour le jeune Charles, c'est son caractère, forgé par les réalités.

Il ne s'agit pas pour le roi de répondre aux dangers, tant intérieurs qu'extérieurs au royaume, en formant la conscience du prince, seul moyen de lutter contre sa *libido dominandi*. Ce ne sont ni l'orgueil ni l'avarice ou toute la chaîne des vices qui menacent le roi, mais des ennemis incarnés qui ne détèlent pas, comme l'a expérimenté Louis XI lors des crises majeures de 1465 ou 1468 déjà évoquées et lors de la reprise des hostilités en 1472 et en 1474-1475, quand les malcontents se concertent pour se partager le royaume : la Normandie à l'Angleterre ; la Champagne, la Brie et le pays de France jusqu'à la Loire au duc de Bourgogne ; la Touraine, le Poitou, la Saintonge

au duc de Bretagne ; l'Anjou au duc de Calabre ; le Languedoc au duc de Bourbon ; le Limousin au duc de Nemours ; Laon, Compiègne, Noyon et le pays jusqu'à Senlis au comte de Saint-Pol. En juin 1475, Édouard IV est à Calais et prépare l'invasion du royaume de France.

Pour ne pas être vaincu, Louis XI énumère quelques moyens à inculquer au dauphin : la méfiance d'abord quand il dit et répète que « pour requête ne autrement, ne croire tous rappors de legier » (ch. 7, f. 28v). « De legier », la locution adverbiale signifie « inconsidérément, de manière irréfléchie ». L'histoire est là pour montrer que la crédulité royale a eu de graves conséquences quand le roi a cru « de legier » (ch. 9, f. 69v). Dans le *Rosier*, Louis XI systématise la méfiance sans exploiter l'antique et médiévale réflexion sur les différentes parties de la prudence (*porro videns* d'Isidore de Séville)⁴⁶, art architectonique⁴⁷ comme l'ont fait tant de traités politiques⁴⁸, sans parler de la *Somme théologique*⁴⁹.

Pour lutter contre les dangers, le *Rosier* attire l'attention du jeune Charles sur la nécessité pour un roi d'être informé. En ce sens, le traité est une information du prince⁵⁰. Un prince méfiant et informé peut répondre aux dangers en les anticipant. Autrement et plus traditionnellement dit, il s'agit pour le prince de prévoir pour pourvoir, un thème aussi ancien que l'exégèse de Gn 41 qui louait Pharaon, capable d'anticiper les années de famine⁵¹, mais ce n'est pas le registre du *Rosier des guerres*. Tous les chapitres (conseils et chronique) mettent au jour les moyens que le roi aura intérêt à développer pour apprendre, c'est-à-dire connaître avant l'heure les dangers. L'information est mariée avec le temps : une information n'a pas de valeur en soi, elle

46 Isidore de Séville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, Patrologia Latina, 82, livre X, lettre P, 388 : *Prudens, quasi porro videns ; perspicax enim est, et incertorum praevidet casus.*

47 Thomas d'Aquin, *Somme théologique*, IIa, IIae, q. 47, a. 12. Thomas cite l'*Éthique* à Nicomaque d'Aristote (VI, 8, 1141b 25).

48 Gilles de Rome, *De regimine principum*, I, 2, 7, Rome 1556, f. 39r : *Sine prudentia non est rex secundum rei veritatem, sed nomine tantum.*

49 Thomas d'Aquin, *Somme théologique*, IIa, IIae, q. 47-56. Le *Rosier des guerres* ne contient que deux occurrences de la « prudence » : *Chevalerie est une maniere de prudence par quoy on scet surmonter ses ennemis par force et ceulx qui empeschent le bien commun du royaume*, ch. 4, f. 12v ; et un *nota* coté en marge dans la chronique : *De la prudence du roy Clotaire*, qui caractérise le refus de Clotaire de participer aux guerres fraternelles au VII^e siècle (ch. 9, f. 36v).

50 Le mot information peut avoir plusieurs sens, l'un traditionnel où elle signifie « formation », comme dans le *De informatione principum*, miroir au prince du début du XIV^e siècle ; d'autres plus contemporains, quand l'information signifie « renseignement » et même « enquête judiciaire ». Sur l'information, lire *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, dir. C. Boudreau, K. Fianu, C. Gauvard, M. Hébert, Paris 2004, en particulier l'introduction de Claude Gauvard, p. 11-37.

51 L. Scordia, *L'exégèse de Genèse 41, les sept vaches grasses et les sept vaches maigres : providence royale et taxation vertueuse (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)*, « Revue des Études Augustiniennes » XLVI (2000), p. 93-119.

ne l'acquiert que lorsqu'elle arrive à temps. Le *Rosier* expose trois moyens permettant d'être informé.

Le premier moyen est l'importance des « espies [espions] seurs et loiaulx » qui, lors d'une bataille, permettent de « congnoistre la condicion de ceulx qui sont pres et qui sont loing, tant des siens comme de ses ennemis, et quans ilz sont en nombre, et quelles gens ilz ont » (ch. 5, f. 19r) ; « Et pour ce nul ne fait si convenables despens comme en loial et saige espie ou en faulx fuitif qui fait semblant de s'enfouyr et ne le fait pas » (ch. 6, f. 23r)⁵².

Si les sources de ces passages s'inscrivent dans la tradition de l'art militaire, ici le *De re militari* de Végèce, on peut avancer qu'ils reflètent une des préoccupations majeures de Louis XI très attentif à l'information, qui avait, selon Commynes « maintes espies et maint messages par pays »⁵³.

Le deuxième moyen est l'astrologie. La présence d'une centaine de marges astrologiques mises en regard des événements historiques démontre à l'évidence les liens existants entre mondes lunaires et sublunaires⁵⁴. L'astrologue Pierre Choinet fait même parfois le lien entre conjonctions et tel ou tel type de conséquences :

Anno isto Mo CCCC^{mo} XLIIII^o, in jullio, conjunctio Saturni et Jovis in Cancro, que fuit bona pro Francigenis et mala pro Anglicis (ch. 9, f. 108v).

L'astrologue comme les « espies » permettent de connaître, de se méfier et donc d'anticiper. On pourrait en dire autant des prophéties et autres visions qui parsèment la chronique et démontrent la nécessité d'être attentif à tout ce qui dépasse l'ordre naturel, tout en se gardant, là encore, de crédulité. L'exemple de Jeanne d'Arc en fait foi. Les théologiens l'ont interrogée avant de donner leur aval et lui permettre de rencontrer le roi (ch. 9, f. 96v).

Tous ces moyens sont peu de chose comparés à celui qui a le plus de valeur, aux yeux de Louis XI à n'en pas douter et à l'auteur du *Rosier* qui a bien su révéler la pensée de son maître : ce troisième moyen est l'expérience. La première phrase du *Rosier* donne le ton :

Pour ce que des choses, qui sont sceues et congneues par experience, on scet mieulx et plus au vray parler que de celles que on ne scet que par l'ouye (ch. 1, f. 2r).

⁵² Sans oublier bien sûr que les ennemis auront eux-mêmes des espions, la méthode est donnée pour les découvrir (ch. 6, f. 26v).

⁵³ Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, V, 1, éd. J. Blanchard, Paris 2001, p. 338.

⁵⁴ La présence ou l'absence de marges astrologiques dans les manuscrits du *Rosier des guerres* révèlent les débats des années 1480 sur la place à donner à l'astrologie. Lire la belle synthèse de Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (xii^e-xv^e siècle)*, Paris 2006, en particulier p. 303-316.

L'expérience personnelle, les choses vues ont un poids incomparable. Le roi y est très sensible, lui qui est toujours en chemin pour voir, qui ordonne à ses chefs de guerre d'aller voir de leurs yeux⁵⁵. L'expérience n'a pas d'équivalent. Elle suppose une attention aux faits passés, en privilégiant ce qui a été vu de ses propres yeux. L'histoire participe de l'expérience, celle des prédécesseurs depuis les premiers rois, et tout spécialement celle de Louis quand il était dauphin – elle occupe la majeure partie de la chronique (ch. 9, f. 94v-126v).

Dans un monde divers et instable, ce qui a eu lieu, ce qui a été vu et vécu acquièrent une valeur absolue qui semble exclure le risque d'erreur d'appréciation. Le discernement est une autre clé d'entrée dans le *Rosier des guerres*. Louis XI ne doute pas de son jugement, lui qui, pourtant, a été trompé, a mal apprécié, n'a pas su mettre un frein à sa bouche, mais qui, pour ces raisons justement, souhaite transmettre au « tres amé daulphin » la royale nécessité de ne rien croire « de legier » et de dissimuler. Finalement, la dissimulation apparaît comme un quatrième moyen de lutter contre les dangers. « Qui nescit dissimulare... », les lettrés s'offusquaient du non apprentissage du latin au jeune prince et en avaient fait une nouvelle preuve de méchanceté du roi qui, comme ils ne le disaient pas mais le pensaient, était un tyran, car l'un des stéréotypes du tyran réside justement dans son absence de culture. La dissimulation est une vertu politique ouvertement analysée dans le *Rosier* comme étant indispensable pour celui qui veut exercer le métier de roi (ch. 9, f. 70r)⁵⁶. Le monde dans lequel va vivre le jeune Charles est dangereux, et la chose la plus périlleuse au monde, en même temps qu'elle est la plus fréquente, c'est la guerre (ch. 6, f. 19v).

Temps de la guerre, temps des réformes militaires

Il y a un moment pour tout et un temps pour toute chose sous le ciel.
[...] un temps pour la guerre, et un temps pour la paix (Ecclésiaste 3,
1 et 8).

Gilles de Rome et bien d'autres, avant et après lui, ont subdivisé leurs traités en distinguant temps de paix et temps de guerre. Le temps de la guerre

⁵⁵ Sur les instructions royales préconisant d'aller vérifier *de visu*, L. Scordia, *Mener un conflit et en diffuser la légende : Louis XI et le siège de Perpignan (janvier 1463)*, dans : *Lettres et conflits dans l'Occident tardo-antique et médiéval*, dir. B. Dumézil, L. Vissière, à paraître à la Casa de Velasquez.

⁵⁶ Tibère, selon Tacite, en avait fait sa vertu préférée de Tibère (*Annales*, IV, 71 et VI, 50). Machiavel l'énonce comme un principe du *Prince* (ch. 18). Mais ce qui nous intéresse dans le *Rosier des guerres*, c'est que sont surdéveloppés deux aspects de la prudence (l'anticipation et la dissimulation), ce qui déséquilibre le tout. La vertu de dissimulation mérite bien tout un chapitre (voir « Lectures du *Rosier des guerres* », éd. en cours).

met entre parenthèses certaines lois et comportements, il ouvre le temps où la nécessité fait loi. Raisons pour lesquelles il a souvent servi de période d'expérimentation de nouveautés, l'exemple fiscal est connu. Le titre même du traité commandé par Louis XI laisse peu de doute sur son contenu : « rosier » pour dire le florilège, « des guerres » pour indiquer la thématique principale⁵⁷. Sur un ton assez allègre, Louis XI annonce le sujet du *Rosier des guerres* :

c'est grant plaisir et bon passe temps de ouyr reciter les choses passees,
et comme et par quelle maniere et en quel temps sont advenues comme
pertes et conquestes ou reduccions de villes et de pais (ch. 1, f. 2v).

Et plus loin :

Les roys sont honnorez pour institucions de bonnes loix, par conquestz
de regions et par peupler terres desertes (ch. 3, f. 7r).

La chronique le confirme : « Les nobles roys de France ont tousjours entendu et travailler a dilater et eslargir leur royaume » (ch. 8, f. 31v) et l'illustre en citant en exemple les rois qui ont su dilater le corps du royaume (ch. 9, f. 33v, 56v)⁵⁸.

Les conseils militaires, principalement dans les chapitres 4 et 6, proviennent directement ou pas du *De re militari* de Végèce. Les traductions en français disent assez le succès de ce livret du Bas Empire, écrit par un homme, qui n'était pas un spécialiste de la chose militaire – Pierre Choinet ne l'est pas davantage – mais qui alerte l'empereur sur le déclin de l'armée et la nécessité de restaurer la légion⁵⁹. Comment expliquer ce recours à un Romain du IV^e siècle ? Immobilisme de la pensée ? Goût de l'Antiquité et de ses autorités ? Qu'admire-t-on vraiment chez Végèce ? La réponse est connue : les Romains ont conquis le monde grâce à leur armée disciplinée et leur empire a duré plus de mille ans. La phrase tenait en deux lignes, on la retrouve d'ailleurs dans le *Rosier* :

Je ne voy que le peuple rommain ait pour nulle chose surmonté tout le
monde, fors pour le hantement des armes et par la discipline de bien
ordonner les herberges et par l'usaige de chevalerie (ch. 4, f. 13r).

L'enseignement du *De re militari* résonne particulièrement aux oreilles d'un roi de France dans le contexte des réformes militaires de 1439 et 1445. À l'armée impermanente, aux Routiers et autres Écorcheurs, Charles VII répond

57 Un titre, dont la forme sinon le contenu, est à comparer avec *L'Arbre des batailles* du docteur en décret Honorat Bovet (1386/9).

58 Louis XI y reviendra dans l'ordonnance-testament du 20 septembre 1482.

59 P. Richardot, *Végèce et la culture militaire au Moyen Âge (V^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 1998 ; Ch. Allmand, *The De militari of Vegetius. The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2011.

le 2 novembre 1439 par une « Lettre pour obvier et donner remedes aux pilleries et vexations des gens de guerre » qui institue une armée permanente limitée, assignée à résidence aux frontières et régulièrement payée par un impôt qui devient, par conséquent, permanent. Et le 26 mai 1445, le nombre des capitaines est limité à quinze, ayant chacun 600 hommes, soit un total de 9000⁶⁰.

Ces réformes réactualisent l'armée romaine idéale du traité de Végèce : un petit nombre trié, des exercices quotidiens, une discipline rigoureuse. Ainsi la réforme était inscrite dans un passé prestigieux, plus ancien en fait que le IV^e siècle puisque Végèce conseille à l'empereur de revenir aux temps glorieux de la légion, dont l'origine était aussi ancienne que Rome puisque la légende faisait de Romulus le créateur de la légion. Du coup, on saisit mieux pourquoi Pierre Choinet puise largement dans le modèle romain pour définir une armée de professionnels qui doivent être « comme les maîtres et les docteurs en autres sciences » (ch. 4, f. 11v pour la citation et, pour le thème, ch. 4, f. 12r, 12v...), y compris le roi (ch. 5, f. 18r), même si, retour aux temps médiévaux, il « ne doit point hanter ne essayer les batailles en sa propre personne » (ch. 5, f. 17v), souvenir de Poitiers oblige...

Le *Rosier des guerres* navigue entre la Rome antique des conquêtes, les réformes de Charles VII et la reconquête de la Normandie (1450) et de la Guyenne (1453) qui confirment aux yeux du pragmatique Louis XI leur efficacité, sans pour autant imaginer que de tels changements puissent se faire sans réaction (la Praguerie suit l'ordonnance de 1439) et qu'ils soient définitifs.

De nombreux paragraphes portent sur le choix de ceux que le *Rosier* appelle « chevaliers », mais ce sont les *militēs* du *De re militari*, c'est-à-dire au sens large les gens d'armes. Il faudra les choisir forts, hardis, sages ; Choinet multiplie les détails physiques et même physiognomoniques (ch. 4). Le *Rosier* suit Végèce pas à pas pour disqualifier une armée nombreuse : la « multitude rude » n'apporte que des maux. Le thème est martelé et répété, comme dans la source :

Car, en l'estrif [affrontement] de bataille, petite compagnie bien acoustumee de batailler est plus tost preste d'avoir victoire que grande multitude rude et qui ne scet rien des armes, car elle est tousjours appareillee a la mort (ch. 4, f. 12r pour la citation ; et pour le thème : ch. 5, f. 18v-19r ; ch. 6, f. 24v-25r).

Cette armée trop nombreuse, querelleuse, incommode, désordonnée, dont le ravitaillement est impossible, ajoute à tous ces défauts, celui de vivre sur le pays. Le thème est d'importance. Comment pouvait-on regarder Charles VII,

60 Lire P. Contamine, *La guerre au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1980, p. 301-303.

ou Louis XI après lui, comme des rois de justice puisqu'ils laissaient, et parfois utilisaient, des bandes armées qui vivaient sur le pays ?

On arrive probablement au cœur de l'enseignement que veut transmettre Louis XI à son fils. La démonstration tient en deux temps disjoints dans le traité. Premier point, il appartient au roi de mettre « sa principale cure » au gouvernement de son peuple,

car les biens qu'il en tire sont pour tenir et gouverner son peuple en paix et justice (ch. 3, f. 6v) ; ou encore : de tant qu'ilz [les gens d'armes] font moins mal, le peuple est plus obeissant et a mieulx faculté de payer et aider a son seigneur (ch. 7, f. 30r)⁶¹.

Le couple armée et impôt est institutionnalisé depuis les réformes de Charles VII, même si le prélèvement fiscal est évoqué de manière elliptique dans tout le *Rosier des guerres*, je ne m'y attarde pas dans cet article.

Le second point de la démonstration a un son encore plus contemporain puisqu'il entérine les réformes militaires :

Puisque chevalliers sont ordonnés pour la garde et deffense du bien commun, s'ilz sont bien payés de leurs gaiges, ce non obstant, ilz vivent sur le bien commun, ilz doivent mieulx estre appellez pillars que chevalliers, et mesmes ceulx qui les y soustiennent (ch. 4, f. 13r ; et sur le même thème : ch. 6, f. 23r).

Les deux passages ne proviennent pas de Végèce. C'est au roi de faire cesser ces désordres et de l'obtenir des princes, car ce sont eux « qui les y soustiennent ». La chevalerie a été établie pour aider le roi à supporter la charge du bien commun et non pour assouvir son bien particulier.

* * *

Certains débats sur le métier de roi rebondissent de génération en génération, d'autres disparaissent, soit que des réponses aient été apportées (monarchie, succession...), soit qu'ils n'intéressent plus (clercs et communauté), soit qu'ils suscitent une gêne (fiscalité, tyrannie), d'autres questions apparaissent (réformes militaires). Ces différences prouvent l'inscription des traités dans leur contexte de rédaction, quand bien même leurs sources proviennent de l'Antiquité.

Si le Louis XI n'a pas eu le temps, ni probablement, malgré sa curiosité, le goût de l'écriture du *Rosier des guerres* – Gabriel Naudé écrit joliment que le roi

⁶¹ Sur la justice militaire (ch. 7, f. 30r), voir les travaux de L. Cazaux, *La justice militaire et ses implications politiques sous Louis XI. Les papiers de Tristan L'Hermite, préçôt des maréchaux de France, au Trésor des chartes*, dans : *Faire jeunesse, rendre justice. À Claude Gauvard*, éd. A. Destemberg, É. Rosenblieh, Y. Potin, Paris 2015, p. 133-147 ; et sa thèse : « Guerre et pouvoir. Les capitaines face à la justice dans le royaume de France au XV^e siècle » (2012).

n'aurait pas eu cette « cacozelie »⁶², il a trouvé en Pierre Choinet une plume à ses ordres, d'où une forte présence des préoccupations royales. On y voit un reflet du fils de Charles VII : peu de principes, beaucoup de pratique⁶³. Deux conditions qui font du roi un prince actif, bien loin du roi ministériel au pouvoir conservatoire.

Le Rouennais est beaucoup plus présent dans un autre texte, le *Livre des trois âges* adressé à un Louis XI malade, la dernière année du règne. L'œuvre est très différente par la forme décasyllabique, la présence de douze miniatures du Maître de l'Échevinage de Rouen, la thématique religieuse, la place de la chasse pour l'éducation du jeune noble et pour célébrer le temps de paix. Et dans ce poème, une allusion seulement sur la guerre, car Pierre Choinet renvoie au *Rosier des guerres* :

Qui de ceste art dite chevalerie
Veult plus savoir pour conquerir grans terres,
Querir le fault ou *Rosier* dit *des guerres*
Que ay fait pieça [autrefois] pour nostre seigneurie⁶⁴.

Pierre Choinet se cite et l'on se demande s'il ne faut pas voir le *Rosier des guerres* et le *Livre des trois âges* formant un tout et offrant deux faces d'un même règne : le *Rosier* illustrant le temps de la guerre et le *Livre des trois âges* le temps de la paix.

ANNEXE

La table des chapitres du *Rosier des guerres* (Paris, BnF, français 1238, f. 1-2r)⁶⁵

Table des chappitres et parrafes du *Rousier des guerres*, contenant plusieurs bonnes conclusions et advertissemens pour la garde, deffense et gouvernement d'ung royaume.

Le premier chappitre est le prologue touchant les causes de ce *Rousier*.

Le second contient trois parrafes : du monde, de la mort et de l'ame.

Le tiers est touchant l'estat et propriété des roys et des princes, avecques ung parrafe de justice et ung parrafe du bien commun.

Le quart, des chevalliers ordonnés pour la garde du bien commun et quelles gens on y doit eslire, avecques plusieurs parrafes de ce qui ensuit :

62 G. Naudé, *Additions à l'histoire de Louis XI...*, p. 68.

63 Développement à venir sur la question du roi savant au XV^e siècle.

64 Pierre Choinet, *Le Livre des trois âges*, p. 284, vers 599-602.

65 La mise en page du français 1238, indiquée dans le manuscrit par les pieds-de-mouche, a été respectée.

Et premierement : des signes de fort chevallier.
 Des exortacions que le prince doit faire quant il veult aller en guerre.
 Des signes de saige chevallier.
 Des signes de hardy chevallier.
 Des choses qui sont necessaires et qui convyennent aux chevalliers et gens de guerre.

Le quint chappitre, des choses qui convyennent au prince, avec parrafe :

Comme il peut ordonner ses gens pour en avoir prestement a toute heure en tel nombre qu'il luy plaira.

[fol. 1v] Le VI^{me}, comme l'ost doit estre conduit, avec parrafes de ce qui ensuit :

Premierement, ce que l'en doit considerer avant la bataille.
 Comme on doit conduire son ost sauvement.
 De rangier bataille.
 Comme le prince scaura de quoy ses ennemis sont les plus fors.
 Quant on doit assaillir ses ennemis.
 Des reigles de bataille.
 De multitude d'ost.
 De la necessité de victailles.
 De fuyte.
 De bataille par mer.

Le VII^{me} chappitre, des choses que le prince doit faire et considerer en sa seigneurie.

Le VIII^{me} chappitre, preparatif au IX^{me}.

Le IX^{me} chappitre, par le roy nostre souverain seigneur Loys dix^{me} de ce nom, filz du roy dernièrement deffunct de noble mémoire, Charles VII^{me} de ce nom, le Bien Servy, qui Dieu pardoint, contenant cronique abregee du royaume de France et de aucuns autres royaumes, depuis les premiers roys de France jusques au couronnement du roy nostredit seigneur, fait pour monseigneur le daulphin Charles, son filz, dont l'an de sa nativité est compris en ces vers du Psalmiste : *In stillicidiis ejus letabitur germinans benedices corone.*

[fol. 2r] Le dit noble Loys peut estre compté pour unziesme de ce nom se l'en veult mectre en compte Loys et Karloman, freres, et enfans du roy Loys le Baube et de sa concubine, comme il appert l'an VIII^e IIII^{xx}.

ABSTRACT

Le *Rosier des guerres*, dont le titre est d'origine, a été commandé par Louis XI pour son fils, le futur Charles VIII. Le traité date de la fin des années 1470. Il n'a jamais édité (l'édition est en cours), on en connaît pourtant 11 témoins manuscrits et plusieurs impressions à partir de 1489. On s'est longtemps posé la question de l'auteur jusqu'à ce que son identité soit découverte dans une anagramme en forme de devise « reproche n'y siet » qui dévoile, lorsque les lettres

sont mises dans l'ordre, le nom de l'auteur : « Pierre Choysnet », médecin et astrologue du roi Louis XI. La structure du *Rosier des guerres* a dérouter, c'est une autre des raisons de sa mise en oubli : aux conseils des chapitres 1 à 7 répond une chronique historique accompagnée de manchettes astrologiques en latin dans les chapitres 8 et 9. Les différentes parties, rédigées en français et ponctuées de latin, ont peu à voir avec la littérature spéculaire. Le *Rosier des guerres* met au jour les leçons politiques que ce roi singulier souhaitait offrir à son fils. Car de cet ensemble apparemment hétérogène, on peut extraire une conception du pouvoir royal et un art de gouverner. Ce sont les principaux thèmes étudiés dans cet article. Si Louis XI n'a pas eu le temps, ni probablement, malgré son énergie, le goût de l'écriture du *Rosier des guerres* – Gabriel Naudé écrit joliment dans ses *Additions au règne de Louis XI* que le roi n'aurait pas eu cette « cacozelie », il a trouvé en Pierre Choinet une plume aux ordres, d'où une forte présence des préoccupations royales. Le *Rosier* reflète l'art politique du fils de Charles VII : peu de principes et beaucoup de pratique, deux conditions qui font du roi un prince actif, bien éloigné du roi ministériel au pouvoir conservatoire.



IV. CURRENT RESEARCH

MAREK SMOLIŃSKI
GDAŃSK

INMITTEN DER KREUZZÜGE UND DEREN IDEOLOGISCHEN UND WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN HINTERGRUNDS DER JOHANNITERORDEN UND DIE PLÄNE DER CHRISTIANISIERUNG UND EROBERUNG DES PRUSSENLANDES IN DER FRÜHEN ORGANISIERUNGSPHASE DES ORDENS IN POLEN, POMMERN UND POMMERELLEN (BIS 1201)



Das Problem der Teilnahme der Johanniter am Versuch der Christianisierung und Eroberung von Prußenstämmen interessiert seit Jahren die Forscher, die sich sowohl mit der Geschichte der Prußenmission, der sog. Kreuzzugsbewegung als auch mit dem Orden Sankt Johannes vom Spital zu Jerusalem beschäftigen.¹ Angesichts der großen Knappheit an Quellenberichten, die das Studium dieser Problematik erlauben würden, sind die Historiker hierbei praktisch dazu verurteilt, verschiedene Vermutungen über die Teilnahme

¹ Grundthesen und die wichtigste Literatur hierfür in: J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie do 1230 r. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Toruń 1968, S. 108-113; G. Białuński, *Studia z dziejów plemion pruskich i jaćwieskich*, Olsztyn 1999, S. 40-81; K. Melkowska-Zielińska, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie w X-XIII wieku*, in: *Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia w polityce Piastów*, hrsg. eadem, Toruń 1997, S. 173-193; eadem, *Polskie wyprawy krzyżowe do Prus w drugiej połowie XII i w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku na tle idei krucjatowej*, in: *Rycerstwo Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej wobec idei krucjat*, hrsg. W. Peltz, J. Dudek, Zielona Góra 2002, S. 69-89; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1999, S. 26 ff., 181 ff.; eadem, *Military Orders and the Beginning of Crusades in Prussia*, in: *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity. In memoriam Sir Steven Runciman (1903-2000)*, hrsg. Z. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovszky, Budapest 2001, S. 417-428;

der Johanniter an diesem Vorhaben anzustellen.² Als Grundlage solcher Vermutungen galt vor allem die Tatsache, dass es Johanniterhäuser (häufig als Kommenden) in dem mit dem Preußenland benachbarten Piastenstaat und in Pommern/Pommerellen gab, sowie der ritterliche Charakter des Ordens, was erlaubte, darin eine wichtige Kraft zu sehen, die die geführten Missions- und Feldzüge gegen Preußen unterstützte. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist der Versuch einer Reflexion über das Verhältnis des Johanniterordens zur preußischen Frage in den ersten Jahren nach dem Aufbau der ersten organisatorischen Grundpfeiler des Ordens in Polen, Pommern und Pommerellen, das heißt um die Jahrhundertwende 12. und 13., als zum ersten Mal in den Quellen ein Beamter erschien, der den Titel des polnischen Meisters trug.³

* * *

Als Reaktion auf den Verlust Edessas rief Papst Eugen III. mit seiner Bulle vom 1. Dezember 1145 zum neuen Kreuzzug auf. Sein Schreiben richtete er vor allem an die Untertanen des französischen Königs Ludwig VII. Die Idee des neuen Kreuzzuges, obzwar sie anfänglich kaum Widerhall fand, gewann bald entsprechende Unterstützung in Frankreich und anderen Regionen Europas. Man behauptet, die Hauptrolle beim Propagieren jener Idee habe Bernhard von Clairvaux gespielt. Seine Predigten, die er vom März bis Dezember 1146 und in März 1147 hielt, sollen der Meinung mehrerer Historiker nach u.a. dazu beigetragen haben, dass sich zur Teilnahme am künftigen Kreuzzug nicht nur die Vertreter der feudalen Elite des damaligen Frankreichs deklarierten, sondern auch der deutsche König Konrad III. und seine Untertanen. Der Kreuzzugseifer überschritt auch die Grenzen des Deutschen Reichs. Er verbreitete sich nicht nur im Staat der Přemysliden sondern auch fand im Piastenstaat einen entsprechenden Widerhall.⁴

M. Gładysz, *Zapomniani krzyżowcy. Polska wobec ruchu krucjatowego w XII-XIII wieku*, Warszawa 2002, S. 71 ff.

² *Simon Grunau's preussische Chronik*, hrsg. M. Perlbach, I, Leipzig 1876, s. 210; M. Smoliński, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pommerellen im Mittelalter – Politik, Wirtschaft, Menschen*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa. Mittelalter*, hrsg. K. Borchardt, L. Jan, Brno 2011, S. 140. Der neuzeitliche Chronist bezog sich in dieser Hinsicht auf das ritterliche Epos und erwähnte die Verteidigung der Pommerinnen gegen Preußen aus Pomesanien und ihren Führer Teypolo von den Johannitern aus ostpommerschem Ort Schöneck (Skarszewy).

³ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, hrsg. I. Zakrzewski (weiter: KDW), I, Poznań 1877, Nr. 37 – das Schreiben des Papstes Innozenz III. vom 1201, ausgestellt an *magistro et fratribus Iherosolymitanensis Hospitalis in Polonia constitutis*; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller Province of Alamania to 1428*, in: *Ritterorden und Region – politische und soziale Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, *Ordines militares* (weiter: OM), VIII, Toruń 1995, S. 26; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, S. 53; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce książąt polskich i pomorskich od połowy XII do pierwszego ćwierćwiecza XIV wieku*, Gdańsk 2008, S. 102.

⁴ *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris auctoribus Ottone et Ragewino praeposito Frisingensibus*, hrsg. R. Wilmans, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum* (weiter: MGH SS), XX, Neudruck

In diesem Empfängerkreis schienen die Aufrufe zum Kreuzzug besonders wichtig zu sein, und zwar nicht nur wegen der Geschehnisse im Heiligen Land. Die Repräsentanten der Piasten und der polnischen Kirche waren traditionsgemäß an der Christianisierung des unlängst Polen zurückgegebenen Pommerns und der preußischen Gebiete interessiert. Bis zur 2. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts ergänzten sich beziehungsweise konkurrierten miteinander die vorgenommenen Versuche der Christianisierung Pommerns mit den Vorhaben der deutschen Feudalherren und der mit ihnen verbundenen Kirche.⁵ Eine Konkurrenz gegenüber dem zunehmenden Druck seitens der Erzbischöfe von Magdeburg oder auch von Hamburg-Bremen, deren Kirchenvorsteher mit der weltlichen Gewalt bei der Eroberung (und gleichzeitig der Christianisierung) von baltischen Slawen mitwirkten, stellten die von Bolesław III. Schiefmund (Krzywousty) unterstützten Missionsvorhaben dar. Es handelte sich hierbei um die misslungene Mission Bernhards, auch Spanier genannt, sowie die erfolgreiche Mission Ottos von Bamberg. Mit der Christianisierung der Region Ostpommerns und des Prußenlandes sollen sich die vom bereits erwähnten polnischen Herzog organisierten Bistümer von Kruschwitz (Kruszwica) und Włocławek, beziehungsweise lediglich das Bistum Włocławek beschäftigt haben.⁶ Selbstverständlich versuchte der polnische Herrscher seine Macht um die preußischen Gebiete zu erweitern. Nach dem Tod Bolesławs III. begünstigte den weiteren Versuch der Christianisierung des Prußenlandes dessen ältester Sohn, der Seniorherzog Polens Władysław II. der Vertriebene (Wygnaniec). Am Anfang der 40er Jahre, wohl mit der Zustimmung und unter Mitwirkung des ältesten Sohnes Bolesławs III., unternahm der Olmützer Bischof Heinrich Zdík eine erneute Mission der Prußen. Bis zum Zweiten Kreuzzug genossen solche Vorhaben keinen mit dem levantinischen Kreuzzug vergleichbaren Status. Manche Historiker behaupten, dass sich

Leipzig 1925, lib. I, cap. 40, S. 373; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, hrsg. G. Friedrich, I (weiter: CDBoh.), Pragae 1907, Nr. 150; Ph. Jaffé, *Geschichte des Deutschen Reiches unter Conrad dem Dritten*, Hannover 1845, S. 119; B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzuges*, Stuttgart 1886, S. 88 f.; V. Novotný, *České dějiny*, I, 2: *Od Břetislava I. do Přemysla I. 1034-1197*, Praha 1913, S. 819-823; S. Runciman, *Dzieje wypraw krzyżowych*, übers. J. Schwakopf, Nachwort B. Zientara, II, Warszawa 1987, S. 230-231; D. Güttner-Sporzyński, *Piastowie a idea wypraw krzyżowych w czasie pierwszej i drugiej wyprawy krzyżowej*, in: *Kościół w monarchiach Przemyslidów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 21-24 września 2006 roku*, hrsg. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, S. 147.

⁵ Siehe E.N. Johnson, *The German Crusade of the Baltic*, in: *A History of the Crusade, III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, hrsg. H.W. Hazard, Madison 1975, S. 545-552; I. Fönnesberg-Schmidt, *Papieże i krucjaty bałtyckie 1147-1254*, übers. B. Solecki, Warszawa 2009, S. 37 ff.

⁶ J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia z dziejów Pomorza w XII wieku*, Słupsk 1993, S. 45 ff.; G. Labuda, *Zmierzch organizacji diecezjalnej na Pomorzu w roku 1123 (przed misją chrystianizacyjną biskupa Ottona z Bambergu)*, in: *Instatua est mater doctrinae. Księga jubileuszowa prof. dr. hab. Władysława Filipowiaka*, hrsg. G. Wilgocki, Szczecin 2001, S. 372-340.

diese Situation erst infolge der von Bernhard von Clairvaux in März 1147 in seinen Frankfurter Predigten definierten Stellungnahme änderte. Bernhard soll sich damals mit der Organisation eines seitens der Sachsen postulierten Kreuzzuges gegen Elbslawen als einverstanden erklärt haben. Auf diesen Vorschlag ging auch unverzüglich Papst Eugen III. ein.⁷ Diese Geschehnisse, es sei denn im Bereich der Art und Weise der Kriegsführung sowie des Engagements daran der übernationalen Ordenskörperschaften, schufen die Möglichkeit, an der Ostsee ähnliche Lösungen anzuwenden, die früher in der Levante ausgearbeitet wurden. Der Versuch, die levantinischen Muster den europäischen Heiden gegenüber anzuwenden, war durch das rege Engagement der feudalen Reichseliten und der mit dem Reich benachbarten Länder begünstigt, und dies sowohl im Bereich der Kreuzzüge im Heiligen Land als auch auf dem Gebiet der Kreuzzugstätigkeit am Baltischen Meer.

Es ist bekannt, dass sich zusammen mit Konrad III. auch Vladislav II. Herzog von Böhmen samt seinen Brüdern in die Levante begab.⁸ Am Zweiten Kreuzzug beteiligte sich auch ein polnischer Kreuzfahrer, höchstwahrscheinlich der Schwager des bereits erwähnten böhmischen Herrschers, Władysław II. der Vertriebene.⁹ Die Möglichkeit, ihr Kreuzzugsgelübde an der Ostsee zu erfüllen, wussten dagegen 1147 die Vertreter der deutschen Kirche wie auch u.a. die mächtigsten sächsischen und ostdeutschen Herrscher der erörterten Zeitperiode zu nutzen: Heinrich der Löwe oder Konrad der Große (der Wettiner). Unter den polabisch-pommerschen Kreuzfahrern sind der bereits früher erwähnte Olmützer Bischof Heinrich Zdík sowie Herzöge

7 Siehe I. Fonesberg-Schmidt, *Papieże i krucjaty bałtyckie*, S. 46-48. Vergleiche auch H.-D. Kahl, *Die Ableitung des Missionskreuzzuges aus sibyllinischer Eschatologie: Zur Bedeutung Bernhards von Clairvaux für die Zwangschristianisierungsprogramme im Ostseeraum*, in: *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, OM, I, Toruń 1983, S. 129-139.

8 *Gesta*, lib. I, cap. 40, S. 373; *Letopisy Vincencia, kanovníka kostela pražského, a Jarlocha, opata kláštera milevského* (weiter: *Letopis*), in: *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* (weiter: FRB), hrsg. J. Emler, II, Pragae 1874, S. 418-419; *Letopisy české*, hrsg. J. Emler, in: *ibidem*, S. 382; CDBoh., Nr. 246; V. Novotný, *České dějiny*, I, 2, S. 822-824; W. u. M. Chrochowie, *W obronie grobu Chrystusa. Krzyżowcy w Lewancie*, übers. Z. Dobrzyński, Warszawa 1992, S. 104.

9 M. Medys, *Udział Władysława II w krucjacie r. 1147*, „Rocznik Zakładu Naukowego im. Ossolińskich“, I, S. 1-36; P. Stróżyk, *Fundacja preceptorii templariuszy w Tempelhof*, „Roczniki Historyczne“ LVIII (1992), S. 11 f.; M. Gładysz, *O zapomnianych polskich krzyżowcach – kilka uwag na marginesie wypraw jerozolimskich księcia Henryka Sandomierskiego i Jaksy z Miechowa*, w: *Książęta, urzędnicy, złoczyńcy*, Gdańskie studia z dziejów średniowiecza (weiter: GSzDŚ), VI, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1999, S. 45-64; *idem*, *W sprawie udziału polskiego księcia w II krucjacie jerozolimskiej (1147-1149)*, in: *Krzyżowcy, kronikarze, dyplomaci*, GSzDŚ, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk-Koszalin 1997, S. 33-52; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Lukowem*, S. 64-65; M. Smoliński, *Jeszcze raz o polskim krzyżowcu 1147 r.*, *Studia z dziejów średniowiecza* (weiter: SzDŚ), XVIII, hrsg. B. Mozejko, M. Smoliński, S. Szybkowski, Gdańsk 2014, S. 227-260 (hierin Zusammenfassung der Diskussion).

von Mähren zu erwähnen, wie auch höchstwahrscheinlich Konrad I. von Böhmen (von Znaim), Otto III. von Olmütz wie auch wohl andere Vertreter der hiesigen Přemysliden.¹⁰ Dem eben genannten Bischof wurde auch die Rolle des Helfers Heinrichs von Havelberg zugeteilt, der zum geistlichen Vorsteher des vorgenannten Kreuzzuges vom Papst ernannt wurde. Im Rahmen des geschilderten Vorhabens beteiligten sich auch die mit Heinrich dem Löwen mitwirkenden dänischen und sächsischen Truppen, die die Burg Dobin belagerten. Die Teilnahme dänischer Kreuzfahrer an dieser Expedition erregte ein richtiges Aufsehen in Skandinavien. Sie wurde dann zur Grundlage künftiger Aktivitäten dänischer Herrscher, die gegen Elbslawen, Balten und Liven unter der Kreuzzugslosung geführt wurden. Eine Rolle bei dem Kreuzzug gegen Prußen und baltische Slawen spielten auch die polnischen Fürsten: Bolesław IV. Kraushaar (Kędzierzawy) und Mieszko III. der Alte (Stary).¹¹ Der erste von ihnen begab sich ins Prußenland, der andere landete dagegen mit seinen Truppen entweder im polabischen Grenzland oder in Westpommern.

Unmittelbare Begegnungen der Teilnehmer des Zweiten Kreuzzuges mit den im Heiligen Land tätigen Ritterorden, darunter auch Johanniterorden, erwiesen sich als wesentlicher Faktor der künftigen Entwicklung europäischer Ordensgüter. Im Deutschen Reich trug zur regen Entfaltung der Hospitaliter die positive Stellungnahme eines anderen Teilnehmers des Zweiten Kreuzzuges bei – Friedrichs I. Barbarossa, die der Herrscher in recht langen Herrschaftsperioden präsentierte. Zu ideologischen Grundlagen der in den 50er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts gestifteten ersten Ordenssitze in Duisburg, Mailberg und vielleicht auch in Heimbach war die Übernahme der Kreuzzugsideen durch die Großen, die im Bereich der inneren Landespolitik mit der Umgebung der Reichsherrscher und vor allem mit dem Kaiser zusammenarbeiteten.¹² Als römisch-deutscher Kaiser (seit 1155) bestätigte

¹⁰ *Gesta*, lib. I, cap. 40, S. 373; *Annales Magdteburgenses* (weiter: AM), hrsg. G.H. Pertz, in: MGH SS, XVI, S. 188; *Letopis*, S. 417; *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae* (weiter: RBM), hrsg. C.J. Erben, I: *Annorum 600-1253*, Pragae 1885, Nr. 272; V. Novotný, *České dějiny*, I, S. 796-797; A. Paner, *Przemysłidzi. Od Borzywoja I do Przemysła II Otokara. Ludzie i wydarzenia w latach 872-1278*, Gdańsk 2008, S. 170.

¹¹ AM, S. 188; K. Myśliński, *Sprawa udziału Polski w niemieckiej wyprawie na Słowian Połabskich*, in: *Ars historica. Prace z dziejów powszechnych i Polski*, Poznań 1976, S. 357-367; M. Gładysz, *Zapomniani krzyżowcy*, S. 85 ff.; M. Biniąś-Szkopek, *Bolesław IV – książę Mazowsza i princeps*, Poznań 2009, S. 284-285.

¹² *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins oder des Erzstifts Cöln, der Fürstenthümer Jülich und Berg, Geldern, Meurs, Kleve und Mark, und der Reichsstifte. Elten, Essen und Werden*, hrsg. T.J. Lacomblet, 1, Düsseldorf 1840, Nr. 204; CDBoh., I, Nr. 173, 175; *Ältere Staufer: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Lothar III. und Konrad III., zweiter Teil: Konrad III. 1138 (1093/94)-1152*, hrsg. J.P. Niederkorn, K. Hruza, in: *Regesta Imperii*, IV, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2008, Nr. 584; Abt. IV/2/1: *Lothar III. und ältere Staufer 1125-1197*, Wien-Köln-Graz 1980, Nr. 419; ibidem, IV/2/2,

Friedrich I. aus dem Adelsgeschlecht der Staufer im Jahre 1156 und 1158 den Güterbesitz des Ordens in den Gütern der mit ihm verwandten Babenberger wie auch im ganzen Kaiserreich.¹³ Obwohl sich die Johanniter im Streit, der in Kürze zwischen dem Kaiser und dem von ihm unterstützten Kandidaten zum päpstlichen Stuhl Viktor IV. einerseits und Alexander III. andererseits entbrannte, offiziell für den Letzteren ausgesprochen haben, organisierte man in den Jahren 1156-1166 regelmäßige Zusammentreffen auf unterschiedlichem Niveau zwischen dem Staufer und den Vertretern des Ordens.¹⁴ Inzwischen schlug Friedrich I. die Revolte im lombardischen Städtebund nieder und kämpfte gegen die Anhänger Alexanders III. Es ist bekannt, dass Friedrich I. in seinen Italienzügen von einem anderen Teilnehmer des Zweiten Kreuzzuges unterstützt wurde, das heißt vom Herzog und dann König von Böhmen Vladislav II. Für die Unterstützung des Kaisers entschied er sich noch 1156, wobei über die Voraussetzungen jener Beihilfe – so die Fachliteratur – der Prager Bischof Daniel und der Vladislavs Kanzler Gervasius verhandelten.¹⁵ Der Přemysliden unterstützte Friedrich I. auch bei seiner polnischen Expedition (1158),¹⁶ und beteiligte sich dann an den Kämpfen in Italien, wo er sich bei

Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Friedrich I., 1152 (1122)-1190, 4. Lieferung 1181-1190, nach Johann Friedrich Böhmer, neubearb. von F. Opll, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2011, Nr. 3317; J. Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre: (1100-1310), Paris 1904, S. 387; W.G. Rödel, Das Großpriorat Deutschland des Johanniter-Ordens im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Reformation anhand der Generalvisitationsberichte von 1494/1495 und 1540/1541, (2. neubearbeitete Aufl.), Köln 1972, S. 28-29; 360; A. Luttrell, The Hospitaller Province of Alamania, S. 23; R. Hiestand, „Precipua tocius christianitas columpna“ Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug, in: Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers, hrsg. A. Haverkamp, Sigmaringen 1995, S. 66-67; M. Smoliński, Geneza joannitów zagojskich w świetle początków zakonu w Niemczech, Czechach i na Morawach oraz związków rodzinnych Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego, in: Władcy, mnisi, rycerze, GSzDŚ, III, Gdańsk 1996, S. 228; idem, Joannici w polityce, S. 30; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, Święte wojny Piastów, Warszawa 2017, S. 81, 86-88.

¹³ *Regesta Imperii*, IV,2,1 Nr. 419, 598.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, IV/2/2, Nr. 1127 (1162), 1134 (1164), 1573 (1166), Abt. IV/2/3: *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Friedrich I. 1152 (1122)-1190*, hrsg. F. Opll, 3. Lieferung: 1168-1180, Köln 2001, Nr. 2170, 2174 (1177), IV,2,4 Nr. 2801, 2803 (1184), 3132 (1187). Die Hospitaliter erschienen sehr oft in der Umgebung Friedrichs I. während seines Kreuzzuges im Jahre 1190. Der Nekrolog der Johanniter zu Heimbach erwähnte den Kaiser als Stifter dieser Einrichtung (*Obiit Imperator Fridericus, fundator loci istius*) – *Urkundliche Geschichte der ehemaligen Abteien und Klöster im jetzigen Rheinbayern*, hrsg. F.X. Remling, II, Neustadt 1863, S. 303. Siehe auch K. Borchardt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern (12. bis 14. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden*, S. 56.

¹⁵ J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížeci (1034-1198)*, Praha 1997, S. 236; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 37; J. Sobiesiak, *Od Lechowego Pola (955) do Mediolanu (1158). W służbie monarchów Rzeszy. Relacje czeskich źródeł narracyjnych o wyprawach Przemyślidów*, Lublin 2011, S. 75 ff.

¹⁶ M. Smoliński, „Piąte koło u wozu“, czyli ile razy Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy był niemieckim zakładnikiem, in: idem, *Caesar et duces Poloniae. Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-niemieckich w drugiej połowie XII wieku (1146-1191)*, Gdańsk 2006, S. 33 ff.

der Belagerung Mailands besonders auszeichnete. Die nächsten Verwandten des böhmischen Königs (sein Sohn Friedrich und Bruder Diepold) wie auch seine Mitarbeiter (Daniel Bischof von Prag) nahmen im Jahre 1162 und 1166 an den weiteren Italienzügen des Kaisers teil. Bis 1173 ist es wohl nicht zum endgültigen Bruch zwischen Friedrich I. Barbarossa und Vladislav II. gekommen. Im Rahmen der Mitarbeit zwischen dem Staufer und dem Herzog und dann dem König von Böhmen bestätigte Friedrich I., wie bereits erwähnt, u.a. in Begleitung der Mitglieder der böhmischen Dynastie bzw. der Vertreter der hiesigen Kirchenelite die Johanniter-Ordens-Güter, die dem Orden 1156 und 1158 als Schenkungen übertragen wurden.¹⁷ Zwischen 1158 und 1169 erwarben die Johanniter dank den Schenkungen Vladislavs II., des bereits früher erwähnten königlichen Kanzlers Gervasius und des Prager Kanonikers Martin (Unterkanzler) auf dem Gebiet Böhmens und Mährens Schenkungen, die ihnen erlaubten, die Johanniterkommende in Prag zu gründen, und dann in die weiteren Regionen des Přemyslidenstaates zu expandieren.¹⁸ Das endgültige Entstehen der Prager Einrichtung des Ordens datiert man aktuell auf 1169. Es scheint jedoch, dass der Stiftungsprozess vielmehr zeitlich ausge dehnt war und auf die Geschehnisse der vergangenen Jahre stützte. Darauf weisen nicht nur eben genannte Beispiele gegenseitiger Kontakte der Vertreter der böhmischen Dynastie mit dem Orden sondern auch die Urkunden der Johanniter (obzwar sie nicht unbedingt authentisch waren), die es zuließen, dass die mährischen und böhmischen Hospitaliter ihre Güter bereits vor diesem Datum besaßen. Als eine solche Urkunde kann das Diplom, ausgestellt auf den Namen Vladislavs II. und versehen mit dem Datum 1168, betrachtet werden. Die Johanniter verwiesen darin auf die ihnen verschenkten Güter in Mähren, die dem Orden Heinrich, Vladislavs II. Bruder, verliehen haben soll und die von Vladislav II. bestätigt worden sein sollen.¹⁹

Die 50er und 60er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts, als die Johanniter ihre Vermögensbasis in Mitteleuropa aufzubauen begannen, machten sich auch durch mehrere Pilger- und Kreuzzugsvorhaben bemerkbar, die eine Infiltration des Ordens auf den erwähnten Gebieten erleichterten. Als Beispiel hierfür könnte man wohl die Expeditionen Heinrichs I. von Sandomir (1154/1155)

¹⁷ CDBoh., Nr. 175, 158.

¹⁸ Ibidem, Nr. 245, 246; M. Skopal, *Založení komendy johanitů na Malé Straně. Příspěvek k otázce příchodu řádu do Čech*, „Pražský sborník historický“ XXVI (1993), S. 7 ff.; L. Jan, *Böhmische und mährische Adelige als Förderer und Mitglieder der Geistlichen Ritterorden*, in: *The Crusades and the Military Orders*, S. 303-304; idem, *Die Johanniter in Böhmen: Bild des Lebens*, in: *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Ritterorden. Die Rezeption der Idee und die Wirklichkeit*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, R. Czaja, OM, XI, Toruń 2001, S. 184; M. Svoboda, *Majetek johanitského řádu v Čechách ve 12.-16. století*, S. 18 ff. Hierbei benutzte ich das Exemplar der Dissertation, zugänglich auf der Webseite: http://is.muni.cz/th/23741/ff_d/.

¹⁹ CDM, I, Nr. 303.

und Jaxas von Miechow (wahrscheinlich zweimalig unternommen) nach Jerusalem erwähnen.²⁰ Indem man lediglich diejenigen Feudalherren erwähnen möchte, die einen politischen Einfluss auf die Geschichte Pommerns und im gewissen Maße auch Polens im 12. Jahrhundert ausübten, hätte man an eine vergleichbare Expedition ins Heilige Land um die Jahreswende 1157/1158 zu erinnern, die von Albrecht dem Bären unternommen wurde.²¹ Im Jahre 1161(1164?) soll in Jerusalem der aus Dänemark vertriebene Erzbischof von Lund Eskil angetroffen haben.²² Die Geschichtsforscher nehmen an, er hätte sich damals unter anderem mit dem damaligen Johannitermeister zusammengetroffen, was künftig zur Stiftung des Ordens in Dänemark führen sollte. In seine Heimat kehrte Eskil erst nach 1164. Nach den neuzeitlichen Quellen stiftete einer der Architekten der dänischen Politik den heidnischen Slawen gegenüber – der damalige Bischof von Roskilde Absalom gemeinsam mit dem dänischen König Waldemar I. vor 1170 die Johanniterkommende in Antvorskov.²³ Am Anfang der 70er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts begab sich nach Osten wiederum Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern Heinrich der Löwe.²⁴ Die von ostdeutschen Feudalherren organisierten Züge führten zur Stiftung der

20 *Rocznik Traski*, hrsg. A. Bielowski, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (weiter: MPH), II, Lwów 1872, S. 877; *Rocznik Sędziwoja*, hrsg. idem, in: ibidem, S. 883; *Rocznik małopolski*, hrsg. idem, in: ibidem, III, Lwów 1878, S. 157; *Rocznik lubiński*, hrsg. B. Kürbis, MPH, Series Nova (weiter: SN), VI, , S. 133; *Rocznik miechowski*, hrsg. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*“ V (1960), S. 13; M. Gładysz, *W sprawie udziału polskiego księcia w II krucjacie jerozolimskiej (1147-1149)*, in: *Krzyżowcy, kronikarze, dyplomaci*, GSzDŚ, IV, S. 24 ff.; B. Klasa, *Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy a joannici. Uwagi polemiczne*, „*Studia Historyczne*“ LIII (2000) 1, S. 149 ff.; M. Smoliński, *W obronie hipotezy o czesko-morawskim pochodzeniu joannitów polskich, szczególnie zagojskich (odpowiedź B. Klasse, Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy a joannici. Uwagi polemiczne, Studia Historyczne, 43, 2000, 1)*, in: *Kopijnicy, szyprowie, tenutariusze*, GSzDŚ, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, VIII, Gdańsk 2002, S. 410-411; P. Stróżyk, *Fundacja preceptorii tempelariuszy*, S. 12-14; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, S. 26-27, 73 ff.; A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Wyprawa księcia Henryka Sandomierskiego do Palestyny*, in: *Abiit, non obiit. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Profesora Andrzeja Czarnika*, hrsg. Z. Romanow, Słupsk 2006, S. 29-41; D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Święte wojny*, S. 100-101.

21 L. Pertzheimer, *Albrecht der Bär, Gründer der Mark Brandenburg und des Fürstentums Anhalt*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2003, S. 142.

22 T. Nyberg, *Deutsche, dänische und schwedische Christianisierungsversuche östlich der Ostsee im Geiste des 2. und 3. Kreuzzuges*, in: *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, OM, III, Toruń 1985, S. 101; idem, *Zur Rolle der Johanniter in Skandinavien*, in: ibidem, S. 131; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 61.

23 *Petri Olai Minorite Roskildensis Annales Regni Danicarum a Cimbrorum exitum ad An. Chr. 1541*, in: *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*, I, Hannie 1772, S. 178 (1170 fundatur Antvoorskog a Waldemaro I et Absalome episcopo Roskildensis); T. Nyberg, *Zur Rolle der Johanniter*, S. 131 und Anm. 2.

24 H. Prutz, *Heinrich der Löwe Herzog von Baiern und Sachsen*, Leipzig 1865; S. 272-273; H.B. Mayers, *Die Stiftung Herzog Heinrich des Löwen für das Hl. Grab*, in: *Heinrich der Löwe*, hrsg. W.-D. Mohrmann, Göttingen 1980, S. 311-314.

Johanniterkommende Werben (1160) und der Templerkommenden in Supplenburg und Braunschweig (nach 1172/1173). Darüber hinaus brachten sie im Ergebnis mehrere Schenkungen an den Ritterorden vom Heiligen Grab zu Jerusalem²⁵ mit. Auf beinahe dieselbe Art und Weise erinnerten auch die polnischen Pilger an ihre Wallfahrten. Heinrich I. von Sandomir begegnete während seiner Pilgerfahrt den Johannitern und versprach ihnen, entsprechende Schenkungen in dem zu seinem Geschlecht gehörenden Fürstentum zu stiften. Jaxa von Miechow soll dagegen das Kloster des Ritterordens vom Heiligen Grab zu Jerusalem in Miechow gegründet haben. Manche Geschichtsforscher wollen in Jaxa den Begründer des Templerordens gesehen haben.²⁶ Die oben erwähnten Schenkungen zugunsten der Ritterorden scheinen angesichts ihrer Eigenschaften recht ähnlich zu sein. Hierzu gehört die Chronologie, die es ausschließt, ihre Stiftung mit der Möglichkeit zu verknüpfen, dass ihre Belegungen an Kämpfen gegen heidnische Slawen (sächsische und dänische Stiftungen) teilgenommen haben,²⁷ beziehungsweise die Entfernung der einzelnen Ordenskommenden (polnische Stiftungen) von den heidnischen Territorien. Dieses Element weist vielmehr auf ihre Rolle als Hinterland hin, die diese Einrichtungen im Dienste der Propagierung der Kreuzzugsideen zu erfüllen hatten.

Ungefähr zur selben Zeit, als die Hospitaliter in den Gebieten des Staates der Přemysliden erschienen, erhielt der Orden seine ersten Grundbesitzungen. Angesichts der Lage des Arpadenstaates an der Strecke, welche die in die Lewante ziehenden Kreuzfahrer wählten sowie angesichts des im Vergleich zu den böhmischen Herrschern etwas geringeren Interesses der Arpaden an Kreuzzügen, wussten die Johanniter recht schnell den Wert der neuen

25 *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)*, hrsg. R. Röhricht, Nr. 494; J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge des Johanniter-Ordens in Deutschland besonders in der Mark Brandenburg*, Berlin 1899, S. 46; G.W. Rödel, *Das Großpriorat Deutschland des Johanniter-Ordens*, S. 437; G. Knoll, *Zur Entstehung und Geschichte der Johanniterkommende Werben im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1971, S. 21-23 ff.; L. Pertnheimer, *Werben. Kommende des Johanniterordens*, in: *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch. Handbuch der Klöster, Stifte und Kommenden bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. H.-D. Heimann, K. Nneitmann, W. Schich, Brandenburgische Historische Studien, XIV, Berlin-Brandenburg 2007, S. 1289; idem, *Die Johanniterkommende Werben (Altmark) von 1160 bis zum Reformation*, in: *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte: Ritterordenskommenden der Templer und Johanniter im nordöstlichen Deutschland und in Polen*, hrsg. C. Gahlbeck, D. Heimann, D. Schumann, Studien zur brandenburgischen und vergleichenden Landesgeschichte, IX; Schriften der Landesgeschichtlichen Vereinigung für die Mark Brandenburg, IV, Berlin 2014, S. 174 ff.

26 P. Stróżyk, *Fundacja preceptorii templariuszy*, passim.

27 Die Bemerkungen H. Kuhns (*Ritterorden als Grenzhüter des Abendlandes gegen das östliche Heidentum*, in: idem, *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Ostsiedlung*, Köln-Wien 1973, S. 350, Anm. 127), über die Entstehung der Johanniterkommende Werben und den Zusammenhang jener Geschehnisse mit den Eroberung von Slawen könnte man wohl auch auf Gründung anderer Stifte der Ritterorden in dieser Region erweitern.

Besitzungen zu schätzen. Die Ähnlichkeit ergab sich wohl aus Bestrebungen des Ordens, engere Beziehungen mit Vertretern der beiden vorgenannten Dynastien zu schließen. Sowohl der früher bereits erwähnte Vladislav II. Herzog von Böhmen als auch der sich erst auf den fünften Kreuzzug (1217-1220) vorbereitende Andreas II. von Ungarn erhielten seitens des Ordens einen Vorschlag, über die wichtigsten Burgen der Hospitaliter im Heiligen Land zu herrschen: Vladislav II. in Le Crac de Chevaliers und Andreas II. in Akkon, Le Crac de Chevaliers und Margat.²⁸ Der Herrscher von Ungarn, der zu einem der Führer des fünften Kreuzzuges aufgerufen wurde, verfügte – als er sich ins Heilige Land begab – über die nötige Unterstützung der Hospitaliter aus den in seinem Lande gelegenen Kommenden. Die ersten Ordensstiftungen auf den unter der Herrschaft der Arpaden stehenden Gebieten entstanden – unter anderem auch unterm Einfluss des Zweiten Kreuzzuges – zwischen 1150/1157 oder circa 1186.²⁹ Sie entstanden schon zur Herrschaftszeit Gezas II (+1162) und dessen Ehefrau Euphrosina von Kiew (+1186) unter Teilnahme des Erzbischofs von Esztergom Martirius. Das Ziel, das der Herbeiführung des Ordens nach Ungarn beziehungsweise Dalmatien vorschwebte, pflegt man gewöhnlich in der Devotion der Feudaleliten des Staates wie auch in dem bereits signalisierten Vorhaben zu sehen, die Wege sicher zu halten, die die europäischen Pilger und Kreuzfahrer quer durch Ungarn bis auf die byzantinischen Grenzen nutzten. Eine gewisse Rolle bei der Promotion des Ordens sollen auch Kämpfe gespielt haben, die von den Arpaden und den Herrschern der Rus' (diesem Geschlecht entstammte Euphrosina) gegen heidnische Polowcen (Kumanen) geführt wurden.³⁰ So wie die anderen Gesellschaften Mittel- und Osteuropas wurden auch Ungarn zu Empfängern der Kreuzzugspropaganda Bernhards von Clairvaux.³¹ Durch das Land Gezas II. zogen auch Truppen der deutschen Kreuzfahrer unter Führung König Konrads III. Einen ähnlichen Weg durch Ungarn wählte dann Kaiser Friedrich I., der im Sommer 1189 eine Wallfahrt ins Heilige Land organisierte. All jene

²⁸ CDBoh., I, Nr. 246; *Codex diplomatus Hungarie ecclesiasticus et civilis*, hrsg. G. Fejér, (weiter: CDH), III, 1, Budae 1829, S. 238; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 37.

²⁹ Siehe Z. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: Commanderies, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to c. 1400*, in: *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovszky, Budapest 2001, S. 254-255; idem, *Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150-1387*, Budapest 2004, S. 42; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 39-40.

³⁰ W. Kuhn (*Ritterorden als Grenzhüter des Abendlandes*, S. 350 f.), hob u. a. das Motiv hervor, entsprechendes Verteidigungssystem gegen die Heiden aufbauen zu müssen, wozu auch Johanniter in den Staat der Arpaden herbeizuführen wären.

³¹ Siehe I. Czamańska, *Aspekty ruchu krucjatowego na Węgrzech w X-XV wieku*, in: *Rycerstwo Europy*, S. 131 ff.; Z. Hunyadi, *Hungary and the Second Crusade*, in: *The Second Crusade in Perspective*, hrsg. J.T. Roche, J. Møller, Turnhout 2008, S. 59-60.

Ereignisse veranlassten wohl die Johanniter zu einer Zusammenarbeit mit den ungarischen Herrschern.

Vor 1166 erhielten die Johanniter zuerst die Kirche St. Peter im Zsala-Kreis (Szentpetér) und dann Besitzungen in Boijšće.³² Gleich wie im Falle böhmischer Hospitaliter, als deren Zentrum die Hauptstadt Prag und die hiesige Kirche St. Maria galt, gründeten die ungarischen Johanniter einen ihrer wichtigsten Sitze im religiösen und Verwaltungszentrum des Staates – in Székesfehérvár. Die Lage dieser Güter erlaubt gleichfalls nicht anzunehmen, dass sie als integraler Bestandteil des staatlichen Verteidigungssystems gegen Heiden oder als Einsatzbasis gegen Kumanen oder auch Bulgaren anerkannt werden könnten. Sie sollen deswegen, ähnlich wie die anderen Stiftungen jener Zeit, vielmehr als das durch den Orden aufgebaute Hinterland betrachtet werden. Als Hauptziel galt in erster Reihe die Unterstützung der Aktivitäten der Johanniter im Heiligen Land.

Wie bereits erwähnt, kehrten die Johanniter in den 60er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts auch in Polen ein. Die erste polnische Einrichtung des Ordens war das von Heinrich I. von Sandomir vor seinem Tode im Jahre 1166 gestiftete Ordenshaus in Zagość.³³ Angesichts des Gründungsdatums des Ordenshauses im Piastenstaat könnte man diese Stiftung ähnlich wie die böhmischen, ungarischen oder auch deutschen Stiftungen jener Zeit betrachten. Es scheint, dass das Hauptziel der Johanniterstiftungen vor allem darauf beruhte, den Orden im Heiligen Land durch den Aufbau dessen wirtschaftlichen und ideologischen Hinterlandes zu unterstützen. Mit der Ausnahme Ungarns fehlten jedoch im Grenzgebiet der bereits genannten Staaten, in denen die Johanniter ihre Niederlassungen hatten (und insbesondere im Deutschen Reich), in der 2. Hälfte der 60er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts heidnische Nachbarn, die man christianisieren lassen könnte.³⁴ Das Problem der Christianisierung

32 CDH, II, Budaë, 1829, S. 174; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, hrsg. G. Wenzel (weiter: CDAC), VI, Pest 1867, Nr. 97 (Urkunde vom 1184, die das Bestehen einer Komturei nachweist); Z. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary*, S. 255.

33 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Polski*, hrsg. L. Rzyszczyński, A. Muczkowski, J. Bartoszewicz, III, Warszawa 1858, Nr. 4; K. Tymieniecki, *Majątność książęca w Zagościu i pierwotne uposażenie klasztoru joannitów na tle osadnictwa dorzecza dolnej Nidy. Studium z dziejów gospodarczych XII w.*, Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności, LII, Kraków 1912, S. 340 ff.; F. Dąbrowski, *Geneza i początek działalności komandorii joannitów w Zagości*, in: *Między Wisłą a Pilicą. Studia i materiały historyczne*, hrsg. B. Wojciechowska, L. Michalska-Bracha, III, Kielce 2002, S. 11-44; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, S. 26 ff.; M. Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce*, S. 25 ff.

34 W. Kuhn (*Ritterorden als Grenzhüter des Abendlandes*, S. 305) weist wohl mit Recht auf das Jahr 1168 hin (tatsächlich kann hierbei auch um 1169 gehen), und dies als Abschlussjahr der Eroberungsperiode der Slawen im Namen deren Bekehrung zum Christentum. Diese Periode sollte demnach mit der Unterstellung Rügens durch Dänen abgeschlossen werden. Siehe auch A. Turasiewicz, *Dzieje polityczne Obodrytów od IX wieku do utraty niepodległości w latach 1160-1167*, Kraków 2004, S. 281-291.

der Wenden (beziehungsweise der aus dem späteren Norddeutschland herkommenden Slawen) galt damals eigentlich als gelöst.³⁵ Die Aufmerksamkeit der Missionäre sowie der diese unterstützenden weltlichen und geistlichen Feudalherren, die den Reichsländern entstammten, musste sich dann auf mehr abgelegene Region der östlichen Küste des baltischen Meeres konzentrieren. Zur selben Zeit gingen dagegen die polnischen Fürsten in die weitere Etappe über, die zum Ziel hatte, ihre Herrschaft im heidnischen Prußenland einzuführen. Dieses Programm übernahmen die damaligen Piasten von ihren Vorgängern, insbesondere von Bolesław III. Schiefmund.³⁶ Besonders kräftig soll sich im Kampf gegen Prußen oder auch Jadwinger Bolesław IV. Kraushaar engagiert haben. Zu jener Zeit erwiesen sich die früheren Erfolge polnischer Herrscher (Władysławs II. des Vertriebenen und selbst Bolesławs IV. Kraushaar als nicht dauerhaft.³⁷ Laut Historikern sollen etwa drei solche Züge zur Herrschaftszeit Bolesławs IV. gegen die Prußen organisiert worden sein (1147, 1149 und 1166). Der letzte Kriegszug endete mit einer Katastrophe, das heißt mit dem Tod des fürstlichen Bruders und des Stifters der Johanniter zu Zagość – Heinrich I. von Sandomir.³⁸ Da mindestens eine von diesen Expeditionen zur Zeit der Niederlassung der Johanniter in Zagość unternommen wurde, kann man nicht ausschließen, dass der Fürst von Sandomir beabsichtigte, den Johanniterorden in die Realisierung der von den Piasten den Prußen gegenüber gemachten Pläne einzubeziehen. Man weiß jedoch nicht Bescheid, ob die Johanniter Heinrich und Bolesław bei deren

³⁵ An diesem Prozess nahmen die im Deutschen Reich ansässigen Johanniter eher nicht teil. So haben die Johanniter ihre ersten Güter in Mecklenburg etwa um 1200, in Schwerin zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts (die Kirche in Eichsen) und in den Jahren 1217/1220 (Sülstorf) erhalten. Sie waren den Johannitern von Werben unterstellt (dem in der Altmark um 1160 gegründeten Johanniterhaus). Das erste Ordenshaus in Mecklenburg (Mirow) entstand in den 20er Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts. In den 30er Jahren spielten dagegen die Johanniter von Mirow, Gardow und Nemerow eine große Rolle bei der Besiedlung des Gebiets. Siehe hierzu R. Szczesiak, Ch. Gahlbeck, *Die Kommenden der Johanniter Mirow, Gardow und Nemerow in der Herrschaft Stargard in Südmecklenburg*, in: *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte*, S. 204-207 ff., K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers in Pomerania: Between the Priores of Bohemia and Alamania*, in: *The Military Ordens*, hrsg. H. Nicholson, II: *Welfare and Warfare*, Aldershof 1998, S. 299.

³⁶ J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie*, S. 108-113; G. Białuński, *Studia z dziejów plemion pruskich*, S. 41-42.

³⁷ Manche Historiker nehmen an, dass sich die polnischen Fürsten vorübergehend irgendwelche preußischen Stämme unterstellt haben sollen, da man Władysław II. der Vertriebene einer Zusammenarbeit mit Sarazenen (d.h. Prußen) im Kampf gegen seine Brüder beschuldigte. Die Prußen sollen auch Bolesław IV. Kraushaar gegen das Heer Friedrichs I. Barbarossa im Jahre 1157 unterstützt haben. Siehe J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie*, S. 109-118.

³⁸ G. Białuński, *Wyprawa Bolesława Kędzierzawego na Prusy w 1166 r.*, „Zapiski Historyczne“ LX (1995) 2-3, S. 7-19; idem, *Studia z dziejów plemion*, S. 44 ff.; M. Biniaś-Szkopek, *Bolesław IV*, S. 258; A. Teterycz-Puzio, *Henryk Sandomierski (1126/1133 - 18 X 1166)*, Kraków 2009, S. 115-121 (hierzu auch die ältere Literatur); D. von Güttner-Sporzyński, *Święte wojny*, S. 128 ff.

Expedition gegen Prußen im Jahre 1166 begleiteten. Die vorliegenden Quellen schweigen davon. Auffällig ist auch, dass keine Informationen über eine diesbezügliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Orden und dem Führer dieses verhängnisvollen Kriegszuges, das heißt Bolesławs IV. Kraushaar erhalten blieben. Entweder waren die Johanniter nicht imstande, an der Expedition der polnischen Fürsten gegen Prußen teilzunehmen, oder sie waren einfach an diesem Vorhaben nicht interessiert. Hierbei ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass ich einst wegen der späteren verwaltungsrechtlichen Unterordnung der Johanniter zu Zagość wie auch angesichts der familiären Beziehungen des Erben Heinrichs I. von Sandomir – seines jüngeren Bruders Kazimierz II. der Gerechte (Sprawiedliwy) vorgeschlagen habe, die Johanniterhäuser, denen die in Kleinpolen angekommenen Johanniter entstammten, eben im Staat der Přemysliden zu suchen.³⁹ Es war Kasimir, der dem Orden seine Güter in Zagość im Jahre 1173 beziehungsweise 1175 bestätigte.⁴⁰ Während seines Prinzipats (1177/1181-1194) erhielten die Johanniter die weiteren Güter in Polen und wahrscheinlich in Pomerellen und Pommern, was ihnen ermöglichte, weitere Ordenshäuser und -kommenden zu gründen.

Um die Jahreswende 1169/1170 intensivierten die Johanniter ihre Aktivitäten, die zum Ziel hatten, dem Spital zu Jerusalem eine Unterstützung seitens der böhmischen und ungarischen Dynastie zu sichern. Mit dieser Angelegenheit beschäftigte sich eine Gruppe von Hospitaltern, die mit dem Hochmeister und Generalkapitel verbunden waren. Zu den Diplomaten des Johanniterordens, die die damaligen Höfe der europäischen Herrscher besuchten, gehörte der Ordenskaplan Bernard.⁴¹ Seine diplomatische Tätigkeit war mit den Plänen des neuen Kreuzzuges verbunden. Auf 1169 wurde die Urkunde Vladislavs II. Herzog von Böhmen datiert, in der man an den Zweiten Kreuzzug und das Treffen des Přemysliden mit Johannitern erinnerte.⁴² Diese Urkunde, die die königlichen Schenkungen zugunsten der Johanniter in

39 Siehe M. Smoliński, *Geneza joannitów zagojskich*, S. 225-251. Kasimir heiratete Helena, Tochter des mährischen Fürsten Konrad II. Er war verschwägert mit Ernest (Arnošt) und Konrad III. Otto. Ernest erschien als einer der Zeugen bei der bereits erwähnten, für Johanniter ausgestellten Urkunde Friedrichs I. Barbarossa vom 1156. Konrad III. Otto bestätigte 1189 während seiner Prager Regierungszeit die Güterbesitzungen des Ordens im Staat der Přemysliden, die die Johanniter von Hroznata dem Kraushaar erhalten haben (CDBoh. I, Nr. 323).

40 KDP, III, Nr. 6; J. Dobosz, *Najdawniejsze świadectwa działalności fundacyjnej Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego*, „*Studia Źródłoznawcze*“, XXXV (1994), S. 69; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 45-46.

41 K. Borchartd, *Military Orders in East Central Europe: The First Hundred Years*, in: *Autour de la première Croisade*, hrsg. M. Balard, Actes de Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Byzantina Sorbonensia, XIV, Paris 1996, S. 250; Z. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary*, S. 259, 265.

42 CDBoh., I, Nr. 246.

Böhmen und Mähren bestätigte, entstand wahrscheinlich unterm Einfluss der Aufrufe zum neuen Kreuzzug, worum eben im selben Jahr Amalrich König von Jerusalem appellierte. Nach Europa begab sich eine Gesandtschaft des Patriarchen von Jerusalem und des Erzbischofs von Caesarea mit Schreiben an Friedrich I. Barbarossa, Ludwig VII. König von Frankreich, Heinrich II. König von England und andere europäische Herrscher.⁴³ Auf die seitens europäischer Herrscher geleistete Hilfe, selbstverständlich außer dem mit dem byzantinischen Kaiser Manuel I. geschlossenen Bündnis, setzte Amalrich seine Hoffnung auf die nötige militärische Unterstützung. Auch das Johanniterkapitel beschloss zu jener Zeit, dessen europäische Verbündete zu aktivieren.⁴⁴ Im Jahre 1170 übergaben der Protegé Kaiser Manuels I., der damalige Herzog von Ungarn Bela III., zusammen mit seiner Ehefrau einen Betrag von zehntausend Byzantinern (*decem milia bizantinos aureos*) an die Johanniter, und dies für den Erwerb von Gütern in der Nähe Jerusalems. Am Abschluss des Vertrags zwischen den Spendern und dem Johanniterorden beteiligte sich eben der bereits erwähnte Bruder Bernard.⁴⁵ Den Vertrag zeichnete auch der Hochmeister der Johanniter Gilbert de Assailly gegen. Manche Historiker sind der Meinung, Bernard sei derselbe Ordensbeamte, der in den 80er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts das Amt des böhmischen Priors wie auch des Praeceptors der Hospitaliter in Böhmen, Polen und Pommern ausübte.⁴⁶ In der diesbezüglichen Literatur behauptete man auch, er könnte möglicherweise mit dem in den Jahren 1175-1181/1182 tätigen Konventprior des Ordens identifiziert werden.⁴⁷ Enge Beziehungen Bernards mit den Höfen der mittelosteuropäischen Herrscher kann man als einen Hinweis interpretieren, der uns die Ursachen erkennen lässt, warum das Generalkapitel des Ordens eben Bernard die Obrigkeit über alle Ordenshäuser dieser Region anvertraut habe. Für diese Problematik scheint die Person Bernards von großer Bedeutung zu sein, da er in der päpstlichen Bulle vom 1182 als Praeceptor des Ordens für Böhmen, Polen und Pommern/Pommerellen erwähnt

43 S. Runciman, *Dzieje wypraw krzyżowych*, II, S. 352.

44 Siehe z.B. *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, Nr. 464 (Mai 1169): hierin eine Information, die eindeutig über das Engagement der Johanniter und der Templer bei der von Amalrich gesandten Mission berichtet.

45 CDH, V, 1, S. 285-287; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, Nr. 458 (datiert auf 1168). Bernard als Kaplan (*frater [...] sacerdos*) erschien auf der Zeugenliste der Urkunde Belas III. neben den Johannitern: Peter de Crato – dem geistlichen Vorgesetzten und Dompfarrer, Guido de Monte – Praeceptor, Castus – Schatzmeister sowie zwei Brüdern Piotus und Stefan.

46 K. Borchardt, *Military Orders in East Central Europe*, S. 250 und demselben folgend Z. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary*, S. 259, 265.

47 M. Smoliński, *Joannicy w polityce*, S. 76-77. Über die Amtszeit Bernards in Eigenschaft des Konventpriors siehe J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, S. 413.

wurde.⁴⁸ Zu derselben Zeit übte er das Amt des Prokurators der polnischen und pommerschen Johanniter aus.⁴⁹

Bereits vor 1182 muss mindestens eins von den aus den 30er Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts bekannten pommerschen Ordenshäusern entstanden sein. Die bisherigen Forschungen brachten jedoch keinen Konsensus in Bezug auf die Chronologie deren Gründung. Man kann deswegen nicht darüber entscheiden, welches Ordenshaus der Johanniter das erste war: in Stargard an der Ihna, Schlawe (Sławno) oder Preußisch Stargard an der Ferse (Starogard nad Wierzycą).⁵⁰ Das Problem wurde aufgrund des Inhalts jener Urkunden sowie der Erwähnung der Ordensstifter – Bogusław I. von Pommern, Racibor (Ratibor) von Sławno in Mittelepommern und Grimislav von Schwetz und Liebschau in Pommerellen (Świecie und Lubiszew) nicht gelöst.⁵¹ Wenn man Sterbedaten mancher Ordensstifter berücksichtigt, muss festgestellt werden, dass die Hospitaliter in die einzelnen Regionen Pommerns vor 1187 und 1198 gelangten.⁵² Im Kontext der internationalen Situation der pommerschen Herrscher scheint das Nachdenken über die Umstände der Gründung des Ordenshauses in Stargard an der Ihna, gestiftet von Bogusław I. (†1187), von besonderer Wichtigkeit zu sein. In den 80er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts kam dieser Herrscher mit anderen Machthabern in Berührung, die den Orden förderten. Er widerstand dem Druck der Markgrafen von Brandenburg, den Nachkommen Albrechts des Bären, mehrere Jahre lang widersetzte er sich den Bestrebungen der dänischen Könige Waldemar I. und Knut VI., die versuchten, sich Pommern zu unterordnen, im Jahre 1181 huldigte er in der

48 CDBoh., I, Nr. 298 (päpstliche Bulle Lucius' III. adressiert an: *Bernardi preceptoris et aliorum fratrum hospitalium Jerosolimitani in Boemia, Polonia et Pomerania constitutis*; J. Pflugk-Hartung, *Die Anfänge*, S. 11; D. Wybranowski, *Przyczynek do genezy i rozwoju komandorii joannitów w Sławnie do połowy XIII w.*, in: *Pomerania Mediaevalis. Pomorze Słowiańskie i jego sąsiedzi*, hrsg. J. Hauziński, Gdańsk 1995, S. 63; T.W. Lange, *Joannici na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Stan badań – interpretacje – próba syntezy*, „Zapiski Historyczne“ LVIII (1994) 4, S. 9; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller Province of Alania*, S. 25; K. Borchardt, *The Hospitallers in Pomerania*, S. 35; L. Jan, *Die Johanniter in Böhmen: Bild des Lebens*, in: *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Ritterorden. Die Rezeption der Idee und die Wirklichkeit*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, R. Czaja, OM, XI, Toruń 2001, S. 184; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 73.

49 M. Smoliński, *Zur Geschichte der Johanniter und ihrer politischen Rolle in Polen bis zum Jahre 1370*, in: *Regionalität und Transfergeschichte*, S. 83.

50 Zob. M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 69-88.

51 Über die Urteilskraft der gegenständlichen Literatur in Bezug auf diese Urkunden siehe M. Smoliński, *Czy przed marcem 1238 r. odbył się w Sławnie zjazd joannitów?*, in: *Krzyżacy, szpitalnicy, kondotierzy*, SzDŚ, XII, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 2006, S. 252 ff.

52 Bis heute besteht keine Einigung der Forscher angesichts der Herkunft des Stifters des Johanniterordens in Sławno. Man schlug vor, Racibor (Ratibor) als den Fürsten Ratibor I. von Pommern (†1155/56), Ratibor von Sławno († ca. 1150 oder nach 1200) oder Ratibor Bogusławic (d.h. Sohn von Bogusław) (†1183) zu deuten – siehe M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, (nach dem Index – unter dem sich auf Ratibors beziehenden Stichwort); idem, *Zur Geschichte*, S. 81-82.

Nähe Lübecks Friedrich I. Barbarossa. Nach der Meinung eines Teils der Geschichtsforscher gelangte er auf diese Weise in den Kreis der Fürsten des Deutschen Reichs. Zusätzlich sei hierbei zu erwähnen, dass Bogusław I. – immer noch mit seinem Bruder Kasimir I. – an dem dänischen Angriff gegen Rügen (1168/1169) teilnahm. In der 2. Hälfte der 80er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts stimmte er zu, die dänische Oberhoheit anzuerkennen. Trotzdem war jedoch das von ihm gegründete Johanniterhaus, wohl bis zur Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts oder auch zweiten Hälfte der 60er Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts den böhmisch-mährischen Johannitern unterstellt.⁵³

Nach den Ursachen der Verbindung der pommerschen Johanniter mit den polnischen und böhmisch-mährischen Hospitalitern kann man während der Realisierungsperiode der Stiftung des Ordenshauses der pommerschen Hospitaliter suchen. Diese Periode kann auf die Zeit der Zusammenarbeit Bogusławs I. mit dem polnischen Seniorherzog Kazimierz dem Gerechten datiert werden. Es ist auch möglich, dass man diese Ursachen auch in der Tradition des Interesses für baltische Slawen oder auch heidnische Prußen finden konnte, die in den geistlichen Kreisen derjenigen Regionen lebendig war, denen die damalige Oberhoheit des Ordens in Polen und Pommern entstammte. Nach den Spuren dieses Interesses kann es auch in der Anwesenheit der Mährer in den Reihen der Kreuzfahrer bei der Belagerung Stettins während des Zweiten Kreuzzugs gesucht werden. Diese Tradition widerspiegelte sich auch in der bereits früher erwähnten Unterordnung der pommerschen und polnischen Ordenshäuser dem Amt des Priors von Böhmen am Anfang der 80er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts. Die seitens der genannten Johanniter Pommern gewidmete Aufmerksamkeit fand ihren Ausdruck in den verwaltensrechtlichen Beziehungen der pommerschen Ordenshäuser und der Posener Kommende mit Mähren, die im Jahre 1238 nachzuweisen sind, wie auch die im 13. Jahrhundert recht häufig zu verzeichnende Zusammenfügung der höchsten Ämter der Johanniter in Böhmen, Mähren und Polen.⁵⁴ Im breiten Sinne sei hierbei auch auf die Absicht hinzuweisen, die Missionstätigkeit des heiligen Adalberts durch die böhmisch-mährische Geistlichkeit nachzuahmen. In diesem Kontext kann man als markante Beispiele hierfür den misslungenen Kriegszug gegen Prußen Bischof Heinrich Zdíks oder die Weihung Slaweks – des Abtes des Zisterzienserklosters in Osiek (Osek) – zum Bischof von Preußen (möglicherweise während der preußischen

⁵³ M. Smoliński, *Czesko-morawscy joannici na Pomorzu 1182-1252*, in: *Rola komunikacji i przestrzeni w średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych dziejach Czech i Polski*, hrsg. A. Paner, W. Iwańczak, Gdańsk 2008, S. 330 ff.

⁵⁴ *Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch*, bearb. M. Perlbach, (weiter: PU), Danzig 1882, Nr. 63-64; *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, hrsg. K. Conrad (weiter: PommUB), I, 2. Aufl. Köln-Wien 1970, Nr. 355; KDW I, Nr. 208; siehe M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 51-52 (hier auch die ältere Literatur zu diesem Problem), S. 185 ff.

Gefangenschaft Christians Bischof von Preußen in Samland in den Jahren 1233-1238).⁵⁵ Dieser Tradition entsprach wohl auch in gewisser Hinsicht der Kriegszug gegen Prußen in den 50er Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts unter der Führung des böhmischen Königs Přemysl Otakar II.

Die bereits am Anfang der 80er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts sichtbare verwaltungsrechtliche Unterordnung der pommerschen und polnischen Ordenshäuser dem böhmischen Prior erlaubt auf gewisse Analogien hinzuweisen, und dies mit Bezug auf die Gestaltung anderer Vertretungen des Spitals zu Jerusalem, die gleichfalls mit den aus dem Kreis der böhmisch-mährischen Johanniter herstammenden Beamten verbunden waren. Solche Analogien liefert zweifellos die Entstehungsgeschichte der organisatorischen Strukturen der ungarischen Johanniter. Die bereits auf die Anfänge der Mission des künftigen böhmischen Priors zu datierende Beziehungen zwischen den böhmischen und ungarischen Hospitalitern verstärkten zusätzlich die bestehenden Familienbande der Ordensstifter: Es war die Ehe Friedrichs Bedřich, des ältesten Sohnes König Vladislavs II. von Böhmen, mit Elisabeth, der Tochter des Königs von Ungarn Géza. Die Schenkungen des Herzogs von Böhmen und seiner Ehefrau zugunsten des Ordens bezeugen die Urkunden und zwar sowohl Originalurkunden als auch unstrittige Fälschungen aus den Jahren 1183-1188.⁵⁶ Aus der Perspektive der Teilnahme der Vertreter der Feudaleliten Böhmens und Mährens an den Versuchen der Christianisierung der Prußen oder auch an dem sog. polabischen Kreuzzug scheint interessant zu sein, dass die Johanniter in einer der gefälschten Urkunden Friedrichs Bedřich in Eigenschaft der Teilnehmer an den Schenkungen des erwähnten herzoglichen Ehepaares die Söhne des mährischen Herzogs Otto III. zu Olmütz erwähnt haben, der höchstwahrscheinlich gemeinsam mit Heinrich Zdík, anderen Mähren und sächsischen Kreuzfahrern 1147 bei Stettin erschien, das von Ratibor I. Fürst von Pommern und dem hiesigen Bischof Adalbert verteidigt wurde.⁵⁷ Die Erwähnung der mährischen Fürsten im genannten Kontext kann jedoch nicht als Nachweis betrachtet werden, der uns ermöglichen würde zu versuchen, die Anfänge der Stiftung in mit Geschehnissen des Zweiten Kreuzzuges und dessen slawischer Abzweigung zu verbinden. Desto mehr, in Hinsicht auf chronologische Gründe der Stiftung von Ordenshäusern in den einzelnen Ländern der hier erörterten Region Europas, können die in der älteren Literatur vorhandenen Vorschläge nicht als vertrauenswürdig gelten,

⁵⁵ CDBoh., hrsg. G. Friedrich, Z. Kristen, III, 2, Praeae 1962, Nr. 261.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, I, Nr. 310, 312, 318, 320, 402, 404; M. Svoboda, *Majetek johanitského řádu*, S. 24-44.

⁵⁷ CDBoh., I, Nr. 402. Genannt wurden Ottos III. Söhne Wladymir und Břetislav. Beide wurden in der Zeugenliste erwähnt, der Ältere soll die von Friedrich bestätigten Schenkungen erweitert haben.

die die Entstehung der Johannitereinrichtung in Slawe mit dem polabischen Kreuzzug verknüpfen lassen, was die Stiftung der künftiger Kommende von Ratibor I. (†1155/1156)⁵⁸ zur Folge hatte. Die Kommende in Slawe müsste man dann als eine der ältesten in Mitteleuropa anerkennen. In einem solchen Fall sollte man vielmehr damit rechnen, dass die hiesigen Johanniter ein eigenes Netz der ihnen unterstellten Einrichtungen zu schaffen versuchten, was jedoch nicht nachzuweisen ist.

Auf die Beziehungen der böhmischen und mährischen Hospitaliter zurückkommend soll daran erinnert werden, dass zum ersten Praeceptor der ungarischen Johanniter Martin gewählt wurde, der ehemalige Praepositus des Prager Kapitels.⁵⁹ Das Amt des Vorstehers der ungarischen Hospitaliter übte er in den Jahren 1186-1193 aus.⁶⁰ Dieses Amt verband er mit dem Titel „des Praeceptors für Ungarn, Böhmen und die östlich, südlich und nördlich gelegenen Lande“. Gleichzeitig (bis 1194) wurde Bernhard als Spitalmeister und Prior Böhmens⁶¹ erwähnt. Die derart gestaltete Organisation der Johanniter, und vor allem die Lokalisierung des den lokalen Ordensstrukturen gegenüber übergeordneten Zentrums bei den Hospitalitern des Arpadenstaates, scheint die konsequente Politik der Hochmeister und des Ordenskapitels zu suggerieren, die die europäischen Niederlassungen vornehmlich als wirtschaftliche und Propagandazentren auszunutzen wussten, die zur Unterstützung der Christen im Heiligen Land gegründet wurden. Eine Entsendung des Ordens zwecks Unterstützung der Missionstätigkeit und Eroberung der stets heidnischen Balten beziehungsweise der preußischen Stämme scheint damals durchaus wenig wahrscheinlich gewesen zu sein. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es im Zusammenhang mit dem Engagement der Johanniter im Heiligen Land oder auch auf der Iberischen Halbinsel dem Orden praktisch dessen aktivere Teilnahme an der Kreuzfahrerbewegung im

⁵⁸ Argumente für eine solche Lösung des Problems der Gründung der Kommende in Sławno sammelt seit mehreren Jahren E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, 2. Aufl. Szczecin 2005, S. 105-109, 203-212.

⁵⁹ Bernhard der sich des Priestertitels (*frater [...] sacerdos*) bediente, erschien 1170 am Hofe Belas III. (CDH, V, 1, S. 287). Manche Historiker identifizieren ihn mit Praeceptor Bernhard vom 1182. Siehe hierzu K. Borchardt, *Military Orders*, S. 250; Z. Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary*, S. 259, 265. Zu Person des ungarischen Praeceptors Martin siehe außer der hier zitierten Literatur CDBoh., I, Nr. 319; J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, S. 388; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 39 ff., 73. Hier auch über eventuelle Etappe der Laufbahn Bernhards als Konventprior, der sich an der Veröffentlichung der Statuten Rogers de Moulins 1181/1182 beteiligte.

⁶⁰ Siehe hierzu Z. Hunyadi, *Cruciferi domus hospitalis per Hungariam et Slavoniam*, <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00023/2002-4-05.html> [Zugang vom 23. Dezember 2015]; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 39-40; L. Jan, *Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanniter*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, S. 87.

⁶¹ CDBoh., I, Nr. 318-319, 349.

südlichen Teil des Ostseebeckens durchaus unmöglich machte. Von großer Bedeutung war auch die Stellungnahme des Papsttums. Sie beeinflusste stark die Einstellung Alexanders III. zu dänischen Eroberungen und Missionen in Estland. Die Unterstützung, welche Waldemar I. von Dänemark anfänglich dem Konkurrenten Alexanders III. im Kampf um den päpstlichen Stuhl (das heißt Viktor IV.) anbot wie auch der Streit zwischen dem König und dem Erzbischof von Lund Eskil führten zum langjährigen Misstrauen, das die Beziehungen zwischen dem Papst und dem erwähnten Herrscher charakterisierte.⁶² Eben hieraus ergaben sich wohl auch gewisse Schwierigkeiten bei der Unterstützung der estnischen Mission des französischen Benediktiners Fulco, den Eskil zum Bischof von Estland geweiht hatte, als er als Erzbischof von Lund im Exil verweilte. Diese Situation konnte sich erst nach der Rückkehr Eskils nach Dänemark und nach dessen Versöhnung mit dem König, das heißt erst nach 1167 verbessern.

Die Situation, in der das Papsttum, ohne sich übermäßig zu engagieren, die Fortschritte der Skandinavier auf dem Gebiet der Missionstätigkeit akzeptierte, begann sich in der 1. Hälfte der 70er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts zu ändern, nachdem Alexander III. in seinen Schriften die Bekehrung von baltischen Heiden für lobenswert anerkannt hatte. Nach der Meinung der Historiker erreichte die Zahl der geistlichen und im gewissen Sinne auch der materiellen Konzessionen für alle, die die nördlichen Missionen unterstützten, während der Amtszeit dieses Papstes, niemals das Niveau von Gunst und Gnade wie auch materiellen Einkünften, die den levantinischen Kreuzfahrern zuteil wurden.⁶³

Für Alexander III. galten jedoch nicht die europäischen Kreuzzüge als das wichtigste Problem, sondern der ständige Zufluss der Kreuzfahrer ins Heilige Land. Es ist deutlich zu spüren, wenn man die Skala der Propaganda- und Konzessionsaktivitäten des Papsttums vergleicht, die es im Jahre 1169 und 1181⁶⁴ unternommen hat und die ausdrücklich aufs Erlangen der europäischen Unterstützung für die Verteidigung der Christen im Heiligen Land gerichtet waren. Diese Aktivitäten fanden keine gleichwertige Analogie im Bereich der Propagierung der Kreuzzüge im Norden Europas. Die damaligen Ritterorden spielten eine wichtige Rolle in Bezug auf die Pläne Alexanders III. Am Anfang 1180 ließ er alle Leute der Kirche u.a. den Templerorden in seinem Bestreben

62 S.M. Szacherska, *Rola klasztorów duńskich w ekspansji Danii na Pomorzu Zachodnim u schyłku XII wieku*, Wrocław 1968, S. 10 ff.; T. Nyberg, *Deutsche, dänische*, S. 98-101; I. Fonnberg-Schmidt, *Papieże i krucjaty bałtyckie*, S. 58 ff.

63 I. Fonnberg-Schmidt, *Papieże i krucjaty bałtyckie*, S. 58 ff.

64 *Alexandri III Romani Pontificis opera omnia*, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, hrsg. J.-P. Migne (weiter: PL), CC, Paris 1855, Nr. 1126, col. 599-601 (*Ad proceres, milites, et uniueros Christi fideles. – Pro Ecclesia Jerosolymarum et defensione terre illius*), Nr. 1504, col. 1294-1295 (*Ad omnes principes. – Hortatur eos ad subsidium*).

unterstützen, das gesamte Heilige Land wieder zu gewinnen.⁶⁵ Wahrscheinlich zur selben Zeit ließ der Papst seine Bulle veröffentlichen, in der er eine europaweite Kollekte für die Unterhaltung von Pilgern angeordnet hatte, die von den Johannitern im Spital zu Jerusalem gepflegt wurden.⁶⁶ Das Motiv der Obhut der Hospitaliter in Jerusalem über die armen und kranken Pilger, das bereits in den 50er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts in den Urkunden der europäischen Johanniter auftaucht, wurde besonders gern in den Diplomen des Ordens aus den 80er und 90er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts ausgenutzt, die zugunsten der Johanniter aus Böhmen, Mähren, Polen und Pommern ausgestellt wurden.⁶⁷ Zu jener Zeit exponierten die Johanniter ihre Spitaltätigkeit wohl anlässlich der vom Prager Bischof Heinrich Břetislav aus dem Geschlecht der Přemysliden (1186) geleisteten Schenkungen, vermutlich bei der Stiftung des Johanniterhauses in Posen (ca. 1187) oder auch anlässlich der Ausstellung der Schenkungsurkunde vom Princeps Grimislav, der den Johannitern die Landschaften an der Ferse (Wierzyca) in Pommerellen (1198) verschenkte.⁶⁸ In allen Fällen, unabhängig davon, ob die dem Orden geschenkten Güter in Böhmen, Polen oder im mit den preußischen Stämmen benachbarten Pommern lagen, informierten die Johanniter ihre Spender über die ihrerseits geleisteten Aufgaben im Spital zu Jerusalem. Laut der damaligen Propaganda des Ordens, die in Mitteleuropa verbreitet war, tauchten die Motive, die Johanniter als den gegen Heiden kämpfenden Orden charakterisieren ließen, recht selten auf.⁶⁹ In Bezug aufs Preußenland bleibt jenes Motiv in den erhaltenen mittelalterlichen Quellen durchaus unbekannt.

⁶⁵ *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, Nr. 600.

⁶⁶ *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, hrsg. R. Hiestand, Göttingen 1984, Nr. 32 (collectas ad sustentationem pelegrinorum existentium in Hospitali sancti Iohannis Ierusalem).

⁶⁷ Siehe M. Smoliński, *Contra Sarracenorum bellicerent czy pauperibus et infirmis impederent*, in: *Kopijnicy, szyprowie, tenariusze*, GSzDŚ, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Nr. 8, Gdańsk 2002, S. 132-134; idem, „[...] *coadiutorem constituere volens*“. *Dokument princepsa Grimislava na rzecz joannitów z 1198 r. w świetle nadań czynionych na rzecz szpitalników w Niemczech, Czechach i Polsce*, „Rydwan. Roczniki Muzealne Muzeum Ziemi Kociewskiej w Starogardzie Gdańskim“ I (2006), S. 32-34.

⁶⁸ CDBoh. I, Nr. 313; KDW I, Nr. 29; PU, Nr. 9; L. Jan, *Die Johanniter in Böhmen*, S. 185; M. Svoboda, *Majetek johaniťského řádu*, S. 35; S. Kawrowski, *Komandoria i kościół Św. Jana Jerozolimskiego w Poznaniu*, „Roczniki Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk“ XXXVI (1911), S. 15; A. Gašiorowski, *Najstarsze dokumenty poznańskiego domu joannitów*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze“ VIII (1963), S. 83, 88; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą, a Łukowem*, S. 26 ff.; M. Smoliński, „[...] *coadiutorem constituere volens*“, S. 32-33; idem, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 112 ff., Anm. 99 (hier auch über den Forschungsstand zur Frage der Anfänge des Johanniterordens in Stargard an der Ferse im Lichte der erhaltenen Quellen) *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern und Pomerellen*, S. 140; T. Ginter, *Działalność fundacyjna księcia Mieszka III Starego*, Kraków 2008, S. 89 ff.

⁶⁹ Siehe M. Smoliński, *Contra Sarracenorum bellicerent*, S. 136. Als originell scheint im Vergleich mit den damaligen Ordensurkunden auf dem erörterten Gebiet die Bestätigung der Güter, die für die ungarischen Johanniter als Kreuzritterbrüder vom Papst Urban III. im Jahre 1184 ausgestellt worden ist – CDAC, I, Nr. 97, die für *Matteo Rectori et fratribus Cruciferariis Hospitalis Sancti Petri Boicae* ausgestellte Bulle.

Ein weiteres, durch den Orden auf den genannten Gebieten praktiziertes Vorgehen war das Bestreben, die Gewinne aus den erlangten Gütern möglichst zu steigern, wozu man versuchte, die weltlichen und geistlichen Schenkungen zu vereinigen. Gemäß den päpstlichen Anordnungen in Bezug auf die Förderung der Ritterorden durch die kirchlichen Institutionen, versuchten die hiesigen Erzbischöfe bzw. Bischöfe, soweit sie sich selbst den von den Feudalherren geleisteten Stiftungen zugunsten der Johanniter nicht anschlossen, selbständige Stiftungen zu gründen, indem sie den eigenen Besitz ihrer Diözesen hierzu nutzten. Es ergab sich aus dem eigentümlichen Charakter der Schenkungen, zu deren Bestandteilen u.a. Kirchen bzw. lokale (eben gegründete oder bereits bestehende) Spitäler gehörten. In dieser Hinsicht kann man auf die früher bereits erwähnten Schenkungen hinweisen, geleistet von Gésa von Ungarn, seiner Ehefrau Euphrosina und dem Erzbischof von Esztergom Martirius,⁷⁰ Waldemar I. von Dänemark und dem Bischof von Roskilde Absalom, Knut Eriksson und Peter Erzbischof von Uppsala im Zusammenhang mit der Stiftung der Kirche in Eskilstuna, die wahrscheinlich unterm Einfluss Erzbischof Eskils (bis 1185)⁷¹ geleistet worden sind. Zu erwähnen sind hierbei auch die weiteren Schenkungen: Mieszko III. des Alten und des diese Schenkung unterstützenden Radowan Bischof von Posen,⁷² Grimislavs von Liebschau-Schwetitz und des an der Ausstattung der Johanniter beteiligten Bischofs von Kujawien Stephan.⁷³ Das Gesamtbild wird ergänzt durch die bereits erwähnten Schenkungen Heinrich Břetislavs Bischof von Prag (1186) und des die Geschichte der Johanniter im polnischen Teil Schlesiens eröffnenden Siroslaus' I. Bischof von Breslau vor und vom 1189 – vereinigt um die Ausstattung der Kirchen in Bardo und Tyniec (Wartha und Tinz) mit Zehnten, die früher bereits den Johannitern gehörten.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ CDH, II, S. 283.

⁷¹ In Bezug auf diese Stiftung siehe *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, hrsg. J.G. Liljegren, I, Holmiae 1829, Nr. 839; T. Nyberg, *Zur Rolle der Johanniter*, S. 131-132; idem, *Die nordischen Johanniter bei der Verteidigung des Glaubens. Versuch einer Forschungsbilanz*, in: *Das Kriegswesen der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, OM, VI, Toruń 1991, S. 174.

⁷² KDW, I, Nr. 29.

⁷³ PU, Nr. 9; J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge*, S. 305; B. Stadie, *Der landrätliche Kreis Stargard in Westpreussen in historischer Beziehung von der ältesten Zeiten bis jetzt*, Danzig 1864, S. 502; E. Waschinski, *Geschichte der Johanniterkomturei und Stadt Schöneck West-Pr. mit einem Anhang von Urkunden*, Danzig 1904, S. 8; idem, *Die ersten Johanniter in Westpreußen*, „Westpreußen Jahrbuch“ XX (1970), S. 115; M. Grzegorz, *Świecie i księstwo świecko-lubiszewskie w świetle dokumentu księcia Grimislava z 11 listopada 1198*, in: *Świecie i ziemia świecka w 800-lecie istnienia*, hrsg. B. Grzegorz, Bydgoszcz 1999, S. 21 ff.; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, S. 29; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 111-112; idem, „[...] *coadiutorem constituere volens*“, S. 241 ff.; idem, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern*, S. 141.

⁷⁴ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Śląska*, hrsg. K. Maleczyński, I, Wrocław 1956, Nr. 66-67; *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, bearb. H. Appelt, W. Irgang, I, Wien-Köln-Graz 1963, Nr. 56-57; K. Dola, *Zakon joannitów na Śląsku do połowy XIV wieku*, „Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska

In den 80er und 90er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts kam es gleichzeitig zu mehreren Ereignissen, die sich für die Politik des Ordens in Bezug auf die Christianisierung und Eroberung der östlichen Ostseeküste und des Prußenlandes als bedeutend erwiesen haben sollen. Das wichtigste hiervon war die bereits erwähnte Vergrößerung des materiellen Besitzes der Johanniter in Europa. Infolge dessen wurden die Ordensgüter in die so genannten Priorate organisiert, die vornehmlich im Süden Europas entstanden (z.B. in Italien, Frankreich), in Deutschland und in Böhmen, indem sie zugleich die polnischen, pommerschen und ungarischen Johanniter umfassten.⁷⁵ Gleichzeitig wurden diejenigen Missionäre immer aktiver, die von den Chorherrengemeinschaften bzw. vom Zisterziensernorden herstammten. Im Jahre 1180 war wohl die livländische Mission, gegründet vom Kanonikus Meinhard, dem späteren Bischof von Üxküll, tätig. Seine Mission war dem Erzbischof von Bremen-Hamburg Hartwig II. unterstellt. Den beiden Geistlichen gelang es recht schnell, den Papst Clemens III. für die an der Düna geführte Mission zu interessieren. Kurz danach schlossen sich der Mission die Zisterzienser aus dem westfälischen Loccum unter Führung des Abtes Dietrich. 1184 überfielen die dänischen Truppen Estland, indem sie das Gesicht der bisherigen Mission der Estländer mächtig geändert hatten. Die skandinavischen Quellen, die die Zeiten Knuts VI. und seiner Vorgänger beschrieben, wobei sie diesen Herrscher manchmal mit Knut dem Großen verwechselten, erwähnten unter den dänischen Eroberungen vor 1189 unter anderem die Prußenstämme der Sambier und eventuell der Warmier.⁷⁶ Die eben erörterte Zeitperiode war zugleich mit einer heftigen Expansion der dänischen Zisterzienserklöster verbunden. Manche Historiker behaupten, dass sich die aus diesen Klöstern herkommenden Mönche an den Christianisierungsmissionen im Baltikum beteiligt haben. Die Geschichtsforscher erwähnen in dieser Hinsicht die Klöster in Esrom, Sorö, Vitskö, Öm/Ås, Alvastra/Nydala, Varnhem und Roma.⁷⁷

Opolskiego" III (1973), S. 46; K. Gancarczyk, *W kwestii początków Zakonu Joannitów na Śląsku*, „Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka" XL (1985), Nr. 2, S. 193; M. Smoliński, *Kontakty joannitów z kanonikami regularnymi, premonstratensami i bożogrobcami w XII i XIII wieku (przede wszystkim na terenie Czech, Moraw, Polski i Śląska) z uwzględnieniem fundacji szpitalników kujawskich*, in: *Krzyżowcy, kronikarze, dyplomaci*, GSzŚ, IV, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk-Koszalin 1997, S. 240 ff.; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, S. 38-39; R. Heś, *Joannici na Śląsku w średniowieczu*, Kraków 2007, S. 127.

⁷⁵ J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310*, in: *History of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, I, London 1967, S. 352 ff.; K. Borchardt, *Verwaltungsstrukturen bei den deutschen Johannitern*, S. 56-57.

⁷⁶ *Ex Suenonis Aggonis Gestis regum Danorum*, hrsg. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, XXIX, Leipzig 1925, S. 33; *Ex Historia de profectioe Danorum in Terram Sanctam*, hrsg. idem, in: ibidem, S. 162; *Ex Wilhelmi Genealogia Ingeburgis reginae Franciae*, hrsg. idem, in: ibidem, S. 165; J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie*, S. 126.

⁷⁷ T. Nyberg, *Deutsche, dänische*, S. 99-100.

Das Engagement des Ordens für die Missionstätigkeit muss so groß gewesen sein, dass das Generalkapitel der Zisterzienser bald den Mönchen verbot, Taufe zu spenden, und dies in Hinsicht darauf, dass es „contra canones et instituta Ordinis“⁷⁸ sei. Gleichwohl betrachtete man in der gegenständlichen Literatur das im Auftrag der Danziger Princeps erfolgte Hereinholen der Mönche aus dem Colbatzer Kloster – das als Niederlassung des dänischen Esrom (bis 1186/1188)⁷⁹ galt – nach Oliva in Pommerellen als Beweis dafür, dass sich die skandinavischen Zisterzienser an der im Prußenland geführten Mission beteiligt haben.⁸⁰ Auch wenn die Olivaer Zisterzienser nicht zwecks Durchführung einer solchen Mission nach Pommern herbeigeholt worden sind, dann beteiligten sie sich im gewissen Maße an einer solchen Mission bereits in den 20er Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts, als eine weitere Zisterziensergemeinschaft – Kloster Łekno – ihre Missionäre ins Prußenland zu entsenden begann und in Pommerellen ließen sich die Ritter von Calatrava nieder, die zur Familie der Zisterzienserorden gehörten.⁸¹ Die Autoren der Initiative der Herbeiführung der Ordensritter nach Pommerellen waren vermutlich die Olivaer Mönche, die mit dem Danziger Herzog Svantopolk II. zusammengearbeitet haben. Diese Initiative konnte jedoch nicht durch die Absicht bedingt sein, Prußen zu missionieren, sondern vielmehr sich gegen Überfälle der Prußen zu verteidigen. Es ist bekannt, dass der auf ca. 1226 datierte Einfall besonders schwerwiegend war.

Manche Historiker behaupten, dass sich die skandinavischen Johanniter bereits ab 70er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts den durch die dänische Kirche und die hiesigen Herrscher geführten Missionen angeschlossen haben. Diese Annahme resultiert vor allem aus den engen Beziehungen des Ordens mit Eskil Erzbischof von Lund, König Waldemar I. und seinen Nachfolgern⁸² wie auch

⁷⁸ *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, hrsg. J.-M. Canives, I: *Ab anno 1116 ad annum 1220*, Louvain 1933, S. 103 (*Statuta* Jg. 1186); J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie*, S. 127.

⁷⁹ Es ergibt sich aus der Untersuchung der Stiftungsurkunde der Zisterzienser zu Oliva. Fachliteratur und die darin präsentierten Stellungnahmen zur Frage der Entstehung der bekannten Auffassung der Stiftungsurkunde versammelte A. Gut, *Średniowieczna dyplomatyka wschodniopomorska. Dokumenty i kancelarie Pomorza Wschodniego do 1309 roku*, Szczecin 2014, S. 264-265.

⁸⁰ J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie*, S. 127.

⁸¹ Siehe M. Smoliński, *Kalatravensi w Tymawie na Pomorzu Gdańskim. Idea sprowadzenia zakonu nad Morze Bałtyckie*, in: *Mieszczanie, wasale, zakonnicy*, SzDŚ, X, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk-Malbork 2004, S. 206-243 sowie die mit meinen Vorschlägen keine Diskussion unternehmende M. Starnawska, *The Commanderies of the Templars in the Polish Land and Their History after the End of the Order*, in: *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars, 1307-1314*, hrsg. J. Burgtorf, P. Crawford, H. Nicholson, Farnham 2010, S. 307 und Anm. 23.

⁸² Siehe den Nachweis der Schenkungen seitens der Vorgänger Waldemars II., Waldemar I., Knut VI. zugunsten der Johanniter zu Antvorskow – *Repertorium diplomaticum Regni Daniæ mediæevalis*, hrsg. W. Christiansen, A. Hude, I: (1085-1350), København 1894-1895, Nr. 119.

aus der wahrscheinlichen Teilnahme der Vertreter des Ordens an der Eroberung Estlands durch Dänen in der zweiten Dekade des 13. Jahrhunderts.⁸³ Diese Vermutungen werden durch eine Reflexion begleitet, und zwar über die Gründung der weiteren Einrichtung der Hospitaliter in Skandinavien, diesmal im norwegischen Vaerne.⁸⁴ Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es in die 80er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts zu datieren ist. Die zweifellos gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts recht starken dänischen Einflüsse haben jedoch die Organisation des Johanniterordens auf den mit Prußenland benachbarten Gebieten nicht geprägt. Die dem böhmischen Priorat gehörenden Johanniter (darunter auch die pommerschen und die polnischen) wie auch die um die Hälfte der 80er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts die europäischen Höfe besuchenden Emissäre des Hochmeisters der Hospitaliter Roger de Moulins⁸⁵ propagierten die Idee des Kampfes um die Behaltung des Heiligen Landes und äußerten wohl keine offizielle Stellungnahme zur Frage der Missionierung im Norden wie auch zur Frage der Teilnahme des Ordens daran. Roger de Moulins bereiste 1184 mit Arnold von Toroga, dem Großkomtur der Templer, und Heraclius von Caesarea, dem lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem Europa, darunter auch die Länder des Deutschen Reichs.⁸⁶ Sein Besuch übte jedoch keinen Einfluss auf das Auftauchen der Probleme des Kampfes gegen die baltischen Heiden in der offiziellen Propaganda des Ordens aus. Nach Beispielen der propagandistischen Aktivität der Johanniter aus jener Zeit kann man in den vereinzelt Quelleninformationen suchen, die auf den gesellschaftlichen Widerhall der Idee der Kreuzzüge fördernden Propaganda, unter anderem auch der Hospitaliter, hinweisen. Zu diesen Quellen gehören die bereits früher zitierten Diplome des Ordens, die sich auf die Spitaltätigkeit der Hospitaliter im Heiligen Land beziehen. Hierzu gehören auch Beispiele, die darauf verweisen, dass dem Orden Ritter beitraten, die aus Regionen herstammten, wo die Johanniterhäuser funktionierten. Darüber hinaus wiesen diese Urkunden auf ihre Teilnahme an Kämpfen gegen Muslims in der Levante. Ein derartiges Beispiel sei der Fall Peters Kastellan von Dřevič, der (wahrscheinlich in der 2. Hälfte der 70er Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts) dem Johanniterorden beitrug, einige Jahre später im Heiligen Land tätig war und vermutlich in der Schlacht bei Hattin 1187 umgekommen ist.⁸⁷ Die Aussage der erhaltenen

⁸³ T. Nyberg, *Spuren der Spiritualität der Ritterorden in Skandinavien*, in: *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, OM, VII, Toruń 1993, S. 189 ff.

⁸⁴ T. Nyberg, *Zur Rolle der Johanniter*, S. 132; idem, *Deutsche, dänische*, S. 100; idem, *Spuren der Spiritualität der Ritterorden*, S. 191; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 61.

⁸⁵ M. Smoliński, „[...] *coadiutorem constituere volens*“, S. 21 ff.

⁸⁶ J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, S. 92-93.

⁸⁷ L. Jan, *Mortuus est persecutor noster Saladinus. K způsobu komunikace mezi českými zeměmi a Palestinou ve 12. a 13. století*, „Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university“, Serie C,

Quellen berücksichtigend, verfügen wir über sehr wenige Beispiele aus den polnischen Gebieten, wo Ritter und Geistliche in den 60er bis 90er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts die Möglichkeit hatten, sich ins Heilige Land zu begeben.⁸⁸ Die Geschichtsforscher erwähnen in dieser Hinsicht Jaxa von Miechow, Wjślaw Trojanowic, Jan Gniewomirowic, Dzierżek, Welislaw Jerosolimitanus oder auch den vom Namen unbekanntem Regulärkanoniker, der Jerusalem besucht und dem Johanniterorden beigetreten haben soll. Was die Vertreter des später als Strzegomici bekannten Geschlechts anbetrifft, so kann ihr Interesse an der Kreuzzug- und Pilgerbewegung mit den Johanniterstiftungen in Schlesien und Kujawien verbunden werden, die jedoch erst am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind.⁸⁹ Im Zeitalter der Vorbereitungen zum sog. Dritten Kreuzzug (1187-1193) war wohl das Interesse für die Teilnahme am Kampf um das Heilige Land in den Staaten der Přemysliden und der Piasten so groß, dass man im Korrespondenzpaket zwischen Friedrich Barbarossa und Saladin ein Falsifikat gefunden hat, das darüber informierte, dass der Kaiser, der sich für den Kreuzzug vorbereitete, nicht nur eine Hilfe seitens der Böhmen sondern auch der Polen erwartete, wobei er den Sultan mit „der wilder Wut“ der Letzteren zu erschrecken versuchte.⁹⁰ Sollte man die in der Urkunde Princeps Grimislaw vom 11. November 1198 enthaltenen Informationen wörtlich behandeln, die bei der Gründung der Johanniterstiftung in Stargard an der Ferse, das heißt auf den dem Prußenland nahe gelegenen Gebieten, niedergeschrieben wurden, so behauptete der Spender, er wusste seit einer langen Zeit über die Tätigkeit des Ordens Bescheid, und zwar von den zahlreichen Besuchern des Heiligen Grabes.⁹¹ Es konnte sich entweder um Informationen handeln, die Emissäre des Ordens oder einfach Pilger in Ostpommern verbreiteten, die sich aus dieser Region ins Heilige Land begaben. Das erwähnte Diplom enthält jedoch keine direkten Hinweise über die Gefahr seitens der heidnischen Prußen und deren Erörterung als Ursache für Stiftung des pommerschen Ordenshauses.

Noch bevor Grimislaw die Urkunde für Johanniter ausgestellt hatte, kam es zu Ereignissen, die den Johannitern eine Chance gaben, dass sie von ihren Zeitgenossen nicht nur als der im Heiligen Land wirkende Orden,

řada historická XLIV (1997), S. 22-23; idem, *Böhmische und mährische Adelige*, S. 304; idem, *Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats*, S. 88-89; M. Pauk, *Działalność fundacyjna możnowładztwa czeskiego i jej uwarunkowania społeczne (XI-XIII wiek)*, Kraków-Warszawa 2000, S. 67.

⁸⁸ Die Beispiele hierfür versammelte M. Gładysz, *Zapomniani krzyżowcy*, S. 110-119.

⁸⁹ Siehe K. Gancarczyk, *W kwestii początków Zakonu Joannitów*, S. 198-200; M. Smoliński, *Kontakty joannitów*, S. 241 ff.

⁹⁰ Siehe *Regesta regni Jerosolimitani*, Nr. 671; M. Smoliński, „[...] quid Bolenia suis feris ferior [...]“. *Polska w liście Fryderyka I Barbarossy do Saladyna z 26 IV 1188 r.*, in: *Średniowiecze polskie i powszechne*, hrsg. J. Sperka, I. Panic, IV, Katowice 2006, S. 93-99.

⁹¹ PU, Nr. 9.

sondern auch als eine Gemeinschaft wahrgenommen werden, die sich an der Christianisierung der Prußenstämme beteiligte. Es handelte sich um die vom polnischen Seniorherzog Kasimir II. dem Gerechten geführte Politik (hierbei sei daran zu erinnern, dass Kasimir Spender des Ordens und Stifter der Johannitereinrichtung in Zagość war). Den Prußenstämmen begegnete der Herzog unmittelbar nach der Übernahme der Herrschaft in dem mit den Prußen benachbarten Masowien (ca. 1185/1186).⁹² Kurz danach unternahm Kasimir II. mehrere Feldzüge gegen Prußen, die im Grenzland nah seiner Herrschaft lebten. Später soll er den Stamm der Polesiani (Jadwinger) angegriffen haben, der vom feindselig Kasimir gegenüber eingestellten Fürst von Drohiczyn unterstützt wurde. Als Quelle jener Informationen galt die beinahe zeitgenössische Chronik des Magisters Vincencius (Wincenty Kadłubek).⁹³ Die auf den Bericht Kadłubeks basierende Großpolnische Chronik reduzierte den Kampf Kasimirs II. gegen Prußenstämme bis auf zwei Kriegszüge des Herzogs gegen Prußen und Polesiani.⁹⁴ Die Quellen schwiegen darüber, dass der polnische Herzog irgendeinen Ritterorden unterstützte, obzwar sich aus dem späteren Textfragment der Großpolnischen Chronik ergab, dass derer Autor (Autoren) Vertreter des Deutschen Ordens kannten. Der Text beider Chroniken erwähnte aber weder Johanniter noch Templer. Anders sah es aber bei Jan Długosz aus, der unter anderem Inhalte beider erwähnten Chroniken in seinem Werk nutzte, obzwar er nicht selten die älteren Überlieferungen mit eigenen Vermutungen erweiterte. Dieser Chronist verfügte bereits über ausreichendes Wissen über Kreuzritter, Templer und Johanniter und tauschte dieses Wissen mit seinen Lesern aus.⁹⁵ Seiner Beschreibung der gegen Prußen geführten Kampagne Kasimirs II. stellte der Chronist eine Geschichte über

92 Siehe G. Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza. Próba rekonstrukcji*, Poznań 1983, S. 24-25; J. Powierski, B. Śliwiński, K. Bruski, *Studia z dziejów Pomorza*, S. 138 ff.; W. Caban, *Polityka północno-wschodnia Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego w latach 1177-1192*, „Rocznik Białostocki“ XII (1984), S. 501; M. Gładysz, *Wyprawa Jaćwieska Kazimierza Sprawiedliwego w relacji Mistrza Wincentego. Przyczynek do recepcji hasel krucjatowych w XII-wiecznej Polsce*, in: *Rycerstwo Europy*, S. 59-67; K. Zielińska-Melkowska, *Polskie wyprawy krzyżowe*, S. 77-78; G. Białuński, *Studia z dziejów*, S. 69; J. Dobosz, *Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy*, Poznań 2011, S. 127 ff.

93 *Magistrii Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum*, hrsg. M. Plezia, in: MPH SN, XI, Kraków 1994, lib. IV, cap. 19, S. 166-169.

94 *Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, hrsg. B. Kürbis, in: MPH SN, VIII, Warszawa 1970, cap. 43, S. 65.

95 M. Starnawska, *Wiadomości Długosza o templariuszach i joannitach*, in: *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, hrsg. D. Lawinowa et al., Warszawa 1991, S. 471-476; J. Hauziński, *Templariusze w Małopolsce – legenda czy rzeczywistość*, in: *Polska, Prusy, Ruś*, GSzDŚ, II, hrsg. B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk 1995, S. 71-76; E. Burzyński, *Zakon rycerski templariuszy na ziemiach Polski piastowskiej i na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wodzisław Śląski 2010, S. 154-155.

die von früher bereits erwähntem Bischof Meinhard und dessen Nachfolgern durchgesetzte Christianisierung Livlands voran. Erst dann schilderte er den Kriegszug Kasimirs II., an dem sich Bolesław, der Sohn Mieszko III. des Alten sowie die schlesischen Fürsten beteiligt haben sollen: Boleslaw I. der Lange und Mieszko I. Kreuzbein.⁹⁶ Für die polnisch-prußischen Beziehungen dieser Zeit soll sich, der Meinung mancher Historiker nach, auch der das Seniorat Kasimirs II. anerkennende Princeps von Danzig Sambor I. interessiert haben.⁹⁷ Allerdings weiß man nicht Bescheid, woher Długosz die Informationen über die Teilnehmer des Kriegszuges Kasimirs II. des Gerechten schöpfte, man kann aber feststellen, dass die in seiner Chronik erwähnten Herrscher persönlich (Kasimir II. der Gerechte, Mieszko III. der Alte) bzw. durch ihre Nachfolger (Heinrich I. der Bärtige, Mieszko II. von Oppeln-Ratibor⁹⁸), auch wenn sie keine Wohltäter des Ordens waren, mindestens zu denjenigen Herzögen gehörten, die damit einverstanden waren, dass ihre Großen Johanniter in die ihnen unterstellten Ländereien herbeiholen. Eine Politik der Unterstützung des Ordens führte auch der weitere Danziger Princeps – Sambors I. Bruder Mestwin I.⁹⁹ Als Autor der Chronik verfügte Długosz wohl über starke Argumente, um die Johanniter mit den erwähnten Herrschern in Verbindung zu bringen. Desto mehr, dass laut den Erörterungen des Chronisten, der Kriegszug Kasimirs II. eine Form Rache für den Tod Heinrichs I. von Sandomir gewesen sein soll, der wohl die Johanniter nach Polen herbeigeht hat. Ähnlich wie früher Magister Vincencius oder auch die Großpolnische Chronik verband Długosz die Unterstützung der Hospitaliter zu Jerusalem seitens der polnischen Herzöge nicht mit den prußischen Plänen der Piasten. Daraus scheint zu resultieren, dass sich entweder keine Johanniter an den Kämpfen Kasimirs II. gegen Prußen und Jadwinger beteiligt haben, oder ihre Rolle so unbedeutend war, dass sie bei der Erörterung dieser Beziehungen vollkommen außer Acht gelassen worden sind.

Soll man angesichts der von den einzelnen Hochmeistern wie auch vom Ordenskapitel geführten Politik beziehungsweise angesichts der Einstellung des Papsttums der Bekehrung der baltischen Heiden gegenüber annehmen, dass die Teilnahme der Hospitaliter an den Initiativen der Eroberung und Christianisierung der Prußen bis Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts lediglich einen

⁹⁶ *Joannis Długossi seu Longini canonici Cracoviensis Histori Polonicae libri XII*, hrsg. J.Ż. Pauli, A. Przewdziecki, III, libri V-VIII, Kraków 1873, S. lib. VI, S. 134-136.

⁹⁷ J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie*, S. 127-128.

⁹⁸ Siehe KDS, I, Nr. 89, 98-99; SUB, I, Nr. 86-88; ibidem, II 1977, Nr. 165, 178, 180, 188; K. Dola, *Zakon joannitów na Śląsku*, S. 85; K. Gancarczyk, *W kwestii początków Zakonu Joannitów*, S. 198-199; M. Staranwska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, S. 47; R. Heś, *Joannici na Śląsku*, S. 64, 66, 366.

⁹⁹ PU, Nr. 104; M. Smoliński, *Joannici w polityce*, S. 176.

symbolischen Charakter hatte, so entsteht die Frage nach den künftigen Möglichkeiten, die erlaubten, eine aktivere Beteiligung der Johanniter an den Kriegszügen gegen die Prußenstämme zu erhoffen. Hierbei sind wohl zwei Elemente zu erwähnen. Das erste Element, gemäß dem eigentlichen Zweck der Kreuzritterorden, die Pilger zu behüten und zu unterstützen hatten, war die übliche Stiftung der Ordenseinrichtungen an den Verkehrsstraßen, die u.a. den Zugang der Kreuzritter in die Regionen des Kampfes gegen die Heiden gewähren sollten. Die polnische Geschichtsschreibung verwies bereits auf die ehemaligen Routen, die entsprechend der Lage der Kreuzritterordenshäuser gesteckt wurden. Durch jene Verkehrsstraßen konnte man sich von Schlesien bis auf die Grenzregionen Polens, Pommerns und des Prußenlandes wie auch von Kleinpolen in die östlich gelegene Bug-Region in der Nähe Drohiczyns¹⁰⁰ begeben. Es ist weiterhin anzunehmen, dass die pommerschen Johanniterhäuser an denjenigen Verkehrsstraßen errichtet worden sind, die vom Deutschen Reich (vornehmlich aus Mark Brandenburg) ins Prußenland geführt haben.¹⁰¹ Im 13. Jahrhundert plante man, im Begegnungspunkt der pommerschen und polnischen Territorien, die an die Gebiete der Prußen und Jadwinger grenzten, Missionierungszentren zu errichten, die den Missionsbischöfen unterordnet werden sollten. Der erste Prußenbischof war Christian, der sein Amt im Jahre 1215/1216 übernahm. Um die Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts beabsichtigte man das Bistum von Łuków als Christianisierungszentrum Sudauens zu gründen. Zur Sicherung der Missionierungstätigkeit sollten örtliche Vertretungen der Ritterorden entstehen: der Johanniter, der Ritter von Calatrava, der Dobriner Brüder und der Templer. In Hinsicht auf die militärische Unterstützung der Missionierungstätigkeit können die Johanniter aus Ostpommern eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben, die zusammen mit den oben bereits erwähnten Ordensrittern eine an der Weichsel konzentrierte Verteidigungslinie gegen Einfälle der Prußen geschaffen haben. Das zweite Element, das die Chance der Johanniter bedingte, eine wichtigere Rolle in den gegen die Prußen gerichteten Plänen der polnischen und pommerschen Herrscher zu spielen, sei wohl im Charakter der vom Princeps Grimislav gegebenen Schenkung der ostpommerschen Gebiete zu finden. Bemerkenswert sind hierbei wohl die Behauptungen der Johanniter, dass sie vom oben genannten Herrscher die ganze Burg Stargard an der Ferse samt Zubehör und als ländliche Versorgung auch die verlassenen Dörfer erhalten haben. Eine derart formulierte Schenkung weist auf Kolonisierungspläne hin, die möglicherweise nach der Verödung der pommerschen Ländereien durch die prußischen Einfälle aufgenommen worden sind. Von der militärischen Bestimmung der Schen-

100 M. Starnawska, *Military Orders and the Beginning of Crusades*, S. 420-421.

101 M. Smoliński, *Der Johanniterorden in Pommern*, S. 141.

kung zeugte auch zweifelsohne die Übergabe der Burg an die Johanniter. Vor 1201 waren, wie gesagt, die polnischen Johanniter einem unabhängigen Meister unterordnet. Das Auftauchen des Meistertitels weist wohl darauf, dass es in den örtlichen Ordenseinrichtungen auch ritterliche Ordensbrüder erschienen und nicht nur Priesterbrüder, die als bisherige Empfänger der Schenkungen zugunsten des Ordens galten, die als Kirchen und Kapellen samt Ausstattung verliehen wurden. Inwiefern konnte aber der Orden die sich vor ihm eröffnenden Chancen nutzen, eine bedeutendere Rolle in den polnisch- und pommersch-prußischen Beziehungen unter den sich dynamisch verwandelnden politischen Bedingungen des 13. Jahrhunderts zu spielen, sei wohl ein Sonderproblem, das zum Thema einer separaten wissenschaftlichen Vorführung werden soll.

ABSTRACT

Das Problem der Teilnahme der Johanniter am Versuch der Christianisierung und Eroberung von Prußenstämmen interessiert seit Jahren die Forscher, die sich sowohl mit der Geschichte der Prußenmission, der sog. Kreuzzugsbewegung als auch mit dem Orden Sankt Johannis vom Spital zu Jerusalem beschäftigen. Angesichts der großen Knappheit an Quellenberichten, die das Studium dieser Problematik erlauben würden, sind die Historiker hierbei praktisch dazu verurteilt, verschiedene Vermutungen über die Teilnahme der Johanniter an diesem Vorhaben anzustellen. Als Grundlage solcher Vermutungen galt vor allem die Tatsache, dass es Johanniterhäuser (häufig als Kommenden) in dem mit dem Prußenland benachbarten Piastenstaat und in Pommern/Pommerellen gab, sowie der ritterliche Charakter des Ordens, was erlaubte, darin eine wichtige Kraft zu sehen, die die geführten Missions- und Feldzüge gegen Prußen unterstützte. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist der Versuch einer Reflexion über das Verhältnis des Johanniterordens zur prußischen Frage in den ersten Jahren nach dem Aufbau der ersten organisatorischen Grundpfeiler des Ordens in Polen, Pommern und Pommerellen, das heißt um die Jahrhundertwende 12./13., als zum ersten Mal in den Quellen ein Beamter erschien, der den Titel des polnischen Meisters trug. In Anbetracht der von den Meistern des Johanniterordens um das Ende des 12. und am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts geführten Politik (die ihr Amt sowohl auf zentraler als auch lokaler Ebene ausübten), des Verhältnisses des Ordenskapitels den Prußen gegenüber wie auch der päpstlichen Pläne im Zusammenhang mit der Bekehrung der baltischen Heiden schien die Teilnahme der Johanniter an den mit den piastischen Eroberungen und der Christianisierung der Prußen bis Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts verbundenen Initiativen lediglich einen symbolischen Charakter zu haben.



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MEDIEVAL SUMPTUARY LAWS IN POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE STATE OF THE QUESTION, AND DIRECTIONS OF NEW RESEARCH



The present article concerns rules of positive law that served to limit specific symptoms of a luxurious lifestyle (*leges sumptuariae*) in the past, including the Middle Ages. Sumptuary regulations may be regarded as an intriguing curiosity of pre-industrial times – in itself potentially a good reason for their study. However, their informational potential is far greater.¹ They unlock significant information about the law, social custom, economy, and material culture of the epoch in which they arose. In addition, regulations of luxury reflect the attitude in that epoch toward the broader phenomenon of luxury: its terminology, its substantive and societal scope, and the ethical views pertinent to it. At this point, we must note that luxury, understood as an analytical category, is far broader and more supra-temporal than is the scope of sumptuary regulation.²

In this article, I intend to present the Polish historiography on the medieval *leges sumptuariae*, from the end of the 19th century until today. First, however, I wish to sketch out the genesis of sumptuary laws and their development before the appearance of such regulations in the Polish lands, and the beginnings of research on this subject in the foreign (non-Polish) literature. This will create an appropriate international and comparative perspective

¹ C.M. Cipolla, *The Italian and Iberian Peninsulas*, in: *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, III, eds. M.M. Postan, E. Rich, E. Miller, Cambridge 1965, p. 420; C. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation*, Cambridge 1994, p. 76; S.A. Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000-1500*, Cambridge 2009, p. 131.

² J. Kochanowicz, *Consumption in the Preindustrial and Industrial Period: A Comment on Research Problems and Approaches*, "Acta Poloniae Historica" CII (2010), pp. 89-100.

for a briefly outlined history of the Polish *leges*, and on the research on this subject conducted in Poland.

The earliest examples of sumptuary laws stem from ancient Greece – Sparta and Athens.³ However, for the first medieval lawmakers the model and source was the *leges sumptuariae* issued in ancient Rome. Their oldest example is Table X of the *Law of Twelve Tables* (450 B.C.E.), which placed a limit on the opulence of funerals.⁴ Issuance of sumptuary laws resumed in the 290s B.C.E., when the Roman state suffered serious defeats in the war with Carthage. Promulgated at this time, the *lex Metilia de fullonibus* (217)⁵ and the *lex Oppia de luxu feminarum* (215)⁶ opened a long series of sumptuary rules, issued above all during the Republic and Augustus's principate.⁷ Sumptuary regulations were promulgated in ancient Rome until the 5th century C.E., including in the territories of the by then distinct Eastern Empire.⁸ And, even though such regulations were not included in Justinian's legislation,⁹ this legal instrument was later used in the Byzantine Empire.¹⁰

Sumptuary rules were not issued in medieval Latin Europe for a long time. The earliest limitations, issued from 787 onward, concerned ecclesiastical clothing.¹¹ Charlemagne was the first to issue sumptuary rules directed at laypeople, in capitularies of 803 and 810.¹² No further statute against excess was issued in Europe over more than three centuries. Only in 1157 did the authorities in Genoa issue a *lex sumptuaria* which introduced limitations on decorating sleeves with sable fur.¹³ This statute opened a long series of *leges*

3 On sumptuary laws in Antiquity in general, see M.I. Finley, *Ancient Economy*, 3rd updated edition, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1999, p. 139. On Greek regulations, see O. Jurewicz, L. Winniczuk, *Starożytni Grecy i Rzymianie w życiu prywatnym i państwowym*, Warszawa 1968, p. 118; C. Kovesi-Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy (1200-1500)*, Oxford 2002, pp. 9-11.

4 C. Kovesi-Killerby, *Sumptuary...*, pp. 12-13.

5 A. Pikulska-Robaszekiewicz, *Ustawowa regulacja obyczajów w prawie rzymskim. Wykład habilitacyjny*, „*Studia Iuridica*” XXXVII (1999), p. 214.

6 M. Cary, H.H. Scullard, *Dzieje Rzymu. Od czasów najdawniejszych do Konstantyna*, I, Warszawa 1992, p. 373; O. Jurewicz, L. Winniczuk, *Starożytni*, pp. 13, 128.

7 A. Pikulska-Robaszekiewicz, *Ustawowa...*, p. 215.

8 X. Liu, *The Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Interactions in Eurasia*, in: *Agricultural and Pastoral Societies in Ancient and Classical History*, ed. M. Adas, Philadelphia 2001, p. 163.

9 S. Grodziski, *Uwagi o prawach przeciwko zbytkowi w dawnej Polsce*, „*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*”, XX, Prawo, no. 5, 1958, p. 68.

10 G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 3rd edition, München 1963, p. 366; M. Angold, *Byzantium in Exile*, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, V, ed. D. Abulafia, Cambridge 2008, p. 550.

11 C. Kovesi-Killerby, *Sumptuary...*, p. 20.

12 K. Estreicher, *Ustawy przeciwko zbytkowi w dawnym Krakowie*, „*Rocznik Krakowski*” I (1898), p. 106.

13 C. Kovesi-Killerby, *Sumptuary...*, p. 24.

sumptuariae, whose issuance, spanning the Middle Ages, encompassed other cities in all of Italy, especially the north and Tuscany.¹⁴

Italy's primacy, in terms of early provenance and quantity of sumptuary statutes, is explained by two fundamental factors. The first, most important, is the early, dynamic, and lasting economic development of the cities comprising the so-called "industrial quadrilateral" – a space extending from Como, through Venice, Siena, Genoa, back to Como.¹⁵ As is well known, this region led Europe in terms of its civilizational (including economic) development. For this reason, this was where the earliest unequal distribution of wealth, and a corresponding rise in stratification of urban society took place. The *leges* were a response simultaneously to these processes, and to the social frustration elicited by them. The second factor – one that explains why this response assumed the form of the ancient *leges* – was the twelfth-century revival on the Apennine Peninsula of knowledge of Roman law.¹⁶ In the course of the 13th century, sumptuary rules began to be issued in other cities of Italy, and in France (before 1223),¹⁷ Germany (since 1220),¹⁸ the two Iberian states, Aragon and Castille (since 1234 and 1258 respectively),¹⁹ and, since 1281, England.²⁰ In the late Middle Ages, the quantity of sumptuary rules rose considerably.²¹ According to one view, in the course of the Middle Ages, the *leges sumptuariae* were promulgated in every country of Latin Europe.²² Issuance of Europe's sumptuary laws lasted until the 18th century,²³ although

14 Ibidem, passim, especially pp. 28-29.

15 J.C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities*, Bloomington 1972, p. 74. On medieval Italy's economic development, see, synthetically, N.J.G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, 2nd edition, New York 1994, pp. 104-106, 232-237.

16 P. Stein, *Roman Law in European History*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 43-44.

17 L.C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums*, Göttingen-Berlin-Frankfurt 1962, pp. 14, 150, note 4. The undated regulations against luxurious garments were issued by the King of France, Philipp Augustus, who started to rule already in 1180. Consequently, these regulations could have been issued as early as in the end of the 12th century.

18 G.L. Maurer, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung*, III, Erlangen 1870, p. 93.

19 C. Kovesi-Killerby, *Sumptuary...*, p. 24.

20 *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*, ed. G.C. Coulton, Cambridge 1919, p. 331.

21 In a synthetic treatment, J. Le Goff, *Le Moyen Âge et l'argent. Essai d'anthropologie historique*, Paris 2010, pp. 185-187.

22 "[A]nd by the fifteenth century, such laws were common across Europe from Scotland to the East"; S.A. Epstein, *An Economic and Social History...*, p. 156. Since in his book the author does not discuss the Rus', "the East" necessarily refers to the east of Latin Europe.

23 E. Kizik, *Wesele, kilka chrztów i pogrzebów. Uroczystości rodzinne w mieście hanzeatyckim od XVI do XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 2001, p. 334. This work has been translated into German, as *Die reglementierte Feier. Hochzeiten, Taufen und Begräbnisse in der frühneuzeitlichen Hansestadt*,

in the English Kingdom, economically the most developed, this method of limiting consumption ended earlier, in the 17th century.²⁴

In the Polish lands, broadly understood, analogous regulations originated in the 13th century. The spatial designation, *Polish lands*, refers in this article to more than the territory of the Polish state, or the many Polish duchies that existed in the period of “political fragmentation” between 1138 and 1306. Consistently with the current historiographical usage in Poland, “the Polish lands” also encompassed those regions which, from a certain moment onward, found themselves outside the boundaries of the Polish monarchy:²⁵ Silesia, part of the Czech Kingdom from 1327-1339 onwards;²⁶ and some of the lands dominated by the Teutonic Order, namely the Chełmno district between 1226 and 1466, and Pomerelia between 1309 and 1466.²⁷ We should add to this Ermland, first joined to the Kingdom of Poland only in 1466.²⁸

The earliest sumptuary regulations here were issued by, and directed toward, the Catholic clergy. This took place at the 1233 Gniezno provincial synod in Sieradz.²⁹ Inspired by the provisions of the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council concerning appropriate dress of the clergy, the Polish bishops prohibited their subordinates from wearing garments that were green or red or had “inappropriate” (in all likelihood, excessively wide or long) sleeves; and from wearing excessively extravagant shoes – embroidered or pointed. In later centuries, apart from renewing them, the high clergy broadened such prohibitions.³⁰

Quite symptomatic is the fact that, as in early-medieval Western Europe, so in the 13th century, the clergy had the lead in combatting manifestations of luxury. This doubtless resulted from a higher sensitivity of the clergy than the laity to the moral ideas voiced by the Catholic Church, including the notion of the deadly sins.³¹ The other cause was the clergy’s desire to underscore

Osnabrück 2008. See also W. Reinhard, *Lebensformen Europas. Eine historische Kulturanthropologie*, München 2004, pp. 121, 340.

²⁴ C. Berry, *Idea of Luxury...*, p. 79.

²⁵ See for example *Ziemia polskie wobec Zachodu. Studia nad rozwojem średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. S. Gawlas, Warszawa 2006, passim, especially S. Gawlas, *Introduction*, pp. 429-440, and the English summaries of the remaining articles, pp. 441-448.

²⁶ W. Hołubowicz, K. Maleczyński, *Historia Śląska*, I/1, Wrocław 1960, pp. 544-561; J. Hoensch, *Geschichte Böhmens. Von der slavischen Landsnahme bis zur Gegenwart*, 3rd edition, München 1997, p. 118.

²⁷ M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka – społeczeństwo – państwo – ideologia*, Gdańsk 1986, pp. 140-143, 255-258, 409-417.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 415.

²⁹ J. Fijałek, *Życie i obyczaje kleru w Polsce średniowiecznej*, 2nd edition, Kraków 2002, pp. 24-25.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 25-28.

³¹ See J. Le Goff’s suggestions, *Moyen Âge...*, pp. 40-41, 186. On the history of the idea of the deadly sins, see in abbreviation K. Klauza, *Grzechy główne*, in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, VI,

its distinction as an estate from the laity – by (among other traits) use of appropriate clothing. The tendency by some clerics to seek distinction through elaborate clothing is explained both by secular fashion, and by the influence of monastic garments (especially long sleeves), and of signs of high status used within the ecclesiastical hierarchy – above all, rings worn by prelates.³²

On the other hand, in the cities of the Polish lands, broadly understood, the earliest sumptuary regulations appeared in the fourth quarter of the 13th century. From the information conveyed in the document issued by the duke of Legnica, Bolesław III the Profligate, in 1324,³³ we may date this appearance to the reign of the duke of Wrocław, and outstanding modernizer, Henry IV the Righteous (1273-1290).³⁴ The regulations concerned Wrocław, Silesia's main city and Henry IV's residence. Chapter 14 of this sizeable document contains regulations of the opulence of wedding feasts – specifically, the amount of food and the number of musicians.³⁵ These regulations were included in the collection of the German law in the Wrocław version, which was in turn received by two other urban centers in Silesia, Brzeg in 1292 and Grodków in 1324.³⁶

Quite characteristic is the fact that Silesia was the earliest region to implement sumptuary law. This was exactly the region where the economic and civilizational transformation entailing the diffusion of organizational, legal, and socio-economic models from the West, especially from Germany, began first, during the fourth quarter of the 12th century.³⁷ In later centuries,

Lublin 1993, p. 307. On the list and the malleable hierarchy of the deadly sins, see synthetically R.G. Newhauser, *“These Seven Devils”: The Capital Vices on the Way to Modernity*, in: *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, eds. R.G. Newhauser, S.J. Ridyard, New York 2012, p. 159.

³² J. Fijałek, *Życie...*, pp. 27-28.

³³ *Breslauer Urkundenbuch* [henceforth: *BUB.*], ed. G. Korn, Breslau 1870, no. 100, p. 100.

³⁴ C. Grünhagen, *Breslau und die Landesfürsten*, “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens” XXXVI (1901), pp. 6-7; Z. Zielonka, *Henryk Prawy*, Katowice 1982, passim.

³⁵ *BUB.*, p. 101. The first person to note these regulation was G.L. Maurer, *Geschichte...*, pp. 87-88.

³⁶ A. Kowalik, *Aus der Frühzeit der Breslauer Tuchmacher*, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Breslau” V (1938), p. 17.

³⁷ The more recent scholarship includes, among others, B. Zientara, *Henryk Brodaty i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 105-139, 163-181 (this book was translated into German as *Heinrich der Bärtige und seine Zeit. Politik und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Schlesien*, trans. P.O. Loew, München 2002); P. Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland, 1100-1250*, New York-London, 1992, pp. 193-208, 212-261; R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Princeton 1993, pp. 130-132, 139-140, 142, 174-175; A. Körmendy, *Melioratio terrae. Vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13.-14. Jahrhundert*, Poznań 1995, pp. 76-78, 93-105, 107-114; S. Gawlas, *O kształt zjednoczonego królestwa. Niemieckie władztwo terytorialne a geneza spolecznoustrojowej odrębności Polski*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 53-56, 82-83.

leges sumptuariae were issued in several, though not all, regions of Poland. In view of the most current conclusions in the literature, we may be certain that sumptuary regulations are extant for only a few cities in the Polish lands, broadly understood: Świdnica,³⁸ in addition to Wrocław, Brzeg, and Grodków, mentioned above, in Silesia; Cracow, the capital city;³⁹ Lviv (Lwów), after its inclusion in the Polish Kingdom in 1340;⁴⁰ and the main cities of the Chełmno district, Pomerelia, and Ermland (after their inclusion in the state of the Teutonic Order), which included Toruń (New and Old),⁴¹ Gdańsk,⁴² Elbląg,⁴³ and Chełmno.⁴⁴ It has been speculated that *leges sumptuariae* were also established in fifteenth-century Poznań,⁴⁵ but the author did not support this hypothesis with proof in the primary sources. In addition to their promulgation by city authorities, sumptuary regulations were introduced by the leadership of craft guilds, and directed at guild members – in Cracow, among other localities.⁴⁶ In addition, we absolutely must note the extension of analogous legislation, issued jointly by the Grant Masters of the Teutonic Order and the Prussian Estates, across the entire state of the Order.⁴⁷

Regarding the time of promulgation of sumptuary laws, in addition to synodal statutes and the civic statutes from Wrocław and Brzeg, the

38 It has been established that the Świdnica regulations date from 1328, 1379, and 1457 (G.L. Maurer, *Geschichte...*, p. 88; S. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, p. 108; R. Heck, E. Maleczyńska, *Historia Śląska*, I/2, Wrocław 1961, pp. 350-351; S. Kotelko, *W średniowieczu – od początków miasta do 1526 r.*, in: *Świdnica. Zarys monografii miasta*, ed. W. Korta, Wrocław-Świdnica 1995, p. 84).

39 S. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, pp. 108-117.

40 *Īstorija Lvova v tr'och tomach*, I, eds. J. Isaevič et al., Lviv 2006, pp. 85, 87. For the conquest of Halich Rus', see P.W. Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320-1370*, Chicago-London 1972, p. 130.

41 J. Tandecki, *Kultura, życie religijne i codzienne XIV-wiecznego miasta*, in: *Historia Torunia*, I, ed. M. Biskup, Toruń 1999, p. 240; Z.H. Nowak, *W okresie kryzysu państwa krzyżackiego*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 302, 303.

42 O. Günther, *Danziger Hochzeits- und Kleiderordnungen*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" XLIII (1901), pp. 186, 189, 192, 195, 225-228; P. Simson, *Geschichte der Danziger Willküren*, Danzig 1904, pp. 12, 68.

43 A. Semrau, *Die mittelalterlichen Willküren der Altstadt und der Neustadt Elbing*, "Mitteilungen der Copernicus-Verein für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn" XXXIV (1926), pp. 17-18, 42.

44 A. Semrau, *Die Willkür der Stadt Culm von etwa 1400*, "Mitteilungen der Copernicus-Verein für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn" XXXV (1927), pp. 29-30, 32, 36.

45 J. Wiesiołowski, *Życie codzienne ludności. Kultura materialna*, in: *Dzieje Poznania*, I, ed. J. Topolski, Warszawa-Poznań 1988, p. 300.

46 S. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, p. 109.

47 O. Günther, *Danziger...*, p. 186; R. Czaja, *Spółeczeństwo miast pruskich w średniowieczu w świetle źródeł normatywnych*, in: *Świat średniowiecza. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, eds. A. Bartoszewicz, G. Myśliwski, J. Pysiak, P. Żmudzki, Warszawa 2010, pp. 236-238. For participation of society in the creation of the *Landesordnungen*, see S. Józwiak, *Władza i społeczeństwo*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, eds. M. Biskup, R. Czaja, Warszawa 2008, pp. 138-142.

regulations issued in Toruń (the New City) also date from the 13th century – around 1300 to be exact.⁴⁸ However, creation of sumptuary laws in the Polish lands, broadly understood, reached its peak intensity in the 14th century. This generalization concerns most of the localities noted above, and, it seems, the entire territory of the state of the Teutonic Order, covered by the legislation of the Grand Masters and Prussian assemblies just mentioned.

In the Polish lands, sumptuary legislation essentially concerned three main subjects. The first was feasts – whose permitted opulence was described either entirely in coin, or by specification: the maximum number of guests and musicians, and quantity of their earnings, the presence of versifiers and hucksters, the amount of food, and the like. The concern was with feasts held at engagements, marriages, births, and baptisms, or feasts held in specific professional communities, or feasts in general. Closely related were limitations on engagement or wedding gifts. The second set of customs subject to limitation was segments of certain rites of passage, such as baptisms or funerals, or related activities – for example, the bath of a bride before a wedding. The third target of limitation was clothing (including jewelry), whose permitted version was specified in terms of maximum length, material from which it may or may not be created, color, shape or cut, and maximum cost of its creation. In some cities, limitations were also imposed in response to social position or profession – or, to the level of wealth, specified concretely in terms of money.

The most frequent issue raised was the opulence of feasts, especially wedding- or birthday-related, and the affluence of clothing.

* * *

The issue of medieval sumptuary laws arose in European historiography as early as the 19th century. Leading here were German medievalists, who were the first to take on sumptuary legislation in the territories of medieval Germany, the regions encompassed by German colonization (including selected German colonial towns in Eastern Europe),⁴⁹ and Italy, France, and The Netherlands.⁵⁰ Over time, scholars from other countries,⁵¹ including the United States,⁵² took up the subject. The rise of historians' interest in sumptuary laws at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries coincided with a new wave of

48 J. Tandecki, *Kultura...*, p. 303.

49 In general, see G.L. Maurer, *Geschichte...*, pp. 81-93.

50 K.D. Hüllmann, *Städtewesen des Mittelalters*, IV, Bonn 1829, pp. 134-185.

51 See J. Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, I, München-Berlin 1928, pp. 178-180. This is the first foreign edition of this book by this Russian historian, originally published in Russia in 1909.

52 K.R. Greenfield, *Sumptuary Law of Nürnberg: A Study in Paternal Government*, Baltimore 1918.

interest in a question broader than the *leges sumptuariae* – luxury itself – and with the publication on that subject of the classical works by T. Veblen⁵³ and W. Sombart.⁵⁴ Even though these two scholars were not the first to raise this subject – it had been addressed by the practitioners of the English classical political economy, above all A. Smith⁵⁵ – works by them, and by other turn-of-the-century scholars, contributed greatly to the study of luxury, by specifying and broadening the relevant concepts, and demonstrating the mechanisms of its rise and functions.

In Poland's historiography, the first to treat the question of the *leges sumptuariae* in the Polish lands, was Stanisław Estreicher, in 1898.⁵⁶ This outstanding historian of law, professor, and rector of Jagiellonian University⁵⁷ embarked on an ambitious attempt to sketch out the history of sumptuary legislation from its thirteenth-century beginnings until the fall of the Polish state at the end of the 18th century. As a result, he needed to take into account not only urban legislation, but in addition the decrees issued by the Sejm of the noble Republic in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The major merit of Estreicher's article is the broad framing of the subject. He did not limit himself to summaries and legal analysis of the individual sumptuary statutes, but took account of the broad context of the emergence of sumptuary law. He noted the influence of the antique and the early Christian as well as the early medieval traditions,⁵⁸ and, the impact of economic and moral thought of the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation. He emphasized the fact that urban legislation concerning excess is a distinct contribution of the Middle Ages to the history of sumptuary laws.⁵⁹ He related their promulgation to the economic development of the Polish lands. Regarding later times, he noted the ties between the *leges* and, the resistance to imports of luxury goods coupled with the increasingly popular ideas of mercantilism. In addition, Estreicher thought that the notion of sumptuary law encompassed the regulation of gambling.⁶⁰

Despite his broad perspective on luxury in the Middle Ages, the Cracow historian concentrated specifically on the oldest statute, from Wrocław, and on the sumptuary legislation promulgated in Cracow, capital of the

53 T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evaluation of Institutions*, New York 1899.

54 W. Sombart, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des modernen Kapitalismus, I: Luxus und Kapitalismus*, München-Leipzig 1913.

55 C. Berry, *Idea of Luxury...*, pp. 115, 158, 210.

56 K. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, pp. 102-135.

57 *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VI, Kraków 1948, pp. 312-315.

58 K. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, pp. 104-106.

59 *Ibidem*, p. 107.

60 *Ibidem*, p. 108.

Polish Kingdom.⁶¹ He mentioned only in passing selected civic statutes from cities other than Cracow – Świdnica (in Silesia) in 1328 and Lviv in 1383⁶² – suggesting the possibility for their comparison with Cracow’s legislation in the future. Stanisław Estreicher’s article is far more than a pioneering attempt at sketching out and deepening Poland’s sumptuary legislation, in a long-term perspective. Thanks to the author’s wide knowledge and multilevelled framing of the question, his text has become the point of departure, and of reference, for scholars of the subject right until today.

Despite its place as a subject in many branches of scholarly endeavor, before 1939 the *leges sumptuariae* were seldom studied in the Polish historiography. We must mention the editions of the *leges* from Lviv: issued in 1383, and published shortly before Estreicher’s article,⁶³ and in 1406.⁶⁴ Uniquely, Jan Fijałek introduced much valuable material on the dress of the Catholic clergy, in the 1928 book cited above. The subject of sumptuary rules is absent from the major synthesis on Polish cities,⁶⁵ despite the author’s position as a highly regarded expert in the medieval economy and culture. And so it is important to remember that, during this period, many fundamental conclusions regarding the history of sumptuary law in the Polish lands, broadly understood, were the work of German scholars – concerned, in equal measure, with the territories of the state of the Teutonic Order,⁶⁶ and with Silesia.⁶⁷

In later decades, Poland’s historiography went through turbulent twists of fate, above all the catastrophe of the Second World War.⁶⁸ After 1945, medieval scholarship was periodically dominated by research into specific

61 Ibidem, pp. 108-109, 111, 113-116.

62 Ibidem, pp. 108, 115. The 1383 statute was already known to the seventeenth-century Polish historian, Jan Bartłomiej Zimorowic. Later, it was mentioned by the Ukrainian historian Denys Zubryčkyj, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, Lwów 1844, pp. 53, 72.

63 *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z archiwum miasta*, I: *Najstarsza księga miejska, 1382-1389*, ed. A. Czołowski, Lwów 1892, no. 60-61, pp. 10-11.

64 K. Badecki, *Zaginione księgi średniowiecznego Lwowa*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” XLI (1927), pp. 530-531.

65 J. Ptaśnik, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w dawnej Polsce*, Kraków 1934.

66 For the works of O. Günther, P. Simson, and A. Semrau, see notes 42-44 above.

67 H. Markgraf, *Einleitung*, in: *Breslauer Stadtbuch enthaltend die Rathslinie von 1287 ab und Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Stadt, Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, XI, ed. H. Markgraf, Breslau 1882, p. xxix; C. Gebauer, *Breslauer Hochzeitsordnungen vom 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, “Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens”, LI (1917), pp. 30-38; G. Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat im Mittelalter*, Breslau 1929, pp. 303-304; A. Kowalik, *Frühzeit...*, pp. 17-19. It is worth recalling here that the first historian to note the issuance of *leges sumptuarie* in Wrocław (the 1435 civic statute against excessively ornate garments and decorations), was the eighteenth-century scholar Samuel Benjamin Klose, in his *Von Breslau. Dokumentierte Geschichte und Beschreibung in Briefen*, II.2, Breslau 1781, pp. 371-372. About Klose, see L. Harc, *Samuel Benjamin Klose (1730-1798). Studium historiograficzno-źródłoznawcze*, Wrocław 2002.

68 A.F. Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej*, Poznań 2000, pp. 198-230.

sectors of human activity. Until about the mid-1970s, the study of economic history was dominant; indeed, it flourished and gained international esteem.⁶⁹ In the decades that followed, research in this area definitely diminished in its intensity. The 1970s ushered in a rise in interest in cultural history, and in cultural framings of phenomena located outside culture – as that subject had traditionally been understood.⁷⁰ Even though, as a subject, the *leges sumptuariae* ought to interest historians of the economy as well as of culture – and, scholars of law and society – over sixty years had to pass since Estreicher's article, and more than thirty since Fijałek's book, until someone returned to the subject. In 1958, the subject yielded another article, by the historian of law, Stanisław Grodziski.⁷¹

Grodziski devoted more attention than his predecessor to sumptuary legislation in Antiquity, and to views about luxury goods held by medieval intellectuals, such as Thomas Aquinas and Jan Ostroróg.⁷² He also broadened the territorial scope of inquiry, including, in addition to Poland, German-language countries and the Venetian Republic.⁷³ He devoted much attention to the reasons for promulgation of sumptuary law. While emphasizing the importance of economic factors,⁷⁴ he added other causes of sumptuary regulation. In contrast to Estreicher, Grodziski – following on this point the literature in non-Polish languages – was skeptical of viewing anti-gambling regulation as a subset of sumptuary law.⁷⁵ He similarly viewed ecclesiastical statutes on the subject; he explained this view by attributing to clerical legislators against opulence of ecclesiastical garments goal of visual distinction from the laity, rather than concern with luxury as such.⁷⁶ This view does not seem correct, because motivation for the promulgation of the secular *leges* was also quite diverse. Ecclesiastical legislators did not struggle against church garments that were too modest or shoddy, but against garments that were too striking in appearance or cut. Regrettably, this view by Grodziski has become entrenched in the Polish historiography, which, since he wrote, has only intermittently raised the subject of sartorial extravagance of episcopal clergy.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, pp. 220-222; J. Kochanowicz, A. Sosnowska, *Economic History of Pre-industrial Poland. An Obsolete Subject?*, in: *Dove va la storia economica? Metodi e prospettive*, secc. XIII-XVIII, a cura di F. Ammannati, Firenze 2011, pp. 158-162.

⁷⁰ S. Kwiatkowski, *Polska mediewistyka historyczna w czasach maszynopisu. O wymuszonej modernizacji i okolicznościach jej przemijania*, Poznań 2010, pp. 63-64.

⁷¹ S. Grodziski, *Uwagi...*, pp. 67-86.

⁷² Ibidem, pp. 68-71.

⁷³ Ibidem, pp. 74, 79.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, pp. 74, 76.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 73.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, p. 71.

Shortly afterwards, sumptuary laws were analyzed by Poland's leading twentieth-century historian, Witold Kula.⁷⁷ In his book, published in 1963 and translated into many languages, on the historiography and interdisciplinary research methodology in economic history, based on Marxist thought, Kula included a brief but penetrating analysis of the *leges*, including those from the medieval period.⁷⁸ Using the rich international literature of the subject, Kula presented his reflections on the subject in framework of his treatment of luxury in general. He rightly drew attention to the need, in the course of research into the primary sources documenting sumptuary law, to take account of their broad historical context. He zoomed in specifically on regulations concerning clothing, and, as part of that subject, on the introduction of limitations specific to different social strata. He concluded that the *leges* concerning this subject did more than furnish a criterion for imposing hierarchy on the level of society as a whole. They also played a levelling role within each social stratum, by limiting the freedom of choice for its members in their selection of clothing; thus, at last in theory, they compelled wearing of clothing of approximately similar value. Kula also observed the omission from much international research of a significant issue: the placement of lower limits on permitted expenditure – limits which implicitly further specified clothing that members of a given social stratum were not allowed to wear.

Kula's thoughts, together with the earlier works by S. Estreicher, J. Fijałek, and S. Grodziski, jointly comprise the classics material of Polish research on medieval *leges sumptuariae*. They are a reference point for all subsequent inquiry. And yet, for almost the next thirty years, sumptuary legislation attracted little attention. It was noted mostly on the margins of scholarly treatments of other subjects, and even that in the form of brief fragments, or mere passing references, in monographic articles, syntheses of the history of particular cities⁷⁹ and their social customs,⁸⁰ histories of regions,⁸¹ and, occasionally, syntheses of legal history,⁸² material culture⁸³ or biographies of

⁷⁷ On the significance of W. Kula's *oeuvre*, see among others M. Herling-Bianco, *Witold Kula et l'historiographie européenne*, in: *Dziedzictwo Witolda Kuli*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 65-85.

⁷⁸ W. Kula, *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej*, Warszawa 1963, pp. 280-282.

⁷⁹ W. Dziewulski, *Brzeg od lokacji na prawie zachodnim do wygaśnięcia dynastii Piastów*, in: *Brzeg. Dzieje – gospodarka – kultura*, ed. W. Dziewulski, Opole 1975, pp. 119-120; M. Biskup, *Pod panowaniem krzyżackim – od 1308 r. do 1454 r.*, in: *Historia Gdańska*, I, ed. E. Cieślak, 2nd edition, Gdańsk 1985, p. 623.

⁸⁰ A. Jelicz, *Życie codzienne w średniowiecznym Krakowie (wiek XIII-XV)*, Warszawa 1966, pp. 40, 89.

⁸¹ R. Heck, E. Maleczyńska, *Historia...*, pp. 350-352.

⁸² J. Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski do połowy XV w.*, Warszawa 1957, p. 417.

⁸³ D. Poppe, *Odzież, obuwie, ozdoby*, in: *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, t. 2 (od XIII do XV wieku), ed. W. Hensel, Wrocław 1978, pp. 291, 295, 304.

rulers.⁸⁴ It is worth adding that the fundamental post-war synthesis of the history of cities and townspeople does not mention medieval *leges sumptuariae* at all.⁸⁵ This absence of a wider historiographical interest in this subject may be explained by the urban historians' focus on more elementary questions: a city's history and political role, or the transition of its institutional framework, society, and economy, or culture – the latter understood traditionally as art, education, literacy, and religiosity. In contrast, the *leges sumptuariae* were neglected – as a quaint curiosity, slight in its significance in relation these subjects.

This state of affairs underwent improvement beginning in the 1990s. In addition to similar, brief references,⁸⁶ there appeared some longer, and many more shorter, texts (the latter as fragments of larger works) about the medieval *leges*. Even though they were written in the context of highly individual research projects that were unrelated to one another, these works do warrant a discernment, based on this emerging interest, of the increase of cultural analysis, noted above, as a tool for comprehending historical facts and processes. Thus, research resumed on sumptuary legislation in the chief centers of the late medieval Polish Kingdom, Cracow⁸⁷ and Lviv.⁸⁸ Work on the subject concerning Silesia intensified. The *leges* issued in Wrocław were discussed in summary form.⁸⁹ For the first time, attention was paid to a new regulation in this city, promulgated in 1303, which is worth considering as a symptom of sumptuary thought.⁹⁰ Attention was paid to another, heretofore disregarded, fragment from Jan Długosz's *Annales*, written in the second half of the 15th century, noting under the year 1438 a sustained increase in the expense of the garments worn by Cracow's townswomen, and a conversation

84 M. Bogucka, *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk i jego czasy*, Warszawa 1981, p. 191.

85 M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986.

86 E.g. J. Gilewska-Dubis, *Życie codzienne mieszczan wrocławskich w dobie średniowiecza*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 116, 208-209; W. Korta, *Historia Śląska do 1763 roku* (prepared for print by M. Derwich), Warszawa 2003, pp. 238-239; J. Suproniuk, *Policja miejska i przepisy policyjne w Polsce w XIII-XVI w.*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" LVI (2006), p. 51; R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIII-XV wieku (do 1454 r.)*, Gdańsk 2012, p. 147.

87 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa, I: Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich*, Kraków 1992, pp. 415-416, 466-470; M. Balicki, *Walka z luksusem w średniowiecznej Polsce i Europie*, in: *Kultura i obyczajowość średniowiecza. Materiały z konferencji organizowanej przez Media Tempora i Koło Naukowe Historyków Studentów PAT*, Kraków 2008, pp. 12-13, 14-17.

88 G. Myśliwski, *Leges sumptuariae w średniowiecznym Lwowie*, in: *Świat średniowiecza...*, pp. 222-233.

89 J. Drabina, *Życie codzienne w miastach śląskich XIV i XV w.*, Opole 1991, pp. 105-107.

90 M. Goliński, *Podstawy gospodarcze mieszczaństwa wrocławskiego w XIII wieku*, Wrocław 1991, p. 70.

by two well-known clerics about the ways to reverse that increase.⁹¹ Also noted in the literature were regulations concerning Świdnica, issued by the civic authorities in 1475,⁹² and by its tailor guild in 1361.⁹³ Guild sumptuary regulation was discovered in Strzegom, implemented by its brewers' guild.⁹⁴ In a tie-in with the subject opened up by J. Fijałek long ago, fifteenth-century ecclesiastical regulations of garments worn by Silesia's episcopal clergy have also attracted attention from historians.⁹⁵

In addition, over the last 25 years work by Polish medievalists has brought to light information about the *leges sumptuariae* promulgated in the main cities of the state of the Teutonic Order, including cities joined to Poland after the Order's defeat in 1466 – Elbląg,⁹⁶ Toruń,⁹⁷ Gdańsk,⁹⁸ and Chełmno⁹⁹ – and in the Teutonic-Prussian legislation encompassing the entire state of the Order.¹⁰⁰ Innovative, in this context, is the inclusion of legislation from other urban centers situated on the Baltic coast, Lübeck, Wiesmar, and Reval,¹⁰¹ and (though this on as part of work about modern history) from the countries comprising the Holy Roman Empire: legislation by the *Reichstag* from the end of the 15th century, and, in the 14th and 15th centuries, from cities in Germany – Frankfurt am Main, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Freiburg, and Augsburg – and, in Switzerland, Schaffhausen.¹⁰² Also for the first time in Polish medieval scholarship, work commenced on luxury legislation in the Italian city-states: Florence,¹⁰³ Venice,¹⁰⁴ plus one reference to the statute issued in Bologna of 1401.¹⁰⁵

91 U. Sowina, *Ubiór mieszczanek krakowskich w świetle inwentarzy rzeczy z przełomu średniowiecza i nowożytności*, in: *Habitus facit hominem. Społeczne funkcje ubioru w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytnej*, eds. E. Wólkiewicz, M. Saczyńska, M.R. Pauk, Warszawa 2016, p. 173.

92 S. Kotelko, *W średniowieczu – od początków miasta do 1526 r.*, in: *Świdnica. Zarys monografii miasta*, ed. W. Korta, Wrocław-Świdnica 1995, p. 84.

93 J. Drabina, *Życie...*, p. 21.

94 *Ibidem*, p. 105.

95 *Ibidem*, p. 21; E. Wólkiewicz, *Czerwone birety. Nie-liturgiczny strój biskupów w późnym średniowieczu*, in: *Habitus facit hominem...*, pp. 87-111, especially pp. 95-96.

96 R. Czaja, T. Nawroński, *Kultura materialna i życie codzienne*, in: *Historia Elbląga*, I, eds. S. Gierszewski, A. Groth, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 221-222.

97 See note 41 above.

98 R. Czaja, *Społeczeństwo...*, pp. 238-239.

99 *Ibidem*, p. 238.

100 *Ibidem*, pp. 237-238.

101 *Ibidem*, p. 240.; R. Czaja, *Grupy rządzące w miastach nadbałtyckich w średniowieczu*, Toruń 2008, pp. 65-66.

102 E. Kizik, *Wesele...*, pp. 165, 177, 322, 327.

103 H. Manikowska, *Nadzór i represja. Władza i społeczeństwo w późnośredniowiecznej Florencji*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 148, 248-260, 270-271, 273; A. Pomierny-Wąsińska, *Zbytek i prestiż – kategoria ubioru w ustawodawstwie antyzybytkowym komunalnej Florencji*, in: *Habitus facit hominem...*, pp. 141-161.

104 D. Quirini-Popławska, *Urbs populosissima, opulentissima, liberalissima. Mit czy rzeczywistość późnośredniowiecznej Wenecji?*, Kraków 1997, pp. 215-217.

105 H. Manikowska, *Nadzór...*, p. 249; M. Balicki, *Walka...*, p. 11.

In sum, when we add the much earlier historical work on the fifteenth-century sumptuary statutes from Zgorzelec,¹⁰⁶ we get a full picture of the territorial range of research by Polish medievalists conducted between 1898 and today. Despite their primary focus on the Polish lands, broadly understood, Polish historians have also ranged far beyond the notional boundaries of those lands. But the resulting research is very uneven in terms of detail. Apart from brief notes, occasionally supplemented by fuller comments – the type of output that has permanently been dominant, in terms of quantity – some authors have presented the content of the individual statutes in much detail.

Let us now have a look at the 120-year-long history of Polish research into the *leges sumptuariae* through the perspective of the major issues raised. Broadly speaking, the range of the substantive content of sumptuary regulations has not raised much doubt, despite the minor differences of opinion among scholars concerning clerical garments, and the classification of gambling. Only very few historians have taken on an analysis of long-term trends, or a search for general conceptual principles in the history of sumptuary law, in the manner of W. Kula. Only R. Czaja researched and described the role of the *leges* (promulgated in the cities of the state of the Teutonic Order and on the southern Baltic coast) in relation to the maintenance of social hierarchy versus the levelling of difference.¹⁰⁷ In contrast to Kula, he discerned a transition in the aim behind these regulations away from levelling, and toward marking barriers between the different social strata. However, this difference in the two historians' views is only apparent. Czaja took account of the earliest statutes, and of regulations not limited to clothing, while Kula focused on the latter – whose regulation, in many countries such as Germany¹⁰⁸ and the Polish lands, broadly understood, postdated statutes addressing the opulence of feasts. Other research has noted an expansion of the substantive content of the statutes.¹⁰⁹ But we must add that in medieval Poland this type of regulation never extended to (for example) domestic furnishings, as it did in Venice in 1476.¹¹⁰

The question raised perhaps most often and in the greatest detail in Polish historiography is the causes and circumstances of promulgation of the *leges sumptuariae*. No surprise here, as this is a matter of great fascination: complex, ambiguous, and fundamental for our understanding of the *leges* themselves,

106 R. Heck, E. Maleczyńska, *Historia...*, pp. 350, 351-352, 357.

107 R. Czaja, *Grupy...*, p. 67; idem, *Spółczesność...*, pp. 236, 238-241.

108 L.C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen...*, p. 14.

109 M. Goliński, *Wokół problematyki formowania się stanu mieszczańskiego w Polsce*, in: *Studia z historii społecznej*, eds. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2012, p. 47.

110 D. Quirini-Popławska, *Urbs...*, p. 217.

and of the society that was exposed to them, and that accepted or disregarded them. On these subjects, H. Manikowska's findings concerning Florence are worth presenting with special care, because the history of the *leges sumptuariae* in Italy's "industrial quadrilateral" is far richer and more complex than its counterpart in other countries of Europe.

Manikowska's analysis is meticulous and comprehensive. She has located the origins of sumptuary legislation in Florence (and elsewhere) in legal activity by the mendicant orders, whose members composed the statutes of the city communes in Lombardy.¹¹¹ Manikowska drew attention to the fact that it was the learned friars who introduced regulations aimed at luxury into civic statutes.¹¹² She used the example of a specific Dominican who reformed the statutes of Bologna, and identified excess above all in garments worn by women.¹¹³ Even though these innovations were rejected, in the author's view the later *leges sumptuariae* were composed by people raised and educated in the axiological climate created by the mendicants. That fact necessarily affected the law those people enacted.

Basis on the Florentine legislation spanning the end of the thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth centuries, Manikowska has identified a number of basic motivations for the rise of sumptuary laws. Some such reasons are expressed directly, in the statute preambles, but most are inferred by Manikowska through interpretation. She notes the following reasons for the promulgation of the sumptuary law:

1. Religious and ideological causes: an indirect influence of the Catholic Church, specifically the impact of mendicant preachers.¹¹⁴

2. Ideological and custom-related causes: 2a. misogyny; 2b. homophobia.¹¹⁵

3. Economic causes: 3a. the desire to limit excessive expenditure on extravagant consumption for ethical reasons;¹¹⁶ and (as in the statute of 1318), 3b. fiscal motivation, explicitly asserted.¹¹⁷

4. Socio-economic causes: the pressure by the powerful Wool Guild (*Arte di Lana*), "which was unable to compete in the first half of the 14th century with producers of a much more expensive, but also much superior, imported cloth. [...] Once enacted, the statutes may have offered [...] a hope of repressing demand for expensive, luxurious garments."¹¹⁸

111 H. Manikowska, *Nadzór...*, pp. 248-249.

112 *Ibidem*, pp. 249, 270-271.

113 *Ibidem*, p. 249.

114 *Ibidem*, pp. 250-251.

115 *Ibidem*.

116 *Ibidem*.

117 *Ibidem*, p. 256.

118 *Ibidem*, p. 253.

5. Socio-cultural causes: a reaction against the imitation by the urban plutocracy of the nobility in matters of ostentatious consumption and dress.¹¹⁹

6. Socio-political causes: a rise in dissatisfaction among the *popolo* with the display of wealth by the city's elite.¹²⁰

7. Causes related to politics and propaganda: a deliberate, demonstrative turn toward legal severity, following periods of increasing legal leniency in the reigns of invited dictators – for example, of Walter of Brienne, who was removed from power in 1343.¹²¹

Some of these causes are closely related (numbers 1 and 2), or simply equivalent (numbers 5 and 6). Regarding statutes issued in the Polish lands, broadly understood, historians have noted far fewer reasons the promulgation of sumptuary law. Most correspond to the causes pertinent to late medieval Italy. Thus, much significance has been attributed to economic reasons – for example, compulsion, in the city's interest, of its wealthier inhabitants toward allocation of resources toward intensification of production and trade.¹²² This explanation has recently been questioned, as reflecting patterns of reasoning appropriate to the modern period. The critics think that, instead, the medieval decision makers were prompted by a desire to compel the urban subject population into self-restraint and saving.¹²³ Promulgation of the *leges* has been explained by fear, among the civic authorities, of bankruptcies of the local merchants and craftspeople who wasted money on conspicuous consumption.¹²⁴ Historians have also noted the tie between promulgation of sumptuary law and the difficult material situation of a specific urban center.¹²⁵ In that case, the new regulations were meant to compel the townspeople toward investment in the city's reconstruction, and prevent them from wasting money on luxuries.

An original economic interpretation was proposed by S. Grodziski.¹²⁶ While analyzing the basis for levying taxation in Polish towns, he concluded that the sumptuary law was a sophisticated mode for taxing those products and lucrative practices which escaped the traditional mode of calculating the city tax, the *szos* (*Geschoss*).¹²⁷ Grodziski's thesis would imply the aim

119 Ibidem, pp. 251-252.

120 Ibidem, p. 252.

121 Ibidem.

122 J. Bardach, *Historia...*, p. 417; M. Balicki, *Walka...*, p. 11.

123 M. Goliński, *Wokół...*, p. 47.

124 S. Grodziski, *Uwagi...*, p. 74.

125 G. Myśliwski, *Leges...*, pp. 230-231.

126 S. Grodziski, *Uwagi...*, p. 76.

127 For the nature of this tax, and the different views regarding the basis for its calculation, see A. Kowalik, *Frühzeit...*, p. 39; S. Grodziski, *Uwagi...*, p. 74; M. Goliński, *Wokół socjotopografii późnośredniowiecznej Świdnicy*, I, Wrocław 2000, pp. 7-8, 29.

to permanently tax conspicuous consumption. Indirect support for that thesis is furnished by laws of some Italian cities, Florence and Genoa, which explicitly mention the aim to enhance tax revenue through promulgation of *leges sumptuariae*, subject to a fine in for breach of the regulations.¹²⁸ What has, on the other hand, been met with criticism is Grodziski's thesis – one that he only implied, and did not squarely express – that sumptuary regulations were intended to tax objects belonging above all to women.¹²⁹ As in the case of Italy, another reason for promulgating the *leges* noted in Polish scholarship is propaganda and image.¹³⁰ By this is meant the desire by the civic authorities to assuage emotions of dissatisfaction among the town's poorer inhabitants; and, to demonstrate authorities' understanding of the frustration of the lower strata, and their empathetic disapproval toward excessive display of wealth by the urban plutocracy.

Polish research on the reasons for this legislation in East Central Europe has also uncovered differences from the highly developed Italian legislation, especially in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Florence. Apart from the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia before 1466 – where the Grand Master, a friar and a knight, was also a legislator – no direct role has been discerned of clergy in promulgating the *leges* of the cities situated in the Polish lands, broadly understood. The clergy's role was limited to the creation and maintenance of an axiological climate, through the cultivation of Christian virtues and condemnation of sinful activity through sermons – a factor supportive of legal initiatives directed against ostentatious luxury.¹³¹ One example is the struggle against feasts organized to celebrate mothers immediately after childbirth, and against endowing them with generous gifts on that occasion.¹³² However, we need to note that the source of these prohibitions lay in the primeval, pre-Christian superstition of a woman's post-partum "uncleanliness" – expunged in (among others) Catholicism by the ecclesiastical ritual of the "churching of women".¹³³ Only S. Estreicher concluded that their main reason was "introducing the ecclesiastical ethical idea of the illicitness of excess as such."¹³⁴

128 H. Manikowska, *Nadzór...*, p. 256; C. Kovesi-Killerby, *Sumptuary...*, p. 47.

129 S. Grodziski, *Uwagi...*, p. 74. The polemic was raised by J. Bardach, in one of the editions of his synthesis of the Polish law and state (idem, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski do połowy XV w.*, 3rd edition, Warszawa 1965, p. 413). Bardach observed that the *leges* addressed male as well as female garments. He also criticized Grodziski's reduction of medieval legislators' concerns to tax-related matters.

130 G. Myśliwski, *Leges...*, pp. 229, 230.

131 Thus S. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, p. 117; M. Balicki, *Walka...*, pp. 17-19; G. Myśliwski, *Leges...*, p. 230; M. Goliński, *Wokół...*, p. 47.

132 G. Myśliwski, *Leges...*, pp. 231-232.

133 A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, transl. M.B. Vizedom, G.L. Caffee, Chicago 1960, pp. 41-42, 43-47.

134 S. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, p. 117.

Additional explanations for the origins of sumptuary regulations concern regulations of clothing. Such regulations have been explained in terms of a desire to suppress an individualism supposedly expressed by the wearing of costly garments.¹³⁵ We may speculate that contemporaries viewed its display as conflicting with the notion of the city as a community, whose cohesion may be disturbed by wealth-based envy. This is why, as a deeper reason for promulgation of sumptuary law, we should recognize fear by the social elites of an explosion of frustration among the poorer strata, and of destabilization of the community. Finally, a hypothesis formulated with reference to the laws of fourteenth-century Florence,¹³⁶ and of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Silesia and Lusatia, asserts that legal resistance to wealthy clothing stemmed from the desire to put a stop to new fashion – viewed as “a capricious invention”¹³⁷ and thus harmful. This type of argumentation was used in Germany, though in the modern rather than the medieval period.¹³⁸

Another issue, raised frequently in the literature, is the assessment of effectiveness of these prohibitions. On this matter, works published outside Poland express contradictory opinions. Although some historians have found instances of imposition of punishment for breach of sumptuary regulations, they did not infer from such instances a substantial impact of the law itself, or a general effectiveness of the responsible authorities.¹³⁹ The great majority of historians think that the *leges sumptuariae* were ineffective.¹⁴⁰ In this context, it is worth noting the comment of W. Kula, who noted the ideological conditioning of such opinions among Western historians.¹⁴¹ In his view, on this matter historians’ thought has been strongly affected by liberalism, and its corollary conviction of a limited effectiveness of the law and institutions. Nevertheless, in Polish historiography, too, ineffectiveness of the *leges sumptuariae* has been the dominant inference.¹⁴²

In summary, we must note that Polish medieval scholarship has not thus far achieved a comprehensive treatment of sumptuary legislation. Nevertheless, works by Polish historians comprise a valuable corpus, which, apart from providing an outline of the history of sumptuary law, above all

135 Ibidem.

136 A. Pomierny-Wąsińska, *Zbytek...*, p. 147.

137 R. Heck, E. Maleczyńska, *Historia...*, p. 350.

138 L.C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen...*, p. 81.

139 Ibidem, pp. 46-47; H. Manikowska, *Nadzór...*, p. 257.

140 S.L. Thrupp, *The Gilds*, in: *The Cambridge Economic History*, III, p. 280; C.M. Cipolla, *The Italian and Iberian...*, p. 420; J. Schildhauer, *The Hansa: History and Culture*, Leipzig 1985, p. 76; J. Drabina, *Życie...*, p. 107; W. Reinhard, *Lebensformen...*, pp. 121; S.A. Epstein, *An Economic...*, p. 156.

141 W. Kula, *Problemy...*, p. 281.

142 S. Estreicher, *Ustawy...*, p. 116; R. Heck, E. Maleczyńska, *Historia...*, p. 352.

in the Polish lands, broadly understood, presents us with a range of specific issues that comprise a terrain for further investigation in the future.

* * *

Because the nature of the research is, as of today, rather diffuse, it now seems advisable to treat, in conjunction, all the *leges sumptuariae* from the Polish lands, broadly understood: the territory encompassed by the Odra and Poltva rivers, the Baltic Sea, and the Carpathian and Sudeten ranges. This should allow a comparison among these legal sources – an activity that, in all likelihood, will enable further, deepened interpretations and conclusions. It also seems advisable to take into account the wide comparative material, at least from the other states of Central Europe and German-speaking countries, and from Italy, where the *leges* were most numerous and most fully elaborated.

We should also attempt to place the statutes in the broad context of cultural, economic, social, and possibly political transition; and, to use the recently published volume by archaeologists about findings concerning luxury objects – despite the authors' lack of concern with theoretical questions, such as luxury as a concept.¹⁴³ While few of the authors refer to the *leges*¹⁴⁴ – for Szczecin or Kołobrzeg, no such sources are extant – for historians, sumptuary law is worth confronting with the material remnants of luxury. We should also take into account the recently published works by historians about the consumption of, and trade in, “up-market” products.¹⁴⁵

In order to broaden our research perspective, we should not disregard the simultaneous inquiry into the preconditions and causes of the promulgation of the *leges sumptuariae* in the local and regional levels. The placement of limits on luxury consumption usually stemmed from a situation specific to a given city, region, or state. Also tied to local realities is the important question of the territorial and social reach of the *leges* promulgated in some specific locality. This generalization concerns those regions – Silesia, Great Poland, and their cities – which, on the German pattern, experienced the formation

143 Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum, VI: *Luxus und Lifestyle*, ed. M. Gläser, Lübeck 2008. I am referring specifically to articles by Polish scholars concerning luxury: in medieval Szczecin (A.B. Kowalska, S. Słowiński, *Szczecin. Standards of Living in a Medieval Town*, pp. 493-507), Elbląg (G. Nawrońska, *A Way of Life. Luxury in a Medieval Town*, pp. 509-527), Gdańsk (H. Paner, *Luxury in Medieval Gdańsk*, pp. 529-544, Wrocław (J. Piekalski, *Wohlstand und Luxus in der mittelalterlichen Stadt Breslau*, pp. 545-556), and Kołobrzeg (M. Rębkowski, *Selected Aspects of Archaeological Research on Lifestyle and Social Topography in Medieval Kołobrzeg*, pp. 557-567).

144 The exception is the article by H. Paner, who mentions seventeenth-century Gdańsk statutes limiting the opulence of feasts; *Luxury...*, p. 530.

145 M. Dygo, *Wschód i Zachód. Gospodarka Europy w XIV-XV wieku*, in: *Ziemia polskie...*, pp. 133-138; O. Długokęcka, W. Długokęcki, *The Sumptuous Use of Food at Castle Marienburg (Malbork) at the Start of the Fifteenth Century*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” CII (2010), pp. 101-126.

of *Weichbilden*, that is, territorial units that encompassed villages and small towns, and were subject to the law of one specific regional center.¹⁴⁶

This brings me to an even more fundamental question: whether, as of today, every single primary source instance of sumptuary law has been discovered, in the historiographies of Poland, Germany, and Ukraine, whose scholars work in the *leges* in the Polish lands, broadly understood. Even though this is quite possibly true, further archival research remains worthwhile – especially as because of the enormous quantity of the documentation, a substantial part of the sources, has never been published, above all from the second half the 15th century.¹⁴⁷ Even if it turns out that the corpus of *leges* from the Polish lands, broadly understood, does not increase in quantity, it will surely remain a rewarding subject of further inquiry in a broad comparative context.

translated by Piotr Górecki

ABSTRACT

The article concerns the Polish historiography on medieval regulations against extravagant feasting, clothing, and decoration of clothing or the body – the *leges sumptuariae*. It introduces the origins of sumptuary legislation in medieval Europe, including the Polish lands, and sketching the beginnings of research into anti-luxury laws in Western medieval historiography. Against this background, the author presents research by Polish historians on sumptuary laws in Poland, the Czech Kingdom, the state of the Teutonic Order, German lands, and Italy, until about the year 1500. The author notes that this subject has appeared in Poland's historiography very seldom – though, when it has appeared, the results have been interesting – between the publication of the pioneering article by Stanisław Estreicher in 1898, and the turn of the 1950s and 1960s. Subsequently, research into the subject ceased for many years. Interest in sumptuary laws rose again only beginning in the 1990s. The territorial range of that research was broadened, and fresh assessments and analyses of laws previously researched by German, Ukrainian, and Polish scholars, were carried out at a deeper level. The author also presents the views of Polish historians specifically about the causes of, and circumstances behind, the enactment of sumptuary laws. In the concluding section, he previews desirable directions and methods for further study of sumptuary laws.

¹⁴⁶ B. Zientara, *Z dziejów organizacji rynku w średniowieczu. Ekonomiczne podłoże „weichbildów” w arcybiskupstwie magdeburskim i na Śląsku w XII-XIII wieku*, “Przegląd Historyczny” LXIV (1973), no. 4, pp. 686-687, 692.

¹⁴⁷ See A. Gąsiorowski's remark about the huge increase in Great-Polish documentation after 1444, and the resulting decision he expressed in the name of the editors of the most extensive source collection from Poland, the *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, to discontinue further edition of sources from this region; A. Gąsiorowski, *Wstęp*, in: *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, eds. A. Gąsiorowski, T. Jasiński, T. Jurek, I. Skierska, XI, Poznań 1999, p. vi.

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KLAIPĖDA

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE PAST (THE EXAMPLE OF THE BALTIC SOCIETY IN HIGH MIDDLE AGES)



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The anonymous hagiographer of Saint Otto of Bamberg while describing the missionary work of the Pomeranian apostle among the Western Slaves, presented a list of some important bans, applied to new converts and former apostates: don't worship false gods and impure spirits, bury the deceased in a Christian way, don't have more than one wife, avoid incest, eat and drink the food appropriate for Christians but not designated for offerings, celebrate holy days, baptize children as soon as possible etc.¹ Similar bans were presented by the Teutonic Order

¹ *Quibus baptizatis diversis in locis, ut diximus, ecclesias construxit et consecravit, et haec secundum sanctorum patrum instituta servare eos edocuit: scilicet ut sexta feria abstineant a carne et lacte more caeterorum christianorum; dominica die vacent ab omni opere malo, et ad aecclesiam divinum officium audituri veniant, ibique orationibus studiose insistant. Sollemnitates sanctorum cum vigiliis sanctorum vel secundum quod eis indicatum fuerit, omni diligentia observent; sacrosanctam quadragesimam ieiuniis, vigiliis, elemosinis et orationibus diligentissime observare studeant; infantes suos in sabbato sancto paschae et pentecosten cum candelis et cappa quae dicitur vestis candida, et patris comitantibus, ad baptismum deferant, eosque veste innocentiae indutos per singulos dies usque in diem octavum eiusdem sabbati ad aecclesiam deferant; et celebrationi divini officii interesse satagant. Hoc etiam iniunxit, ne filios suos necarent, quod nefas maxime inter eos vigeat; ne etiam filios suos et filias ad baptismum teneant, sed sibi patris querant; patris etiam fidem et amicitiam ut carnalibus parentibus servent. Interdixit etiam, ne quis commatrem suam ducat in uxorem, neque propriam cognatam suam usque in sextam et septimam generationem; et unusquisque contentus sit una uxore, ne sepeliant mortuos Christianos in silvis aut in campis, sed in cimiteriis, sicut mos est omnium Christianorum, ne fustes ad sepulchra eorum ponant, omnem ritum et pravitatem paganam abiciant domos ydolorum non construant, phytionissam non aderant, sortilogii non sint, ne quid etiam immundum comedant, non morticinum, non suffocatum neque ydolothytum neque*

to the defeated Prussians in Christburg Capitulation Pact (1249).² The same requirements, though expressed in a more simple way, were also presented to the newly-baptized of the Ösel islands, who were also made to surrender to the Teutonic Order (to be more exact – to its branch – Livonian Order).³

It is obvious that double bans are meant here: some are related to the consolidation of the doctrines of Christian life, others-to the consolidation of the norms of Christian life. The receivers of the consolidation of the doctrines of the Christian faith are Pomeranian converts and the Prussians of Christburg, who had given in to the Teutonic Order. Meanwhile, the consolidation of the norms of Christian life was considered to be the daily bread of each clergy,

sanguinem animalium, ne communicent paganis, ne cibum aut potum cum eis aut in vasculis eorum sumabant, ne in his omnibus consuetudinem paganam repetant. – S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis Vita Prieflingensis, eds. K. Liman, J. Wikarjak, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (henceforth: MPH), series nova, VII 1, Warszawa 1966, p. 52. Cf. *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis chronica*, ed. D.G. Waitz, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Scriptores*, VI, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannoverae 1844, p. 263.

2 [...] *promiserunt, quod ipsi vel heredes eorum in mortuis comburendis vel subterrands cum equis sive hominibus uel cum armis seu vestibus vel quibuscunque aliis preciosis, vel etiam in aliis quibuscunque ritus gentilium de cetero non servabunt.* [...] *Ydolo, quod semel in anno, collectis frugibus, consueverunt confingere et pro deo colere, cui nomen Curche imposuerunt, vel aliis diis, qui non fecerunt celum et terram, quibuscunque nominibus appellentur, de cetero non libabunt.* [...] *Promiserunt etiam, quod inter se non habebunt Tulissones vel Ligaschones, homines videlicet mendacissimos histriones, qui quasi gentilium sacerdotes in exequis defunctorum ve tormentorum infernalium promerentur [...]* *Item promiserunt, quod duas uxores similiter vel plures de cetero non habebunt; sed una sola contenti cum ipsa contrahet unusquisque sub testimonio competenti et matrimonium illud in ecclesia statutis temporibus cum sollempnitate debita publicabit. Promiserunt etiam, quod nullus eorum de cetero filiam suam vendet alicui matrimonio copulandam, et quod nullus uxorem filio suo emet uel sibi; nam ex hoc talis inter ipsos consuetudo, sicut intelleximus inolevit, qualis nec inter gentes, ut videlicet uxorem patris sui aliquis habeat.* [...] *Et quod nullum utriusque sexus heredem legitimum reputabunt vel ad supradictam successionem hereditatis admittent, nisi solos illos, qui de legitimo matrimonio secundum statuta Romane ecclesie fuerint procreati; Et quod nullus filium suum vel filiam quacumque de causa per se vel per alium abiciet de cetero uel occidat, publice vel occulte, vel ab alio talia quoquomodo fieri consentiet vel permittet. Promiserunt etiam, quod, quamcito puer alicuius natus fuerit vel ad minus infra octo dies, si tam diu potest absque mortis periculo reservari, ipsum baptizandum facient ad ecclesiam deportari et a presbitero baptizari.* [...] *Preterea promiserunt neophiti sepedicti, quod omnes utriusque sexus, tam juvenes quam adulti, in Quadragesima a carnibus et lacticiis abstinebunt, et in sexta feria a carnibus similiter abstinebunt, et prout poterunt, ieiunabunt, et dies dominicos et festivos ab omni servili opere observabunt; et confessiones suas ad minus semel in anno facient proprio sacerdoti, et in Pascha recipient sacratissimum corpus Christi, et alia facient et cavebunt, que debent boni cavere et facere christiani, prout a prelatiis suis et aliis bonis viris catholicis fuerint eruditi.* – *Die Bildung des Ordensstaates*, I, eds. R. Philippi, C.P. Wölky, in: *Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abteilung*, I, Königsberg 1882 (henceforth: PUB), no. 218.

3 [...] *praedicti apostatae in hoc tandem viversaliter et finaliter conveniunt: Quod si ecclesia subscriptam formam sine omni permutatione violenta in perpetuum ab ipsis acceptare dignaretur, vellent redire devoto animo et prompta voluntate ad catholicam fidei, a qua diabolico instinctu recesserant, unitatem.* – *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, ed. F.G. von Bunge, I: 1093-1300 (henceforth: LUB), Reval 1853, no. 159.

meant for each Christian, no matter if he was a convert or a member of the society which had long been touched by Christianity. Thus, the legates of the Pope, the Archbishop Lund Anders Sunesen and bishop Wilhelm of Modena, who came to Livonia in the first half of the 13th century, preached both to the converts and to the Christians of German/Danish origin, teaching them how to live a Christian life.⁴ In any case the bans were orientated not only to the present but to the past as well because the converts were required not to behave the way common before the adoption of Christianity.

In historiography the consolidation of Christian faith and the norms of Christian life is perceived as a result of two stages of Christian missions – depaganisation (*abrenuntiatio diaboli*) and the consolidation of faith (*confessio fidei*),⁵ which initially touched the social elite of the converts and later – all the rest.⁶ In those stages the medieval perception of paganism and how it is possible to distance from it, as a mistake and idolatry, is reflected.⁷ In this sense the relationship with the past is defined by making a clear divide between the old way of living, described as barbaric, superstitious, pagan or/and incorrect and the new way of living, defined as Christian, appropriate and leading towards salvation (cf. the words of Saint Paul, 2 Corinthians 5:17: “Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come”). In this case, the correct observation of the Old Testament was not considered as a moral value (most probably on the contrary – as a *superstition* or an old-fashioned point of view, which does not add to salvation).⁸ Since the origin of paganism was most often related to the influence and the work of demons, medieval theologians and intellectuals automatically rejected

4 Heinrichs *Livländische Chronik*, eds. L. Arbusow, A. Bauer (henceforth: HCL), in: MGH, *Sriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, Hannoverae 1955, lib. III, cap. X, §13, cap. XXIX, §3-8. More about that see: T.K. Nielsen, *The Missionary Man: Archbishop Anders Sunesen and the Baltic Crusade 1206-21*, in: *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, ed. A.V. Murray, Aldershot-Burlington 2001, pp. 103-117.

5 S. Rosik, “*Abrenuntiatio diaboli*” in *Missionary Practice during the Conversion of Pomerania*, in: *Meetings with Emotions: Human Past between Anthropology and History (Historiography and Society from the 10th to 20th Century)*, ed. P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2008, pp. 41-49; idem, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 23-24, 286-290, 466-476, 570-598, 605-615.

6 [...] *Rigensis episcopus cum gaudio et devotione magna catechizatum sacro baptismatis fonte prigavit [...] et dolium replentes primo seniores et meliores catechizatos, deinde viros alios et mulieres baptizant et pueros.* – HCL, lib. III, cap. XXX, §5, p. 220.

7 More examples about a negative description of paganism in the Middle Ages see H.W. Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen und christlich-abendländisches Selbstverständnis im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (5.-12. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin 2013, pp. 144-187.

8 Sometimes just a term “old superstitions” (*antigue superstitiones*) was used. More about the transformation of the term *superstitio* in the medieval Canon Law see P. Hersperger, *Kirche, Magie und “Aberglaube”. Superstitio in der Kanonistik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2010, pp. 21-22, 444-451.

demonic manifestations as immoral and superstitious. Negative pagan (and/or apostate way of life was also assessed in regard of time as well: this past time was considered to be a past day (yesterday), darkness, rage of the Northern winds⁹ or the time of the fury of the Apocalyptic Beast,¹⁰ which was opposed to the time of growth of spinney of light, truth, knowledge and converts.¹¹

In the considerations of medieval theologians and intellectuals the evaluation of the previous life of the converts had two points of source. It was related to the medieval perception of memory. In theology memory initially was related to the individual's pursuit of the good, which can be achieved by three "powers" of the soul, determined by Saint Augustine, where next to the power of mind and will, we can see the power of memory¹² (thus, memory rises as a metaphysical phenomenon). Those powers are kind of "programmed" in the human soul, which make him similar to God¹³ (cf. the words of the

9 More about the image of the North as a pagan space in the medieval literature see D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden, V: Vorstellungen und Fremdkategorien bei Rimbart, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005, pp. 261-272.

10 *Ab aquilone revelata perfidia succendit ollam, quae tactas pene oves, puerosque consumpsit [...] bestia in Livonica regione surrexit, quae ore aperto absorbet plurimos [...]. – LUB, no. 39; [...] adhuc, infidelitatis tenebris obvoluti, non invocent dominum [...]. – PUB, no. 4; [...] ad partes Pruscie de nostra licentia in humilitate spiritus accesserunt, ut ibidem semen verbi dominici seminando, in umbra infidelitatis et tenebris ignorantie positos ad semitam reducerent veritatis. – ibidem, no. 5; [...] ut populus, qui hactenus ambulabat in tenebris, videat lucem magnam [...]. – ibidem, no. 55; Ecce namque circumiacens populus barbarus Prutenorum gentem que nuper ad agnitionem veritatis pervenit in contemptum persequitur redemptoris et de tenebris erutam nititur ad tenebras persecutionibus revocare [...]. – Codex diplomaticus Prussicus, ed. J. Voigt, I, Königsberg 1836, no. 2.*

11 *[...] qui nuper relicto gentilitatis errore ad cognitionem veritatis, que Christus est, pervenerunt, eo debet propensius exerceri, quo facilius retro aspicerent inhumane tractati. – PUB, no. 7; [...] per ministerium praedicatorum adducens ad cultum nominis Christiani, de semine verbi sui fecit nova fidelium segete pullulare, quod absit, in salsuginem redigatur, sed potius crescens in messem, in fructum exuberet opportunum [...]. – LUB, no. 144; [...] quos lux illa, quae illuminat, omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum vocat de tenebris ad admirabile lumen suum, ut relicto gentilitatis errore fidem Domini nostri [...]. – ibidem, no. 157. Cf. Saint Paul's 1 Thessalonians 5:5: "You are sons of the light and sons of the day. We do not belong to the night of the darkness".*

12 *Memoria, intelligentia et voluntas unum sunt essentialiter, et tria relative. Remotis igitur paulisper caeteris, quorum mens de se ipsa certa est, tria haec potissimum considerata tractemus, memoriam, intelligentiam, voluntatem. [...] Haec igitur tria, memoria, intelligentia, voluntas, quoniam non sunt tres vitae, sed una vita; nec tres mentes, sed una mens: consequenter utique nec tres substantiae sunt, sed una substantia. Memoria quippe, quae vita et mens et substantia dicitur, ad se ipsam dicitur: quod vero memoria dicitur, ad aliquid relative dicitur. – Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi de Trinitate libri XV, eds. W.J. Mountain, F. Glorie, II, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, L, Turnholti 1968, lib. X, cap. XI, §17-18. In the Middle Ages the explanation of the three-member "powers" of the soul which was related to the members of the Holy Trinity was adopted and became popular in different theological works. In the 13th century two famous theologians Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Bonaventure wrote about it, though their sources of explanation and the approach to the explanation were slightly different.*

13 *Mens imago Trinitatis in sui ipsius memoria, intelligentia et voluntate. Iamne igitur ascendendum est qualibuscumque intentionis viribus ad illam summam et altissimam essentiam,*

Genesis 1:27: "God created man in his own image"). Due to this reason it was considered that the soul of each Christian is biased towards its own Creator, because it "remembers" (though incorrectly, due to the worshiping of the idols) whom it has to be thankful for its existence. Such perception enabled to form the image of "naive" God's creations-pagans; the words "How, then, can they call on the one they not believed in?" (Romans 10:14) were applied to them. This particular memory, rising from the depths of the soul, is above instability and above time. In Canon Law this memory was related to the right of pagans to live under the guidance of *ius naturale*.¹⁴ Such "naive" pagans could have their own property and live the life of free people (if they did not do any harm to Christians),¹⁵ until they were baptized. Such perception was related to *plenitudo potestatis* doctrine, which was made meaningful by Pope Innocent IV and transformed into *auctoritas* and *potestatis* for the whole world, thus, including pagan lands, which, supposedly, *de iure*, were under the pope's, as God's vicar on the Earth, rule.¹⁶

On the other hand, according to medieval intellectuals, the individual encounters the acquired memory, which works on a lower level: through the senses of the soul which determines the unity of the body and the soul, memory appears, without which knowledge and understanding would be impossible, thus-wisdom.¹⁷ It is wisdom which enables a human being to

cuius impar imago est humana mens, sed tamen imago? [...] Mentem quippe ipsam in memoria et intelligentia et voluntate suimetipsius talem reperiebamus, ut quoniam semper se nosse semperque se ipsam velle comprehendebatur, simul etiam semper sui meminisse, semperque se ipsam intelligere et amare comprehenderetur; quamvis non semper se cogitare discretam ab eis quae non sunt, quod ipsa est: ac per hoc difficile in ea dignoscitur memoria sui, et intelligentia sui. – ibidem, cap. XII, §19. Cf.: Et ideo, quia in assignatione imaginis mens locum divinae essentiae tenet, haec vero tria, quae sunt memoria, intelligentia et voluntas, tenent locum trium personarum; ideo Augustinus menti adscribit illa quae requiruntur ad imaginem in creatura, cum dicit, quod memoria et intelligentia et voluntas sunt una vita, una mens, una essentia. – S. Thomae Aquinatis Questiones disputatae: De Veritate, ed. R.M. Spiazzi, Taurini-Romae 1949, q. 10, article I, cap.. 5.

¹⁴ *Decretum Magistri Graciani, in: Corpus iuris canonici editio lipsiensis secunda, I, ed. A. Friedberg, Leipzig 1979, D. 8, c. 1; D. 9, c. 1-2.*

¹⁵ *Et ideo licebat cuilibet occupare, quod occupatum non erat, sed ab aliis occupatum occupare non licebat. – Pope Innocent IV, Commentaria: Apparatus in quinque libris Decretaliorum [repr.], Frankfurt am Main 1968, D. X, C. 3, c. 34, no. 8; Natura enim omnes homines liberi sunt – ibidem, D. X, C. 3, c. 34, no. 8; S. Brand-Pierach, Ungläubige im Kirchenrecht. Die kanonistische Behandlung der Nichtchristen als symbolische Manifestation politischen Machtwillens, PhD dissertation, University of Konstanz 2004, p. 178; J. Muldoon, Popes, Lawyers and Infidels. The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550, Pennsylvania 1979, pp. 4-27, 36-48.*

¹⁶ *S. Brand-Pierach, Ungläubige im Kirchenrecht..., pp. 75-77.*

¹⁷ *Sed memoria, etiam proprie accepta, se habet aequaliter ad omne tempus, ut dicit Augustinus, XIV de Trinitate, et probat per dicta Virgilii, qui proprie nomine memoriae et oblivionis usus est. Ergo memoria non concernit aliquod tempus particulare, sed omne. Ergo ad intellectum pertinet. – S. Thomae Aquinatis Questiones disputatae..., q. 10, a. II, con. 2. Cf.: Memoria vero in parte sensitiva ponitur, quia est alicuius prout cadit sub determinato tempore: non est enim nisi praeteriti. – Thomae de*

function reasonably (according Boethius and Saint Thomas Aquinas, who shared his ideas – “*rationalis naturae individua substantia*”).¹⁸ The functions of the latter memory are multiple: it has got to protect, to present, to remind of and to remember the events,¹⁹ and this is related to feelings, not only to mind. Thus, the converts’ evaluation of the previous life is orientated to this acquired memory, on one hand, but on the other hand, due to the orientation of the soul towards its Creator, evaluation is raised to a higher level, stating *a priori* that from the birth of a human there is no coded memory about the evil since the human is good by nature.

Both above mentioned perceptions of memory were interwoven in the rhetoric of Christian missions. The metaphysical level of memory allowed to support the image of “naive” pagans²⁰ and cherish the hope that the nations, which are not familiar with God’s Word soon will convert to true faith (cf. John 10:16: “I have other sheep that are not of this sheep pen. I must bring them also. They too will listen to my voice, and there shall be one flock”).²¹ The sensual perception of memory required to demand the observation of the appropriate norms of Christian life from the converts reminding them what was appropriate and what was intolerable, according to the understanding of missionaries.²² In the latter case, it is interesting that converts could recall only their previous “wrong/inappropriate” life, which was opposed to the “correct/appropriate” Christian life. Thus, actually, converts could not recall

Aquino, *Summa contra gentiles/Suma prieš pagonis*, ed. G. Vyšniauskas, Vilnius 2003, lib. II, cap. LXXV [17]; *Cuius contrarium experimur: nam ex sensibus fiunt in nobis memoriae, ex quibus experimenta de rebus accipimus, per quae ad comprehendendum universalialia scientiarum et artium principia pervenimus.* – *ibidem*, cap. LXXXIII [26].

¹⁸ See more W. Cichosz, *Koncepcja osoby ludzkiej w filozofii św. Tomasza z Akwinu*, “*Studia Gdańskie*” XIII (2000), pp. 177-183.

¹⁹ *Operatio autem memoriae est retentio et repraesentatio non solum praesentium, corporalium et temporalium, verum etiam succedentium, simplicium et sempiternalium. Retinet namque memoria praeterita per recordationem, praesentia per susceptionem, futura per praevisionem. Retinet etiam simplicia, sicut principia quantitatum continuarum et discretarum, ut punctum, instans et unitatem, sine quibus impossibile est meminisse aut cogitare ea quae principiantur per haec.* – S. Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum/Sielos vadovas į Dievą*, eds. D. Alekna, T. Sodeika, *Mystica Christiana*, I, Vilnius 2009, cap. III, §2. Saint Bonaventure took over this perception from Saint Augustine, see Augustinus, *Confessiones*, in: *Patrologiae cursus complectus, series Latina* (henceforth: PL), ed. J. Migne, Paris, 1844, vol. XXXII, lib. XI, cap. XIV-XV, XX, col. 815-816, 819.

²⁰ J. Muldoon, *The Nature of the Infidel: the Anthropology of the Canon Lawyers*, in: *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. S.D. Westrem, New York-London 1991, pp. 117-119; W. Świeboda, *Innowiercy w opiniach prawnych uczonych polskich w XV wieku. Poganie, żydzi, muzułmanie*, Kraków 2013, pp. 82-83, 201-202.

²¹ *Ceterum cum, sicut speratur, ecclesiae nunc ostio magno aperto in Domino ad Christi fidem iniret gentium plenitudo, dum sarraceni et pagani iuxta verbum evangelicum tamquam de infidelitatis sepibus advocantur, et compelluntur intrare, ac oves aliae, quae nondum sunt ex Christi ovili, ducuntur, ut sit unam ovile, unus et pastor.* – LUB, no. 52.

²² Cf. PUB, no. 13.

“appropriate” life since they had not lived it. The converts had to learn the norms of “right” life through good example and words, i.e. through explanation and teaching, this way involving the neophytes themselves in the missionary work.²³ However, possessing a “natural” inclination towards their Creator, they felt themselves what was good and what was wrong, cf. Mathew 7:12: “So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets”.²⁴ Therefore, through the metaphysical level of memory the converts retrospectively “felt” the pro-vision of the former “appropriate” life before the first misdemeanor of the human against God (cf. Romans 5:12: “[...] just as sin entered the world through one man”), which now, i.e. in the process of conversion, was depicted by the missionaries in their sermons.

Not accidentally, in the interpretation of Christian truths the creation of the world, the discussion of the relationship between God and the human, the appearance of the sin and the opposition of the “wrong/inappropriate” way of life to the “correct/appropriate” Christian way of life were among the most important issues which missionaries tried to explain to pagans – future neophytes – in their sermons. This way behaved Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania,²⁵ the same was done by the missionaries described by chronicler Henry of Livonia.²⁶ In all interpretations of this kind missionaries tried to show that the previous pagan life was bad, inappropriate and distorting the order of life on the Earth, defined by God. Therefore, the confrontation of the sin of Adam, which had come from the early Christianity, and revival in Christ, i.e. baptism, meant nothing else but a “renewed again” definition of the relationship between an individual (in this case-the convert) and God.²⁷

23 [...] *salubribus monitis et mandatis sacerdotum vestrorum humiliter intendentes et filios vestros facientes sacris literis erudiri, ut et ipsi auctore domino alios tandem erudire valeant ad salutem* [...]. – *ibidem*.

24 This principle was quoted by Grasiani: *Unde Christus in evangelio: Omnia quecunque vultis ut faciant vobis homines [...]. – Decretum Magistri Graciani*, D. I, c. 1.

25 *S. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis Vita Prieflingensis*, lib. II, §4, §9; *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, ed. J. Wikarjak, in: MPH, series nova, VII 2, Warszawa 1969, lib. II, §1; *Herbordi Dialogus de Vita S. Ottonis*, eds. J. Wikarjak, K. Liman, in: MPH, series nova, VII 3, Warszawa 1974, lib. II, §18. More about the catechizing, performed by Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania see B. Kumor, *Katecheza chrzcielna biskupa Ottona z Bambergu w czasie chrystianizacji Pomorza Zachodniego*, in: *Z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na Pomorzu*, ed. L. von Zitzewitz, Zeszyty Kulickie, II, Kulice 2001, pp. 35-42; cf. S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa...*, pp. 594-601.

26 HCL, lib. III, cap. 10, §14.

27 Such a perception came into being in the epoch of Late Antiquity, when Christianity was rapidly spreading in the territories North of the Alps and other territories of the former Roman Empire, more about that see C.D. McConnell, *Baptism in Visigothic Spain: Origins, Development and Interpretation*, PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame 2005, pp. 23-24, 30, 106.

Thus, while analyzing the process of Christianisation it is important to perceive not only the ways the Christian missions had been practiced but also what role in the process of Christianisation was played by memory and recalling of the past. Hereby, there will be no talk about memory as a remembrance about the ancestors, significant events, the culture of memory or the ways and possibilities of sustaining of memory. The talk will be about what converts, seeking salvation, could remember, what was required to forget, what was required not to promote or what was looked upon rather unbiased. Thus, some attempts will be made to find out how the past Christianisation, if it may be called like that, took place, i.e. the conversion of the memory and remembrance into a Christian's "own" past and his "own" memory.

THE CONVERSION OF THE PAST INTO CHRISTIAN'S "OWN" PAST

In order to understand the course of this process one should start from the explanation of Saint Augustine. The bishop of Hippo while discussing the tradition of the animal offerings among pagan people, explained that God's people (*populus Dei*), thus, Christians, were familiar with these offerings from the past, not directly, but through reading the Holy Scripture.²⁸ In this explanation the most important thing is not the fact that blood offerings were made, but the fact that Christians can talk about it without fear that old offerings will become a common practice again, i.e. this practice was their "own", their ancestors', which was recollected by Christians in order to recognize and to evaluate their mistakes. But missionaries required the converts to renounce the idolatry related to any tangible past of their "own". Meanwhile, for the converts of the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea the memory about offerings came not from the Scripture, as a source of witness about what was in the past, but from the personal experience (true, presented by Christian intellectuals, based on the models of *interpretatio christiana* and/or *interpretatio romana*,²⁹ since Baltic pagan societies had not left any tangible proof of their pagan mythology and/or religion).

²⁸ *Nec quod ab antiquis patribus alia sacrificia facta sunt in victimis pecorum, quae nunc Dei populus legit, non facit, aliud intellegendum est, nisi rebus illis eas res fuisse significatas, quae aguntur in nobis, ad hoc ut inhaereamus Deo et ad eundem finem proximo consulamus.* – Augustinus Hiponensis *De Civitate Dei contra paganos Libri XXII*, in: P L, XLI, Paris 1845, lib. X, cap. V.

²⁹ H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (VI-XII)*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 146-154, 239-263; L.P. Słupecki, *Pagan Temple – Christian Church. The Problem of Old Norse Temples*, in: *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North*, eds. L.P. Słupecki, J. Morawiec, Rzeszów 2009, pp. 29-40; S. Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI-XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 26-42, 226-235, 281-303.

But as well as God's people's the same way converts' personal experience had to coincide, in the eyes of missionaries, with the recollection of all Christians of the fact that people used to offer blood offerings.³⁰ Such metaphysical interpretation of memory, taken over from Saint Augustine, was related to the history of salvation itself, which, according missionaries themselves, was joined by more and more new nations.³¹ Thus, thanks to Saint Adalbert (Vojtěch), a Prussian tribe was involved in the history of salvation, the same future was predicted for other so called barbaric people in the Baltic region.³² It is important that memory, engaged by personal experience, had to become a collective memory, washing away the foundations of the personal memory, equalizing it to the memory known from the Scripture. Only this way their "own" past could appear in converts' societies, which, after Christianisation, i.e. after interpreting it in its own way, the recollection about the pagan behavior of their ancestors was conceived as a common experience, undergone by all former pagan people in general. Not accidentally, in the history of the conversion of the nations medieval chroniclers and intellectuals used to present this common experience in a rather standard way.

Such metamorphosis of memory completely matches the psychological metamorphosis, which, in the middle of the process of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* or in the process of baptism or just after it, was experienced by a convert: the previous life and everything related to it symbolized "older me", which, by means of the grace of baptism, turned into a "new me"³³ (cf. 1 Corinthians 15:22: "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive"). It is important to notice that "new me" creates the feeling of community (analogical to the above mentioned collective memory) which allows to identify "us", thus separating "them", i.e. the individuals belonging to another (most often-religious or social) group of people. This transition can explain one paradox,

30 Saint Augustine dedicated almost the whole Book 10 of his work *De Civitate Dei* to this, cf. *Augustinus Hiponensis De Civitate Dei...*, lib. X.

31 The hagiographers of Saint Otto of Bamberg pointed out to the sequence of converted nations until the conversion of Pomerania and the apostles and the missionaries who added to the conversion: *Nam cum Petrus Iudeam, Paulus Greciam, Andreas Achaïam, Iohannes Asiam, Thomas Indiam, Gregorius Angliam, ceterique dominici gregis arietes, singuli suos eterno iudici reportant manipulos, Otto etiam inter eos Pomeraniam gaudens adducet [...]* – *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis...*, lib. III, §27. See more: S. Rosik, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Legitymizacja pomorskich misji św. Ottona z Bambergu w przekazach z XII wieku*, in: *Kościół w monarchiach Przemysławidów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Gniezno 21-24 września 2006 roku*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, pp. 380-382; idem, *Conversio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa...*, p. 53.

32 [...] *ipse namque Selenciam, Pomorianam et Prusiam usque adeo vel in perfidia resistentes contrivit vel conversas in fide solidavit [...]*. – *Galli Chronicon*, in: MPH, I, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1864, lib. I, cap. 6.

33 B. Beit-Hallahmi, *Conversion*, in: *Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion*, eds. D.A. Leeming, K. Madden, S. Marlan, New York 2010, pp. 180-181.

which comes out of it-how psychologically renouncing “old me” it is possible to get into “ours”, i.e. a society which supports a “new me”. Only this way, according to the understanding of medieval intellectuals, it was possible to become a member of unanimous Christian society. Thus, metaphysical memory, discussed by Saint Augustine, enabled the convert to sense **why** an individual had to live, i.e. to add to the perception of the existential understanding of the meaning of life. The acquired memory had to help the convert to understand **how** an individual had to live, thus, coming closer to the solution of the issue of the meaning of life.

From all previous remarks we can see that recollection about “common” ancestors, lying deep in darkness, in mistake, in idolatry was the same as the recollection of the converts about their personal experience. The latter experience made no claims to any metaphysical level of the perception of memory, though missionaries were striving to support this level and to interpret it to the converts. Since the personal experience of the converts was attributed to senses, supporting the acquired memory, it is only natural that a great deal of attention was given to the personal experience of the converts. The more so that this way it was possible to explain to the convert **how** he was to live a Christian life in order not to return to old mistakes. A part of the bans and teachings, mentioned in the beginning of this article, related to the consolidation of the norms of Christian life, were directed mainly to the acquired memory with the aim to “rule over it”, to change it so as to enable to form a Christian identity. The functioning of the latter was dependent on how the neophytes were to live in order to solve the above mentioned issue of the existential meaning of human life. In this moment of the manifestation of the identity a great role was played by psychological factors, showing how *homo gentilis* became *homo christianus*.

However, as it may seem from the first sight, it can not be stated that during the time of the “taking over” of the memory there was a strict divide between what the converts could afford themselves and what they were made to renounce. Even though Otto of Bamberg demanded from the Pomeranian converts, and later Teutonic Order from Prussian converts, to renounce the majority of the norms of the previous life while receiving Christian norms (exactly according to the words of Saint Paul, 2 Corinthians 6:15-16: “What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever?”),³⁴ the answer itself had some nuances and shades, showing that in some cases the prophets of Christianity were tending

³⁴ *Quae conventio Christi ad Belial? – Brunonis Querfurtensis epistola ad Henricum Regem*, ed. J. Karwasińska, in: MPH, series nova, IV 3, Warszawa 1973, p. 101; cf. *Herbordi Dialogus...*, lib. III, §7.

to strive for some compromises, of course, not for the sake of Christian dogmas and Salvation of souls. According to the modern psychology, we can discern several forms of the interpretation of the past, which are closely related and which can be seen in the process of catechizing, which took place during the process of Christianisation: 1) rejection; 2) revision (selection); 3) nostalgia; 4) amnesia. Let us shortly discuss them.

THE FORMS OF THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PAST: REJECTION

Missionaries had very precisely defined what converts had to renounce: pagan practices, rituals, offerings, worshipping of multiple gods and spirits and improper belief in the afterlife of the soul. Actually, in sources, in a very standard way, most often with regard to the model of *interpretatio christiana* there is a hint of the paganism of natural origin (*silvencens ydolatria*)³⁵ which converts had to renounce. Apart from several theonims, designated to the Balts, mentioned in some medieval sources³⁶ the interpretation of which still being controversial,³⁷ nothing particular, typical only to Baltic mythology, can be stated yet. However, it has been declared in Christburg that Prussians will not offer to their idol *Curche* anymore, will not listen to their priests, who supposedly wrongly, claimed that the soul of the deceased, armed and with guards, will travel to another world riding a horse—they will no longer bury their deceased in a pagan way.³⁸ All these pagan practices confronted the doctrines of Christianity as a monotheistic religion, therefore there was no talk about their existence or acquiring of some other forms. The reason was

35 Cf. a standard definition, true, presented by Oliver of Paderborn *Historia regum Terre Sancte: Nam gens Livorum, Hestonum, Pruzorum, variis erroribus delusa, ignorans Dei filium et incarnati verbi misterium, numina gentilium colebat, driades, amadriades, oreades, napeas, hinnides, satiros et faunos. Separabat enim sibi lucos, quos nulla securis presumpsit violare, ubi fontes et arbores, montes et colles, rupes et valles venerabantur, quasi aliquid virtutis et auspicii reperiri posset in eis. – Emonis et Menkonis Werumensium Chronica*, ed. L. Weiland, in: MGH, *Scriptores*, XXIII, Hannoverae 1874, p. 474.

36 [...] *первому Нънадъєви, и Телявели и Диверикъзу, заяечему богу, и Мъидъгину – Галицько-Волинський літопис: Дослідження: текст, коментар*, ed. М.Ф. Котляр, Київ 2002, p. 113; cf. *ibidem*, p. 120. Cf. information from 1262: [...] *богу Андаєвы Перкоунови рекше зромоу и Жвороунгъ рекше соуцьр и Телавели – Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai*, ed. N. Vėlius, I (henceforth: BRMS), Vilnius 1996, p. 266.

37 A.J. Greimas, *Lietuvių mitologijos studijos*, ed. K. Nastopka, Vilnius 2005, pp. 176-180, 383-392; V. Toporov, *Baltų mitologijos ir ritualo tyrimai. Rinktinė*, ed. N. Mikhailov, Vilnius 2000, pp. 31-32; N. Vėlius, *Senovės baltų pasaulėžiūra*, Vilnius 1983, p. 55; G. Beresnevičius, *Trumpas lietuvių ir prūsų religijos žodynas*, Vilnius 2001, pp. 50-51, 83, 116, 125, 135; D. Razauskas, *Andajās, Nunadievis (ir Perkūnas): Dar viena interpretācija, "Tautosakos darbai" XI (1999)*, pp. 106-108, 110-111.

38 See: fn. 2.

that in the formula of baptism itself, from the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, there were rituals of renouncing of demons, thus, the rituals of exorcism.³⁹ In the stage of *abrenuntiatio diaboli* the act of sprinkling of the pagan space (the castle, the household, animals and people) with holy water,⁴⁰ is nothing more than exorcism-cleansing the living space of the influence of devil⁴¹ thus, symbolically, “cleansing” the present from the impurities of the past. In this meaning, there can not be any talk about syncretism or henotheism in Christianity.⁴² Syncretism, henotheism, as well as monolatria, could exist only in polytheistic societies.⁴³ Thus, according to the hagiography of Saint Ansgar, written by Rimbert, pagan Swedish Vikings, who attacked the castle of Apuole (now in modern Lithuanian), asked a Christian God for help after their own gods had failed to help them, thus, Christ was considered to be a familiar god by Vikings⁴⁴ though attributing him a higher rank, hereby, we can see a henotheistic pagan position. Henry of Livonia mentioned that Lettgallians had cast lot, to be safe, in order to find out if they had to believe in God and what form to worship him-in Western or Eastern Church.⁴⁵ Thus, we can envisage a monolatrian attitude in this choice of Lettgallians.

The convert, while receiving *prima signatio* and becoming a catechumen, was immediately orientated to worshipping only one God, rejecting any

39 C.D. McConnell, *Baptism in Visigothic Spain...*, pp. 52-54, 68, 84-89, 102-103, 118-121, 143-144, 176-179, 187-190.

40 *Unde abbas et prepositus cum aliis sacerdotibus ascendentes ad ipsos in castrum aqua benedicta [...].* – HCL, lib. III, cap. XI, §6; *Qui omnes domos et castrum et viros et mulieres cum omni populo aspergentes aqua benedicta et quodammodo iniciantes [...].* – ibidem, cap. XIV, §11. Cf. the act of depaganization, performed by the bishop of Kolzbeig in Pomerania, when he consecrated the sea: *Fana idolorum destruens incendit et mare demonibus cultum inmissis quatuor lapidibus sacro crismate perunctis et aqua purgans benedicta [...].* – Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon, ed. I.M. Lappenbergii, in: MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, LIV, Hannoverae 1889, lib. VIII (VII), cap. 72 (52), p. 236.

41 See more: S. Rosik, *Quae conventio Christi ad Belial? Konfrontacja duchowych potęg w średniowiecznej teologii (na przykładzie łacińskich przekazów o przedchrześcijańskiej religii Słowian i ich chrystianizacji)*, in: *Sacrum. Obraz i funkcja w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, eds. A. Pięniądź-Skrzypczak, J. Pysiak, Warszawa 2005, pp. 116-118.

42 More about henotheism, see: L.M. West, *Towards Monotheism*, in: *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, eds. P. Athanassiadi, M. Frede, Oxford 1999, pp. 21-40; P. Nuffelen, *Pagan Monotheism as a Religious Phenomenon*, in: *One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Mitchell, P. Nuffelen, Cambridge 2010, pp. 18-33; J. North, *Pagan Ritual and Monotheism*, in: *One God. Pagan monotheism...*, pp. 34-52.

43 Cf. the statements of H. Łowmiański about the fact that pagan religion of Western Slaves experienced the impact of Christianity, H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian...*, pp. 146-154, 183-198, 239-263.

44 *Vitae Anskarii et Rimberti*, in: MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannoverae 1884, cap. 30.

45 HCL, lib. III, cap. XI, §7.

possibility to keep other gods inside his heart, even if one perceived them on a lower level of hierarchy. Worshiping of one God also required the renunciation of all idols and forbidden pagan practices by the idols or in some other places. By the way, the neophytes of the Baltic region perceived the Christian God as a more powerful than their former gods and that created not only the feeling of respect towards a new God but also the feeling of fear towards him, when you no longer believed in defeated gods.⁴⁶ Their place, not a place next to them, was taken over by a Christian God. Let us not forget that in the epoch of Crusades the image of revengeful God was very distinct⁴⁷ and it could find its reflection among converts as well, especially the ones who were involved in the Crusade movement in the Baltic region. Besides, this vision was interwoven with the image of *Ecclesia Militans* which was also transferred to the local Christian societies, thus, to neophytes.⁴⁸ The fear to draw on the rage and the vengeance of the mighty God might have had some influence on the neophytes and also gave no possibilities to keep the old gods together with Christian God inside their hearts. This fear was also aggravated by some sort of social coercion, applied to the converts,⁴⁹ which also provided no opportunities for the old pagan gods to remain together with a powerful and vindictive Christian God. Finally, we should not forget that we are dealing with medieval *homo religiosus*. Then the personal religiousness of each individual was not a personal matter of each separate individual, as it happened through the religious movement of *devotio moderna* and Reformation in Early Modern Times.

Not accidentally, Estonian apostates cleansed their houses with water,⁵⁰ this way symbolically striving "to return" time and to terminate the act

46 *Ad hoc illi: "Cognoscimus Deum vestrum maiorem diis nostris, qui nos superando animum nostrum ad ipsius culturam inclinavit".* – ibidem, cap. XIV, §11. Cf. *Herbordi Dialogus...*, lib. II, §31; *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, ed. A. Holder, Strassburg 1886, lib. XIV, §39, p. 475; [...] *et velut inertes et languidi a Polonorum Deo devicti, Deos nostros et sacra eorum deserimus, et deo Polonorum atque tuo, velut fortiori, adhaeremus.* – Joannis Długosz, *Historia Polonica*, in: BRMŚ, I, pp. 561-562.

47 About the image of vindictive God in the rhetoric of the Crusades see S.A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095-1216*, Farnham 2011, pp. 16-19, 31-40, 74-76, 88-96.

48 M. Ščavinskas, *Christianisation and cura animarum in the First Christian Communities in Livonia and Prusia during the Period of the Crusades*, in: *Verbum movet, exemplum trahit. The Emerging Christian Community in the Eastern Baltic*, ed. M. Ščavinskas, Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis, XXXIII, Klaipėda 2016, pp. 54-62.

49 More about that see: M.Ščavinskas, *Forms of Coercion in Peaceful Christian Missions, "Lithuanian Historical Studies" XVI* (2012), pp. 123-136; idem, *Czy stosowano przemoc podczas pokojowych misji chrystianizacyjnych? Kilka uwag o misjach chrystianizacyjnych w strefie bałtyckiej, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXVIII* (2013) 1, pp. 12-24.

50 [...] *et se et domos suas et castra lavantes aquis et scopis purgantes, taliter baptismi sacramenta de finibus suis omnino delere conabantur.* – HCL, lib. III, cap. XXVI, §8.

of depaganisation, performed against them. The same way baptized Livs cleansed themselves in the river Dūna (Daugava) in order to wash away the water of baptism,⁵¹ i.e. renounced Christianity. It is interesting that insurgent Estonians also re-buried their dead people according pagan rituals⁵² striving “to return” to pagan times and “to restore” not only their own, as living beings, former, pre-Christian status, but that of the deceased as well. That was influenced by the positive evaluation of the powers of the rioters (the rioters had taken over some castles, built by crusaders, also they had taken some crusaders – the brother of the bishop of Riga Theodoric among them – in captivity).⁵³ The analogical action, only seeking to receive God’s grace from Christians, was performed by the Danish king Harold Bluetooth, who buried his father Gorm in a Christian way, thus attributing the merits of adoption of Christianity in Denmark to him.⁵⁴ In all these examples there is a magic pursuit of “getting back” time, only apostates Estonians, remembering the customs of their ancestors, were striving to get rid of the Christian interpretation of “their” past, attributed to them, i.e. they were trying to get grounds from their personal experience and Harold Bluetooth, who, on the contrary, was trying to attribute his deceased pagan father the interpretation of the Christian past, obviously concerned about the post-mortals state of his father’s soul.

REVISIONISM AND NOSTALGIA

In historiography, while speaking about the process of Christianisation, most often it is emphasized what neophytes had to renounce, but failed in doing that; thus, a very superficial, syncretic and long-lasting image of Christianisation is being presented.⁵⁵ Hereby, a great deal of Christian superstitions (*superstitio*)

51 [...] *et ecce perfidi Lyvones de balneis consuētis egressi Dune fluminis aqua se perfundunt, dicentes: “Hic iam baptismatis aquam cum ipsa christianitate removemus aqua fluminis et fidem susceptam exfestucantes post Saxones recedentes transmittimus”*. – *ibidem*, lib. II, §8.

52 [...] *et corpora mortuorum suorum, in cemeteriis sepulta, de sepulchris effoderunt et morte paganorum pristino cremaverunt [...]*. – *ibidem*, lib. III, cap. XXVI, §8.

53 *Ibidem*, cap. XXVI, §2-7.

54 A. Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia. Vikings, Merchants and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*, New Haven-London 2012, pp. 112-114, 134, 139-140, 152.

55 Cf. J. Sarnowski, *Der Deutsche Orden, die Kumanen und die Preußen*, in: *Schwertmission. Gewalt und Christianisierung im Mittelalter*, eds. H. Kamp, M. Kroker, Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich 2013, pp. 174-178; A. Radzimiński, *The Contribution of the Teutonic Order to the Evangelization of Prussia. Some Remarks Based on Synod Legislation*, “Lithuanian Historical Studies” XI (2006), pp. 84-88; *idem*, *Chryścianizacja i ewangelizacja Prusów. Historia i źródła*, Toruń 2011, pp. 60-61. The discussion on the stages of Christianization, emphasizing syncretism or a “superficial” adoption of Christianity, true, based on the archaeological material of Polabian Slaves: A. Pollex, *The Change of Burial Rites of the Polabian Slaves*, in: *Christianization of the Baltic Region*, ed. J. Gąsowski, *Castri Dominae Nostrae Litterae Annales*, I, Pułtusk 2004, pp. 112-

are named pagan practices by some researchers, even though they could be attributed to Christian Europe as well.⁵⁶ On the other hand, that, “what” was applied a certain revisionist attitude by Christianity, was related not to Christian dogmas and the truths of faith (in regard to which, as it has been mentioned above, no compromises were made), but to these attitudes of life, which could not be avoided due to certain circumstances, or to these attitudes which, though not adding to the pursuit of the main goal—the salvation of the soul, did not oppose this goal and did not hinder from it.

The example of the burial of the Livs nobleman Caup is a very characteristic one while discussing the cases of syncretism in the Baltic region. In historiography it has been concluded that the burial of Caup presents a clear case of syncretism – when a neophyte died after he had taken Christian sacraments and his body was burnt and buried in the church of Cubbesele.⁵⁷ By naming such an unusual burial a syncretism, two important nuances are neglected: Christian knights took part in the funeral (Count Albert among them) and the clergy (the abbot of Dünamünde Bernard and the prepositus of Riga John),⁵⁸ who did not argue about the burning of the body of the nobleman. Second, Caup died and was burnt during a campaign to Estonia. This particular circumstance provides the answer to the question of why the body of the deceased was burnt and later, when the campaign was over, was buried in the church of Cubbesele: Caup, (supposedly, due to his nobleness and dedication to Christians) was not to be buried together with others, who died in the battle (finally, he died just after the battle was over, not during the battle), but the transportation of the body during the time of the Crusade might have cost extra trouble (the problem of the preservation

-115. Cf. “superficial” adoption of Christianity or semi-pagans in Livonia – V. Muižnieks, *The Co-Existence of Two Traditions in the Territory of Present-Day Latvia in the 13th-18th Centuries: Burial in Dress and in a Shroud*, in: *The Archaeology of Death in Post-Medieval Europe*, ed. S. Tarlow, Berlin 2015, pp. 100-106.

⁵⁶ P. Hersperger, *Kirche, Magie...*, pp. 444-453.

⁵⁷ T.K. Nielsen, *Mission and Submission. Societal Change in the Baltic in the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, eds. T.M.S. Lehtonen, K.V. Jensen, J. Malkki, K. Ritari, *Studia Fennica Historica*, IX, Helsinki 2005, p. 227; M. Tamm, *Martyrs and Miracles: Depicting Death in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, in: *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, eds. M. Tamm, L. Kaljundi, C.S. Jensen, Burlington 2011, p. 142; C.S. Jensen, *How to Convert a Landscape: Henry of Livonia and Chronicon Livoniae*, in: *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. A.V. Murray, Burlington 2009, p. 158. Cf. in Lithuanian historiography: V. Žulkus, *Kuršiai Baltijos jūros ervėje*, Vilnius 2004, p. 188.

⁵⁸ *Et ibat comes Albertus cum eis, cum militibus ac servis suis, Volquinus magister milicie cum fratribus suis, Bernarbus abbas de Dunemunde, prepositus Iohannes [...] Et luctum habuerunt super eum tam comes Albertus quam abbas et omnes, qui erant cum eis. Et combustum est corpus eius, et ossa delata in Lyvoniam et sepulta in Cubbesele.* – HLC, lib. III, cap. XXI, §2-4.

of the body for the fear of decomposing among them). Thus, the example of the burning of Caup's body shows not the signs of syncretism, but separate, very rare cases, when due to the circumstances, extraordinary behaviors were applied, i.e. not ordinary, but, having in mind the conditions of the Crusade, rational.⁵⁹ By the way, analogically, in 1375, during the Crusade to Lithuania, the deceased, who died from the hands of Lithuanians, were ordered to be burnt by the Marshal of Livonian Order Robin, who was trying to protect the dead from the further desecration.⁶⁰

The archaeological material also demonstrates that there were cases, very rare though, of burials after burning the body of the deceased in makeshift graveyards during the inhumation stage of Christian period, which shows that such burning of the dead was also extraordinary.⁶¹ Thus, among other Christian burials found in Augustiniskis (now – Daugavpils district in modern Latvia) graveyard of the Christian period, dating back to the 15th century, which belonged to Livonian Order, there was found a makeshift burial place of the burnt deceased (supposedly, woman) with Christian symbolic.⁶² In the territory of Lithuania there were also such extraordinary burials. Thus, a burnt burial with no grave goods was found in Liepiniškiai (Utena district in modern Lithuania) old graveyard dating back to the 15th-17th centuries, where other graves of the same period were not burnt.⁶³ It is interesting that the remains of the burnt dead person were most probably put in the pot,

⁵⁹ More about that (true, in the Lithuanian language) see M. Ščavinskas, *Kryžius ir kalavijas, Krikščioniškųjų misijų sklaida Baltijos jūros regione X-XIII amžiais*, Vilnius 2012, pp. 155-159.

⁶⁰ *Mane facto lantmarscalcus cum suis invenerunt corpora cesa nuda spoliata, que conflagrarunt ulterius procedentes.* – Hermann de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, in: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (henceforth: SRP), II, eds. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehle, Leipzig 1863, p. 109.

⁶¹ True, there is a point of view that Christians could be buried this way only by observing old, i.e. pagan traditions; it is agreed that such cases are very rare, more about that: A. Pollex, *The Change of Burial Rites...*, p. 115. More about the burnt burials of the Christian period and their interpretation in Scandinavia and Pomerania: S.A. Gräslund, *Aspects of the Christianisation Process – with Some Examples from Öland*, in: *Archaeology East and West of the Baltic*, ed. I. Jansson, Stockholm 1995, pp. 156-157; B. Nilsson, *Early Christian Burials in Sweden*, in: *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. G. Armstrong, I.N. Wood, Brepols 2000, pp. 78-79; M. Rebkowski, *Chrystianizacja Pomorza Zachodniego. Studium archeologiczne*, Szczecin 2007, pp. 144-159. In separate cases there could happen that burnt pagans were buried next to the graves of the Christians, but each case of this character should be researched individually, cf. A. Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade. Holy War and Colonisation*, London-New York 2013, p. 82.

⁶² E. Svetikas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios kunigaikštystės christianizacija XIV a. pab. – XV a.: Archeologiniai radiniai su krikščioniškais simboliais*, I, Vilnius 2009, p. 78, 90, 142; cf. T.M. Бєра, *Литовские элементы в кладбищах Августинишки и Слутиньки XIV – начала XVII века*, in: *“Lietuvos archeologija” XXI (2001)*, p. 422 (cf. fig. 3 in p. 423).

⁶³ V. Urbanavičius, *Liepiniškių senkapio (Utenos raj.) tyrinėjimai 1970 metais*, in: *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1970 ir 1971 metais*, Vilnius 1972, pp. 69-70.

found in the grave.⁶⁴ It is possible that in the case of the burial of Caup the remains of the dead Livonian nobleman were also kept in a certain container (e.g. a pot, though, not necessarily), because this way the remains of the burnt dead person could be transported to Cubbesele.

The presence of pots (wheel-thrown ceramics as well) in the places of Christian burials requires one remark. They, as well as any other objects found in the old burials⁶⁵ of the Christian period, are interpreted as the relics of paganism or the examples of syncretism.⁶⁶ In some of these pots the remains of sparks are found, or they are empty (in very rare cases the remains of food, most often poultry, are found). In order to envisage the signs of paganism in these remains, we still must remember that there is an image of the vessel of mercy in the Holy Scripture, the vessel which was used to carry God's knowledge, cf. Romans 5: 22-23: "What if God, choosing to show his wrath and make his power known, bore with great patience the objects of his wrath-prepared for destruction. What if he did this to make the riches of his glory known to the objects of his mercy, whom he prepared in advance for glory" and further 2 Corinthians 4: 6-7: "For God, who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness' made his light shine in our hearts to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ. But we have this treasure in jars of clay to show that this all-surpassing power is from God and not from us". On the other hand, in Medieval times during the vigil by the side of the dead, lard was burnt instead of candles, which were expensive, or sparks, which were kept in the dishes with the intention to light both the deceased and the kinsmen, gathered around, i.e. thus expressing the eternity of the soul of the dead and the identification with Christ-light (Christ here rises as *lux mundi* – light of the world, cf. John 8:12: "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life". The vessels, where the remains of food were found (which happened

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 70.

⁶⁵ The material of Livonian graveyards, where the pots, found in the burials of the Christian period (13th-14th centuries) are described: V. Muižnieks, *Bēru tradīcijas Latvijā pēc arheoloģiski pētīto 14.-18. gadsimta apbedīšanas vietu materiāla*, Rīga 2015, p. 173.

⁶⁶ H. Valk, *Christianization and Changes in Faith in the Burial Traditions of Estonia in the 11th-17th Centuries AD*, in: *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, II, Stuttgart 1997, pp. 40-50; idem, *Christianisation in Estonia: A Process of Dual-Faith and Syncretism*, in: *The Cross Goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europa, AD 300-1300*, ed. M. Carver, York 2003, pp. 574-578; A. Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade...*, pp. 287-291; cf. information from central Poland: J. Sikora, *Miejsca sacrum pogańskiego i chrześcijańskiego oraz procesy chrystianizacji Polski Centralnej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie. Kontynuacja miejsc kultu we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie środkowej*, eds. K. Bracha, C. Hadamik, Warszawa 2009, pp. 279-281.

very seldom) could get into the grave during the vigil, when people were eating and the dishes with the remaining leftovers were not used anymore. Thus, the appearance of the dishes in some burials of the Christian period (together with Christian symbols, by the way) can be related to Christian, not pagan, meaning. The appearance of the pots might have some practical (not related to religion or slightly related) reasons (people were eating from these dishes during the vigil). Since all these cases were rare, most probably that people who buried their relatives with pots (especially the ones with the remains of sparks) could perceive and literally interpret the verses from the Holy Scripture, quoted above, in the light of popular religion. Such folk interpretation did not question main Christian dogmas, therefore it was possible, though not encouraged,⁶⁷ (maybe this is the reason why the remains of pots (empty or with sparks or/and the remains of food) are not often found in Lithuanian Christian old graveyards). Folk piety could be interwoven with certain magical elements, due to which sparks (also ash and so called amulets (medallions, crosses, coins) and other artifacts) could acquire the meaning of protection against demons, what archaeological data from Western Europe⁶⁸ show and was allowed and regulated by the medieval Canon Law in certain cases.⁶⁹

Such a revisionist attitude of the converts towards the past was characterized rather well by the archaeological data. For example, let us take horse hoof brooches, known from the burials of Viking times, designated to Balts. Such brooches are also found in the old graveyards of the Christian period. It can not be argued that due to their resemblance to the Greek letter "omega" (Ω), these brooches could acquire a totally different semantic meaning in the 15th-16th centuries. In Christianity the sign "omega" has got the meaning of the end, therefore, it is totally possible that the brooches of this kind could symbolize the end of life. On the other hand, letter "omega" grants the hope of resurrection as well and provides a reference to God, as it is said in the book of Revelation 22:13: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last".⁷⁰ Thus, in new conditions and in the development of a new, different socio-cultural environment, one or another artifact could acquire a totally different/new meaning, which had nothing in common with the previous, pre-Christian meaning. While evaluating these artifacts,

67 See more in S. Bylina, *Religijność późnego średniowiecza. Chrześcijaństwo a kultura tradycyjna w Europie środkowo-wschodniej w XIV-XV w.*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 92-100.

68 See more in R. Gilchrist, *Magic for the Dead? The Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials*, "Medieval Archaeology" LII (2008), pp. 123-124, 135-137, 141, 145-147, 150-151.

69 P. Hersperger, *Kirche, Magie...*, pp. 449-450.

70 The archaeological interpretation of such brooches – E. Svetikas, *Lietuvos Didžiosios...*, pp. 450-451.

it is worth paying attention to the fact that we are dealing with medieval *homo religiosus*, who played a lot of attention to symbols and signs. If the archaeologists agree that cerements could be a part of the recollection about the deceased,⁷¹ under the influence of Christianity the foundation stone of the culture of recollection became the motive of the salvation of the soul of the dead. Due to this reason the cerements and/or Christian symbols, found in the burials of the first converts, were related to the pursuit to make the life of the dead easier in the afterlife.⁷²

In Medieval written sources it is sometimes described that missionaries used to build churches, chapels or altars in old sacred places. It is argued in historiography that this tradition dates back to the times of Pope Gregory the Great or even earlier times, when it was offered not to destroy pagan temples, but to reorganize them into Christian churches or chapels and to destroy idols and to build Christian altars in their place.⁷³ In the Baltic region such cases were rare but there were some. Thus, in the beginning of the 11th century German chronicler Thietmar of Merseburg mentioned that in the place designated to Polabian Slaves' god *Zutibure* there was built a church dedicated to Saint Roman⁷⁴. True, in the hagiography of Saint Otto much more is written about the destruction of sacred places (named as temples).⁷⁵ Therefore, not accidentally, the data about the construction of churches in the place of pagan temples, because of the sparse written sources, is being searched for in the archaeological material.⁷⁶

71 Cf. H. Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 41-46.

72 How this aspiration to alleviate the fate of the soul of the dead in the afterlife can be related to magical actions and the artifacts, attributed to the sphere of the performance of the magic – another question, see R. Gilchrist, *Magic for the Dead...*, pp. 121-123, 151-154.

73 A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and Papal Missionary Strategy*, in: *The Mission of the Church and Propagation of the Faith*, ed. G.J. Cuming, Studies in Church History, VI, Cambridge 1970, pp. 33-37; I. Wood, *The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English*, "Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies" LXIX (1994) 1, pp. 12-13; J.M. Howe, *The Conversion of the Physical World. The Creation of a Christian Landscape*, in: *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Muldoon, Gainesville 1997, pp. 67-68; J. Strzelczyk, *Kontynuacja miejsc kultu w teorii i praktyce wczesnośredniowiecznego Kościoła*, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie...*, pp. 15-21.

74 *Predicatione assidua commissos a vana superstitione erroris reduxit lucumque Zutibure dictum, ab accolis ut Deum in omnibus honoratum et ab aevo antiquo numquam violatum, radicitus eruens sancto martiri Romano in eo ecclesiam construxit.* – Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon, lib. VI, cap. 37, p. 156.

75 *Ebonis Vita s. Ottonis...*, lib. III, §10, pp. 110-111. More about that and more examples: S. Rosik, *Sacrum Pomorzan "w oczach" św. Ottona z Bambergu (w kręgu chrześcijańskiej interpretacji religii Słowian)*, in: *Z dziejów chrześcijaństwa...*, pp. 56-67.

76 J. Gąssowski, *Late Pagan and Early Christian Poland*, in: *Christianization of the Baltic Region...*, pp. 24-28; A. Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade...*, p. 82. See critical ideas concerning the search of this kind of continuity: D.A. Sikorski, *O pogańskich sanktuariów*

The sources about the Christianization of the Baltic societies can not confirm that there used to be the cases of the conversion of pagan sacred (stationary) places into Christian churches/chapels. Even chronicler Peter of Dusburg, perhaps the only author of the 13th-14th centuries who described a sacred place in Prussia (named as *Romove*), bearing religious meaning, where, supposedly, *Criwe* lived, does not say anything about a sacred Christian building, constructed in this location.⁷⁷ In historiography it is usually accepted that the first churches in Prussia were built in residences of noble converts or in economically important places.⁷⁸ The relationship of these first churches to pagan sacred places still remains unclear. The same could be said about the first churches in Lithuania and in Samogitia, established by king Jogaila (Władysław II) and Grand Duke Vytautas (Alexander).⁷⁹ True, in 1388, in the bull of Pope Urban VI, concerning the establishment of Vilnius cathedral, Polish chronicler Jan Długosz mentioned the same as well. Supposedly, pagan idols were used in temples there,⁸⁰ however this passage should be interpreted as a plot, engaged by *interpretatio christiana* perception, since the archaeologists have not found any tangible proofs about the existence of such a temple.⁸¹

However, there are other places, where pagan places used to be adapted to Christian needs, which demonstrates that in Baltic lands there used to

do chrześcijańskich kościołów na Słowiańszczyźnie Zachodniej, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie...*, pp. 408-426.

77 It is not denied, though, that Romove, in general, could be a fictitious part of Prussian paganism, described by Peter of Dusburg, as “opposed” to Christianity, with the described *Criwi*, who (accidentally) lived in the town, the name of which comes from the word “Rome” (the evident allusion to pope’s throne in Rome) with pope’s *auctoritas* and *potestatis*. More about that: M. Brauer, *Die Entdeckung des “Heidentums” in Preußen. Die Prußen in den Reformdiskursen des Spätmittelalters und der Reformation*, Europa im Mittelalter, XVII, Berlin 2011, pp. 65-66, 203. In the Lithuanian language: M. Ščavinskas, *Ankstyvieji socialiniai, politiniai, kultūriniai ir mentaliniai visuomenės pokyčiai Baltijos regiono rytinėje pakrantėje*, in: D. Barasa, D. Elertas, E. Miltakis, S.C. Rowell, J. Skurdauskienė, M. Ščavinskas, V. Vaivada, *Vertybių transformacijos: Baltijos regiono rytinė pakrantė XIII-XVIII amžiais: kolektyvinė monografija*, ed. S.C. Rowell, Klaipėda 2015, pp. 44-45.

78 R. Wenskus, *Zur Lokalisierung der Prußenkirchen des Vertrages von Christburg 1249*, in: idem, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zum frühen und preußischen Mittelalter. Festgabe zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Patze, Sigmaringen 1986, pp. 375-390; M. Dygo, *Studia nad początkami władztwa zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach (1226-1259)*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 251-255.

79 G. Błaszczyk, *Diecezja żmudzka od XV do początku XVII wieku: ustrój*, Poznań 1993, pp. 139-156, 163.

80 BRMŠ, I, pp. 447-448, 551-554, 559-560, 571-575, 580-581.

81 K. Katalynas, G. Vaitkevičius, *Vilniaus plėtra iki XV amžiaus, “Kultūros paminklai” VIII* (2001), pp. 68-76; G. Vaitkevičius, *Vilniaus įkūrimas*, Vilniaus sąsiuviniai, I, Vilnius 2010, pp. 63-66; D. Baronas, S.C. Rowell, *The Conversion of Lithuania: from Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians*, Vilnius 2015, pp. 269-275.

be revisionist attitudes, interwoven with nostalgia. In old graveyards of the 13th-15th centuries, attributed to Baltic societies, Christian burials are found, which shows that Christians did not cease burying in the graveyards of pre-Christian times. Most often such cases are considered to be the remains of syncretism or paganism,⁸² since in Medieval sources there are some reproaches to the converts concerning the burials in old graveyards.⁸³

However, in regard to the forms of interpretation of the past, these facts can be evaluated in a different way: 1) as a certain nostalgia, showing attachment to their own ancestors and pagan burials, but also building a bridge between the past and the present. The Church was inclined to support such nostalgic moods in order to avoid the dissatisfaction of the neophytes; 2) as a certain revisionism, perceiving that old burials can do no harm to a new religion: the burials took place according to Christian traditions, not pagan (when the dead were buried not burnt), Christian symbols are sometimes found in the burials, but ceremonies, except jewelry, most often are not found). Thus, nostalgic mood was supplemented by a revisionist interpretation of the past. On the other hand, the burials in such old graveyards could be the psychological attitude of the converts to their ancestors of not blaming them for not being able to know a true God (the case of the father of Harold the Bluebeard is indicative of the concern of the converts about this issue); 3) the burials in the mounds can be related to purely pragmatic considerations: the net of the churches and the graveyards established close to them, was not very wide in first Christian societies, the natural change of generations was taking place, therefore the problem of the burial of the deceased had to be solved **here and now**.

It should be mentioned that in some medieval sources the burials not in graveyards were interpreted as an old pagan tradition (*antiquum gentilitatis morem* or *ritus paganorum*).⁸⁴ In late Middle Ages, for example, in the resolutions⁸⁵ of the meetings of the Riga Church province of the year 1428 it is written that based on this ancient tradition the country people still buried their dead in the outskirts of the forests and other not sanctified places next to their ancestors and fellows.⁸⁶ Analogically, in the resolutions of Krakow

82 Cf. H. Valk, *Christianization and Changes in Faith...*, pp. 46-50; T. Kala, *Rural Society and Religious Innovation: Acceptance and Rejection of Catholicism among the Native Inhabitants of Medieval Livonia*, in: *The Clash of Cultures...*, pp. 184-189; A. Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade...*, pp. 247, 287-290.

83 See fn. 1. See more in H.W. Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen...*, pp. 158-159.

84 See fn. 2.

85 More about the decisions of synods, visits to Prussian lands, ruled by Teutonic Order in A. Radziwiński, *Chryścianizacja i ewangelizacja Prusów...*, pp. 26-36, 39-42.

86 [...] *quo sacra cimiteria contempnendo preeligunt se in campis silvoestribus cum feris sepeliri, ac etiam in quibusdam locis prophanis, ubi ipsorum parentes et amici sue gentilitatis temporibus sunt*

Church synod of the year 1408 there was also a request to bury the dead in a Christian way and in graveyards.⁸⁷

On the other hand, it is worth paying attention to that part of the ordinances of 1428, where it is mentioned that burials also took place in the graveyards close to the churches, where respects were paid to the parents and to the fellows.⁸⁸ It is becoming clear from the context that the worst thing was not that some country people buried their dead in old graveyards, but the fact that the act of eating (supposedly, partying and debauching) took place in the graveyard, thus, in a sanctified land, while paying respects to the dead. In a famous resolution of the bishop of Samland Michael Junge (about 1426) the rituals (*ritus gentilium*) in the graveyards or by the old graves of the ancestors are mentioned as well: partying, dancing and the lamentation of the dead (most probably, the forms of folk piety were had in mind).⁸⁹ It should be pointed out that rituals while burying the dead or the rituals at the grave of the deceased and other places (forests, springs), were discussed by the compilers of the collections of Canon Laws, starting from the beginning of the 10th century by abbot Regino of Prüm, followed by bishop Burchard of Worms and by bishop Ivo of Chartres, in the end of the 11th century and in the beginning of the 12th century.⁹⁰ Since such inappropriate traditions

sepulti. – *Die Provinzialsynoden von Elbing und Ryga gehalten 1427 und 1428, "Pastoralblatt für Diözese Ermland" XXX (1898), §22, p. 80.*

⁸⁷ *De sepulturis: Item quia, deo dedicatum est et ad salutem animarum deputatum, non debet ad turpem questum retorqueri, ideo mandamus, ut sepulture ecclesiastice, sicut nec cetera sacramenta uendantur, sed post eorum ministracionem iura et consuetudines laudabiles petite et facite vobis reddi eciam ecclesiasticam per censuram.* – *Statuty diecezjalne krakowskie z roku 1408*, ed. B. Ulanowski, "Archiwum Komisji Historycznej" V (1889), p. 23.

⁸⁸ *Et eciam plerumque in ecclesiis et cimiteriis consecratis conuivia preparant, defunctis eorum parentibus et amicis cibum et potum exhibentes [...].* – *Die Provinzialsynoden von Elbing...*, p. 80.

⁸⁹ The ordinance of the bishop of Semba Michael Junge: *Item ut omnes abusus, abusiones seu ritus gentilium circa mortuos suos, quos quibusuis modis exercent, penitus aboleant, postergant et dimittant. [...].* *Item de cetero nullus vir aut mulier ritus pauoris exercent post mortem defunctorum amicorum seu proximorum, in cimiteriis circa sepulcra flendo aut ululando [...].* – *BRMŠ*, I, pp. 481-482.

⁹⁰ *Nullus ibi praesumat diabolica carmina cantare, non ioca et saltationes facere, quae pagani diabolo docente adinuerunt. Quis enim nesciat, diabolicum esse, et non solum a religione Christiana alienum, sed etiam humanae naturae esse contrarium, ibi cantari, laetari, inebriari et cachinnis ora dissolui, et omni pietate et affectu caritatis postposito, quasi de fraterna morte exsultare, ubi luctus et planctus flebilibus uocibus debuerat resonare pro amissione cari fratris?.* – *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis libri duo De Synodalibus causis et disciplinis Ecclesiasticis*, ed. F.G.A. Wassersleben, Lipsiae 1840, lib. I, cap. CCCXCVIII. Cf.: *Obseruasti excubias funeris, id est interfuisti vigiliis cadaverum mortuorum ubi Christianorum corpora ritu paganorum custodiebantur, et cantasti ibi diabolica carmina, et fecisti ibi saltationes quas pagani diabolo docente adinuerunt; et ibi bibisti, et cachinnis ora dissolvistis, et omni pietate et affectu charitatis postposito, quasi de fraterna morte exsultare visus es?* – *Burchardi Wormaciensis episcopi Decretorum libri XX*, in: *PL*, CXL, Parisiis 1880, cap. 91, col. 964; *Comedisti aliquid de idolothyto, id est de oblationibus quae in quibusdam locis ad sepulcra mortuorum fiunt, vel ad*

are mentioned in the early collections of the Canon Law, Michael Junge's writings and the information about the attitudes of the Riga province should be evaluated in a different way. The above mentioned pagan traditions (*ritus paganorum*) were interpreted as *superstitio*, characteristic to all Christian Europe,⁹¹ not only to the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. This could mean that the representatives of the Late Medieval Church encountered the same superstitions and the same forms of folk piety as they were fixated in Latin Europe before the beginning of the active missions to the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea.⁹² True, there still remains an open question if the resolutions of the Church synods reflect the real situation, which was at the time of the compiling of the collection, if all possible cases of prejudice, fixated since the early ages of Christianity, were included and discussed in them.⁹³

In any case, one more thing should not be ruled out: the described *ritus gentilium* could reflect the local situation, but it was presented in regard to the attitudes discussed and regulated by the Canon Law. In this case, the reproaches to the converts about some of them burying their relatives in old graveyards, not in graveyards close to the churches/chapels even in the 15th century, would show that the Church substituted its revisionist and nostalgic attitude, acceptable to the converts in relation to the burial of the dead of the first generation of converts, by another attitude, condemning such burials as superstitious and forbidden ones. Canon Law and Christian teaching distinctly pointed out what should the Christian's attitude to the dead ancestors and kinsmen be: offering Holy Mass, preying, fasting giving offerings with the intention of the dead etc.⁹⁴ Such attitudes were reflected

fontes, aut ad arbores, aut ad lapides, aut ad bivia, aut portasti in aggerem lapides, aut capitis ligaturas ad cruces quae in biviis ponuntur? – ibidem, cap. 92, col. 964; Laici qui excubias funeris observant, cum timore et tremore et reverentia hoc faciant. Nullus ibi presumat diabolica carmina cantare, non ioca et saltationes facere, que pagani diabolo docente adinvenerunt. Quis enim nesciat diabolicum esse, et non solum a religione Christiana alienum, sed etiam humane nature esse contrarium, ibi leteri, inebriari, cantare et cacinnis ora dissolvi, et omni pietate et affectu caritatis postposito quasi de fraterna morte exultare, ubi luctus et planctus fidelibus vocibus debuerat resonare pro amissione cari fratris? – Sancti Ivoonis Carnotensis episcopi Decreti pars XI, in: PL, CLXI, Parisiis 1855, cap. 59, col. 758.

⁹¹ More about popular religion in Western Europe and about its relationship to folk religions in a critical article: C.C. Ames, *Authentic, True and Right: Inquisition and the Study of Medieval Popular Religion*, in: *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages. Essays to Honor John van Engen*, eds. D.C. Mengel, L. Wolverton, Notre Dame 2015, pp. 91-102.

⁹² More about that, based on the sources of the Early Middle Ages: B. Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*, Toronto 2005, pp. 141-151, 184-190, 194, 204-219, 319-336.

⁹³ This question was also raised by P. Hersperger in the talk about the collections of canons, see *Kirche, Magie...*, pp. 452-454.

⁹⁴ These attitudes were among the first to be discussed in the collection of the Canon Law: *Animae defunctorum quatuor modis solvuntur, aut oblationibus sacerdotum, aut precibus sanctorum,*

in the culture of the recollection of the dead, beginning from *libri memoriales*, coming from Merovingian times⁹⁵ and finishing with the perpetuation of the grave of the dead in private chapels and ordering a Holy Mass for a particular deceased person, which especially spreads in the 12th-13th centuries.⁹⁶ The importance of the prayers for the deceased, encouraging to pray for the soul of the dead, was emphasized in the grave inscriptions of the Early Middle Ages, which urged to pray for the soul of the deceased. They were especially common in Gaul of the Merovingian times.⁹⁷ The Christian tradition of the commemoration of the dead is fixated in the chronicle by Henry of Livonia, which allows to speak about the emergence of this tradition on the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea at the early stage of Christianisation.⁹⁸ Thus, the fate of the dead could be alleviated, their souls could be freed from the offenses, made in the past, not by different forms of folk piety and superstitions (by eating, dancing, lamentation and other rituals and by putting the cerements into the grave), but first of all by an intentional prayer for the deceased.

Finally, the attention should be paid to the fact that in the above mentioned attitudes of the bishop of Samland and in the attitudes of Riga Church province there is no talk about pagan burials, i.e. burning of the dead or the burial together with the weapons, work tools or animals, which was to be renounced by the converts, who had surrendered to Teutonic Order in Christburg, or Livonian converts.⁹⁹ All this allows to view *ritus gentilium* as *antiquae superstitio*, which had to be avoided by local Christians in Prussia and in Livonia, not as “pure” pagan rituals.¹⁰⁰ Let us not forget that in the first

aut charorum eleemosynis, aut ieiunio cognatorum. – Burchardi Wormaciensis episcopi..., cap. 112, col. 1006. True, here Burchard was quoting Origen.

⁹⁵ E.M. Butz, A. Zettler, *The Making of the Carolingian Libri Memoriales: Exploring or Constructing the Past?* in: *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. E. Brenner, M. Cohen, M. Franklin-Brown, Burlington 2013, pp. 80-83.

⁹⁶ About this tradition, as coming from Western Europe: M.S. Doquang, *Status and the Soul: Commemoration and Intercession in the Rayonnant Chapels of Northern France in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, in: *Memory and Commemoration...*, pp. 96-103.

⁹⁷ B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul. Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World*, Philadelphia 2002, pp. 116-122, 126-128, 134, 136-137.

⁹⁸ HCL, lib. II, §2; lib. IV, cap. XXIX, §5. More about that: C.S. Jensen, *How to Convert a Landscape...*, p. 163.

⁹⁹ See fn. 2.

¹⁰⁰ This view complemented by M. Brauer view in to so-called paganism in the 15th century Prussia, see more: M. Brauer, *Die Entdeckung des “Heidentums”...*, pp. 131-148, 272-273. The same can be said about medieval Poland as well, more about that: S. Bylina, *Problem tzw. reliktyw pogaństwa w polskich kościelnych źródłach normatywnych XIV-XV wieku*, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie...*, pp. 365-370; cf. the findings of animal bones and other rare objects in the graves of the Christians in Western Europe, R. Gilchrist, *Magic for the Dead...*, pp. 132-133, 136-137, 144.

half of the 15th century, when the resolutions of this kind were announced, the number of Christian churches and graveyards was much bigger than in the first half of the 13th century, when the process of Christianisation was just gathering speed.¹⁰¹ This made the representatives of the local churches reconsider the previous revisionist and nostalgic attitudes, applied to the first converts. This means that these superstitions were conceived as a common “legacy” of the Christian ancestors, as common attitudes of the improper life, deriving from the past. The same can be said about all manifestations of the folk piety, fixated in the sources of Late Middle Ages. Thus, the above mentioned resolution of the Krakow Church synod of 1408, declared that all forms of the folk piety, expressed by singing of the songs in the places of so called idols (columns?), were also named as *ritu paganico*.¹⁰²

AMNESIA

After discussing these three forms of the interpretation of the past, there still remains one more –amnesia. Before speaking about it, it is necessary to admit that this term has been borrowed from psychology, where the term amnesia speaks about such a psychological condition of people or a group of people, when memory is becoming weaker or it is completely lost. In the socio-cultural environment, where converts lived, it meant the loss of the past or, to be more exact, the weakening of the images of the past, impacted not only by the physiological flaws of the human, but also by the socio-psychological environment and the psychological processes taking part in it during the time of conversion and after it. By amnesia we can define such a socio-psychological condition, when the convert is encouraged to forget pre-Christian traditions and other means of the construction of the past, not directly related to Christian dogmas, not matching public and private life, which did not add to the salvation of the converts, though they did not

¹⁰¹ More about that: M. Biskup, *Parafie w państwie krzyżackim*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne od XIII do XVI wieku*, eds. Z.H. Nowak, R. Czaja, Toruń 2000, pp. 82-87; idem, *Parafie w państwie krzyżackim*, in: *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII-XVI wieku*, eds. R. Czaja, A. Radzimiński, Toruń 2013, pp. 132-147; A. Radzimiński, *Geneza oraz ukształtowanie się organizacji kościelnej (1206-1409)*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, eds. M. Biskup, R. Czaja, Warszawa 2008, pp. 159-162; idem, *Chryścianizacja i ewangelizacja Prusów...*, pp. 16-18, 20, 24.

¹⁰² *Item non sine magno contemptu nominis diuini aliqui specie christiani cultum ydolatrie presumunt exercere, presertim tempore, quo spiritus sanctus cum suis donis est querendus. Ideo prohibemus, ne tempore Pentecosthen fiant cantus paganici, in quibus ydola inuocantur et venerantur, sed totis viribus populus Christi fidelis inducatur et arceatur ad dimittenda ydolatica et adamplectanda fidei katholice congrua et saluti eorum proficua facienda. – Statuty diecezjalne krakowskie...*, p. 27.

radically contradict the essence of Christianity itself. Here it is important to emphasize the words “encouraged to forget”, because they are not equivalent to strict rejection, which has already been discussed. As it has already been mentioned, rejection was applied to the practices and rituals, directly related to pagan mythology and/or religion. Hereby, amnesia was more related to the everyday life of converts, thus adding to the formation of the acquired memory with the purpose to provide the answer to the question, declared in the Middle Ages, *how* Christians ought to live in order to get closer to the solution of the issue of the meaning of life, *why* Christians had to live.

One of the most characteristic examples, illustrating amnesia in the consciousness of the converts, was the refusal to buy a wife, which supposedly existed in the pagan marital tradition.¹⁰³ Such requirement was interwoven with legal, i.e. Christian, perception of the marriage, since only the children, born in a legal marriage, could inherit wealth and social status (this was emphasized while signing the pact in Christburg).¹⁰⁴ Legal marriage was considered the one, where there was not any purchase of the wife, but also the one which had two main obligatory parts – engagement (*desponsatio*) and the ceremony of marriage, i.e. the wedding itself (*traditio puellae*).

On the other hand, thanks to Christianity, marriage acquired the meaning of a religious act, together with the approaching idea of the unbreakable marriage between two equal individuals.¹⁰⁵ This transformed perception of marriage could no longer support the tradition of “purchase” of wife, therefore it was encouraged to forget it. It is important that instead of the purchase of wife, neophytes were not deprived of the possibility to give gifts to parents-in-law, which had been a common tradition in Western Europe since Early Middle Ages.¹⁰⁶ Thus, while solving the issue of the “purchase” of wife, the Church was inclined towards a certain compromise, perceiving

¹⁰³ See fn. 2; cf. [...] *filiis quoque vestras nuptui christianis sine aliqua emptione traditis* [...]. *Ad hoc cum nedum illicitum sit, sed etiam abusivum, ut aliquis eodem tempore habeat plures uxores, que una sola legitima existente adultere sunt cetere superducte* [...] – PUB, no. 13; *Petri de Dusburg Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, in: SRP, eds. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1861, lib. III, cap. 5; M. Brauer, *Die Entdeckung des “Heidentums”*..., pp. 79-81.

¹⁰⁴ *Et quod nullum utrius sexus heredem legitimum reputabunt uel ad supradictam successionem hereditatis admittent, nisi solos illos qui de legitimo matrimonio secundum statua Romane ecclesie fuerint procreati*. – PUB, no. 218; [...] *ut libera mulier quasi ancilla viro vendatur in coniugem, cum quo efficitur una caro*. – *ibidem*, no. 13.

¹⁰⁵ R.M. Karras, *The Christianization of Medieval Marriage*, in: *Christianity and Culture*..., pp. 5-7.

¹⁰⁶ L.E. Mitchell, *Family Life in Middle Ages*, London 2007, p. 21. More about the revisionist attitude of the Church towards the Livonian neophytes in regard to marriage: J.A. Brundage, *Christian Marriage in Thirteenth-Century Livonia*, in: *idem*, *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law*, Hampshire 1991, pp. 314-322.

that even giving gifts to parents-in-law was rather a tradition, dating back to Latin Europe, than the aspiration of Christian life. Therefore, the tradition of giving gifts to parents-in-law, coming from Latin Europe, was considered to be a "better" evil than the neophyte tradition of buying wives. Also, neophytes had to refuse polygamy or bigamy, mentioned by Pope Honorius III in his bull *Patri luminum* where he spoke about the improper traditions of Prussians.¹⁰⁷ Innocent III also declared, based on the book of Genesis in the Holy Scripture, that polygamy is impossible, therefore, not accidentally these attitudes got into the collection of Canon Law *Liber extra*, compiled by the order of Pope Gregory IX.¹⁰⁸

Another characteristic example of amnesia is the consolidation of Christian law (*iure christianorum*) in everyday life, thus providing conditions "to forget" the previous way of life (which, as it has already been mentioned, was emphasized by Pope Innocent III and Pope Honorius III in their bulls). Thus, chronicler Henry of Livonia wrote that the inhabitants of Livonia used to be very greedy and protected their rights using the principle of power.¹⁰⁹ Of course, such a description of the former pagans is related to the negative image of the pagans, existing in the writings of the Middle Ages.¹¹⁰ Even though the consolidation of the attitudes of Christian life was presented in an idyllic way by Henry of Livonia, he still made clear allusions to the fact that some aspects of the law of customs, which existed before the adoption of Christianity, were unacceptable. While speaking about thefts and violence, supposedly thriving in pagan times, and claiming the priority of Christian law, the chronicler wanted to show that only proper Christian life could add to the salvation of the souls of neophytes. Not accidentally he mentioned one of the seven big Christian sins – greed, thus, making the pagan way of life opposite to the purpose of the salvation of soul and making a clear divide

107 [...] *ut aliquis eodem tempore habeat plures uxores, que una sola legitima existente adultere sunt cetera superducte [...] ceteris penitus abdicatis, ne sicut equus et mulus, in quibus non est intellectus, in pluribus dividens carnem membra Christi membra faciat meretricis.* – PUB, no. 13. More about question of the bigamy in the Prussian: M. Brauer, *Die Entdeckung des "Heidentums"...*, pp. 81-82.

108 [...] *non dixit: "tres vel plures", sed: "duo", nec dixit: "adhaerebit uxoribus", sed: "uxori" [...] reprehenditur in scripturis eo, quod ipse primus reprobendam bigamiae speciem introduxit. [...] quod Nec ulli unquam licuit insimul plures uxores habere [...].* – *Decretales Gregorii IX*, in: *Corpus Iuris Canonici editio lipsiensis secunda, II: Decretalium collectiones*, ed. A.L. Richter, Graz 1959, lib. IV, tit. XIX, cap. VIII.

109 *Gens enim Lyvonum quondam erat perfidissima et unusquisque proximo suo quod habebat auferebat, et ideo in baptismo huiusmodi prohibita sunt violencia, rapina, furta et hiis similia.* – HCL, lib. III, cap. X, §15.

110 Cf. Polish chronicler Jan Długosz's negative view on the pagan Lithuania: M. Dygo, "Rudis illa natio et pannosa": Concerning Jan Długosz's Description of Lithuania's 1387 Conversion in his *Annals*, in: *Verbum movet...*, pp. 103-115.

between the pagan past, as unacceptable, and the Christian present, as an aspiration.

CONCLUSION

While analyzing the process of Christianisation and the issue of the formation of the Christian identity on the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, the relationship of the neophytes to the past, supported in the times of Christian missions, was based on the medieval perception of memory. On one hand, this memory was conceived as metaphysical, on the other hand – as acquired. In the first case, through the memory about the past, missionaries were striving to provide the answer to the neophytes' question of life: **why** life should be lived in a Christian way (so that the soul would get salvation and the initial covenant between the man and God, existing since the first fall of the human, "restored"). In the second case, there was a striving to answer the question of how to live in a Christian way, so as to live your life meaningfully and righteously (firstly – renouncing pagan mistakes). In medieval sources, describing different bans, applied to the converts of the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, it was emphasized **how** to live appropriately and meaningfully. Since the final aim – the salvation of neophyte souls – then, the existential solution of the issue of the meaning of life – while explaining **how** to live in a Christian way the missionaries were applying not direct, all forbidding, but fairly flexible position. Therefore, while creating a new Christian tradition and Christian identity, missionaries were not striving to renounce all norms of everyday life, practiced by converts in the past. On the contrary, a revisionist attitude to the norms of everyday life was applied, where it was possible, which, interwoven with the converts' nostalgic views, permitted the yesterday pagan to become a member of a Christian society in psychologically more effective way. The attitude of total rejection was applied only to these religious or/and mythological norms, coming from the past, which obviously contradicted the declaration of the dogmas of Christianity, as a monotheistic religion.

These norms of everyday life, familiar to the converts from the past, but not welcomed by the Church (though by their nature they did not radically contradict Christian dogmas) were encouraged to forget, meanwhile the tradition of Latin Europe everyday life, which was more tolerated by the Church than encouraged, allowed to be spread in their place. This tradition of everyday life was brought to the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea by Christians during the time of Crusades and Christianisation. This tradition interwove with these legal norms, which neophytes agreed to take over from their neighbors – Christians Poles and Germans. Thus, Prussians, who surrendered to the Teutonic Order, agreed to live according to the Polish law

and Curonians, who surrendered to the bishop of Riga – according to the Gotland, i.e. German law.¹¹¹

It is noticeable that revisionist-nostalgic attitudes were applied to the converts by missionaries and other members of the Church. Later the norms of everyday life and the relationship to the past were applied *antiquae superstitio* or other terms, which meant not pagan, forbidden customs but superstitions or forms of folk religion (both local and from neighboring Christian countries), appearing in Christian tradition. The appearance of such superstitions shows that “the Christianisation” of the past, i.e. its Christianisation, is already over, because the representatives of the Church of Late Middle Ages encountered these superstitions and these forms of folk piety which had been fixated in Latin Europe before the beginning of the active missions to the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea and which were the essence of Christian culture in the newly Christened territories of the Baltic region.

translated by Regina Puotkaliënė

ABSTRACT

The article analyzes the relationship of the converts to the past, based on historical sources and archaeological material describing the Christianisation of the societies of the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, also rising the issue of the Christianisation of the past, thus the conversion of “one’s own” memory into “one’s own” Christian memory. It is becoming obvious that converts and missionaries, demanding the observation of them, based their relationship to the past on four forms: 1) rejection; 2) revisionism (selection); 3) nostalgia; 4) amnesia. The article analyzes what could be remembered by the converts and what was required to forget, what was required not to promote and was looked upon in a rather unbiased way in their pursuit of salvation.

It is becoming obvious from the research that a part of bans and teachings for neophytes, related to the consolidation of the norms of Christian life, were based on the perception of the acquired memory, known in the Middle Ages. In the times of Christian missions there was a striving to “rule over it”, to transform it with the view of the formation of Christian identity. The functioning of the latter was dependent on **how** the neophytes wanted to live seeking to solve the existential issue of the meaning of human life. The analysis of the Christian identity, created through the angle of the past, allows the present day researchers to perceive better how *homo gentilis* on the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea transformed into *homo christianus*.

¹¹¹ [...] *habito inter se consilio pecierunt et elegerunt legem mundanam et secularia iudicia Polonorum vicinorum suorum* [...]. – PUB, no. 218; *Ad ea vero jura, que persolvere tenentur idigene de Gothlandia per omnia perpetuo tenebuntur Episcopo suo* [...]. – LUB, no. 103, col. 135.



MIECZYSLAW MEJOR
WARSZAWA

ON NOVELTIES IN CUSTOMS (*DE NOVITATIBUS MORUM*) AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 14TH CENTURY*



In vestibus tanta est diversa deformitas, quanta deformium
mentium diversitas intus dictat

Petrus de Zitava *Cronica aule regie*

Peter from Zbraslav (Petr Žitavský, Petrus de Zitavia), the author of Zbraslav *Chronicle* (*Cronica aule regie*), an abbot in local Cisterian monastery, being an observant witness of contemporary events, in the second volume of the *Chronicle* encompassing the period between 1317-1333, reported many disturbing changes which took place in Czech society at the beginning of 14th century. As it stems clearly from his words, those observed novelties concerned the appearance, outfits and behaviour of men. Should he had written about women's outfits, he would have had more reasons to complain, however, as it resulted from his religious modesty, he refrained from provoking accusations that he possibly paid more attention to them than it was necessary. It is common knowledge that women are more prone to dress lavishly and wear different outfits time again and again as well as to treat and cover hair in various ways, to fall victim to constantly changing fashion trends, as Virgil famously wrote: *varium et mutabile semper femina*.¹

Observations made by Peter from Zbraslav are of particular value, as they documented this process relatively early, at the beginning of the century, both in Czech lands and in neighbouring countries. As other sources show, these observations also apply to the changes taking place in Poland:

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¹ Women's fashion in medieval Bohemia is the subject of a beautiful publication by O. Šroňkova, *Die Mode der gotischen Frau*, Prag 1955.

(1) At that time, in those years, especially in Czech lands and within the borders of neighbouring ones, a certain novelty and curiosity started to emerge among almost all people with regards to outfits, but also to habits and customs.

(2) However, numerous wise people perceive such behaviours with astonishment, and ridicule them in their written works. One of those critics has been recently killed in Kutná Hora.

(3) Some of those bizarre trend followers, as if they were fascinated by barbarians, let their beards grow long and never cut them. And there are some, who violated the dignity of male custom and take care of their hair in a thoroughly feminine fashion: some, as shearers, split their hair on both sides and let it fall on their ears; other twist it with an iron (*calamistrum*) to adorn shoulders with their curled up hair. Caps that were previously in use, are now totally forgotten.

(4) Singing with breaking voice in halftones and modulated fifths, once only practiced by fine musicians, is now common across dancing troupes, markets and performed by laymen and Pharisees.

(5) Also many of our countrymen speak with different tongues.

(6) There is such a diverse ugliness in apparel, as huge is the number of shabby thoughts which dictate it. Everyone considers himself happy as soon as they invent new fashion.

(7) Skimpy and tight, with some dress sleeve hanging at one's elbow fluttering like donkey's ear, such clothing can be observed in many. Tall and pointy hats in a variety of colours are worn in the cities, more often on roads.

(8) We shall no longer see a ploughing peasant, who would not wear a long broad hood.

(9) Pointy shoes and leggings² closely fitting to one's calf and feet are found to be a laughing stock and astonishment among the elderly and wise men.

(10) Nowadays, clerics wear small tonsures covered with hair, as well as great swords and cutlasses at their side. On the contrary, rarely can one see a layman, who would not have his praying line at the belt.³

(11) Such vast abuse in fashion took place, that I will condemn more of it and I do not find patience to describe.

(12) This attraction to novelty does not impress the witness or the reader, however it shows a tremendous change of the Czech kingdom. After the native Czech

² Leggings, *sotulares*, in medieval Latin, cloth or leather trousers or pants fitting tight to the body, sometimes connected to the shoes (not mentioned in *The Medieval Latin Dictionary* in Poland). These are not leather calf-length boots, commonly worn by peasants.

³ *Zona*, i.e. *cingulum*, is a praying line, that is a rosary (not mentioned in *The Medieval Latin Dictionary* in Poland).

kings have passed away, the lands lived through many governments and hence adopted various foreign customs. A proverb has been formed: "The Czech act like a monkey, they do anything they see in others" [translation – M.M.].⁴

Peter from Zbraslav's remarks concern two domains: most importantly the appearance of men, which include, in accordance with church ordinance, *habitus* and *cultura corporis* (outfits and haircuts),⁵ as well as behaviour – the author mentioned: fashionable public singing, the coming of men using different languages and seeking originality in the field of fashion. Moreover, he took note of disturbing ways of young people's behaviour: clerics wear small, hidden tonsures and wear cutlasses at their sides, while laymen do the opposite – they wear rosaries. The criticism of modern costumes, hairstyles and some behaviours is not due to excessive conservatism of the chronicler, but rather due to tremendous dynamic changes that occur quickly and commonly, and, therefore, are the reason for concern. Church

4 *His temporibus et in annis incepit notabiliter et mirabiliter fere in cunctis hominibus et praecipue in Boemiae et circumiacentium terrarum partibus quaedam nova curiositas et curiosa novitas tam in vestibus, quam in consuetudinibus et moribus suboriri; nec desunt de sapientum numero, qui huiusmodi cum admiratione considerant et eas in suis dictaminibus et carminibus redarguunt et subsannant. Unus ex istis reprehensoribus nuper in montibus Kuthnis est occisus. Sunt quidam istorum mirabilium inventorum, qui more barbarorum barbas longas nutriunt nec has radunt. Sunt et alii, qui dignitatem deformando virilem morem secuntur in crinibus per omnia muliebrem; alii crines suos in latum more lanificum percutiunt in rotundum auretenusque diffundunt; alii calamistro crines tornant, ut comis crispantibus et circumvolantibus humeros suos ornent. Mitrarum usus, qui fuit primitus, nunc penitus est abrasus. Cantus fractis vocibus per semitonium et diapente modulatus, olim tantum de perfectis musicis usitatus iam in choreis ubique resonat et plateis a laicis et phariseis. Variis quoque linguagiis in constratis nostri plurimi iam locuntur. In vestibus tanta est diversa deformitas, quanta deformium mentium diversitas intus dictat. Se quisque reputat feliciorum, qui excogitat novum morem. Curta et arta cum quadam menda circa cubitum dependente in tunica, quae quasi auris circumvolat asinina, iam videntur plurium vestimenta. Pilea longa superiusque acuta, diversimode colorata portantur in urbibus, plus in via. Nullum cernimus tam contemptum in agro arantum rusticum, qui non deferat latum capucium et oblongum. De caligis et sotularibus crura et pedes artissime stringentibus senibus et prudentibus saepe admiratio fit et risus. Nunc clerici parvas crinibus suis tectas deferunt in capitibus coronas, magnos vero in lateribus gladios et cultelos, e contra raro videmus laicum, qui in cingulo zonam non habeat ad orandum. Tanta ac talis surrexit abusus ac novitatum detestabilium inventio, quod eas non solus, sed cum pluribus reprehendo et describere ipsas nolo. Non enim cernentem aut legentem ista novitas aedificat, sed maximam mutationem regni Boemiae signat et declarat. Nam post naturalium regum interitum passa est Boemia diversum multiplex dominium, de quo accepit morum consuetudines diversorum. Exiit nunc proverbium generale: ad modum simiae Boemia habet se, facit enim, quidquid alios viderit exercere. Latin text: *Chronicon aulae regiae* (Cronica Wenceslai), Cap. XXIII *De novitatibus morum*. in: *Die Königsaal Geschichts-Quellen mit den Zusätzen und der Vortsetzung des Domherrn Frany von Prag*, ed. transl. J. Loserth, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*. Scriptorum, V, Wien 1875. Czech translation: Petr Žitavský, *Zbraslavská kronika: Chronicon aulae regiae*, transl. F. Heřmanovský, R. Mertlík, introduction. Z. Fiala, Praha 1976.*

5 Cf. J. Fijałek, *Życie i obyczaje kleru w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle ustawodawstwa synodalnego*, Kraków 2002, p. 17 f.

and municipality law makers reacted to these changes and exaggerated fashion. In accordance with the provisions laid down in a set of Canon law *Constitutiones Clementinae*, adopted at the Council of Vienne in 1312, also local synods repeatedly admonished secular and religious clergy, as well as clerics, for wearing inappropriate hairstyles and outfits, because "by the appropriateness of attire internal honesty shows".⁶ For example, the statute of Cracow synod of Bishop Nanker from 1320, hence from the time described by Peter from Zbraslav, provided rules for clerics' appearance: they should wear appropriate tonsure, avoid dressing in green, red, blue or checkered sewn garments, not too short, but not too long and should not wear long-nibbed or embroidered shoes, etc.⁷

Observations of the progressing changes in attire and behaviour of compatriots noted by Peter are very similar to critical remarks about the way of dressing, wearing hair and youth's behaviour made by Cracow canon Frowin in his piece *Antigameratus* (c. 1340). This unusual poem, dedicated to Latin homonyms, equally combines the features of didactic, grammatical and parenetic work, and also is not stripped from satirical themes.

The chronicler noted with some shock that strangely tailored robes with long, slit sleeves were worn, cf. (7). This detail of the new fashion did not escape Frowin's attention:

Consider it in your soul, your sleeves hang like dog's lugholes.

42 Sensibus hoc hauris: manice sunt ut canis auris.⁸

This is a female and male garment, a type of straitjacket or outer dress with long, slit sleeves, called *surcot* (from Latin *surcotium*, *cotta*), or in the form of a tank-top (in southern Germany and Austria, also called *Suckenîe*, *Suckl*). In Poland, with regards to Frowin's words, around 1340 a similar kind of attire with dashing sleeves was worn.⁹

As for the other detail of the outfit, opposition is equally evoked by the chronicler from Zbraslav (cf. [8]), as well as by the Cracow author, when it comes to wearing a hood with a long, leg-ending finish:¹⁰

6 C. 2 L. III: *quos oportet per decentiam habitus extrinseci morum intrinsecam honestatem ostendere*, see also St. Thomas, *Summa theologiae* II-II. 2. 169 a 1 ad 2.

7 *Najstarsze statuty synodalne krakowskie biskupa Nankera z 2 października 1320 r.*, ed. J. Fijałek, Kraków 1915, p. 33. These comprised recommendations from the Sieradz statutes of Archbishop Pełka dated 1233, see *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, ed. A.Z. Helcel, I, Warszawa 1856, p. 344.

8 Fovinus de Cracovia, *Antigameratus*, ed. and transl. M. Mejor (in preparation).

9 See M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*, Wrocław 1968, pp. 113, 132-134, 136, 139-141.

10 This type of hood with a long finish was called *liripipium*.

You are quite mad, because the hood hangs like a bag.

32 *Mente par es follis, capulum tibi stat quasi follis.*

Just as the abandonment of commonly used male caps worn on the head (Latin *cofia*), linen or cloth, also wearing a high hat deserved a reprimand, because it contributed to blurring the differences between Christians and Jews, cf. (3) and (7). In the laws of various towns, such pointed hat was reserved only for Jews. Frowin also pointed to this unfavourable aspect of change in men's fashion.¹¹

By custom of tribe of Judah your wear the hat of Judas.

35 *More plebis Iude iam pileus est tibi Iude.*

Frowin, in order not to limit himself to criticism, indicated what attire would be suitable for more mature school youth and clerics. As one should expect, since it was *opinio communis*, short and tight dresses were objectionable to the witness. On the other hand, long robes, without exaggerated folding, were appreciated and were the token of dignity of a person dressed in such a way. The author also referred to the practical aspect: long robe allows out winter and autumn cold and remain in good health.

Condemning abuse, be wary, so as not to sway yourself
Your butt sticks out and you go out as sinner
I shall advise you to refrain, as it is gravely foolish
This outfit is no good, boyo, don't wear it even if you could

35 *Significans fraudes caveas, ne quos ita fraudes.
Per scapulas nudas quasi leno lubrica nudas.
Hoc reprobo sane, quia mentis hoc est male sanae.
En rudis est vestis, qua te gamentice vestis.*

Why do you wear this skimpy and a bit too tight a coat?
Make it wider, fool, and a cold is not going to prove you wrong.

46 *Pellicium cur tum strictum fers tum quoque curtum?
Hoc, demens, larga, tunc pelles frigora larga.*

Extend these tunics, to make them wide in whole
even sew two so as not to make edge short.

70 *Sic tunicas ampla, quod sit pars quelibet ampla.
Atque duas uni, ne fimbria sit brevis uni.*

¹¹ See below A. Drażkowska, *Ozdoby i nakrycia głowy na ziemiach polskich od X do końca XIII wieku*, Toruń 2012, for hats used by Jews see p. 114; cf. M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*, p. 165.

Above all, let your clothes be loose and well-fitted

81 Pre cunctis latae, tibi sint vestes bene latae.

A radical change in men's fashion at the beginning of the 14th century consisted among others in visible shortening of dresses and straitjackets, revealing a tightly-fitted back and front. This example of men's attire, widely criticized by contemporary authors, was also regarded by Frowin as improper and worthy of a true *stud* (*gameratus*).¹²

The fashion makes it tight
In such outfits you get squeezed
Between two loafs of bred one strangled piece of meat

40 Quod patet ex arte, quia stringeris hac nimis arte.
Vestibus hiis artus nimis angis corporis artus,
Carne tua fartae stringunt saccum quasi far te.

In his chronicle Peter also mentioned a new type of footwear, crakows, and new attire with leggings closely fitted to legs. A detail of men's attire often mentioned by the critics of that time were crakows, fashionable shoes with long nibs. From 14th century on, they were extremely popular in Europe. A noteworthy testimony comes from England. The author of *Eulogium Historiarum* chronicle dated the appearance of such shoes locally between 1361-1362:

This year, [i.e. 1362 – M.M.] and the preceding year, the whole English society went crazy. [...] Recently, they started wearing shoes with finger-long nibs, which they call crakowes. One should rather consider them demonic claws than people's attire.¹³

In Germany, these shoes were called *Schnabelschuhe* ("shoes with spouts"), in France they were called *le soulier de poulaine* ("shoes from Poland") or simply

¹² The then popular name of *gameratus*, seducer (Latin *hovisator*, lecher, ne'er-do-well). The term was probably known only in Central Europe (apart from that, it was mentioned in only one Prague sermon of Conrad Waldhausen) and most likely it formed part of the local municipal youth dialect. Therefore, it appears rarely and only in sources from Poland and Czechia. Did the anonymous poet (Theodoricus?), who at the end of the 13th century and at the beginning of the 14th century was the author of the poem *Gameratus*, as R. Ganszyniec wrote, *Polonolatina. VI. de his malis quae sunt in mundo*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" XX/XXIII (1925/1926), pp. 354-355, (no mention about it in T. Haye, *Frowin von Krakau und die spätmittelalterliche Ständesatire*, "Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi" LXX (2012), pp. 163-182), really exist? I give the answer in a separate article.

¹³ Translation by M.M. *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis): Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum domini MCCCLXVI a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum*, ed. F.S. Haydon, III, London 1863, p. 231: *Eodem anno et in anno praecedenti tota communitas Anglicana versa. [...] Habent etiam sotulares rostratas in unius digiti longitudine, quae Crakowes vocantur; potius judicantur ungula daemonum quam ornamenta hominum.*

poulaine or *poleyn*, in England, according to the testimony of the chronicler, *crakowes*, or shoes from Cracow.¹⁴ Because they made it difficult to walk, sometimes these long nibs were attached to leggings with a chain or a thong. The length of nibs indicated social status. According to legal regulations in some countries and cities, the shoes with the longest nibs could be worn by kings and princes, the lower the social position of a man, the shorter the nibs his shoes could have.¹⁵

Frowin also knew these principles and warned young men against wearing fashionable shoes:

Do not wear shoes with nibs, unless you are baron – then do it.

79 Calces non rostra, ni sis baro, tunc gere rostra!

The Czech chronicler and Frowin were particularly displeased with the fashion among men to keep long hair and beards, as well as new hairstyles, cf. (3).¹⁶ As some Franciscan once said, who travelled at the beginning of the 14th century around the countries of Central Europe, all Poles walked trimmed as Cistercian converses (i.e. they cut their hair short, levelled with ears). Then, however (i.e. c. 1308), some began to grow long hair.¹⁷ It is likely that this new fashion came from Germany as early as in the 13th century. The author of the so-called *The Chronicle of Mierzwa (Dzierzwa)*, having mentioned Leszek Czarny/The Black (who died in 1288), also noted with certain disapproval that, contrary to the Polish custom, he had long hair “in favorem Theutonicorum”, that is, to please the Germans.¹⁸ At the beginning

¹⁴ The appearance of shoes with long nibs has not been sufficiently explained yet, nevertheless its Slavic (Polish) origin is referred to, see E. Brüggem, *Kleidung und Mode in der höfischen Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg 1989, p. 166 and next; J. Keupp, *Die Wahl des Gewandes. Mode, Macht und Möglichkeitssinn in Gesellschaft und Politik des Mittelalters*, Ostfildern 2010, p. 80; footnote 28 (*Mittelalter-Forschungen*, III); A. Drażkowska, *Historia obuwia na ziemiach polskich od IX do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń 2011, pp. 88-91; A. Bochnakowa, *Nazwa “Polska” i jej derywaty w języku francuskim*, “Język Polski” LXIX (1989), 1, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵ A. Drażkowska, *Historia obuwia...*, p. 96, examples from France, Normandie and England were given.

¹⁶ Cf. T. Jurek, *Fryzura narodowa średniowiecznych Polaków*, in: *Scriptura custos memoriae. Historical works* ed. D. Zydorek, Poznań 2001, pp. 635-651.

¹⁷ *Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis*, ed. O. Górka, Kraków 1916, pp. 57-58: *Olim omnes Poloni ibant tonsi, sicut conversi cistercienses, sed nunc aliqui incipiunt dimittere crines*. The note is dated 1308. Nevertheless, according to a very old Polish custom, Poles wore long hair. In the 3rd book of his chronicle, Jan Długosz, writing about Kazimierz Mnich (Casimir the Monk), noted that only then Poles began to wear short hair following the example of Catholic and Latin countries and abandoned the barbarian custom of growing long hair, see I. Długossius, *Historia Polonica*, ed. A. Przedziecki, I, Cracoviae 1873, p. 269.

¹⁸ *Kronika Dzierzwy*, ed. K. Pawłowski, Kraków 2013, p. 85 (*Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, p. II, vol. IV).

of the 14th century, the change in men's appearance was already noticeable in Poland and Czech Kingdom, as shown by the testimonies of the Peter the chronicler, Frowin and iconographic sources.¹⁹

At the same time, however, it has to be noted that the process of changes in the field of fashion and appearance also worked in the opposite direction. Wearing short hair as a new fashion from Poland reached Germany and Austria, where, as a novelty, was also received with reluctance. Siegfried Helbling, a poet who criticized succumbing to foreign fashions, wrote about the habit of clipping hair short as a typically Polish custom.²⁰ This fashion soon became popular in Germany. The author of the chronicle of the city of Limburg made a note under the year 1384, that in those years, the knights and bollards kept their hair cut short above the ears, as converses, and would curl them up. Following this fashion, townsmen and peasants also began to cut their hair short. The chronicler considered important both the fashion novelty itself and the fact that it was adopted by ordinary city residents from the elite class.²¹

Frowin, however, seeing long hair and long beards around 1340, wrote with undisguised distaste:

You run away all hairy as if you were a chased boar
All fancy at the front, and a face of hairy ape.

- 25 Te retrahis luci non tonsus, ut est fera luci.
Ac in fronte comis vultum quasi bestia comis.

It was the opinion of the canon that carefully curled up long hair was not masculine, and could even indicate sinful tendencies:

You appear to come from Sodom if you show yourself curled up
Because the first impression is how you keep your hair.

- 27 Es Sodomeque comes, si sic te vertice comes;
Nam prior hic gestus a crinibus est ita gestus.

¹⁹ See most important iconographic sources for that period: *Biblia picta Velislai*, Praha, Státní knihovna České republiky, sig. XIII.C.124 – ca. 1325-1349; *Biblia Wenceslai regis (Bible Václava IV)*, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 2760 – ca. 1390; *Legenda św. Jadwigi Śląskiej (Vita beatae Hedvigis)*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 83.MN.126 –, 1353 – for an analysis of this source, see T. Jurek, *Fryzura narodowa...*, pp. 637-639.

²⁰ Presumed author of the collection *Der kleiner Lucidarius* created at the end of the 13th c., see T. Jurek, *Fryzura narodowa...*, p. 637. Cf. below.

²¹ *Die Limburger Chronik des Tilmann Elhen von Wolfhagen*, transl. A. Wyss, Hannover 1883, p. 76 (Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters, IV,1): "Item in disen jaren da ging an, daz herren, ritter und knechte drugen korze har unde krolle, ober den oren abegesneden glich den conversenbrudern; unde da daden daz auch di burger gemeinde unde di gemeine lude di gebure alle darnach".

Growing beards, which was considered fashionable in those times, was also not scolded by him:

It truly is a nut who keep his beard intact
My words I do not sugar-coat, you do look like a goat.

- 30 Est fatue mentis, quod fit nova barbula mentis.
Firmiter hoc edo, quod te similem facis hedo.

Polish synod statutes from 13th and 14th centuries often mentioned proper haircut as a duty of secular clergy, as well as clerics.²² The idea was to trim the hair so that the ears were not covered and that the top of the head was shaved, while the remaining hair would form the so-called crown of a cleric. Frowin mentioned it:

In your hair around your head, form a circle shape instead,
Uncovering your ears this way shall give you golden fame.

- 115 Inque pilis circum vultum tibi fac quasi circum.
Sic loca dans auri, species fulgebis ut auri.

Another interesting observation made by Peter the chronicler, concerns the habit of wearing white armor by clerics, whereas laymen, on the contrary, carried rosaries, cf. (10). The author noted interesting changes that were taking place in contemporary times with regards to the life of clergymen, who strove to copy the appearance of secular people: they carried modest tonsure, and huge swords at their sides. Polish synodic laws from 14th century would quite often address the issue of carrying weapons by priests and clerics. It was repeatedly reminded that, according to the oldest church laws, priests were not allowed to carry weapons, especially hangers (*cultelli*), with the exception of danger during travels or from a personal enemy.²³

Did Peter from Zbraslav, in turn, whilst describing laymen wearing rosary beads, give testimony to the Franciscan movement spreading among laypeople and promoting poverty and devotion in the form frequent individual prayer? This note is too laconic to allow for drawing conclusions about this religious group consisting of rosary-carrying individuals. It is difficult to determine in this case whether they were Franciscan tertiaries, or Begarends wearing coats made of undyed fabrics and regarded as heretics, or fashionistas striving to look like devout Christians.

What also astonished the Czech chronicler was a new habit of joint and public music performances – singing in a new way – performed not by

²² J. Fijałek, *Życie i obyczaje kleru w Polsce średniowiecznej...*, mentions resolutions adopted by four local synods in 1233, 1279, 1326, 1420. If, in addition to those, it were possible to mention decrees of diocesan synods, many more such sources would be available.

²³ See *ibidem*, p. 29 and next.

professional musicians but by laymen and clerics,²⁴ cf. (4). Most probably he referred to multi-voice singing that began to reach Central Europe as early as the beginning of the 14th century. Thanks to the lively trade and migration of people (see his remark [5] that many languages are spoken on the roads), the new musical style expanded to Czech Kingdom, Silesia and probably also spread from there to Cracow and Lesser Poland. The Cracow canon Frowin in *Antygameratus* also criticized the new-fashioned singing of young people:

Howling as a dog you sing dogs' new songs
Victim to novelties, you deserve to be called an ape.²⁵
It does stem from your act, you do as others clap.

- 60 Flentis more canis canis en nova carmina canis.
Ad nova sic apte, tu symea diceris apte.
Hoc patet ex actu, quia quod facit, hoc facis ac tu.

Undoubtedly, the Cracow canon had some novelties in mind pertaining to this area. This testimony has not yet been used in studies on Polish medieval music. At that time (i.e. in the years 1328-1329), his secretary, Guillaume de Machaut, a great creator of a new style, *ars nova*, stayed in Silesia (Wrocław, Legnica, Bytom, Świdnica, and Głogów) in the procession of John of Luxembourg.²⁶ He was the artist behind many kinds of single-part and multipart compositions. He created significant religious and secular repertoires in Silesia (three-part motets) and a new way of performing multipart songs. Reports about new *ars nova* trends and performance techniques are scarce and generally come from later period, although it is indicated that, in Silesia, in the 14th century, French two- and three-part rotula, and motets by Machaut, Philippe de Vitry and Jehan Vaillanta were known and performed.²⁷ However, the criticism of modern choral technique (and, thus, also the repertoire) was justified in 15th century, as it still resisted representatives of traditionally educated social classes, and probably also among many listeners and the faithful. Johannes Hübner, an Augustinian and a preacher, active around the year 1400 in Prague, Wrocław and Żagań, left a remarkable testimony – a sermon in which he strongly condemned new kinds of music:

²⁴ The chronicler used the term *pharisaei*, most likely having in mind the members of church choirs, e.g. cathedral choirs, that is clerics, subdeacons and deacons, etc., since the *ars nova* performance technique required expertise in the art of signing.

²⁵ See below.

²⁶ G. Jensch, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Breslau*, Breslau 1919, p. 28, cf. L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht, *Musikgeschichte Schlesiens*, Dülmen 1986 (Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten Mitteleuropas, I).

²⁷ Cf. K. Morawska, *Średniowiecze, II: 1320-1500*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 114, 226 and next *Historia muzyki polskiej*, I.

There are, today, some students of modern schools of choral singing, who are mad, with eyes wide open, rude in gestures and frolicsome and lecherous in singing. They sing more to please people than to God, and not in a choir with Mary, the sister of Moses, but in the palace with Herodias, to please the revelers and Herod himself. And to descend deeper into this criticism, we shall ask, why is the church so full of this monstrous singing? This one sings, the other does not, the other sings in higher register, the other breaks the words with pauses, the melody is dragged upwards, then it is bent, he suspends it, then lengthens it again with a full voice, and sometimes, it's a shame to say, he turns his voice into horse's neighing, and at other times he abandons the power of male voice, and subtly draws a female tone. Sometimes the entire body of a singer is moved by some kind of acting-like gestures, lips are twisted, eyes turn, he flings his arms and responds to each note by moving his fingers. And this ridiculous playfulness is called religion! The audience rests stunned, admiring the lascivious, dignified movements of the singers, changes of intertwined and altered voices, all of it happens among laughter and giggles, so that it would seem more suited to the theatre than to the oratorio [translation – M.M.].²⁸

What preacher had in mind was music and performance technique related to the *ars nova* trend, which had probably reached Silesia in the first half of the 14th century. The description itself refers to multipart form of the motet and to the multi-text form, in which each voice performs separate lines. What seems to be interesting is the detail that shows the theatricality of performing such works. It follows that the singers used expressions from a whole range of acting effects – gestures and facial expressions as means of performance, while singers also moved their fingers to emphasize the rhythm, which surprised the preacher.

28 *Sunt enim hodie quidam novelle scole discipuli in choro, mente vagi, oculis attoniti, gestu dissoluti, in cantu obsoni et lascivi. Cantant quidem magis, ut placeant populo quam Deo, nec cantant in choro cum Maria, sorore Moysi, sed in palacio cum Herodiade, ut placeant discumbentibus et Herodi. Et ut ingrediamur huius satire latitudinem, unde queso in ecclesia tot monstruosa cantica? Hic siccinit, ille discinit, alius supercinit, alter quasdam medias notas dividit et incidit; nunc vox stringitur, nunc frangitur, nunc impingitur, nunc diffusiori sonitu dilatatur, et aliquando, quod pudet dicere, in equinos hymnitus cogitur; et quandoque virili vigore deposito in femine vocis gracilitatem acuitur. Interim corpus totum quibusdam histrionibus gestibus agitur, torquentur labia, rotantur oculi, ludunt humeris et ad singulas quasque notas digitorum flexus respondent. Et hec ridiculosa dissolutio vocatur religio. Stans modo populus miratur attonitus lascivas cantantium gesticulationes meretricias, vovum alternationes et infracciones; intuetur hec cum risu et cachino, ut non videatur ad oratorium, sed magis ad theatrum convenisse, an extract from a manuscript in Wrocław University Library, reference no. IF 628, p. 69v, reprinted in: F. Feldmann, *Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien*, Breslau 1938, p. 125, note 365. I would like to thank Dr Tomasz Jez for indicating the source and helping understand the motet.*

An observation that people met on roads use different languages also led to a critical remark by the Czech chronicler, cf. (5). Passers-by and travellers have already communicated with each other not only in Czech, but also in many foreign languages, probably in Upper German dialects, in Silesian dialect and in Polish, Hungarian, or Italian. This observation, showing that increasing numbers of foreigners were involved in the life of Czech people, is connected with the last sentence of the chapter, in which the author saw the cause of disturbing changes in the country in the rule of foreign kings. After the last scion of Premyslid dynasty has died, the history of Bohemia and Moravia saw an exceptionally turbulent and troubled period. The government was taken over in 1306 by Prince Rudolf of Austria, a representative of Habsburg dynasty, followed by Henry of the Carinthian dynasty. Subsequently, the country was ruled by the representatives of the Luxembourg dynasty: John of Luxembourg (the Blind) (1310-1346) and his son Charles IV (1346-1378).²⁹ Czechia and Moravia were repeatedly divided into parties supporting opposing contenders. Thus do critical comments of the chronicler stem from progressing anxiety about the growing influence of foreigners in Czechia, mostly – Germans, and were they a manifestation of his patriotic attitude? This question is still the subject of discussions among historians on the national awareness and Czech identity at the turn of 13th and 14th century.³⁰

Peter's and Frowin's observations and comments do not stand for an isolated voice of moralists, reluctant towards new things. And those things were not mere local nor forgettable fads. They were confirmed by numerous sources, most importantly chronicles from the second half of the century. Among other things, in Czech *Chronicle of the Prague Church* (*Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis*) written some time later, a canon of the Prague cathedral, Beneš Krabice of Veitmile (he died 1375), scribbled a note under the year 1367, which stands for a real summary of the changes which occurred in Czech customs:

At this time [Czech people – M.M.], acting as monkeys which will notice anything that people do and try to replicate it, accepted illegal and

²⁹ R. Antonin, *Działalność polityczna Jana Luksemburskiego w okresie buntu krakowskiego wójta Alberta i jego ocena w czeskiej historiografii*, in: *Bunt wójta Alberta. Kraków i Opole we wzajemnych związkach w XIV wieku*, ed. J. Rajmana, Kraków 2013, pp. 8-18 (*Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis, Studia historica*, XIII).

³⁰ See R. Heck, *Z problematyki ideologicznej "Kroniki zbrasławskiej"*, in: *Studia z dziejów kultury i ideologii ofiarowane E. Maleczyńskiej w 50. rocznicę pracy dydaktycznej i naukowej*, eds. R. Heck, W. Korta, J. Leszczyński, Wrocław 1968, pp. 125-141, and a polemic in: M. Nodl, *Nacionalismus a národní vědomí na počátku 14. století*, in: *Pišmiennictwo Czech i Polski w średniowieczu i we wczesnej epoce nowożytniej*, eds. A. Barciak, W. Iwańczak, Katowice 2006, pp. 77-115, *ibidem* bibliography; cf. S. Bylina, *Idee uniwersalne a czeska świadomość narodowa w późnym średniowieczu*, in: *Państwo, naród, stany, w świadomości wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Ziętary 1929-1983*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 77-99.

disastrous foreign fashion and looked away from the patterns set by their predecessors. They made them short and tucked up, so ugly that one could see the pants and the backside, and so tight that they could barely breathe. The torsos were made of cotton so that they seemed to have a feminine breast because of fattiness. The torsos were made of cotton so that they seemed to have female breasts because of obesity. They were so squeezed around their stomachs that they resembled hunting dogs, called *veltres*. They were wrapped around so hard they could barely walk at slow pace. They had tiny caps, four of which came out of the elbow of the fabric, with broad woven stripes and large letters³¹ around the neck, just as hounds shielded from wolf bites. Similarly, they wore pointed crakows with nibs so long they could barely walk and march. And so all the Czech land was tainted by these novelties and bad habits, and so many other superstitions that it is not appropriate to say more about it [translation – M.M.].³²

Benes Krabice wrote that Czechs, who at that time dressed as foreigners and copied their fashion, were compared to monkeys imitating people. The characteristic comparison in the context of the imitation of foreign costumes was apparently very common at the time, as it was used by both Peter of Zbraslav, cf. (12), the author of the *Chronicle of Prague Church*, as well as

31 In the original: *litterae*, that is *letters*, text. However, it is a ribbon or a band, as in the Old Italian language *lettere* which could designate a ribbon with text placed on pictures, cf. J. von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Vienna 1896, p. 368 (*Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, before 1354). A more elaborate version of this information from Benes' *Cronicle* was given by Hájek from Libočan, (Venceslaus Hagecius), in his *Czech Cronicle* (printed in 1541). There, he wrote: "a okolo hrdla dali sobie dielati Texty z Liter Střybrnych, a chudssy z Caynowych", idem, *Kronyka Czeská*, [Praha 1819], p. 341. Also the German translation mentions there simply – *Text*, see Venceslaus Hagecius, *Böhmische Chronik: vom Ursprung der Böhmen, von Ihrer Herzogen und Könige, Graven, Adels und Geschlechter Ankunfft [...] übersezet durch Joannem Sandel [...]*, Nürnberg 1697, p. 612.

32 *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis Benessii Krabice de Weitmile, Kronika Beneše Krabice z Weitmile*, transl. J. Emler, Prague 1884, p. 536 (*Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, IV): *His temporibus more symearum, que quidquid ab hominibus fieri conspiciunt, facere et imitari conantur, usurpaverunt sibi pravam et dampnosam aliarum terrarum consuetudinem, et in habitu vestimentorum recesserunt a vestigiis suorum predecessorum, facientes sibi breves et curtas, ymmo verius turpes vestes, ut plerumque femoralia ac posteriora viderentur, et strictas, ut vix anhelitum possent habere. Circum precordia de bombace magnam spissitudinem, ut mamillas mulierum habere viderentur. Circa ventrem ita constricti erant, ut canes venatici, qui veltres dicuntur, esse viderentur. Circa posteriora ita se pluribus ligaminibus constringebant, ut vix lento gressu incedere possent. Capuciolis etiam parvissimis, quorum de una ulna panni quatuor fiebant, utebantur, cum pretextis latis vel litteris magnis circum colla more canum campestrium, qui hac cautela a luporum morsibus preservantur. Simili modo calceos rostratos et cum longissimis nasibus deferebant, ut male possent incedere vel ambulare. Et contaminata est terra Boemie in hiis adinventionibus et malis consuetudinibus aliis ac supersticionibus plurimis, plusquam loqui expedit.*

Frowin from Cracow in *Antygameratus*.³³ The similarities in the critical remarks of Czech chroniclers and the Cracow canon indicate the same process of cultural changes, primarily in the area of fashion, which at that time extended to Czech Kingdom, and, as Peter noted, also to neighbouring Silesia and Lesser Poland, cf. (1). If one refers to contemporary sources, both literary and historical, it becomes clear that this phenomenon was geographically-speaking more widespread, not limited exclusively to the Czech Kingdom and Lesser Poland, but it was also observed in the 14th and 15th century in Central Europe. The exchange of moral codes (*novitates morum*) took place through trade relationships and characteristic cultural osmosis, in which the Czech Kingdom, Moravia, Silesia, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, Hungary and Poland participated.

Novitates similar to those described by Peter of Zbraslav and Beneš of Veitmile, were presented in detail by the author of an anonymous editorial of a chronicle by a Cisterian from Carinthia – Johannes Victoriensis, who died in 1347. Exquisite fashion, which was deemed excessive and unnecessary by the chronicler, became prominent in Austria as a result of ruler's death. Therefore, as long as the reason for the changes according to the authors of Czech chronicles was a sort of an external impulse, unfavourable consequences of foreign rulers' governance or the influence of foreigners, the Austrian chronicler seemed to suggest that it was social unrest caused by the death of King Albrecht I Habsburg, which stood for the main reason:

It should be noted that after the death of Albrecht,³⁴ the Roman king, prince of Austria and Styria, and also of many other lands, there were numerous inventions and novelties in attire's style. Some wore a left sleeve of a tunic made from dissimilar fabric, some other individuals would enlarge their left sleeve so much that its size exceeded the length of the dress itself. Some enlarged their sleeves, others adorned the left sleeve in various ways, be silk or silver or silver tubes on silk hanging all over the sleeve; others wore belts made of different fabric with silver or silk letters, others would embed images the left side of their chests, and some would gird their chests with silky wheels. Almost all tunics were squeezed to such an extent that some could not put them on unassisted, or wore them thanks to buttons, through which were sewn in across the arms, shoulders, chest and stomach. They also widened the collars, i.e. openings, through which the head would enter the dress, so that the breast, shoulders and scapulas would be

³³ On the popularity of this metaphor in the Middle Ages, see E.R. Curtius, *Literatura europejska i łacińskie średniowiecze*, transl. A. Borowski, Kraków 2005, pp. 570-572: *Małpa jako metafora*.

³⁴ Albrecht I Habsburg, died on 1 May 1308.

exposed. They would also make tunic tassels from different fabrics and adorned them, just like madmen back in the day. Sometimes they also made indents at the bottom of their clothes and wore them like tassels. Everybody started using hoods, peasants, Jews and shepherds alike. The use of men's caps was also abandoned, thanks to which one could distinguish a Christian from a Jew among the laymen. The hair was cut conservatively, or as among Jews was not cut at all, or it was separated as among Hungarians. They also changed their belts – they would wear either a rope or delicate straps, very low above robes' legs. Also, the coats were shortened so much that some of them barely covered the back. Silk was used among the servants, contrary to the old custom of knights. The sleeves were shortened in outer tunics, so that they barely reached to the elbow, and they hung from their ends resembling long pennants [translation – M.M.].³⁵

The reasons for such changes, regarded by opinion-forming social circles as negative, were seen by the contemporaries mainly as a result of harmful influence of foreign cultures or as a consequences of a cataclysm, earthquake, death of the ruler, etc. Peter from Zbraslav, similarly to other chroniclers of that time, noticed those changes and critically assessed them in the spirit of medieval historiography as morally suspicious and evil. Chroniclers identified the reasons for the decline of moral code and the associated effeminacy with the increasing influence of foreign cultures, in accordance with the deterioristic conception of history, stating that each subsequent generation is becoming

35 See Anonymus Leobensis, *Chronicon*, transl. J. Zahn, Grätz 1865, pp. 28-29: *Notandum, quod post mortem Alberti regis Romanorum in Austria, in Stiria, et etiam in aliis terris plures adinuenciones et nouitates in sarciendo uestes surrexerunt. Alii in tunicis sinistram manicam de alio panno ferebant, alii ipsam sinistram manicam in tantum ampliabant, quod amplitudo excederet longitudinem ipsius tunice; alii ambas manicas in tantum ampliabant; alii sinistram manicam ornabant diuersimode, uel cum sericis, uel cum argento; alii cannas argenteas in sericis dependebant per totam suam illam manicam; alii laminas de alieno panno cum litteris argenteis uel sericis deferebant; alii in sinistra parte pectoris ymagines deferebant; alii circulis sericis circa pectus per totum se circumcingebant. In tantum etiam artabant fere omnes tunicas, ut aliqui nisi per adiutorium aliorum, aliqui per nodulos, per brachia a manibus usque ad humeros, et per pectus, et per totum uentrem inherentes tunicas ingredi uel egredi uoluerunt. Ampliabant etiam tunc capicia, id est foramina, per que caput uestes egreditur, ut in hominibus istis pectora humeri scapule in maxima parte apparent. Tunc etiam de alienis pannis magnificabant fimbrias tunicarum et ornabant, ut quondam fatuus contingebat. Interdum incisuras in finibus uestium faciebant et pro fimbriis portabant. Capucius etiam omnes incepterunt uti, tam rustici et Judei et pastores. Cessauit etiam tunc usus mitrarum uirilium, per quas inter laicos pluries Christianus cognoscebatur a Iudeo. De coma etiam uel ualde parum, uel omnino ut Judei, uel Ungari comam diuidebant. Cingulos etiam mutabant. Nam uel zonam, uel sic minutissimas corrigias deferebant, et ualde profunde, uidelicet super bracie deferebant. Tunc et pallia in tantum curtabant, quod aliquibus uix posteriora tangebant. Incepit etiam tunc in sericis uarietas de famulis et clientibus usus contra militum antiquam consuetudinem. In superioribus tunicis etiam accurtabant manicas, ut supra brachia uix ad cubitum adcingebant, sub cubito uero longum quasi ut uexillum dependebat. Cf. J. Keupp, *Die Wahl des Gewandes...*, p. 97.*

more and more depraved. After the plague had ravaged Europe in the years 1347-1352, moralists quite commonly, however, associated moral slackness with fatal consequences of "black death". For example, Conrad of Megenberg, the rector of St. Stephen cathedral school in Vienna, later a cathedral canon in Regensburg (he died in 1374) saw a clear causal link between the plague and "deformation" of costumes, expressing a state of spiritual decline.³⁶

The changes occurred in both urban and rural communities, most probably among young people, scholars, students and the lower clergy, and among various *joculatores*, thus in such groups which usually reacted quickly to changing fashions and rules of behaviour. This part of society was inherently inclined to seek originality and means of standing out, for it created fashion itself or picked up novelties observed in strangers. Some of the avant-garde behaviours could become generally accepted by all social classes, including the royal court, while other local fashions would fade unnoticed recognized as short-term or as eccentric antics. The development of regional varieties of attire, especially national clothing was a process which appeared much later.

Certainly, the reasons for the development of fashions within the culture of attire are complex. According to researcher, the term *modus* itself, derived from Latin, describing a phenomenon understood as a change of attire, appeared in France³⁷ in 15th-century only. Various psychological and social reasons form the basis for the phenomenon of imitating foreign patterns allowing one to be perceived as distinct, to individualize oneself and evoke admiration by originality. That is why, the youth was susceptible to any changes in fashion and readily accepted foreign patterns.³⁸

Attire, as a determinant of social class affiliation, *a prima facie* identification of social and financial situation of, prestige, age, gender and group affiliation of an individual, was thus a means of social control and religious identity.³⁹

³⁶ See S. Krüger, *Krise der Zeit als Ursache der Pest? Der Traktat "De mortalitate in Alamannia" des Konrad von Megenberg*, in: *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, II, Göttingen 1972, pp. 838-883. Some chroniclers associated the appearance of new attire with the desire to compensate for the horrible time of the epidemic, see *Die Limburger Chronik*, p. 38.

³⁷ See e.g. *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, transl. K. Barck et al. IV, Weimar 2003, p. 169.

³⁸ The chronicler of the town of Limburg noted, before year 1351, that a new fashion for short attire dominated Germany, however elderly people were still wearing traditional clothes, i.e. long clothes, see *Die Limburger Chronik...*, p. 36. No other sources mention this aspect emerging new fashions. It is obvious that fashion is mainly shaped by young people. See *Le costume civil*, ed. M. Madou, Turnhout 1986, pp. 13-14 (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, fasc. 47), *ibidem* bibliography relating to the methodology, sociology and psychology of attire.

³⁹ See e.g. M. Dinges, *Von der "Lesbarkeit der Welt" zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft, "Saeculum"*

However, the role of clothing was ambiguous. The classic definition includes three basic functions of attire: it insulates against cold, protects pudenda and adorns the owner (*Schutz, Scham, Schmuck*).⁴⁰ In addition to it, thanks to its conventionality, it was a means of expressing affiliation with a specific social group. A fashionable outfit, especially feminine, following French or Italian prototypes, stood for a token of affiliation with the elite. Therefore, the garment served a kind of egalitarianism within a given community. On the other hand, it could both be a means of personal expression and allow to overcome patterns of judgement, as it was a way to individualize oneself against the crowd.⁴¹

Groups distinguished by their attire, primarily royal courts, were subject to constant control and criticism, but they were also closely followed and imitated. Changes in clothing, cut, colour, footwear, worn accessories, and hair styles can be treated as an expression of the aesthetics that changed over time, as well as a manifestation of social dynamics, in which the outfit was a means of inter- and intra-class competition.⁴² The acceptance of a custom enshrined by tradition, according to which clothing should be appropriate for a particular group, sex and age, within a hierarchically constructed class society, did not mean, however, full acceptance with regards to outfits. Hence, laws against luxury were common in Middle Ages, particularly against lavishness in outfits and ornaments worn by townspeople. Not only synodic laws, which required clergy to be modest and restrained, but also municipal laws regulated everyday life in towns; they were equally aimed at protecting class position, property and environmental affiliation, and prevented an individual from moving between classes, social groups or guilds. Economic objectives of such laws should not go unnoticed – they also served as means of preventing the impoverishment of residents and encouraged them to invest in more tangible determinants of financial status. From the 12th century (Genoa) until 19th century (Bavaria), rulers and magistrates of European towns issued

XLIV (1993), 1, pp. 90-112, G. Jaritz, *Social Grouping and the Languages of Dress in the Late Middle Ages*, "The Medieval History Journal" III (2000), 2, pp. 235-259; *Le costume civil*, pp. 15-17; J. Keupp, *Die Wahl des Gewandes...*, pp. 76-85.

⁴⁰ The formula introduced by J.C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, London 1930, German edition: *Psychologie der Kleidung*, transl. S. Bovenschen, Frankfurt 1986.

⁴¹ Abundant sources exist on the theories of fashion and research devoted to old fashion, see e.g. *Le costume civil*, passim; J. Keupp, *Die Wahl des Gewandes...*, pp. 11-37, ibidem extensive bibliography, cf. A. Sieradzka, *Kostiumologia polska jako nauka pomocnicza historii*, Warsaw 2013, pp. 89 and next, ibidem bibliography. I was not able to use the collection of works *Habitus facit hominem. Społeczne funkcje ubioru w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytnej*, red. M. Pauk, M. Saczyńska, E. Wólkiewicz, Warszawa 2016.

⁴² See G. Jaritz, *Kleidung und Prestige-Konkurrenz. Unterschiedliche Identitäten in der städtischen Gesellschaft unter Normierungszwängen*, "Saeculum" XLIV (1993), 1, pp. 8-31.

decrees and regulations designed to prevent excessive spending on costumes and lavish way of life (*contra luxus*), as well gambling and excessive alcohol consumption. A particularly great number of such laws were adopted in towns in the first half of the 15th century. In Germany, from 1244 to 1816, there were 1350 municipal and princely decrees regarding costumes. If regulations concerning holidays and family events, weddings, baptisms and funerals had been included, their number would have increased to over 2,300.⁴³ By the end of 13th century, also Wrocław, and in the 14th century other Silesian cities, adopted laws against luxury. King Casimir III The Great approved a similar law in Cracow in 1336. In 1342 and 1378 it was yet amended.⁴⁴

In addition to social discipline, imposed by secular and clerical authorities, there existed a long-established religious literature directed against the deadly sins and specific sins, i.e. against superfluity and risky behaviours, which could detour to sin: *de chorea*, *de ludo taxillorum*, *de crapula et ebrietate*, *de luxuria*, etc.

As it was judged by preceptors and moralists, thus primarily preachers,⁴⁵ the following should be condemned with particular gravity:

- costumes and extravagant hairstyles – as an expression of pride and immodesty;
- court behaviours (court of manners) towards women – as characterized by eroticism;

⁴³ N. Bulst, *Kleidung als sozialer Konfliktstoff. Probleme kleidungsgesetzlicher Normierung im sozialen Gefüge*, "Saeculum" XL (1993), 1, p. 33.

⁴⁴ See S. Estreicher, *Ustawy przeciwko zbytkowi w dawnym Krakowie*, "Rocznik Krakowski", I (1898), p. 104 and next; see e.g. the Viennese act of ca. 1450: J.E. Schlager, *Urkundliche Notizen über die Wiener Kleidertracht vom Jahre 1396-1430*, Vienna 1846, pp. 295-344 (Wiener Skizzen aus dem Mittelalter N.F., III). Sources on such laws in neighbouring countries are abundant, see e.g.: L.C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderverordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums*, Göttingen 1962; G. Hampel-Kallbrunner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kleiderordnungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Österreich*, Vienna 1962; V. Baur, *Kleiderordnungen in Bayern vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, München 1975; N. Bulst, *Zum Problem städtischer und territorialer Kleider-, Aufwands- und Luxusgesetzgebung in Deutschland (13. - Mitte 16. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Renaissance du pouvoir législatif et genèse d'État*, eds. A. Gouron, A. Rigaudière, III, Montpellier 1988, pp. 29-57; idem, *Les ordonnances somptuaires en Allemagne: expression de l'ordre social urbain (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)*, "Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres" CXXXVII (1993), 3, pp. 771-784; cf. *La legislazione suntuaria secoli XII-XVI. Emilia-Romagna*, ed. M.G. Muzzarelli, Roma 2002.

⁴⁵ See e.g. sermons of John of Capistrano from Valtz, Geiler from Kaisersberg, Jan Milič of Kroměříž and others; cf. K. Bracha, *Nauczanie kaznodziejskie w Polsce późnego średniowiecza. "Sermones dominicales et festivos" z tzw. kolekcji Piotra z Miłostawia*, Kielce 2007, pp. 349-352: *Zbytkowne odzienie*. See also e.g. sermon of John of Stupca, professor of theology at the University of Cracow, in the collection of sermons *sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, XV in c.f. G. Wolter, *Teufelshörner und Lustäpfel: Modekritik in Wort und Bild 1150-1620*, Marburg 2002.

- liberal lifestyle (i.e. softer moral grip with regards to manners, the ability to establish and maintain contacts between sexes with ease, spending time in taverns, drinking alcohol, gambling, performing playful songs, etc.) – all of them considered disastrous due to sinfulness and potentially leading to eternal damnation.

Quite numerous literary testimonies of new fashions were usually subject to principles of moralization and didacticism, and, above all, they appeared in the sermons stigmatizing excess.⁴⁶

The criticism of dress and hairstyles apart from functions of social discipline and religious admonition, had also a different, literary background. In addition to preachers' admonitions or critical remarks in chronicles, considerable amount of source material can also be found in literary narrative and secular monody. For this reason, Peter from Zbraslav mentioned many authors who had already voiced criticism of changes in attire and contemporary behaviour, cf. (2). In the poem attached to the ending of a chapter, he mentioned one such author – the famous Minnesang poet, Nithart of Reuenthal.⁴⁷ He was active in 13th century in the Bavarian-Salzburg region, most likely also in Vienna at the court of Frederick II, therefore he was certainly known in the Czech Kingdom. In his songs,⁴⁸ especially in winter cycle (*Winterlied*), describing coarse entertainment of peasants, he ridiculed their outfits and behaviour (*Dörperlieder*⁴⁹). In the satirical songs of Nithart, criticism in particular concerns peasants, their daughters and sons, who dress like nobles (*Winterlied* 74, 13-17):

[...]
 They wear tight caftans,
 Stiff orifices, just as masters,
 Red hats,
 Black pantaloons,
 On the heels they wear sutures,
 Waist bags are hanging from the belt
 Their favourite perfume in there

⁴⁶ A crowning achievement – if such a description may be used – in this field were sermons preached by Joh of Capistrano as a result of which, among others in Erfurt in 1452, in Wrocław in 1453, in Cracow in 1454, huge amounts of ornaments, clothes, bones, chessboards, shoes with nibs (“Schnabelschuhe”) and other signs of human vanity, etc. were burned.

⁴⁷ He died around 1245, and was buried in the Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. Nearby, in the house of a merchant of textiles (Tuchlauben 19) a set of frescos, which illustrate his songs, has survived (of ca. 1407).

⁴⁸ See *Die Lieder Neidharts von Reuenthal*, ed. von F. Keinz, Leipzig 1889, *Die Lieder Neidharts*, transl. E. Wiessner, H. Fischer, P. Sappeler, 5. Auflage, Tübingen 1999.

⁴⁹ *Dörper* in Middle Low German, means nothing more than “bumpkin, dope”.

Famed for its marvellous smell
 The root, known as ginger
 [...].

Transl. Ludomił German⁵⁰

They boast about city hairstyles (18, 60-63):
 [...]
 I've had curled up hair, not long ago,
 Beautiful curls on each side.
 I had to stop as I have my house on my mind.
 [...].

Transl. Andrzej Lam⁵¹

The author, who came from lesser nobility, wanted to ridicule peasant's new clothes, to define the boundaries separating this class from nobility anew. The peasantry did not have the right nor the ability, despite imitating the costumes and improperly understood customs, to adopt knightly, exquisite behaviour of the noble elite. On the other hand, the criticism also concerned some erosion, which governed customs and rules of morality of the contemporary gentry from the lands of the Bavarian-Austrian borderland. Determining the extent to which the situations outlined by the poet are the product of his inventiveness, and in what ways they stand for a reflection of reality may be a certain interpretative issue. The great popularity of Nithart's songs is evidenced by abundant tradition of manuscript literature in the 13th century. Owing to their satirical and cheerful themes, the poet's songs were popular in Austria and southern Germany. Satire and criticism were supposed to touch on the gist of things and address current moral and social issues, therefore Minnesinger's songs were welcomed with common understanding and acceptance.⁵²

From a similar satirical trend in German literature emerged, among other things, a verse tale about the peasant son Helmbrecht Werner Gertenaer – the most striking example of social didactics in medieval German literature.⁵³ There, the author also used a similar literary game involving the motif of improper clothing, which impresses the townsfolk, but contrasts with the

⁵⁰ L. German, *Przegląd dziejów literatury powszechnej*, II: *Wiekі średnie*, Lwów 1902, p. 127.

⁵¹ *Minnesang. Niemiecka średniowieczna pieśń miłosna*. 2nd edition [...], transl. A. Lam, Warszawa 2016, p. 116.

⁵² See U. Lehmann-Langholz, *Kleiderkritik in mittelalterlicher Dichtung. Der Arme Hartmann, Heinrich von Melk, Neidhart, Wernher der Gertenaere und ein Ausblick auf die Stellungnahmen spätmittelalterlicher Dichter*, Frankfurt a. M. 1985, pp. 155-193.

⁵³ Wernher der Gertenaere, *Helmbrecht*, transl. F. Tschirch, Stuttgart 1974; cf. U. Lehmann-Langholz, *Kleiderkritik in mittelalterlicher Dichtung...*, pp. 194-223.

protagonists' low social position. He wore clothing, which should indicate his noble origin, but it contrasted with what was required by traditional rules of attire relevant for peasants. Hence, he came into a serious conflict with his father, who was an advocate of traditional customs. Helmbrecht's attire and haircut, just as in Nithart's songs, play a special role of social affiliation and a sign of symbolic content that stand in opposition to the protagonist.⁵⁴ His cap is embroidered in depictions from the history of Aeneas, Roland and Theoderic the Great – the description extends over more than a hundred poems, but clearly deviates from the peasant character of its owner.⁵⁵ Social transgression, crossing the boundaries of conventions (German proverb: *Kleider machen Leute* – an outfit decides who you are)⁵⁶ turned out to be tragic for the protagonist, as he was ultimately rejected by his father as well as his folk and died. The message of the work is unambiguous – crossing the boundaries set by tradition and social rules ends with misfortune.

Similar themes of social criticism are included in the work attributed to the aforementioned Austrian knight from Lower Austria, Siegfried Helbling (born 1230). In 15 literary works, the author deals with social relations in Austria, at end of 13th century. In many of his poems, he applied the form of instructive conversations between the Lord and the Servant (hence the title *Lucidarius* – the enlightener).⁵⁷ This work is an example of a literary juxtaposition, in which the realities of modern life, described from the point of view of lesser nobility, are depicted. In several dialogues, the poet satirically presented the ambitions of representatives of the peasant class, servants, leading to the destruction of the good old order. In author's view, exquisite manners, meddling foreign words, wearing fashionable, skimpy suits and cutting hair short stood for the token of changes which were accompanied by political unrest. Several scenes reflect opinions on the new fashion associated with Poland. As it seems, they do not refer to particular Poles (most definitely not to nobility, who would keep their hair long at the time) but to a certain perception of them, an old cliché depicting them as having short hair.

In the opinion of the Lord, who acts as author's spokesperson, both fashionable short outfit, and hair trimmed over the line of ears, were unequivocally associated with the appearance of a modern Pole:

54 See e.g. U. Prasse, *Helmbrechts Kleidung*, "Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum" XCV (1966), pp. 165-168; D. Hain, *Wernher der Gärtner: Helmbrecht – Die Funktion der Kleidung des jungen Helmbrecht*, München 2009; G. Raudszus, *Die Zeichensprache der Kleidung. Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Gewandes in der deutschen Epik des Mittelalters*, Hildesheim 1985.

55 Wernher der Gärtner, *Helmbrecht*, XXXVIII and next.

56 Cf. *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, ed. S. Singer, VII, Berlin-New York 1998, pp. 62-82, see below.

57 *Seifried Helbling [Der kleine Lucidarius]*, ed. J. Seemüller, Halle 1886.

waz wil dû Pôlân hôchbeschorn?
den Ungern waere daz vil zorn,
der ir langem hâr erkûr
die hôhen pôlânischen schûer.⁵⁸

Why would you want to be trimmed asa Pole,
Hungarias would stand furious,
as they choose long hair
over high Polish cut [translation – M.M].

ich wolt, swer in Ôsterlant
trüeg nâch Bêheim sit gewant,
swes in frâgt ein biderb man,
daz er spraech: ‘*nie rozumie pan*’,
und mit sînem munde
niht anders reden kunde.
und swer in disem lande snit
gewant nâch der Pôlân sit,
daz dem sîn hâr waer geschorn
hoch ûf für diu ôrn
daz sold im nimer wahren.⁵⁹

I wish all Austrian folk,
who follow Czech fashion in their looks,
when a kind stranger asks them a question,
would reply: “I do not understand you, sir”,
and in their speech
for they could not say anything else.
And when any of the local folk
cuts their dress in Polish fashion,
they should have their hair cut
up to their ears,
so it would never grow back

[translation – M.M].

The criticism of fashionable costumes was therefore present in poetry written in the circle of authors of the Bavarian-Austrian borderland in the second half of the 13th century. In the view of the contemporaries, the changes taking place in the way of dressing were combined with social transitions, hence they were important not only from the perspective of class satire, but also for the criticism of social relations.⁶⁰ This is an important testimony to the function played by the garment – the violation of dress code was subject to criticism and represented a violation of important principles of medieval society.

Apart from literature and iconographic sources, another trace of these changes exist and derives from the oral tradition of the time. Numerous medieval proverbs, expressing the so-called folk wisdom, most often say that robes do not adorn a man and do not define who he is.⁶¹ Thus, first and foremost, a moral conclusion is presented, taken from the Holy Bible and the

⁵⁸ *Seifried Helbling*, ed. J. Seemüller, Halle 1886, Song III 225 and next (p. 123).

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, Song VIII 787 and next (p. 210).

⁶⁰ See U. Lehmann-Langholz, *Kleiderkritik in mittelalterlicher Dichtung...*, passim.

⁶¹ See e.g. *Kleyder machen leut = Vestis virum facit* (The garment makes the man), *Qualis es in panno, talem te colloco scanno* (I will give you the seat as your garment is), *Vestes non homines omnis honorat homo* (Everyone respects a man for his attire and not for himself), Alanus, *Parabola* 4; *Hunc homines decorant, quem vestimenta decorant* (Walther, *Proverbia* 11294 = *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi: lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, transl. H. Walther, Göttingen 1966); *Vestitus virum reddit, qui habet, induat* (Walther *Prov.* 33268 b), see *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, ed. S. Singer, VII, Berlin-New York 1998, pp. 62-82.

works of theologians and preachers, referring to the scarcity of goods and the fact that they do not stand for the value of a human being.⁶² The saying *Vestis facit virum* (Polish: *No robe adorns a man*) also means that there is no longer any certainty as to who and what is represented by the attire as everyone can dress up in inappropriate robes. After all, they never reveal the truth as to who hides underneath.

The sources quoted provide evidence for the existence of a wave of cultural change⁶³ in 14th-century Central Europe, which led, among other things, to a more liberal approach with regards to attire: Jews, peasants and shepherds wore the same: long and loose hoods or such tucked in intricately on the top of the head. Fashion also required one to dress up in short and closely fitting outfits. A traditional custom of wearing caps by men, which until then had distinguished Christians from Jews, was forgotten as men were obliged to wear high hats.⁶⁴ The hair was no longer cut short, but it was grown long instead. It was curled up on purpose, so curls would rest on one's shoulders. In Germany and Austria, vice versa, a fashion for short hair emerged. Tunics were torn at the bottom to form tassels, while accessories and multi-coloured inserts were sewn on the chest and on shoulders. What made matters worse, despite traditional knightly custom, bollards and servants alike dared to wear colourful silk costumes. Michel Pastoureau showed the importance of dressing up in colourful outfits.⁶⁵ Although colourful costumes were worn by the rich and poor alike, their appearance could distinguish one from the other with ease. The colour on cheap fabrics which were tinged with impermanent dyes, would quickly fade being exposed to sunlight and rain. Only the rich could afford well-dyed fabrics and outfits made of coloured silks. King Saint Louis

62 See e.g. Syr 11, 4: "Do not grow proud when people honour you; for the works of the Lord are wonderful but hidden from human beings.", 1 P 3, 3-4: "Your adornment should be not an exterior one, consisting of braided hair or gold jewellery or fine clothing, but the interior disposition of the heart, consisting in the imperishable quality of a gentle and peaceful spirit, so precious in the sight of God."; see *Porro decor qui cum veste induitur, et cum veste deponitur, vestis procul dubio est, non vestiti* (The comeliness which goes on with clothes, comes off with clothes, it belongs to the clothes and not the clothed.), Bernardus Clarav. *Epist.* 113, 4; *In vestimentis non est ornatio mentis*, Hildebertus *Inscr. Christ.* 53 (Patrologia Latina, 171, 1284 D), etc.

63 Mireille Madou locates this stage of evolution in the years 1340-1400, see *Le costume civil*, pp. 25-26.

64 Since the Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215, Jews were obliged to be distinguish themselves from Christians by wearing red or yellow signs or pointed (yellow) hats. For example, the Wrocław synod in 1266 compelled Jews to wear pointed caps and similar decrees were adopted by the synod of Vienna in 1267.

65 M. Pastoureau, *Średniowieczna gra symboli*, transl. H. Igalson-Tygielska, Warszawa 2006, p. 143 and next; cf. G. Raudszus, *Die Zeichensprache der Kleidung. Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Gewandes in der deutschen Epik des Mittelalters*, Hildesheim 1985.

preferred to clothe himself in blue, but soon, in the middle of 12th century, as Pastoureaux observed, “almost all the villagers in his country wore blue clothes, dyed home-style with woad [...]”.⁶⁶ The French scholar claimed that, in the middle of 12th century, a peculiar “blue revolution” began in France, which spread to other countries of the Empire over time.

Azure became a Christological and Marian colour, then royal and princely, and from the end of the 12th century it began to compete with red in various areas of social life. Azure put its mark on the subsequent century to such an extent that around the year 1300 it could be perceived as the most favourite colour of the European folk, ousting red.⁶⁷

However, wearing blue clothes by peasants aroused opposition of the upper classes, which considered this colour special and reserved exclusively for them. Naturally, only truly lively and fresh azure was regarded a royal colour. The Bavarian national order (Landfrieden) of 1244, the first German regulation of this kind, in the form of legal regulation, ordered peasants and their sons to cut their hair to ears and at the same time denied them the right to wear weapons and intensely dyed blue clothes on a daily basis:

Peasants as their sons should cut their hair over their ears. Armor, helmets and breastplates, capes made of goat hair, Latin daggers, mails anything sharp – swords, are the privilege of hosts – no one else is allowed to carry those to church. On weekdays they can only carry prods and chamois-leather shoes.⁶⁸ All that they need and use for the common need of the country, for executing a sentence and for defence of the motherland, they shall keep at their homes.

They shall not use any noble garments other than grey and lesser blue, and cowhide boots, with the exception of those who hold office with their master. Others, if caught with prohibited items, shall have them taken from them, and they shall pay a talent to a judge in order to buy them out [translation – M.M].⁶⁹

⁶⁶ M. Pastoureaux, *Średniowieczna gra symboli*, p. 143.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 145. Cf. M. Pastoureaux, *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur*, Paris 2000.

⁶⁸ German *Reutil*, *Pflugreute*, *Reuthacke*, Polish *kozica*, a rod with metal fittings on one end, used to crush lumps of earth and clean the ploughshare.

⁶⁹ See *Pax Bavarica* 1244, no. 42: *Item rustici cum filiis suis capillos ad auriculas usque precipiant. Thoraces vel ysenhut vel colliria vel juppas de pukramo vel cultrum latinum aut aliquid catenatum vel hostile – nisi gladium suum hospites et non alii – ante suam deferant ecclesiam, privatis diebus non aliud quam stimulum vel reutil deferant. Hec autem omnia pro communi necessitate provincie et iudicii exequendi et patriam ab incursu hostium defendendi, si velint, in eorum domibus reservent. Item nobiliori quam griseo et viliori plabatico veste non utantur, et calciis bovinis, excepto qui innatum alicuius domini officium abtinerit. Reliqui cum hiis prohibitis spolientur inventi, et persona iudici redimenda pro talento offeratur – Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum, II, ed. L. Weiland, Hannoverae 1996, p. 577 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Leges, 4).*

In 15th century Poland, red stood for the favourite colour among royal court members and nobility. It was not until the reign of Sigismund that the blue colour became dominant.⁷⁰

A rapid metamorphosis of men's appearance (i.e. a completely new look: long curly hair, beard, short, closely fitting robes, trailing cuffs, hats, tight pants (tights), shoes with long nibs, etc.) in the opinion of many contemporaries, was regarded as a result of unfavourable social processes and unusual events or catastrophes (plague epidemics). The phenomenon of novelty in customs of 14th century cannot be fully described in terms of ordinary transformations in the culture of attire nor can be interpreted as a fact in the field of costume design. In the view of some researchers, 14th-century fashion was characterized by the achievement of classical noble features.⁷¹ After the period of rapid changes and associated excesses occurring at the time of John of Luxembourg, Central Europe was to experience soon a relative stabilization in this field. Previous works on medieval male fashion in Poland and neighbouring countries proved to be too general and given a great variety of forms, colours and local varieties, they failed to record details and nuances. In addition, our rather scarce iconographic sources have not yet been fully exploited, while foreign materials are too abundant and diverse. Thus, the changes referred to are not exhibited so clearly in such sources, especially in board painting works, where the attire plays a symbolic role: a beautiful robe following French or Italian models befits Mary or the angels, while villains and Jews wear depreciating clothes.⁷² Written sources, however, provide unambiguous evidence of these transformations here and now, and additionally prove how much annoyance they aroused in contemporaries.

The dynamics and universality of the changes taking place in the 14th century suggest that it was not a mere evolution in the way of dressing. Economic leap, the popularization of economy based on money and trade in commodities, vibrant exchange of goods, people and ideas, fail to explain negative emotions of medieval chroniclers describing these novelties. Certainly, historical sociology and the history of culture with their research

⁷⁰ M. Wilska, *Du symbole au vêtement. Fonction et signification de la couleur dans la culture courtoise de la Pologne médiévale*, in: *Le vêtement. Histoire, archéologie et symbolique vestimentaires au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1989, pp. 307-325 (Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, ed. M. Pastoureau, I).

⁷¹ See O. Šroňkova, *Die Mode der gotischen Frau*, p. 43 with a reference to a classical work of J. Falke, *Kostümgeschichte der Culturvölker*, Stuttgart 1880.

⁷² See e.g. H. Weiss, *Kostümkunde. Geschichte der Tracht und des Geräthes vom 14^{ten} Jahrhundert bis auf die Gegenwart*, 1. Abt.: *Das Kostüm vom 14^{ten} bis zum 16^{ten} Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1872; Y. Winter, *Dějiny krojů zemí českých od počátku století XV. až po dobu bělohorské bitvy*, Praha 1894, *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil. 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern*, I-V, Köln 1978-1980; O. Šroňkova, *Die Mode der gotischen Frau*; M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*; A. Drażkowska, *Historia ubuwia...*; A. Sieradzka, *Kostiumologia polska...*

tools and conceptual apparatus are more helpful in describing and interpreting these phenomena.

Scholars, the clergy and rulers drew their dignity from, among other things, traditional and stable elements of fashion, which reflected their high social status. The colours of the clothes, their cut and accessories had special meaning, not only aesthetic or practical. Jews and representatives of stigmatized groups (prostitutes, lepers, beggars, criminals) had to distinguish themselves from ordinary residents with clothing.⁷³ The peasants were forbidden to wear intensely blue clothes in some regions. All were dressed differently: married and unmarried women, the old and the young, priests, teachers, students, artisans, merchants, knights, squires, courtiers, goliards and Minnesingers, etc. A separate issued was related to the cut and appearance of religious costumes which, following long disputes, led to a standard being established for a given congregation.⁷⁴ In practice, the costumes, their colours, and cut formed a fairly complex system of meanings, subject to changes depending on the place and time, class affiliation, age, and other characteristics of their owners. Therefore, attire can also be perceived – within cultural pansemiosis⁷⁵ – as a specific means of class and social identification.⁷⁶ Just as heraldic and emblematic elements, clothing and its colours as well as colours' symbolism are part of the most widely spread system of medieval semiotic world. They are universally recognizable carriers of symbolic content, which due to their universality and common character belong to popular semiosis.⁷⁷ As a repository of knowledge inherited from the ancestors, seeing little change, it was accessible for the minds of simple people and commonly comprehensible. In specified circumstances, however, clothes and colours created sublime and established codes of meaning, as in coronations and liturgical rituals, where not only gesture, but also the colour, outfit, and object are of a symbolic character. These were fully comprehensible only

⁷³ See R. Jütte, *Stigma-Symbole. Kleidung als identitätsstiftendes Merkmal bei spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Randgruppen (Juden, Dirnen, Aussätzige, Bettler)*, "Saeculum" XLIV (1993), 1, pp. 65-89.

⁷⁴ It is a distinct and interesting issue, see e.g. G. Zimmermann, *Ordensleben und Lebens. Die Cura Corporis in den Ordensvorschriften des abendländischen Hochmittelalters*, Münster 1973.

⁷⁵ Cf. U. Eco, *Sztuka i piękno w średniowieczu*, transl. M. Zabłocka, M. Olszewski, Kraków 1994, chap. 6.3.

⁷⁶ See the basic book (1 ed. 1967) by R. Barthes, *System mody*, transl. M. Falski, Kraków 2013; cf. e.g. H.J. Hoffmann, *Kleidersprache. Eine Psychologie der Illusionen in Kleidung, Mode und Maskerade*, Frankfurt a. M. 1985; J.M. Gollhofer, *The Meaning of Bodily Artifacts: Variation in domain Structure, communicative Functions, and social Contexts*, "Semiotica" LXV (1987), pp. 107-127 f..

⁷⁷ For a definition of popular semiosis, see U. Eco, *Między kłamstwem a ironią*, transl. M. Woźniak, Kraków 2004, pp. 34-35.

for the elites. A prominent feature of the elite code may be, for example, the recognition of a female garter by King Edward III as a symbol – an honourable distinction of the knighthood. The whole complex system of symbolic meanings in Europe began to waver in the 13th century, and at the beginning of the 14th century it underwent general changes. The next stage of noticeable changes was recorded in the works of the chroniclers in the second half of this century (after the waves of the plague). New designs and types of clothes, shoes, accessories, colours and hairstyles in men caused significant disturbances in fashion. Costume designers note a great abundance of forms and colours that appeared at that time.⁷⁸ These changes disturbed the order of meanings established by tradition, which allowed to assess by the attire the professional and financial position of a given individual. A lavish outfit of a patrician was supposed to look differently as compared with the one of a nobleman. The violation of the system, consisting in imitation and abuse of costumes by unauthorized classes as well as the appearance of new garments, led to the erosion of public order not only in terms of social hierarchy but also in terms of axiology itself – what is good, what is bad, what is allowed and what is considered an offence. Hence, before *novitates* became accepted and began to fulfil certain functions in the system of cultural signs, they had inevitable stirred upheaval and opposition among writers against the violation of the good, old principles.

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the 14th century, numerous literary testimonies appeared in written sources from Central Europe reflecting changes which began to occur in daily life of contemporary societies. These changes, sometimes referred to as *novitates morum*, primarily affected the outfits, appearance and behaviour (*habitus* and *cultura corporis*). It is characteristic that, in the 14th century, a wave of changes reached the countries of Central Europe: The Czech Kingdom, Poland, Silesia, Austria, Southern Germany. An excerpt of the 2nd volume of *Zbraslav Chronicle* by Peter from Zbraslav (*Petrus de Zibavia Cronica aule regie*), covering the years 1317-1333, precisely provides a description of the changes witnessed by the chronicler. The behaviour of young men (but also women – as one should guess) and their appearance alarmed Peter. Young people kept their hair cut short, yet curled up, they wore short and tight-fitting clothes, as well as shoes and tights (*sotulares*). Long and hanging sleeves (*surcot*), long hoods which replaced caps (*cofia*) commonly used before. Monks wear barely visible tonsures covered with hair and swords at the side; laymen, on the contrary, rarely appear in public without a rosary (*zona*). They often gather in squares and sing together in a new fashion. This remark probably refers to the *ars nova* trend, a new repertoire and performance technique of multi-voice song which came from France at the beginning of 14th century and reached the Czech

78 See footnote 72.

Kingdom and Silesia (an interesting description of the singing technique from Silesia dated to the beginning of the 15th century). All these observations find confirmation in other sources, while similar complaints were addressed by Frowin from Cracow in his poem *Antigameratus* (ca. 1340) with regards to the behaviour and appearance of young men (*gamerati*). Other chronicle sources and documents were also mentioned, referring to the changes already taking place in the 13th century: English *Eulogium Historiarum* (shoes *cracowes*), Bavarian *Landfrieden* dated 1244, *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis* Beneše Krabice de Weitmile, Johannes Victoriensis (Anonymus Leobiensis) *Chronicon*, *Die Limburger Chronik*. The criticism of fashionable attire also appears in the poetry by the authors of Bavarian-Austrian borderland in the second half of the 13th century (Neidhart of Reuenthal, Wernher der Gartenaere). Criticism of outfits and appearance was frequently embodied in both synodal and municipal laws – from 13th century, towns systematically adopted laws *contra luxus*. Moreover, the fight against glamor and abuse was naturally the subject of sermons (e.g. Jan Milič of Kroměříž). The dynamics and universality of the changes taking place during the 14th century suggest that it was not only a matter of evolution in the way of dressing. Simultaneous economic leap, popularization of commodity and monetary trade, vibrant exchange of goods, people and ideas, fail to explain the negative emotions of medieval chroniclers describing these novelties. The scholars, clergy and rulers drew their dignity, among others, from traditional and stable elements of fashion, which constituted a badge of high social status. The colours of clothes, their cut and accessories conveyed a special meaning, not only aesthetic or practical. Jews and representatives of stigmatized groups (prostitutes, lepers, beggars, criminals) had to distinguish themselves with clothing from ordinary residents. In some regions, peasants were forbidden to wear intensely blue clothes. All were dressed differently: married and unmarried women, the old and the young, priests, teachers, students, artisans, merchants, knights, squires, courtiers, goliards and Minnesingers, etc. A separate issue was related to the cut and appearance of religious costumes, which following long disputes, led to a standard being established for a given congregation. In practice, the outfits – their colours and cut – formed a fairly complex system of meanings, subject to changes depending on the place and time, class affiliation, age, and other characteristics of those wearing them. Therefore, outfit can also be perceived as a specific means of class and social identification within cultural pansemiosis. *Novitates morum* disturbed the existing order of meanings established by tradition and allowing to assess one's professional and financial position by the attire. A lavish outfit of a patrician was supposed to look differently as compared with one of a nobleman. The violation of the system, consisting in imitating and abusing costumes by unauthorized classes as well as the appearance of new garments led to an erosion of public order not only in terms of social hierarchy but also in terms of axiological itself – what is good, what is bad, what is allowed and what is considered an offence. Hence, before *novitates* became accepted and began to fulfil certain functions in the system of cultural signs, they had inevitably stirred upheaval and provoked opposition among writers against the violation of the good, old principles.

IV. IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR WŁADYSŁAW FILIPOWIAK (1926-2014)



Der am 31. März 2014 im Alter von 88 Jahren verstorbene Professor Władysław Filipowiak galt als einer der berühmtesten polnischen Archäologen des Mittelalters und gleichzeitig als eine der bedeutendsten Personen der polnischen Geisteswissenschaften als Forscher und Entdecker wichtiger Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte Pommerns und Westafrikas, Museologe, Denkmalpfleger, Redakteur, akademischer Lehrer und Organisator der Universität in Stettin (Szczecin).

Die Eltern Władysław Filipowiaks stammten aus der Region Großpolen. Er wurde am 26. April 1926 in Kaczyce bei Cieszyn geboren. Seine Reifeprüfung hat er 1947 in Cieszyn bestanden. 1950 hat er das Studium an der Fakultät für Außenhandel an der Handelsakademie in Stettin absolviert. Dann studierte er Frühgeschichte an der Universität Posen bei Professor Józef Kostrzewski. Während des Studiums wurde er 1951 als Pfleger archäologischer Denkmäler in Pommern zur Arbeit delegiert. 1952 begann er Rettungsausgrabungen in Wolin und schloss sein Studium mit der Magisterarbeit *Wolin – Vorstadt. Ergebnisse der Rettungsforschungen 1952*¹ ab, indem ihm der akademische Magistergrad im Bereich Philosophie – Frühgeschichte, Ethnologie und Ethnographie sowie Anthropologie – vergeben wurde. Im Rahmen des landesweiten polnischen interdisziplinären Programms „Leitung der Forschungen über die Anfänge des Polnischen Staates“, einer Institution, die 1954 in das Institut für materielle Geschichte (heute: das Institut für Archäologie und Ethnologie) der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (PAN) umgewandelt wurde, setzte er seine Forschungsarbeit in Wolin bis ins 21. Jahrhundert fort. 1955 wurde er durch das Ministerium für Kultur und Kunst zum Direktor des Westpom-

¹ „Przegląd Zachodni“ VIII (1953), 1-3, S. 235-237.

merschen Museums in Stettin (seit 70er Jahren das Nationalmuseum) ernannt. Dieses Amt übte er ununterbrochen 45 Jahre lang bis zu seiner Pensionierung im Jahre 2000 aus. Beinahe ein halbes Jahrhundert führte Władysław Filipowiak seine Forschungen, gleichzeitig leitete er ein großes Museum, gewährte den professionellen Schutz den hiesigen archäologischen Denkmälern und war als Didaktiker tätig. Auf allen erwähnten Gebieten erzielte er große Erfolge. Es bedurfte eines tatsächlich riesigen Arbeitsaufwands, organisatorischer Begabung und – insbesondere im Bereich der wissenschaftlichen Forschung – der Innovation, der Suche nach neuen Methoden und Lösungen, die in der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts Forschungsmöglichkeiten der Archäologie und Geschichte stets erweitern ließen.

Den Mittelpunkt der wissenschaftlichen Interessen Władysław Filipowiaks bildeten die fünfzig Jahre lang geführten Forschungen in Wolin. Die große Bedeutung jener Forschungen beschränkte sich nicht aufs Pommern. Die frühesten Quellenüberlieferungen, die sich auf den Staat Mieszko I. bezogen, waren im 10. Jahrhundert mit Wolin und Zehden (Cedynia) verbunden, wo es zum ersten, in Schriftquellen beschriebenen Gefecht des Piastenstaates mit der deutschen Ritterschaft gekommen sei (972). Die eingehende Analyse der ursprünglichen Topografie des Geländes sowie die von Władysław Filipowiak in Zehden unternommenen archäologischen Forschungen ließen Voraussetzungen dafür schaffen, diese Schlacht zu lokalisieren und deren Verlauf wiederherzustellen.²

Die Rolle Wolins als einer der wichtigsten Städte an der Ostsee im 9.-11. Jahrhundert war nicht nur wegen ihrer Bedeutung als Hafen an der Oder-Mündung wichtig, sondern auch als eines selbständigen politischen Organismus im Kreuzpunkt der Interessen Dänemarks, des Wieletenbundes und des neuen slawischen Staates an der Warthe. Die archäologischen Forschungen in Wolin kennzeichneten sich auch durch ein riesiges Potential im Vergleich mit den schriftlichen Quellen und literarischen Geschichten, verbunden mit dem am Oderarm Dievenow gelegenen Hafen, wie Vineta-Sage oder auch skandinavische Sagen über Jomsburger Wikinger. Als spektakuläres Beispiel jener Entdeckungen kann die von Filipowiak in Wolin unternommene Identifizierung einer besonderen Moosart erwähnt werden, die die Slawen zur Abdichtung ihrer Boote benutzten, worüber Ibrahim ibn Jakub berichtete, indem er das slawische Wort *mech* (Moos) zitierte. Zu erwähnen sei hierbei auch die auf die letzteren Jahre datierte Entdeckung, laut der der Ballast, der sich im Schiff befand, dessen Überreste im Woliner Hafen gefunden wurden, das aus Schweden stammende Eisenerz bester Qualität war. Dank den langjährigen Ausgrabungen in Wolin wie auch auf dem ganzen Gebiet

2 *Cedynia w czasach Mieszka I*, 2. Ausgabe, Poznań 1966.

der Insel sowie dank der eingehenden Kontrolle allerart Bau-, Straßen- und Wasserbauarbeiten in Hinsicht auf Denkmalpflege gelang es, eine riesige Zahl Siedlungsstandorte und Denkmäler zu finden, die von der mehrere Jahrhunderte bestehenden Woliner Agglomeration zeugen, derer größte Befestigung auf die erste Dekade des 10. Jahrhunderts datiert wird und die sich in Form weiterer „Vorstädte“ erweiterte und insgesamt über drei Häfen verfügte. Filipowiak begann als Erster seine Unterwasserarbeiten mit Hilfe eines Senkkastens zu führen, was ihm erlaubte in den nächsten Jahren Fragmente mehrerer Schiffe und der Woliner Werftanlagen zu finden, wo die Schiffe erbaut wurden. Als Absolvent einer Handelsakademie verstand Władysław Filipowiak ausgezeichnet die wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen, in denen die ehemaligen Gesellschaften zu handeln hatten. Deshalb versuchte er u.a. die Spuren von Schiffen, Produktions- und Kommunikationswerkzeugen wie auch Spuren des Handelsaustausches zu finden, die der Stadt den Wohlstand sicherten und nach ihrem Niedergang Legenden über derer Pracht entstehen ließen. Die Stadt Wolin, am Ende der Oder-Wasserstraße gelegen, die zur Beförderung von Rohstoffen aus Tschechien und Niederschlesien diente, war zugleich ein sicherer Hafen für alle, die vom Westen und Norden durch die Ostsee segelten. In die Stadt konnte man nur durch den Fluss Swine und das Stettiner Haff gelangen. Es ist daher kein Wunder, dass man in Wolin Rohstoffe und Gewerbecprodukte gefunden hat, die aus England, Skandinavien, arabischen Ländern, Kiev, Novgorod und Großpolen herkamen, indem sie gleichzeitig ein vollständiges Mosaik des Handelsnetzes des damaligen Europa bildeten. Ein besonderes Merkmal der Forschungswerkstatt Filipowiaks war das bis in die 50er Jahre reichende Sammeln von organischen Proben und Überresten, was den Forschern erlaubte, das Material mit naturwissenschaftlichen und physikalisch-chemischen Verfahren sogar mehrere Jahre nach deren Entdeckung zu untersuchen. Dank dieser Methoden konnte man in der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts alle organischen Funde mit biologischer Analyse mittels der C-14- (und dann C-13)-Methode und schließlich mittels der dendrochronologischen Verfahren untersuchen, was uns ermöglichte, die Chronologie, den Stammort und die Produktionsmethode der Funde zu bestimmen. Bereits in den 50er Jahren führte Władysław Filipowiak vollständige Flächenuntersuchungen der Gesamtinsel Wolin durch (mittels einer erst in den 80er Jahren in Polen eingeführten Methode). Seine diesbezüglichen Forschungen schlossen mit der Abhandlung *Wolinianie* (Wolliner),³ gewidmet den Problemen der frühmittelalterlichen Besiedlung, die bis heute als aktuelle Wissensquelle dient. In konzeptueller Hinsicht realisierte Władysław Filipowiak die methodologischen Voraussetzungen der Siedlungsstudien Witold

3 *Wolinianie, studium osadnicze, I: Materiały*, Szczecin 1962.

Hensels in Großpolen wie auch die geographisch-historischen Grundsätze der Herbert Jankuhns Schule.

Als Denkmalpfleger überprüfte Władysław Filipowiak die meisten auf dem Gebiet der Insel realisierten Investvorhaben, was ihm erlaubte, zahlreiche Siedlungsspuren und zufällige Entdeckungen zu retten. Ab 1968 erfüllte das Stettiner Museum ihre denkmalpflegerischen Aufgaben im Bereich der Archäologie. Nachdem die nötigen organisatorischen Veränderungen im Rahmen der Denkmalpflege eingeführt worden waren, beaufsichtigte Władysław Filipowiak bis 1999 die damalige archäologische Inspektion. Einen richtigen „Kampf“ führte er in den 70er Jahren gegen den geplanten Bau von Wohnblöcken, und zwar dort, wo er erhoffte, die Überreste des Wolliner Zentrums aus dem 10. Jahrhundert zu finden. Die an dieser Stelle durchgeführten mehrjährigen Ausgrabungen verlangten nach einer Exploration von 7 Meter dicken archäologischen Schichten. Es gelang Filipowiak, hölzerne Konstruktion einer großen Behausung aus dem 10. Jahrhundert zu finden, die er als eine heidnische Kultstätte interpretierte, er entdeckte gleichzeitig mehrere hölzerne Menschenfiguren, unter ihnen eine vierköpfige Figur, die mit der Abbildung des Svantovit identifiziert wurde, einer am Arkona Kap auf der Insel Rügen verehrten Gottheit. Das Problem der heidnischen Religion der Slawen wurde zu einem der wichtigeren Forschungsprojekte Władysław Filipowiaks auf dem gesamten Gebiet Pommerns. In diesem Bereich (bereits in den 60er Jahren) führte er erfolgreiche interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen, indem er hierfür archäologische, schriftliche und ethnografische Quellen auszunutzen wusste.

Das Segeln durch die Gewässer der Ostsee im Mittelalter gehörte zu den Themen, für die sich Filipowiak insbesondere interessierte und die er beinahe zu seinem Lebensende erforschte. Zum Ausgangspunkt jener Interessen wurden die Lokalisation der Schiffswracks wie auch die slawische Seeschifffahrt im Bereich der Ostsee. Insbesondere interessierte er sich für technische Verfahren, derer sich die Slawen beim Schiffbau bedienten, sowie für die Weite der Wasserstraßen (die Sagen berichteten mehrmals über die Teilnahme der Slawen an manchen Seeschlachten). Es scheint desto interessanter zu sein, dass die slawische Exploration der Ostsee stets im Schatten der skandinavischen Leistungen verblieb. Dieser Problematik widmete Filipowiak mehrere grundsätzliche Publikationen. Die wichtigste hiervon sei die Arbeit *Shipbuilding at the Mouth of the River Odra (Oder)*,⁴ mit der er das Problem des mittelalterlichen Schiffbaus an der Odermündung in die internationale Debatte zu diesem Thema einleitete.

⁴ Text in: *Crossroad in Ancient Ship-building. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology*, Roskilde 1991, S. 83-96.

Die in Wolin praktizierten Forschungsmethoden wusste Władysław Filipowiak in Afrika erfolgreich zu nutzen. Raymond Mauny lenkte seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die erfolglosen Versuche, die Hauptstadt des mittelalterlichen Staates Mali zu lokalisieren. Die Forschungen konzentrierten sich hauptsächlich darauf, die Ruinenreste an der Grenze zwischen Guinea und Mali, in der Nähe der Ortschaft Niani zu finden. Filipowiak verfügte über eine äußerst kurze Zeit der Forschungskampagne, trotzdem, gestützt auf die Analyse der seitens der Historiker überwiesenen Stammesberichte wie auch auf sorgfältig durchgeführte geodätische Messung im Gelände (wo es übrigens keine Spuren der ehemaligen Bebauung gab) steckte Filipowiak die künftigen Ausgrabungsstellen. Während der archäologischen Untersuchungen deckte man die Überreste eines Palastes und einer Moschee auf, man legte die Reichweite des Siedlungsgebietes fest und entdeckte zahlreiche wichtige Artefakte, die von den kulturellen Beziehungen Malis zeugten. Die hierbei erzielten Forschungsergebnisse nutzte Władysław Filipowiak als Grundlage seiner Dissertation: *Mittelalterliche Hauptstadt Malis im Lichte der schriftlichen, mündlichen und archäologischen Quellen auf dem Hintergrund der wirtschaftlich-politischen Situation*.⁵ Drei Forschungskampagnen in Guinea erlaubten, wichtige Sammlungen von archäologischen Denkmälern zu erwerben, die nach der Bestimmung ihrer stratigraphischen Position und der Chronologie zum relevanten Bezugspunkt für alle archäologischen Arbeiten in diesem Teil Afrikas wurden. Bei der Erforschung des Mittelalters Westafrikas spielte Władysław Filipowiak tatsächlich eine Pionierrolle, und die in der französischen Sprache 1979 publizierte Ergebnisse seiner Arbeiten⁶ wurden als Habilitationsabhandlung anerkannt und hatten eine grundlegende Bedeutung für allerart Studien über die Geschichte dieses Teils Afrikas. Auch in Hinsicht auf diese Forschungen erwies sich Władysław Filipowiak als Wissenschaftler von weiten Erkenntnishorizonten, der die Errungenschaften zahlreicher wissenschaftlicher Disziplinen zu schätzen wusste.

Das äußerst wichtige Tätigkeitsgebiet Władysław Filipowiaks war das Museumswesen, und dies nicht nur als das breite Feld der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit, sondern auch als Mittel dafür, die Ergebnisse jener Arbeit der Gesellschaft zur Verfügung zu stellen. Das Resultat der afrikanischen Expeditionen war die Errichtung einer ausgezeichneten ethnografischen Sammlung. Die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen konnte Filipowiak in Form einer Exposition präsentieren, indem er hierfür die zugänglichen und ak-

⁵ Vgl. *L'expédition archéologique polono-guinéenne à Niani en 1968*, „Africana Bulletin“, XI (1968), S.107-117; *Aus den Forschungen über die frühmittelalterliche Hauptstadt des Königreiches Mali (West Afrika)*, in: *Actes du VII Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, Prague 21-27 août 1966*, I, Prague 1970-1971, S. 183-188.

⁶ *Etudes archéologiques sur la capitale médiévale du Mali*, Szczecin 1979.

tuellen Mittel der visuellen Präsentation nutzen konnte. Die Ausstellungen, die zum Ziel hatten, diese Forschungsergebnisse vorzustellen, weckten das große Interesse sowohl in Polen als auch im Ausland. Hierbei „sollten“ die der Insel Wolin gewidmete Ausstellung in Roskilde in Dänemark, wie auch diejenigen in Rostock und Berlin in Deutschland erwähnt werden, begleitet von interessanten Publikationen. Neben den ständigen Expositionen im Bereich Archäologie, Ethnografie und Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Pommerns errichtete Władysław Filipowiak im Pommerschen Nationalmuseum in Stettin die weiteren Abteilungen: das Stadt- und Kunstmuseum. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkte er dem Ausbau von konservatorischen Werkstätten, die mit modernen Labors ausgestattet waren. Zu diesem Zweck ließ er ein Sondergebäude erbauen. Dort realisierte man u.a. die Rekonstruktion von mittelalterlichen Segelbooten, deren Überreste gefunden und erhalten wurden. Darüber hinaus ließ Filipowiak die maritime Abteilung des Nationalmuseums entstehen, in der er eine höchst moderne Exposition organisierte. Eine besonders große Bedeutung schrieb Władysław Filipowiak der Didaktik zu. Als Gast lies er an den Universitäten in Bratislava, Oslo, Stockholm, Kopenhagen, Amsterdam, Berlin, Kiel und Reykjavik vor. Seit 1973 führte er seine monografische Vorlesung für Geschichtestudierende an der Pädagogischen Hochschule in Stettin, demnächst auch an der Archäologischen Fakultät – diesmal als Professor der Stettiner Universität.

Einen besonders großen Wert legte Władysław Filipowiak auf die Publikation der Forschungsergebnisse: Diesem Zweck diente hauptsächlich eine 1955 mit dem Jahrbuch „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie“ begonnene Musealreihe. Als Redakteur des Jahrbuches arbeitete er seit 1957, wobei diese Publikation alle im Stettiner Museum vertretenen Bereiche präsentierte. Als wichtiges Zeugnis der riesigen wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Władysław Filipowiaks ist die Bibliografie seiner Arbeiten zu erwähnen, die über 270 Positionen zählt.⁷ Als große Autorität war Władysław Filipowiak in den skandinavischen und deutschen wissenschaftlichen Gremien besonders hoch geschätzt. Er ließ Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen in den Fachzeitschriften – in der deutschen, französischen und englischen Sprache – herausgeben und auf diese Weise konnten sich damit verschiedene europäische wissenschaftliche Kreise bekannt machen.

Mehr als 50 Publikationen widmete Filipowiak seinen Entdeckungen in Wolin (zahlreiche Berichte publizierte er gemeinsam mit Jerzy Wojtasik).

⁷ Bibliografie W. Filipowiaks bis 2000, die 252 Positionen enthielt, wurde 2001 publiziert. Siehe: L. Zajdel-Szczyrska, M.D. Wołagiewicz, *Wykaz publikacji naukowych prof. dr. hab. Władysława Filipowiaka 1951-2000*, in: *Instantia est mater doctrinae. Księga jubileuszowa prof. dr. hab. Władysława Filipowiaka*, Szczecin 2001, S. 11-24.

Die Ausgrabungen in Wolin lieferten eine so große Menge von Quellen und Zeugnissen, dass er mit deren Bearbeitung und Publikation mehrere Mitarbeiter beauftragte (E. Cnotliwy, B. Stanisławski, M. Rulewicz, H. Wilgocki). Die beinahe alljährlich stattfindenden Entdeckungen wichtiger Quellen, die nach hoch spezialisierten Analysen und der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung verlangten, bewirkten, dass er die endgültige Synthese der Wolliner Entdeckungen immerhin zeitlich verschob. Die einzige synthetische Erörterung von Ergebnissen der langjährigen Forschungen sei der gemeinsam mit Marek Konopka in „*Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*“ im Jahre 2008 veröffentlichte Beitrag.⁸ Die letzte Publikation über Wolin, an der sich Władysław Filipowiak beteiligte, erschien 2013.⁹

Mehr als 50 Veröffentlichungen widmete Władysław Filipowiak seinen archäologischen und ethnologischen Forschungen in West-Afrika. Der weitere Teil dieser Beiträge bezieht sich auf museologische Probleme und umfasst Berichte über die Tätigkeit des Nationalmuseums, das Ausstellungswesen und Programmaktivitäten der Museumseinrichtungen.

Zur Zeit der Zugehörigkeit Polens zum kommunistischen System war Władysław Filipowiak niemals als Mitglied irgendwelcher politischen Organisationen tätig. Seine Popularität verdankte er dem hohen gesellschaftlichen Ansehen. In Anerkennung seiner Verdienste wurde ihm die Würde des Ehrenbürgers der Stadt Stettin verliehen. Władysław Filipowiak war Mitglied mehrerer wissenschaftlichen Korporationen wie das Komitee für Prä- und Protohistorische sowie Orientalistische Wissenschaften der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, korrespondierendes Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Berlin sowie des International Institute of Conservation Historic and Artistic Works in London. Władysław Filipowiak wurde das Komturkreuz des Ordens „*Polonia Restituta*“ sowie im Jahre 2012 die den berühmtesten Forschern des Mittelalters vorbehaltene Medaille „*Lux et Laus*“ des Ständigen Komitees der Polnischen Mediävisten verliehen.

Marek Konopka

übersetzt von Dorota Fałkowska

⁸ W. Filipowiak, M. Konopka, *The Identity of a Town. Wolin, Town-state- 9th-12th Centuries*, in: „*Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*“ XIII (2008), S. 243-289.

⁹ W. Filipowiak B. Stanisławski, *Wolin wczesnośredniowieczny*, I, Szczecin 2013.



PROFESSOR OTTO GERHARD OEXLE (1939-2016)



Otto Gerhard Oexle, one of the most influential and reflective medieval historians of his generation in Germany, passed into history the 16th of May 2016. His intellectual passions, from his earliest studies at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, included French history and culture, music (he was an accomplished cellist), the visual arts, literature, and a deep dedication to bringing German historical research into confrontation with a wider international community embracing French, British, American, Polish and Russian scholarship and scholars. Throughout his career he fought against the tradition of German positivism and its rejection, beginning after the first world war, of the contributions of the foundational social scientists Georg Simmel, Émile Durkheim, and above all Max Weber and thus of the possibility to transform historical discourse and its contribution to the intellectual and moral fabric of German Society. Oexle held this rejection of social science and the fixation on the state as the main object of historical research responsible for the *Irrweg* which led so many German intellectuals into complicity with National Socialism.

The moral dimensions of the scholarly enterprise and the burden of being a German intellectual born in 1939 weighed on Oexle throughout his life. His father had been a member of the SA and enlisted in the Wehrmacht, but fell ill and, as Oexle once remarked, “died slowly with his country”. One of the young Gerhard Oexle’s most searing memories was that of his father’s funeral just before the end of the war: As the mourners assembled in the cemetery, an allied fighter plane began to strafe the area. Everyone ran into the protection of the nearby forest leaving his father’s coffin in the open field. As the child watched the line of machine-gun bullets cut across the field and strike the coffin, he felt a child’s helplessness and horror – “surely this must hurt Father, but no – he is dead and cannot feel anything.” He never forgot this combination of horror, fear, and shame. His sense of German culpability, familial, professional, and national, for the terrors of the National Socialist period were a burden throughout his life, and one that he accepted as his duty as a man of conscience even though he had been much too young to share any personal culpability. In 1975, he received an invitation to teach in Tel Aviv: He accepted willingly, just as he accepted the not infrequent refusals

to shake his hand or even to speak with him that he encountered on the part of some Israelis. These three months in Tel Aviv were a very important to him in terms of the personal relationships he formed and the experience of being a German in Israel. Raised a Catholic, he was doing penance, not for his sins but for those of his father's generation.

But penance was not enough: Throughout his career he fought to transform the nature of the historical profession in Germany, to recover those traditions of social thought that flourished in the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century that had been rejected by the generation of German historians. This rejection, he was convinced, had led to the moral failure of the historical profession in the face of rising fascist ideology. Commenting on the defensive argument that in reality very few professional historians had modified their approaches to the study of history to conform to National Socialist ideology, he once remarked bitterly, "That was because they did not need to – they were already out ahead of it."

Oexle began his studies at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau in Romance philology, attracted by the lectures of Hugo Friedrich, whose historical approach to literature was decisive in his decision to become an historian. The philosopher Heinrich Rombach challenged him to probe deeply into the philosophical foundations of knowledge, and the great medievalist Gerd Tellenbach led him to the study of a history that focused not on constitutions or kings but on society, understood as social collectivities. Oexle also appreciated his Doktorvater's honest approach to German history: Tellenbach, who eventually directed Oexle's dissertation on "the Carolingians and the City of Saint Arnulf", had maintained his distance from National Socialism during the war. In 1947 he had written a short monograph, *Die deutsche Not als Schuld und Schicksal*, which years later Oexle described as one of the most important confrontations with recent history by a German historian in the post-war period. The influence of these three Freiburg professors inspired Oexle's scholarly engagement with the past throughout his career. This meant a particular opening to French scholarship and scholarly networks, a continuing involvement with the historicist legacy of German scholarship in opposition to the reflexivity that he saw essential in social scientific research, and a lasting engagement with the Tellenbach school's study of social groups.

From Freiburg, Oexle moved to Münster where, within the pioneering project "Personen und Gemeinschaften" of the older Tellenbach student Karl Schmid, he continued his study of noble families' memory and memorial traditions, producing as his Habilitationsschrift an edition and detailed commentary on name lists from 24 monastic and religious communities. Oexle used this highly technical study as a launching point for his comprehensive article, *Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung in früheren*

Mittelalter, that synthesized his work and that of the Tellenbach, Schmid, Wollasch memoria project and demonstrated its significance to a wider scholarly audience. Thereafter the detailed, comprehensive article or essay became his preferred means of communicating his research: Although he authored over 300 separate publications across his career, he wrote no more monographs.

His essays concentrated for the most part on three interrelated themes. First, growing out of his work in Freiburg and Münster, are those dedicated to memoria and their transmission. Among these, in addition to his *Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung*, his *Die Gegenwart der Toten* has had the widest resonance in international scholarship. The second arena that drew his interest was the development of social groups in medieval society. What, he asked, was the significance of social collectivities within a society structured by orders? These groups included not only kin-groups, as in his studies of the Arnulfings or the Welfs whose memorial practices created and recreated bonds of identity, but religious communities, guilds, conspiracies, and professional associations including universities. His essays on guilds and communes explored the origins of collectivities and voluntary associations in a vast arc from Antiquity to the high Middle Ages. Finally, although never ceasing to consider himself a medievalist, in his later career he dedicated most of his thinking and writing to the problem of historicism, the epistemology of historical knowledge, and the crisis of historical studies. A crisis already announced as early as 1874 with Nietzsche's *Von Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*, which called into question the naïve objectivism of the Rankean tradition. In these essays and edited volumes, he grappled with the fundamental nature of the historical enterprise, returning repeatedly to the late 19th century to rescue from oblivion the contours of a vibrant intellectual tradition not only ended by the radical historicism of the twentieth but also buried and forgotten by the cultural and political history of the period 1933-1945. Fundamental was his "Die Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus" (1984), which reappeared in his like-titled 1996 collection of his essays on historical writing and again, in French in 2001.

Oexle's passion for the renewal of historical scholarship through the recovery of the fundamental contributions by the pioneers of the discipline, especially Max Weber, and through international collaboration found its ideal realization when, after holding a professorship for seven years in Hannover, he was appointed Director of the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen in 1987. This institute had been founded by the medievalist Hermann Heimpel in 1957 but in subsequent years became known primarily for its brilliant if controversial early modern section. Its medieval section had languished, known primarily for its arch-traditionalist publications of the so gen. *Dahlmann-Waitz* (*Quellenkunde der deutschen geschichte. Quellen und*

bearbeitungen systematisch und chronologisch verzeichnet) annual bibliography and the useful but endless series of the *Germania Sacra* and *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen*. Oexle ended the *Dahlmann-Waitz*, guided a number of *Mitarbeiter* into university positions, and transformed the Institute into the major locus of international exchange and cross-fertilization of historians from across Europe and beyond. He worked closely with successive directors of the Mission historique française located across Hermann-Föge-Weg from the MPI, as well as with the directors of the Polish Historical Mission to multiply contacts among different historical traditions. He invited young and not so young scholars from across Europe (including all of Eastern Europe and Russia), Israel, and North America to work in the extraordinary library collected at the Institute. In the late 1980s, he was one of the first scholars to take advantage of *perestroika* to invite young historians from the Warsaw Pact nations to Germany to work in the Institute, and after the dramatic events of 1989-1990 he became deeply involved in the restructuring and renewal of universities in the former DDR and in newly independent Poland. His efforts on behalf of the internationalization of historical scholarship were recognized by the honorary doctorates conferred on him by the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne in 2001 as well as the Nicolaus Copernicus University of Toruń in 2003. His close collaboration with French colleagues to heal the century-old divide in historical scholarship culminated in historic conferences held in Sèvres in 1997 and the following year in Göttingen at which German and French historians came together to debate the state of medieval history in their two countries. The resulting volume, edited by Oexle and his close friend and collaborator Jean-Claude Schmitt, demonstrated both the progress toward the rediscovery of a common discipline and the challenges that remained after a century of failed communication.

The extraordinary passion with which Oexle fought to transform German historical scholarship and in particular medieval history, and his efforts to internationalize the discipline through institutional and personal contacts continue to influence the profession in Germany and abroad. However, his last years were darkened by the decision of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft to close his institution when he and his modernist colleague Hartmut Lehmann both retired in 2004. It was definitively closed and its great library dismembered and scattered in 2007. The retreat of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft from the humanistic disciplines in general and in particular the reflective approach to historical research in particular not only weakened critical German historical scholarship but eliminated what had come to be seen, under Oexle's leadership, a key nodal point for international collaboration and communication. Nevertheless, Oexle's contributions live on: His scholarship is available in the massive collection of his most important essays published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. His insights into a renewal of medieval history

is alive in the work of his students as well in the work of the many recipients of his hospitality in Münster, Hannover, and Göttingen. And the example of a life of conscience well lived that this tall, courtly, formal scholar, at times aloof but capable nevertheless of the most extraordinary gestures of friendship and support, has given us continues to inspire those fortunate enough to have benefited from his wisdom, passion, and generosity.

Patrick J. Geary

PROFESSOR LESZEK KAJZER (1944-2016)



Lech Jerzy Stefan Kajzer, Sohn von Stefan und Maria Małgorzata Henryka geb. Hoser ist am 11. August 1944 in Milanówek bei Warszawa geboren. Seit 1950 lebte er in Łódź, wo er die Grundschule Nr. 3 der Gesellschaft der Kinderfreunde (TPD) und dann die Adam-Mickiewicz-Allgemeinbildende Oberschule Nr. 19 absolvierte. Nachdem Kajzer 1962 seine Abiturprüfung bestanden hatte, begann er das Studium an der Universität Łódź an der Fakultät Philosophie und Geschichte Richtung Archäologie. Den damaligen Lehrstuhl für Archäologie leitete Prof. Konrad Jażdżewski, der gleichzeitig als Direktor des Museums für Archäologie und Ethnografie in Łódź tätig war, und unter seiner Leitung schrieb Kajzer seine Magisterarbeit zum Thema *Der aktuelle Stand der Forschung zum Problem der Siedlungskontinuität*.¹

Nach dem Hochschulabschluss begann Kajzer 1967 seine Arbeit als Assistent in der Abteilung für Archäologie Mittelpolens im Institut für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (PAN) in Łódź. Als Mitglied des – anfänglich aus drei Personen (gemeinsam mit Marian Głosek und Zdzisława Wawrzonowska) – bestehenden Teams, geleitet von Prof. Andrzej Nadolski, realisierte Kajzer im Rahmen der neu entstandenen Anstalt für Geschichte der Alten Rüstung eine wichtige Aufgabe, deren Ziel es war, einen Quellenkatalog der mittelalterlichen Rüstung und Rittergewandung zu erarbeiten. Die sorgfältigen Recherchen, geführt systematisch in Museen, Kirchen und Klosterkomplexen, in Bibliotheken, staatlichen, städtischen, kirchlichen und privaten Archiven in ganz Polen, erlaubten eine umfangreiche Dokumentation der Denkmäler – vornehmlich der materiellen und ikonographischen – zu sammeln, die auf circa 1500 Karteikarten aufgezeichnet wurden. Die Kartei wurde um Denkmäler aus der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, der Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn ergänzt. Auf diese Art und Weise entstand eine ausgezeichnete Basis für

¹ Siehe M.M. Blomberg, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer – niekonwencjonalny archeolog*, in: *Sylwetki Łódzkich Uczonych. Profesor Leszek Kajzer*, Łódź 2014, CXVI, S. 11-20; A. Szymczakowa, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer (1944-2016)*, „Rocznik Wieluński” XVI (2016), S. 11-16; A. Andrzejewski, *Profesor Leszek (Lech) Kajzer (11 VIII 1944 - 25 IX 2016)*, „Rocznik Łódzki” LXV (2016), S. 235-239.

zahlreiche selbständige und Gemeinschaftsarbeiten,² die vornehmlich in der Quartalschrift „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej“ publiziert wurden. Gemeinsam mit Z. Wawrzonowska veröffentlichte Kajzer einen interessanten Beitrag *Chronologie von zwei Kodexen der Legende Schlesiens im Lichte der erörterten Militaria (Chronologia dwóch kodeksów Legendy Śląskiej w świetle analizy militariów)*.³ 1970 präsentierte Kajzer seinen Beitrag zur Frage der Einflüsse Ostens auf die europäischen Bandhelme aus der Zeit der Völkerwanderung (*Przyczynek do wpływów Wschodu na europejskie hełmy obręczowe okresu wędrówek ludów*).⁴ Im selben Jahr schrieb Kajzer seine Dissertation: *Ritterliche Rüstung und Gewandung in mittelalterlichem Kleinpolen im Lichte ikonografischer Quellen (Uzbrojenie i ubiór rycerski w średniowiecznej Małopolsce w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych)*, die er 1973 im Institut für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur PAN in Warszawa verteidigte und die 1976 im Druck erschien.⁵ 1974 präsentierte Kajzer seine Analyse der Miniaturen aus dem ungarischen *Chronicon Pictum* und zwar als Quelle zur Rüstungsgeschichte;⁶ danach – gemeinsam mit M. Głosek – veröffentlichten die beiden Autoren Beiträge über das Schwert Simon Petrus – genannt Malchus – aus dem Posener Dom⁷ sowie über das Schwert aus dem Łoniewskie-See in Osieczna bei Leszno, das wahrscheinlich dem königlichen Arsenal Przemysł's II. gehört haben soll;⁸ die beiden Forscher erörterten mitteleuropäische Schwerter mit Aufzeichnungen, die zu der sog. DIC-Gruppe gehören⁹ und erforschern den in Brzeg gefundenen mittelalterlichen Bogen;¹⁰ in Form eines selbständigen Beitrags schilderte Kajzer 1979 *Das ungarische Anjou-Legendarium als Wissensquelle über Militaria des 14. Jahrhunderts (Węgierskie Legendarium Andegaweńskie jako źródło wiedzy o militariach z XIV w.)*.¹¹ Aus Initiative Prof. A. Nadolski's beschloss Kajzer gemeinsam mit M. Głosek die neuzeitlichen Schlachtfelder anhand der Geländeforschungen zu erforschen: Im Jahre 1975 war es das Schlachtfeld bei

2 Siehe Z. Wawrzonowska, *Uzbrojenie i ubiór rycerski Piastów śląskich od XII do XIV wieku*, Łódź 1976; L. Kajzer, *Uzbrojenie i ubiór rycerski w średniowiecznej Małopolsce w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych*, Wrocław 1976; *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1350-1450*, hrsg. A. Nadolski, Łódź 1990; *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1450-1500*, hrsg. A. Nowakowski, Toruń 1998 (2. Ausgabe: Toruń 2003).

3 „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej“ (weiter: KHKM) XVII (1969) 3, S. 509-517.

4 KHKM XVIII (1970) 1, S. 53-59.

5 Siehe M. Głosek, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer – bronioznawca i miłośnik broni i barwy*, in: *Profesor Leszek Kajzer*, S. 21-26.

6 KHKM XXII (1974) 1, S. 25-37.

7 KHKM XXII (1974) 2, S. 231-241.

8 KHKM XXIII (1975) 2, S. 279-288. Zuerst: M. Głosek, L. Kajzer, *The Sword Found at Osieczna in Great Poland*, „Gladius“ XII (1974), S. 33-42.

9 KHKM XXIV (1976) 2, S. 217-248.

10 M. Głosek, L. Kajzer, *Łuk średniowieczny znaleziony w Brzegu*, „Silesia Antiqua“ XIX (1977), S. 243-252.

11 KHKM XXVII (1979) 2, S. 135-143.

Raszyn (1809) und in den Jahren 1976-1977, unter Beteiligung eines breiteren Forscherkreises, das Schlachtfeld bei Lubiszew (1577).¹²

Mit der Universität Łódź verband sich L. Kajzer im Jahre 1978, als er im hiesigen Lehrstuhl für Archäologie beschäftigt wurde. Bereits früher beschloss er unterm Einfluss Doz. Dr. Janina Kamińska sein Forschungsprofil zu ändern. 1972 ergriff er nämlich das Wort bei der *Erörterung der Genealogie der ländlichen befestigten Wohnsitzen in Polen (W sprawie genealogii wiejskiej siedziby obronnej w Polsce)*¹³ und wenige Jahre später stellte er seine *Anmerkungen zur Evolution der ländlichen Rittersitze in Łęczyca- und Sieradz-Ländereien im 13.-14. Jahrhundert (Uwagi o ewolucji wiejskich siedzib rycerskich w ziemiach łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej w XIII-XIV wieku)*¹⁴ dar. Gemeinsam mit M. Głosek veröffentlichten sie einen Beitrag zur Erkennung von Umwandlungen innerhalb der ländlichen befestigten Wohnsitze am Beispiel eines befestigten Gutshauses im Renaissancestil in Siemkowice bei Pajęczno.¹⁵ Im Mai 1980 habilitierte sich Kajzer aufgrund seiner Habilitationsschrift *Studien zum weltlichen Festungsbauwesen der Woiwodschaft Łęczyca im 13.-17. Jahrhundert (Studia nad świeckim budownictwem obronnym województwa łęczyckiego w XIII-XVII wieku)*.¹⁶ L. Kajzer schilderte in seiner Habilitationsschrift auf welche Art und Weise sich die militärartige Architektur in der Woiwodschaft Łęczyca gestaltete und entwickelte wie auch welche Umwandlungen sich in dieser Hinsicht innerhalb von mehreren Jahrhunderten abhängig von den in den nacheinander folgenden Epochen herrschenden gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnissen vollzogen. Kajzer beschrieb entsprechende Beziehungen zwischen den großen, für den ganzen Staat bedeutenden militärischen Objekten wie Burgen und gemauerte Städte einerseits und den Objekten niedrigeren Ranges wie lokale Wehrhöfe andererseits. Im II. Abschnitt erwähnte man königliche Stiftungen, weltliche und geistliche Großeigentümer wie auch die von ritterlichen und adeligen Personen gegründeten Stiftungen. Aufgeführt wurden weiterhin die gemauerten und die aus Holz erbauten Höfe. Im III. Abschnitt präsentierte man das Festungsbauwesen im Łęczyca-Land im Vergleich zu ganz Polen, und dies mit gleichzeitiger Einteilung in die einzelnen architektonischen Kategorien: Stadtburgen und -befestigungen, kleine Schutzanlagen, ländliche Wehr- und Residenzbauten. Bedeutungsvoll scheint hierfür der Katalog zu sein, der 77 Bauobjekte samt Grundbeschreibung und Quellendokumentation enthält.

¹² M. Głosek, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer*, S. 24.

¹³ KHKM XX (1972) 3, S. 451-465.

¹⁴ KHKM XXIII (1975) 4, S. 589-603.

¹⁵ M. Głosek, L. Kajzer, *Renesansowy dwór obronny w Siemkowicach (przyczynek do poznania przemian wiejskiej siedziby obronnej)*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” XXI (1976) 2, S. 153-167.

¹⁶ „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica” (1980) 1, S. 414 ff.

Zahlreiche Spezialisten im Bereich Archäologie, Geschichte und Architektur schätzen das Buch hoch und es ist zu einer Mustermonografie im Bereich dieser Problematik geworden.¹⁷ Nach 15 Jahren unternahm der Autor den Versuch, die in dieser Schrift erörterten Ergebnisse in Bezug auf 31 Ortschaften erneut zu beurteilen, und zwar wegen „der wichtigen Veränderungen bezüglich des archäologischen Forschungszustands der spätmittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Festungsbauten des Łęczyca-Landes“.¹⁸ Es handelt sich hierbei um eine äußerst wichtige Ergänzung seiner Habilitationsschrift, die Kajzer selbst nach mehreren Jahren lediglich als eine „Studieneinführung“ bezeichnete. Aus diesem Grund soll man die beiden Arbeiten Kajzer's als Übersicht der Festungsbauten im Łęczyca-Land in der Zeit des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit betrachten.

Nach seiner Habilitation wurde Kajzer zum Dozenten (01. Mai 1981) und dann zum außerordentlichen Professor (28. November 1990) ernannt. Am 01. August 1991 wurde ihm der Titel des Professors der Geisteswissenschaften verliehen. Zwei Jahre später (01. Mai 1993) wurde er als ordentlicher Professor vollbeschäftigt. Im Januar 1992 übernahm er die Leitung über den Lehrstuhl für Archäologie, der während seiner Amtszeit (1996) ins Institut für Archäologie umgewandelt wurde. Das Institut leitete er bis 2008. Inzwischen erwarb das Institut das Recht auf Promovierung (1997) und auf Habilitierung (2005). Gleichzeitig war er als Leiter des Lehrstuhls für historische Archäologie an der Universität Łódź tätig.¹⁹

Kurz nach seiner Habilitation unternahm Kajzer weitere Forschungen auf dem weiteren Gebiet Zentralpolens, das ist auf dem Gebiet der Woiwodchaft Sieradz samt dessen Bestandteil Wieluń-Land. Bereits 1983 veröffentlichte er seine Forschungsergebnisse in Bezug auf Probleme der Festungssitze im Kreis Ostrzeszów.²⁰ Im Jahre 1983 ließ er dagegen eine Monografie veröffentlichen, die er den sog. kegelartigen Burgen, Befestigungen, Wehrhöfen auf Erdaufschüttungen und gemauerten Höfen innerhalb der Festungskreise auf dem historischen Gelände des Kreises Wieluń im 13.-17. Jahrhundert widmete.²¹ Die Studie stellte wohl die erste umfassende Erkundung dieser Fragen dar, sowohl in Hinsicht auf die Quellen als auch die historische und

¹⁷ Vgl. Rezension von S.M. Zajączkowski in: „Rocznik Łódzki“ XXXII (1982), S. 330-336.

¹⁸ L. Kajzer, *O budownictwie obronnym województwa łęczyckiego w późnym średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych – w piętnaście lat później*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Archaeologica“ XX (1996), S. 111-122.

¹⁹ A. Andrzejewski, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer – nauczyciel akademicki i organizator nauki*, in: *Profesor Leszek Kajzer*, S. 33-38.

²⁰ L. Kajzer, *Z problematyki badań nad siedzibami obronnymi powiatu ostrzeszowskiego*, „Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza“ XV (1983) 3, S. 19-38.

²¹ L. Kajzer, *Dwory obronne Wieluńskiego w XIII-XVII wieku*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Archaeologica“ VI (1984), 1103 ff. + XXVII Tafeln.

archäologische Literatur, die durch eigene Geländeforschungen unterstützt wurde, obwohl der Autor selbst feststellte, es soll sich hierbei lediglich um eine einführende Analyse gehandelt haben. In Hinsicht auf die Periode des Mittelalters (bis Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts) erwähnte Kajzer 12 Verteidigungsobjekte. Aus der Neuzeit sind 2 gemauerte Bauten erhalten, wobei die bis heute nicht mehr bestehenden Objekte in 7 Ortschaften zu finden waren. Nach wie vor erbaute man hölzerne Höfe auf Erdaufschüttungen. Diese Forschungen wie auch die früheren Ergebnisse seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit im Łęczyca-Land erlaubten Kajzer seine These über „die Kontinuität und funktionelle Gemeinschaft zwischen dem mittelalterlichen Wehrsitze in Form einer *kegelartigen Burg* oder eines *Fortalitiums* und einem neuzeitlichen und zweifellos für Wohnzwecke gebauten Wehrhof, der innerhalb höfischer Gebäude gelegen eine entschieden überlegene Rolle den restlichen Bauten gegenüber spielte“, zu formulieren. Hierbei tauchte aber das Postulat nach einer Intensivierung der Geländearbeiten auf, und zwar nicht nur zwecks Erkennung der urbanen Anlagen, sondern auch der materiellen Kultur des damaligen Adels. Der als Ergänzung der Arbeit vorliegende Katalog der Wehrhöfe im Wieluń-Land enthält eine Beschreibung von 25 Bauobjekten, die anhand der Geländeforschungen vorbereitete ikonografische Dokumentation sowie wertvolle Quellenfragmente in Form von Beschreibung der einzelnen Objekte nach Dorfinventaren aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Mit dieser Studie steckte Kajzer das künftige Programm für archäologische Forschungen aus. Zwei Jahre später – gemeinsam mit Jerzy Augustyniak – publizierte Kajzer seine *Einführung in die Studien über das weltliche Wehrbauwesen im Sieradz-Land im 13.-17./18. Jahrhundert (Wstęp do studiów nad świeckim budownictwem obronnym Sieradzkiego w XIII-XVII/XVIII wieku* [1986]), die systematisierte Grundinformationen und Quellenangaben in Bezug auf 136 Objekte enthielt. Welche von jenen Postulaten realisiert worden sind, zeigt der Beitrag Kajzer's aus dem Jahre 2004 *Burgen und Wehrhöfe in Zentralpolen (Zamki i dwory obronne w Polsce Centralnej)*, wo 245 Objekte erörtert worden sind.²²

Zum weiteren Tätigkeitsbereich Kajzer's wurden Kujawien und das Dobriner Land. 1990 erschien der Beitrag über Raciążek bei Ciechocinek – als der 1. Teil der Verlagsreihe *Budownictwo Obronno-rezydencjonalne Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej*.²³ Im 2. Teil werden derartige Objekte im Kowal-Kreis erörtert.²⁴ Der 3. Teil stellt ein Siedlungsstudium des Dorfes Kościelna Wieś bei Osiecin dar.²⁵ Der folgende Teil wurde dem Wehrbauwesen im Dobriner

22 A. Szymczakowa, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer (1944-2016)*, S. 14-15.

23 L. Kajzer, *Zamek w Raciążku*, Łódź 1990, S. 280 ff.

24 T.J. Horbacz, L. Kajzer, T. Nowak, L. Wojda, *Siedziby obronno-rezydencjonalne w powiecie kowalskim na Kujawach w XIII-XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1991.

25 *Kościelna Wieś na Kujawach. Studium osadnicze*, hrsg. L. Kajzer, Łódź 1994.

Land gewidmet.²⁶ Der 6. Teil enthält eine zusammenfassende Forschungsanalyse der Schlossanlage in Sadłowo bei Rypin²⁷ und der 7. Teil bezieht sich auf die Burg in Radziki Duże bei Brodnica.²⁸

In der Zwischenzeit entstanden interessante Abhandlungen über die Rolle Włocławek's als Hauptstadt Kujawiens sowie des Schlosses in Lubawa als Sitz der Kulmer Bischöfe.²⁹

Der breite Interessenkreis Professor Kajzer's überschritt die Zeit des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Er beteiligte sich an einer umfangreichen kunsthistorischen Studie, die zum Ziel hatte, die Geschichte der Residenzen in Polen bis zur Gegenwart vorzustellen. Er beschrieb und erörterte einige zehn Paläste und Höfe im Sieradz-Land, wobei sein Beitrag hierüber die Erwartungen zahlreicher Rezipienten durchaus befriedigt, da er sich nicht nur mit den architektonischen Fragen, sondern auch mit der Auslegung des Inneren und der Möbelausstattung beschäftigt. Der Text wurde durch Quellenverzeichnisse und Vermögensinventare ergänzt.³⁰

Die Zahl der veröffentlichten Publikationen Professor Kajzer's ist tatsächlich imposant. Seine Bibliografie zählt beinahe 600 Positionen, darunter 26 Buchausgaben. Seine Arbeiten wurden in 14 Ländern Europas ausgegeben (Österreich, Weißrussland, Tschechen, Dänemark, Finnland, Frankreich, Spanien, Litauen, Lettland, Deutschland, Slowakei, Schweden, Ungarn und Großbritannien) wie auch in den USA. Seine Erfahrungen im Bereich der Forschungsmethodik stellte er in zwei Lehrbüchern für Studierende dar: *Einführung in die archäologische und architektonische Forschung* (*Wstęp do badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych* [1984]) und *Einführung in die historische Archäologie* (*Wstęp do archeologii historycznej* [1996]). Außer den veröffentlichten Publikationen war Professor Kajzer als Autor zahlreicher Bearbeitungen im Bereich der Verifizierung und Konservierung der Objekte bekannt, und dies wohl in ganz Polen, obzwar die meisten Objekte sich in Zentralpolen, Kujawien und dem Dobriner Land befanden. Er führte Ausgrabungsarbeiten in Bezug auf Schlösser und befestigte Magnatenresidenzen in Brudzewo bei Turek, Brześć Kujawski, Chroberz bei Pińczów, Koniecpol-Chrzastowo, Kowal, Lubawa, Raciążek, Radziejów, Sadłowo, Pińczów, Pałowiec bei Raków, Pyzdry, Radoszyce, Radziki Duże, Rembowo bei Raków, Sątocznie bei Bartoszyce, Sochaczew, Szydłów und Ujazd bei Tomaszów Mazowiecki.

26 L. Kajzer, A. Horonziak, *Budownictwo obronne Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Wstęp do badań*, Włocławek 1995.

27 *Zamek w Sadłowie na ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, hrsg. L. Kajzer, Rypin 2004.

28 *Zamek w Radzikach Dużych na ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, hrsg. L. Kajzer, Rypin 2009.

29 *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i Ziemi Dobrzyńskiej. Materiały z sesji naukowej (9-10 maja 1994 roku)*, hrsg. O. Krut-Horonziak, L. Kajzer, Włocławek 1995; *Zamek w Lubawie. Dawniej i dziś*, hrsg. L. Kajzer, Lubawa 2001.

30 L. Kajzer, *Pałace i dwory w dawnym województwie sieradzkim*, II, Warszawa 1994.

Unter den Sakralbauten sind hierbei Kirchen in Krzyworzeka, Puck, Ruda und Strońsko zu erwähnen. Hierzu zählen auch ehemalige Klosterkirchen: der Zisterzienser in Rudy Raciborskie, Jemielnica und Ołobok bei Kalisz, der Dominikaner in Brześć Kujawski, der Franziskaner (Bernhardinen) in Barczewo bei Olsztyn, der Norbertanen in Witów bei Sulejów und der Franziskaner-Reformaten in Łąki Bratiańskie bei Nowe Miasto Lubawskie.³¹

Die wissenschaftlichen Interessen Professor Kajzer's umfassten ein breites Spektrum in Bezug auf Probleme, Chronologie (von der römischen Periode bis auf das 18. Jahrhundert) und räumliche Aspekte. Als Archäologe arbeitete er auf etwa einhundert Ausgrabungsstätten in Polen, vornehmlich aber in Zentralpolen, das heißt auf den Gebieten der historischen Ländereien Łęczyca, Sieradz und Wieluń, in Kujawien und im Dobriner Land, Pommerellen, Kleinpolen und Oberschlesien. Er nahm auch an den im Ausland organisierten Ausgrabungen teil: In der Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Dänemark, Spanien und Großbritannien. Zu seiner wissenschaftlichen Leidenschaft wurden archäologisch-architektonische Forschungen von Wehrobjekten, Fortalitionen und hölzernen Adelshöfen, Schlössern und befestigten Magnatenresidenzen, Siedlungskomplexen aus der Zeit des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit. Die von ihm unternommenen Forschungen verlangten nach extrem umfassenden interdisziplinären Kenntnissen im Bereich der Geschichte, der Kunstgeschichte und der Architektur. In allen oben erwähnten Bereichen bewegte er sich uneingeschränkt. Die Rezensenten seiner Arbeiten unterstrichen meistens seine eigenartige Kunstfertigkeit im Bereich Heuristik und Quellenauslegung, und zwar auf allen Etappen wissenschaftlicher Forschungstätigkeit. Das altpolnische Hofbauwesen beschrieb er aufgrund historischer Quellen: Der Vermögensinventare und Lustrationen, der kartografischen und ikonografischen Quellen. Er studierte Projektunterlagen, alte Abhandlungen wie auch Architektur- und Wirtschaftslehrbücher und bautechnische Ratgeber. Die Ausgrabungen führte und beaufsichtigte er persönlich meistens mehrere Monate im Jahr. Seit den 80er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts entwickelten sich wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen über Genealogie und Heraldik. Die unternommenen Forschungen umfassten demnach Quellen aus Gerichtsbüchern, es erlaubte auch die lokalen Eliten zu identifizieren, die fähig waren, wertvolle Prestigeinvestitionen vorzunehmen. Zu den wichtigsten Beiträgen Professor Kajzer's in diesem Bereich gehören: *Schlösser und Gesellschaft. Umwandlungen im Bereich der Architektur und Wehrbauwesen in Polen im 10.-18. Jahrhundert (Zamki i społeczeństwo. Przemiany architektury i budownictwa obronnego w Polsce w X-XVIII wieku [1993])* sowie *Lexikon der Schlösser in Polen (Leksykon zamków w Polsce [2001])*, veröffentlicht in Zusam-

31 J. Pietrzak, *W świecie architektury i budownictwa*, in: *Profesor Leszek Kajzer*, S. 31; A. Marcinia-Kajzer, *Leszek Kajzer i jego archeologia historyczna*, in: *Profesor Leszek Kajzer*, S. 41.

menarbeit mit Stanisław Kołodziejski und Jan Salm. Das Lexikon umfasst einen Katalog von 500 Objekten, vornehmlich gemauert, erbaut circa in den Jahren 1200 bis in die Neuzeit, die sich einst innerhalb des zeitgenössischen Polens befanden. Es gilt als Kompendium der Schlösserkunde der ersten Jahre des 21. Jahrhunderts.³²

Professor Leszek Kajzer ist einer der Mitbegründer der historischen Archäologie, die in Polen adaptiert worden ist und heute mit unterschiedlicher Intensität durch Universitätslehrstühle und -institute wie auch PAN-Institute weiterentwickelt wird. Auf ganz schüchterne Anfänge in diesem Bereich kann man bereits in den 20er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts verweisen, obzwar der eigentliche Forschungsgegenstand und die Forschungsmethodik erst im Werk Kajzer's festgelegt wurden.³³ Gegenstand der historischen Archäologie ist die kulturelle Landschaft (Sakralkomplexe und Gräberfelder, Wehrbaukomplexe, städtische und ländliche Siedlung, Architektur und bewegliche Denkmäler) des frühen und späten Mittelalters, der Neuzeit bis in die zeitgenössischen Zeiten. Professor Kajzer schrieb 1996 in seiner Arbeit *Einführung in die historische Archäologie in Polen (Wstęp do archeologii historycznej w Polsce)*: „Diese Disziplin verlangt nach einer außerordentlichen Gewandtheit in der Beherrschung der historischen Werkstatt sowie in deren Verbindung mit den klassischen archäologischen Elementen der Ausgrabungsmethoden, der Auswertung deren Ergebnisse und im Bereich der Anwendung einer breiten Palette der sog. historischen Hilfswissenschaften“. Angesichts der im Rahmen der am 7./8. Dezember 2008 in Warszawa organisierten Sitzung „Bedürfnisse und Perspektiven der polnischen Mediävistik“ verlangte Kajzer eine engere Zusammenarbeit zwischen Historikern und Archäologen. Dabei erinnerte er an die in dieser Hinsicht sehr positive Periode der 40er und 50er Jahre, als man die Anfänge des polnischen Staates zu erforschen begann. Darüber hinaus wies er auf die Notwendigkeit hin, die Ergebnisse der Geländeuntersuchungen in der Geschichtsforschung zu berücksichtigen. Er schenkte viel Aufmerksamkeit dem Problem der Abwesenheit in den von den Historikern erörterten Schriftquellen zahlreicher Objekte, die von den Archäologen entdeckt wurden und die ein ganz neues Licht auf das polnische Mittelalter warfen. Man muss hierbei hervorheben, dass dieses Postulat in seinen Arbeiten realisiert wurde, die sich durch äußerst eingehende Recherchen kennzeichneten.³⁴

In den letzten Arbeiten Professor Kajzer's konzentrierten sich seine Interessen auf die Anfänge, Geschichte und Umwandlungen der Objekte der Sakralarchitektur in Zentralpolen. Das in den Jahren 2005-2008 realisierte

32 A. Szymczakowa, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer (1944-2016)*, S. 13.

33 A. Marciniak-Kajzer, *Leszek Kajzer i jego archeologia historyczna*, S. 39-44.

34 A. Szymczakowa, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer (1944-2016)*, S. 13.

Forschungsprogramm umfasste Geländeuntersuchungen in Bezug auf Kirchenbauten in Strońsko, Krzyworzeka, Ruda, Buczek, Skrzywno, Skrzyńsk und Żarnów wie auch Dominikanerkloster in Sieradz. Die Forschungen führte man in mehrköpfigen Teams, bestehend aus unterschiedlichen Spezialisten: Archäologen, Historikern, Geologen, Elektronikern, Chemikern und Physikern.³⁵ Auf diese Art und Weise erfüllte man seine Postulate in Bezug auf den interdisziplinären Charakter der Forschungen.

Das Postulat der *Annales*-Schule in Bezug auf Erforschung der kulturellen Ereignisse auf der *Longue durée*-Ebene erfüllte Professor Kajzer gleichzeitig mit der Veröffentlichung seiner Arbeit *Schlösser und Gesellschaft. Umwandlungen im Bereich der Architektur und Wehrbauwesen in Polen im 10.-18. Jahrhundert (Zamki i społeczeństwo. Przemiany architektury i budownictwa obronnego w Polsce w X-XVIII wieku* [1993]): Burgen, Holztürme, gemauerte Wohntürme (Donjon), hölzerne Schlösschen auf Erdaufschüttungen, gemauerte Schlösser, Basteibauten, Renaissancehäuser und neuzeitliche Festungen – alles auf gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Umwandlungen bezogen. Er wies darauf hin, dass sich die von den Magnaten herkommenden architektonischen Muster in den immer breiteren Kreisen des Rittertums verbreiteten, das sich wiederum in Gutsbesitzer umwandelte. Dabei schilderte er Andersartigkeiten und Differenzierung der Schlossarchitektur in Großpolen (im Flachlandgebiet) und in Kleinpolen (im Hochlandgebiet). Kajzer warnte vor einer zu sehr einseitigen Erfassung allerart Probleme der Schlösserkunde, die er als „politechnisch-historisch-militärisch“ bezeichnete. Er empfahl „holistische, echt schlösserkundige Auffassung der untersuchten Probleme, die aber stets und meist historische Probleme sind“.³⁶

Alle paar Jahre ließ Kajzer Kataloge der sich in Zentralpolen befindenden Wehrobjekte publizieren. Indem man deren Inhalt verfolgt, kann man weitere Fortschritte im Verlauf der geführten Forschungen erkennen, an denen sich Professor Kajzer beinahe bis zu seinem Lebensende persönlich beteiligte. Den Beruf eines Archäologen pflegte er mit der beruflichen Tätigkeit eines Chirurgen zu vergleichen. In beiden Fällen bleiben Ergebnisse schlechter Arbeit unwiederbringlich unter der Erde vergraben. Professor Kajzer kennzeichnete sich durch einen richtigen Wissensdurst und das Gefühl der Unbefriedigtheit: Er fühlte, dass die unternommenen Aktivitäten zu oberflächlich seien und keine Antwort auf quälende Fragen finden lassen. Zahlreiche Publikationen Professor Kajzer's schloss er mit Empfehlungen für Denkmalpfleger ab, da-

35 *Początki architektury sakralnej w Polsce Centralnej*, I: Strońsko – Ruda – Krzyworzeka, hrsg. L. Kajzer, Łódź 2009; ibidem, II: Zapilicze i Sieradzkie, hrsg. L. Kajzer, Łódź-Warszawa 2013.

36 L. Kajzer, *Zamki w średniowiecznej Polsce*, in: *Zamek i dwór w średniowieczu od XI do XV wieku. Materiały XIX Seminarium Mediewistycznego*, hrsg. J. Wiesiołowski, J. Kowalski, Poznań 2001, S. 8-9.

mit sie alles vornehmen, dass den erhaltenen Objekten der ehemalige Glanz zurückgegeben werden kann. Er setzte sein wissenschaftliches Testament auf, indem er in mehreren Arbeiten auf Objekte hinwies, die stationär erforscht werden sollen.³⁷ Im Jahre 2010 erschien sein Buch *Polnische Höfe. Vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit (Dwory w Polsce. Od średniowiecza do współczesności)*, das als der erste Versuch betrachtet werden soll, diese Problematik in der polnischen Gegenstandsliteratur zu besprechen und zu resümieren. Professor Kajzer schrieb: „Der Weg, der mich zur Auffassung dieses Buches führte, war äußerst lang, da er 35 Jahre in Anspruch nahm“.³⁸ Zum ersten Grundstein dieses langen Weges wurde sein Beitrag, den er zusammen mit M. Głosek verfasste: *Erörterung der Genealogie der ländlichen befestigten Wohnsitzungen in Polen (W sprawie genealogii wiejskiej siedziby obronnej w Polsce [1972])*: Er stellte das Ergebnis der von ihnen unternommenen Geländeforschungen am Renaissancehof in Siemkowice dar.³⁹

Als wichtige Zusammenfassung der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Professor Leszek Kajzer's gilt die im Jahre 2014 erschienene Sammlung mit 34 Beiträgen Kajzer's – eine Art *scripta minora* – die in den Jahren 1972-2012 veröffentlicht wurden. Alle Beiträge teilte man in vier Gruppen gemäß den Interessen und Forschungsrichtungen ihres Autors auf: Archäologie, Geschichte, Kunstgeschichte und Architektur. Zu der ersten Gruppe – Archäologie. Materielle Kultur – zählte man 9 Beiträge, die sich auf breit verstandene archäologische Interpretationen, insbesondere auf Analyse der zur materiellen Kultur gehörenden Funde (Tongefäße, Kacheln, Glas, Bodenfliesen) aber auch auf archäologisch dokumentierte historische Interpretationen bezogen. Die zweite und zahlreichste Gruppe, bestehend aus 18 Beiträgen, umfasst Studien über Burgen, Schlösser, Höfe, Paläste und sonstige Festungen. Es handelt sich hierbei um Objekte der Architektur *militaris*, des Wehrresidenz- und Residenzbauwesens. Die dritte Gruppe (Kirchen, Kloster) beinhaltet 4 Beiträge über Sakralarchitektur und die vierte Gruppe – Quellen – umfasst 3 Artikel über beispielhafte historische Quellen und deren Publikation.⁴⁰

Professor Leszek Kajzer promovierte 32 Bakkalaureate, 190 Magister und 16 Doktoren. Er galt als anerkannte wissenschaftliche Autorität, wovon auch die Tatsache zeugt, dass er beinahe 20 Dissertationen und 10 Habilitationsschriften rezensierte. Professor Kajzer war Mitglied zahlreicher wissenschaftlicher Kommissionen, Komitees und Gesellschaften in Polen und im Ausland. Mögen wir hierfür nur einige Beispiele erwähnen: Das Polnische

37 A. Szymczakowa, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer (1944-2016)*, S. 16.

38 *Dwory w Polsce. Od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Warszawa 2010, S. 7.

39 Vgl. Anmerkung 7.

40 L. Kajzer, *Archaeologia historica. Pisma wybrane*, hrsg. A. Andrzejewski, L. Domańska, A. Marciniak-Kajzer, Warszawa 2014, S. VII.

Komitee ICOMOS, Comité Permanent „Castrum Bene“, Castella Maris Baltici, European Symposium for Teacher of Medieval Archeology, Programmrat des Nationalen Kulturerbes, Komitee für Prä- und Protohistorische Wissenschaften Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rat für Denkmalpflege beim Ministerium für Kultur und Kulturerbe, wissenschaftliche Räte beim Archäologischen Museum Gdańsk, Kreismuseum in Sieradz, Schlossmuseum in Oporów, wissenschaftliche Räte bei Woiwodschaftsdenkmalpflegern in Poznań und Łódź, Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Łódź, Verband der Kunsthistoriker, Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Włocławek, Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Sandomierz.⁴¹

Professor Dr. habil. Leszek Kajzer ist am 25. September 2016 gestorben. Er wurde im Familiengrab auf dem Alten Friedhof in Łódź beigesetzt.

Jan Szymczak

übersetzt von Dorota Fałkowska

41 M.M. Blomberg, *Profesor Leszek Kajzer – niekonwencjonalny archeolog*, S. 19.

V. BOOK NOTICES

Jakub Adamski, *Gotycka architektura sakralna na Śląsku w latach 1200-1420. Główne kierunki rozwoju* (Gothic Sacral Architecture in Silesia in 1200-1420. Main Trends of Development), Towarzystwo Naukowe "Societas Vistulana", Kraków 2017, 798 pp., illustrations, bibliography, indexes, summary in German, hardcover.

This monograph by Jakub Adamski is a holistic (and at the same time monumental) synthesis of transformations transpiring in the Gothic architecture of Silesia. The titular duchy, located near the most important cultural centres in this part of Europe, relatively quickly adopted Gothic forms so as to endow them with its own, local *modus*. The distinguishing features of Silesian sacral buildings include their size: even parish churches in small towns were unusually impressive.

The publication starts with an introduction taking into account not only the intentions of the work and a summary of the state of research, but also a sufficiently brief historical preface. It is worth noticing at the very onset that Adamski's monograph does not include a catalogue (this function could be fulfilled by the corpus of Gothic architecture edited in 1995 by T. Mroczko and M. Arszyński). The following chapters are composed of subchapters, each of which is a study of the reconstruction of successive objects. The chapters are dedicated both to changes of architecture occurring in the course of a given time sequence and the transformations of a concrete type of building.

The second chapter examines the beginnings of Gothic architecture in Silesia, with the author concentrating mainly on Cistercian edifices shown against a very wide comparative backdrop. This part ends with an excursus on the conditions of building churches in mediaeval Silesia. The next chapter portrays the variety of styles in about 1300, described to a considerable extent upon the example of Wrocław. The following two chapters are about the constitution and development of the Silesian *modus* of sacral architecture. This part of the publication extremely aptly indicates the path of the dissemination of models: the first part is about models

from Wrocław, and in the second part the material examined by Adamski consists of imposing Silesian parish churches: both basilicas and choir. A group of mendicant churches created in the fourteenth century and the first two decades of the fifteenth century is studied in a separate chapter: mendicant churches borrowed models from their supra-regional edition of the Gothic style, but the Silesian ones gradually accepted the local *modus* of Gothic sacral architecture. This part of the book is an excellent illustration of the reception of regional models in a homogeneous group of buildings. The penultimate chapter, similarly to the one about Franciscan and Austin buildings, contains reflections about the reception of certain architectural motifs in Silesian architecture with the author discussing assorted solutions pertaining to forms of ceilings or the spatial disposition of Silesian churches. The publication ends on deliberations about the distinctness of the Silesian variant of the Gothic style.

This lavishly illustrated (1168 photographs and plans) monograph, prepared not only upon the basis of an analysis of preserved monuments but also accessible written sources, will become for many decades a fundamental synthesis of Silesian architecture, locating the Silesian variety of the Gothic style in an expansive landscape of mediaeval European architecture.

Marcin Bogusz

Bez hranic: umění v Krušnohoří mezi gotikou a renesancí. Publikace vydána u příležitosti výstavy 27.11.2015 - 13.3.2016 (Without Boundaries, Art in the Ore Mountains Region 1250-1550 between the Gothic and the Renaissance. Catalogue of Exhibition 27 November 2015 - 13 March 2016), ed. Jan Klípa, Michaela Ottová, Národní galerie v Praze, Prague 2015, 787 pp., summary in English, bibliography, index of persons, index of places, hardcover.

The presented publication is a monumental – almost 800 pages, 811 illustrations (unfortunately, this excellent and vast publication lacks a fundamental aid – there is not a single map of the discussed region) – catalogue of the exhibition: “Without Boundaries, Art in the Ore Mountains Region 1250-1550 between the Gothic and the Renaissance”, organised by the National Gallery in Prague (exhibition author: Michaela Ottová. Curators: Jan Klípa and Štěpánka Chlumská. Exhibition created together with the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, National Gallery in Prague and the Faculty of Arts, Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem). The intention of the authors of the exhibition was to accumulate Bohemian and German monuments from the trans-frontier Krušné hory (German: Erzgebirge) region (a mountain range

some 150 km long and 40 km wide in Northern Bohemia and South-Eastern Germany near the valley of the Elbe; in other words, mountains conceived not as a dividing region but linking not only economically but also artistically. The publication – dealing with the history of Gothic and Renaissance art (1300-1600 and 1250-1550 resp.) is a series of monographic articles (albeit with a synthetic interpretation) dedicated to so-called cultural units, in this case: royal towns (Litoměřice, Ústí nad Labem, Louny/Žatec, Most, Teplice, Chomutov, Děčín, Kadaň), more important monasteries (Franciscan in Kadaň, Cistercian in Osek), landed estates of gentry families (Fitztum, Šlikova, Vartemberková) and mining settlements (Jáchymov, Krupka) – with particular attention paid to capturing cultural exchange between Bohemian lands and Saxony. This is a summary of years-long studies conducted by a team of historians, historians of art, archivists, and conservators working under the supervision of Michaela Ottová and Jan Klípa in centres prospering during the fifteenth and sixteenth century due to trade and mining, and benefitting from their location between Bohemia and Saxony (a confirmation of close relations between the Bohemian monarchy and the electorate of Saxony during the High and Late Middle Ages), which also enjoyed a favourable period. Testimony of these conducive circumstances assumed the form of extant buildings and works of art – contrary to the frequent opinion claiming that Bohemia is a region with a devastated natural environment due extensive agriculture and excessive ore mining. Up to our times the region underwent considerable changes: on the one hand, the legacy of the Industrial Revolution (the redesigning of towns and settlements, transference of the latter to economically better locations, but also the onset of open-cast mining of deposits) and, on the other hand, the resettlement of the German population in the wake of the Second World War) although attempts to include the region on the UNESCO World Heritage List are being made. Approximately two hundred exhibits accumulated for the display and discussed in the catalogue include, i.a. sculptures, paintings, miniatures, altars or their fragments, liturgical equipment (i.a. an exceptional monstrance from Ústí nad Labem, worth at the time the price of two hundred cows or six solid houses), elements of architectural decorations but also tools used by miners and certain products of their labour (coins and medals). In the case of numerous monuments the catalogue was their first scientific description.

The publication is composed of two parts. The first is an extensive, about hundred pages long historical outline composed of eight chapters: (I) a study of visual culture in the region at the turn of the Gothic and Renaissance eras; (II) the region as a borderland and, at the same time, a liaison between two countries; (III) Gothic architecture in north-eastern and (IV) south-western Bohemia; (V) sculpture in north-western Bohemia between the Gothic and the Renaissance; (VI) mediaeval painting on wood and murals

in north-western Bohemia; (VII) book miniatures in the region; (VIII) types, functions, and contexts of the crafts in churches in north-western Bohemia. The second part is the catalogue proper, discussing exhibits according to the place of their origin or the location with which they are associated: Prague (which might come as a surprise, but this is an expression of ties connecting Prague with the region already from the Early Middle Ages; it was also Prague from which artworks and models of material culture made their way also in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), Litoměřice, Ústí nad Labem, Děčín, Louny/Žatec, Most, Chomutov, Kadaň, Teplice, Osek, and Horní město. This is not a typical catalogue restricted to listing and describing successive monuments divided according to a given criterion. The presented publication discusses the history of each of the above-mentioned towns during the studied period. Separate attention was paid to such elements as town walls and buildings conceived as individual monuments. In addition, the catalogue portrays the more important magnate families also through the prism of places or significant documents associated with them. The publication as a whole offers wide insight, as complete as possible, into the history and art of the Ore Mountains region.

Piotr Goltz

Michal Dragoun, *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea: signatura 1 K (Dodatky ke sbírkám Adolfa Patery a Čenka Zírta)*, Národní muzeum, Prague 2017, 318 pp., publication in Czech, introduction in English, lists (chronological of dated fragments; localised fragments; previous owners, donors or origin of fragments; linguistic; persons, objects and domains; men of letters; illuminated fragments; fragments of notations; incipits), hardcover.

The fifth (although unnumbered) volume of a publication about fragments of manuscripts in the collections of the National Museum (*Národní muzeum*) in Prague, issued jointly by this Museum and the Scriptorium publishing house (earlier: [I] *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea: sbírky Adolfa Patery a Čenka Zírta*, ed. Michal Dragoun, 2012; [II] *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea: signatura 1 A*, ed. Marek Brčák, 2014; [III] *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea: signatury 1 B a 1 C*, ed. Jiří Beneš, 2015; [IV] *Rukopisné zlomky Knihovny Národního muzea: signatury 1 D, 1 E a 1 G*, ed. Vlastimil Brom, 2016). This time the fragments have been recently discovered (2016) and previously never issued. They have been classified as so-called collections created upon the basis of the legacy of two outstanding Czech scholars (Adolf Patera, Slavist [1836-1912]: call no. "1 H"; and Čeněk Zírt, historian of culture,

expert on folklore, and ethnographer [1864-1932]: call no. "1 I"), collectors of fragments of manuscripts both at home and abroad, who attempted to create catalogues of their collections. The discussed publication features part of the Museum collection of fragments of manuscripts (ca. 6000), dated from the eighth century to the twentieth century; some are known and described in literature on the subject. The presented collective work is a catalogue of a fragment of special collections (ninth-nineteenth century; among the mediaeval fragments: ca. 80% Latin, ca. 15% Czech, ca. 5% German; as a rule these are manuscripts pertaining to liturgy [ca. 15%], theological texts [ca. 10%; most often identified authors from the Early Middle Ages are St. Augustine and Gregory the Great; authors from the Late Middle Ages include William Perrault and St. Thomas Aquinas], sermons [ca. 6%], prayers and testimonies of individual piety [ca. 4%], fragments of the Bible [ca. 4%], and legal writings, mainly Church law, much more rarely *Digesta Iustiniani* and scarce fragments of *Sachsenspiegel* and *Schwabenspiegel*). Particular attention is due to the English-language parts of the work, i.a. the Introduction, which discusses the state of the collection presented in the volume and outlines its history (pp. 22-28), and a biographical sketch concerning Patera and Zíbrt, their education and research accomplishments as well as the reason for, and manner of collecting fragments of manuscripts (pp. 29-31).

Piotr Goltz

***Druhý vatikánský mytograf: dva nově identifikované rukopisy z Národní knihovny v Praze / The Second Vatican Mythographer: Two Newly Identified Manuscripts from the National Library in Prague*, publ. Alena Hadravová, Scriptorium, Prague 2017, 369 pp., bilingual (English-Czech) publication, bibliography, list of cited manuscripts, illustrations, enclosed CD, hardcover.**

Alena Hadravová (born 1956) is a Czech philologist specialising in mediaeval Latin and the publication of editions and examples of unpublished mediaeval texts (published, i.a. *Sphaera octava: mýty a věda o hvězdách. IV, Katalogy hvězd a přemyslovský nebeský glóbus*, 2013). The so-called Vatican Mythographers (Latin: *Mythographi Vaticani*) are the anonymous authors of three Latin mythographic texts, conjoined into a single manuscript (call no. Vatican Reg. lat. 1401). This term was formulated by Angelo Mai (1831), the first publisher of the texts (encumbered with numerous errors); successive editions are the work of other publishers 1834, 1987 (ed. Péter Kulka, publ. Brepols), and 1995 (ed. Nevio Zorzetti – in the last case the date of the origin of the mythograph was established as between the first quarter of the ninth century and the third quarter of the eleventh century by basing the estimation on the youngest text

and the oldest evidence of the use of a mythographer. In other words, there are three texts: the First Vatican Mythographer (anonymous; known only from the aforementioned Vatican manuscript), the Second Vatican Mythographer (anonymous; based on the first one but longer, i.e. an exact repetition of the contents of the first manuscript but with added information from others sources; could be eleventh-century or even older, i.a. from the Carolingian period), and the Third Vatican Mythographer (different from the other two: containing extensive allegorical interpretations; attributed to Alberic of London [mentioned in a number of manuscripts] or Alexander Neckam). Texts from the second and third mythographs are to be found in other manuscripts. Essentially, these are collections of classical myths (Greek and Roman) together with mediaeval and modern iconography accompanying them. The collections were used by, i.a. mediaeval and modern Christians for the purpose of accentuating the moral and theological contents of the myths. Owing to the discussed mythographers – one manuscript from *First...*, ten from *Second...*, and more than forty from *Third...* – valuable elements of the classical world were transmitted to that of mediaeval Europe.

The presented publication contains transcriptions of two newly identified manuscripts of the so-called *Second Vatican Mythographer* of Bohemian provenance. The first manuscript from the Prague National Library (NKIXC3; contains probable traces of the *First Vatican Mythographer*) comes from 1401 and was written by Šimon of Rokycany (rector of Charles University, burnt at the stake upon the order of Jan Žižka after the capture of the town of Beroun in 1421). The second manuscript (same library, NK III C 18) is anonymous and could be several years older than the first one. Transcriptions of both manuscripts are available on an enclosed CD together with transcriptions of four other selected manuscripts providing potential support for further research. The publication applies an unconventional method of presenting the text, i.e. without the intervention of the publishers, so that it could be as close as possible to the first publication of the original text and offer researchers the actual timbre of the two manuscripts. Footnotes took into consideration variants of the text in two oldest copies (from the Vatican and Munich) in order to compare them with two recently discovered copies. Naturally, the publishers were unable to answer all the questions and further investigations are required. This book will interest mainly researchers delving into Greek-Roman traditions and their functioning in the Middle Ages and the modern era as well also book lovers.

Piotr Goltz

Marta Hradilová, Hana Pátková, *Scriptores: Písemná kultura a její tvůrci v pozdně středověkých Čechách 1300-1350 (Scriptores: Written Culture and Its Creators in Late Mediaeval Bohemia 1300-1350)*, Scriptorium, Prague 2017, 231 pp., bilingual (English-Czech) publication, bibliography, summary, hardcover.

The intention of the Marta Hradilová and Hana Pátková was to arrange a catalogue of texts – and simultaneously to provide numerous examples – and their authors (i.e. linking handwriting and its author and the establishment of the greatest possible number of information about him) in Bohemia prior to the foundation of Charles University (1300-1350), when writing was subjected to fundamental changes and the culture of writing became rapidly disseminated within Church, court, magnate, and municipal circles, verified by extant types of sources (in particular town books and registers of landed estates) and functions (public notaries), previously non-existent. The above-mentioned fifty years were chosen also due to the necessity of distinguishing a concrete range of source material in the face of its number and diversity. Particular attention was paid to work performed by the scribes – both professional and special-occasion – of rulers (the first members of the Luxembourg dynasty, i.e. John and Charles IV), bishops, and public notaries, as well as to the contents of land and town books, guild books, and an account books of a mint consortium. Separate attention is paid to handwritten codices. The basic part of the work – on the culture of writing, mediaeval Latin, Latin script, and such texts as letters, documents, and office books, codicology and palaeography in fourteenth-century Bohemia – is composed of three chapters: (I) summary of the state of Czech and foreign studies on manuscript handwriting; (II) handwriting of official documents (when the scribe is identified); (III) handwriting in official texts (when the scribe is known solely by name or only a date occurs).

Piotr Goltz

Lech Kalinowski, Helena Małkiewiczówna, Dobrosława Horzela, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in der Stadtpfarrkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt in Krakau, Corpus Vitrerarum Medii Aevii, Polen, vol. I, 1, Kraków 2018, 552 pp., illustrations, indexes, hardcover.*

A successive volume (the first on Polish stained glass windows) in the series of a Corpus on mediaeval stained glass. The book has been written since the 1950s. Lech Kalinowski and Helena Małkiewiczówna, at the time heads of the Polish Committee of Corpus Vitrerarum Medii Aevii, who to a considerable

extent prepared this volume, have already passed. For this reason the edition has been turned over to Dobrosława Horzela; the historical artistic introduction is by Marek Walczak. The Cracow parish church is an essential object worthy of opening the Polish part of the Corpus series because up to this day its choir features several stained glass windows from the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

The book is composed of several parts: an introduction, a description, a catalogue, excerpts from sources, and tables. The publication starts with a copious list of the bibliography and a sizeable introduction describing the art of mediaeval Cracow and environs. This excellent part of the book, based on most recent findings, is a concise synthesis of the activity of artists in the then capital of the Polish Kingdom. The following part is dedicated to the church of the Virgin Mary in Cracow and its stained glass elements: it contains plans and the arrangement of mediaeval stained glass within its walls as well as a brief characteristic of its history, damage, and conservation. This chapter contains a reconstruction of the contents of all the choir windows in the Middle Ages (today only windows in the fragment closing the choir possess medieval stained glass). The content of some of the windows was recreated upon the basis of watercolours executed during the nineteenth century by Józef Łepkowski.

A further part of the publication focuses on three masters involved in the parish church stained glass windows and their accomplishments – the first is the Master of the Cracow Biblia Pauperum, who created stained glass in about 1360. Only half of the works attributed to him (31 quarters) has been preserved to this day. The second master is the author of the Old and New Testament series (worked prior to 1365), and the last – the Master of the Life of Mary Cycle (active in the last decade of the fourteenth century). The iconographic series executed by them were analysed from the viewpoint of their contents, sequence, the impact of other works and masters, colour, and, finally, features of style or composition.

The catalogue is divided into windows containing stained glass. The authors wrote about particular quarters according to the following scheme: size, state of preservation, iconography, composition, and colour. A supplement of interest for the historian is an addendum arranged by Piotr Kołpak, containing quotations from sources mentioning stained glass windows in the Cracow parish church.

Marcin Bogusz

***Kostel Panny Marie na Pražském hradě: dialog nad počátky křesťanství v Čechách (Church of the Virgin Mary at Prague Castle: A Dialogue over the Origins of Christianity in Bohemia)*, eds. Ivo Štefan, Martin Wihoda, *Prameny české historie*, vol. III, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Prague 2018, 218 pp., bibliography of most important works on the studied problem, illustrations, map, summary in English, index of persons, hardcover.**

The premises of this publication series – the discussed work is its third volume – consist of bringing the wider public closer to well-known sources, not only historical but also from the domains of archaeology and the history of art, and with emphasis placed on their potential and associated limitations for the history of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. It is also envisaged as a supplement of *Česká historie* (Czech History) series, renowned on the Czech market and published by Nakladatelství Lidové noviny for over 20 years. Martin Wihoda (born 1967) is a Czech historian focusing his research on the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Late Middle Ages (his most important monographs: *První česká království*, 2015; *Morava v době knížecí 906-1197*, 2010; *Vladislav Jindřich*, 2007 [English edition: *Vladislaus Henry: The Formation of Moravian Identity*, 2015]); he is also the editor of the above-mentioned series. Ivo Štefan (born 1978) specializes in early mediaeval archaeology, especially the socio-economic aspect of daily life and its reflection in archaeological sources.

The presented publication is a collection of eight studies dedicated to the Church of the Virgin Mary (Prague Castle; part: *Kostel Panny Marie na Pražském hradě*), today no longer extant. The last mention of the church comes from the so-called Dalimil Chronicle, completed prior to 1314. Soon afterwards the church vanished from history to such an extent that even its site was forgotten. From the second half of the twentieth century it was one of the most sought monuments of Bohemian/Czech history. Its localisation caused disputes between archaeologists and historians. The controversies ended thanks to the discovery of the church in 1950 as a result of research conducted by Ivan Borkovský (although the degree of the damage of the preserved relics made it difficult to determine its size and phases of development). The church was erected (about 882/884) on the site of the present-day Prague Castle on Hradčany by Duke Bořivoj I (ca. 852/855 - ca. 888/890, the first historical ruler from the Přemyslid dynasty, husband of St. Ludmila, grandfather of St. Wenceslas) after 884 (it is the oldest church in Prague and the second oldest in Bohemia/the Czech Republic); rebuilt in the eleventh century after a fire, destroyed once again in the thirteenth century,

and henceforth never reconstructed. Today its foundations – a rectangular nave and a semi-circular apse as well as the still not unearthed graves of members of the Přemyslid dynasty – are situated underneath buildings fulfilling administrative functions. Bořivoj supposedly built the church as his eternal resting place but his tomb remained empty (E. Vlček claims that the Duke wanted to be buried in the Early Romanesque rotunda of St. Vitus); later this was the burial place of Spytihněv I (915) and his wife, whose name remains unknown (ca. 918). Subsequently, the sacred centre of the Hill slightly shifted towards the church of St. George and the rotunda of St. Vitus. The original church was 7,5 m × 6 m large (with a tombstone [2,5 m × ca. 1,5 m] below, probably intended for the grave of Bořivoj; a grave for Spytihněv and his wife was dug at the bottom of this unused sepulchre); in the eleventh century it was expanded to 7,4 m × 5,9 m. Fragments preserved to this day include, i.a. a major part of the “younger” church (to the height of 1,5 m) as well as remnants of two altars and both tombstones. In the presented volume eight researchers representing different specialisations consider the possibilities and boundaries of scientific interpretation in the case of the discussed church and the significance of Borkovský’s discovery for scientific knowledge about the Christianisation of Bohemia: (I) the Christianisation of Central Europe (Nora Berend); (II) Bohemian and Moravian paganism (Jiří Dynda); (III) oldest written sources for the history of the discussed church (Iva Adámková); (IV) burials carried out in the church (Jan Frolík); (V) the role of the cult and Church centres in the formation of the Prague Castle complex during the early Middle Ages (Jana Maříková-Kubková); (VI) the Christianisation of Bohemia as a process spanning from the baptism of the dukes to the Christianisation of the people (Martin Wihoda); (VII) paganism and the beginnings of Christianity in Bohemia as a dialogue between history and archaeology (Ivo Štefan); (VIII) beginnings of sacral architecture in Bohemia (Dalibor PRIX). The publication is worth recommending to readers interested in the Christianisation of Bohemian lands and the history of churches in Bohemia from the eleventh to the thirteenth century in the light of history and archaeology, Hradčany (and in particular the church of the Holy Virgin Mary once standing there) as well as non-extant or lost monuments, burial churches and, finally, relations between ducal and royal authority, on the one hand, and the Church, on the other hand.

Piotr Goltz

Jiří Kuthan, Jan Royt, *The Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle*, transl. Anna Bryson Gustová et al., Karolinum, Prague 2017 (1st edition in Czech 2011), 552 pp., publication in English, lavishly illustrated (photographs, reproductions, models-reconstructions, plans, maps), bibliography, list of cathedral sculptures, index, hardcover.

Jiří Kuthan (born 1945) is a Czech historian and historian of art who specializes in the history of architecture in Bohemia and Central Europe from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Jan Royt (born 1955) is a world renowned Czech historian specialising in the history of art and Christian iconography, particularly Gothic and Baroque. Both authors published numerous works, some of which they prepared jointly. The Cathedral of St. Vitus, Wenceslas /Václav and Adalbert/Vojtěch is a sanctuary of Czech patron saints (Vitus, Wenceslas, Adalbert, Sigismund, and John/Jan of Nepomuk), and the historical coronation and burial church of the rulers of Bohemia. The coronation insignia of the Bohemian/Czech monarchs, including the crown of St. Wenceslas, are kept above the so-called Golden Gate, embellished with a fourteenth-century mosaic featuring the scene of the Last Judgement. This is the main church of Prague – the seat of the archbishops of Prague and the Czech primate. Standing on the Hradčany Castle Hill, it is the third church on this spot (after a pre-Romanesque rotunda and a Romanesque basilica). A dominating feature of the historical and present-day panorama of the Czech capital. Erected in several phases (1344-1385 eastern part and southern elevation; 1870-1929 completion of the whole building). One of the most valuable examples of Late Gothic and Neo-Gothic architecture in Central Europe, it contains precious works of art – paintings and sculptures from the fourteenth century to the twentieth century (including works by Peter Parler and his workshop, e.g. tombstones of the Přemyslid dynasty, busts of famous Czechs in the triforium; fragments of original Gothic frescoes). The first church on this site (its relics are underneath the present-day Cathedral in the vicinity of the southern entrance and the chapel of St. Wenceslas) was an Early Romanesque rotunda erected by Wenceslas I (925) and dedicated to St. Vitus, whose relic (an arm) the Duke received from King Henry I of Germany (it could have had also a different significance – previously Hradčany was the site of a Slavonic stronghold with a pagan temple dedicated to Svetovid). Burial site of St. Wenceslas (in the southern apse); due to the foundation of the Prague archbishopric (973) it became a cathedral. In 1039 Bishop Severus conducted a ceremony of installing the relics of St. Wenceslas plundered in Gniezno during the invasion of Poland by Duke Břetislav I. The church, however, proved to be too small to fulfil simultaneously the functions of a cathedral

in the capital town of the monarchy and a destination of pilgrimages to the relics of St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert. In 1060 Spytihněv II pulled down the rotunda and replaced it with a new and larger church. The form of the Cathedral recalled more important examples of architecture originating from the epoch of Romanesque art in the Empire, in particular Ottonian, the Benedictine church in Hildesheim or the Salic cathedral in Speyer. The sepulchre of St. Wenceslas, previously in the former rotunda, now found itself in an apse adjoining the southern arm of the transept. In 1085 the church witnessed the first Bohemian royal coronation – that of Vratislav II. The year 1344 was a caesura in the history of the Cathedral – this was the time when the bishopric of Prague was granted the status of an archbishopric (previously Prague was subjected to the Mainz archbishopric), and it was decided to build a new church suitable for the equally new rank. The cornerstone was laid on 21 November 1344 in the presence of King John of Luxembourg, his son Charles (future Charles IV), and Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice. The project possessed an extensive ideological programme: a continuation of the burial tradition of Bohemian monarchs and a commemoration of members of the Přemyslid monarchy buried here by erecting new tombstones. This tradition was continued (the Cathedral is the resting place of, i.a. John of Luxembourg, Charles IV and Rudolph II). [The rank of the church was raised after placing within it a treasury containing royal jewels. The most prominent Bohemian insignium commissioned by Charles IV (the crown of St. Wenceslas, which included the non-extant mitre of Spytihněv and a Byzantine cross with a Thorn of Christ [obtained by Přemysl Otakar I]), rested on the temples of the golden head of St. Wenceslas (a reliquary containing the skull of the saint; the king could wear the crown only upon the occasion of coronations in return for a large sum offered to the cathedral chapter [officially: a gift for St. Wenceslas]). The space of the church included new locations for the old tombs of St. Vitus, St. Wenceslas, and St. Adalbert. Here, Charles IV buried the relics of St. Sigismund brought over from Burgundy. The cathedral also housed relics of St. Procopius and St. Ludmila, a piece of the Holy Cross, the Gospel of St. Mark, and a fragment of the sceptre of St. Peter. The presence of relics turned the cathedral into an important site on the pilgrimage map of Bohemia and Europe]. In the following centuries it became a world famous tourist attraction. The point of departure of the presented publication – an English translation of a work, which originally appeared in Czech (*Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha: svatyně českých patronů a králů*, 2011) – consists of archaeological studies of the centuries-old settlement on Castle Hill. The principal part of the publication discusses the circumstances of founding the Cathedral by Charles IV (1316-1378), its construction (the author focuses on changes in relation to the original intentions and on additions) and

later transformations. Attention is paid primarily to a detailed analysis of sculptures and all forms of decoration, significant objects within the Cathedral (first and foremost, the Chapel of St. Wenceslas – where the Crown jewels are kept – and the subterranean part of the building, where Bohemian monarchs were buried) and its foundations. Additional reflections on the Cathedral are featured within the context of the development of European architecture.

The main text of the book is composed of 16 chapters: (I) the Rotunda of St. Wenceslas and its history prior to the foundation of the Basilica of Spytihněv; (II) the history of the Basilica to the foundation of the Cathedral by Charles IV; (III) the construction and history of the Cathedral to the Hussite wars; (IV) phases of the construction of the Cathedral under the supervision of successive builders (Mathias of Arras, Peter Parler and their successors); (V) the Cathedral in Gothic drawings; (VI) Cathedral sculptures to the end of the Hussite wars; (VII) works of art and other valuable monuments (including precious stones and treasures) from the Luxembourg era, and (VIII) altars from the same period in the Cathedral; (IX) conceptions of the Prague Cathedral; (X) the Cathedral lodge and its significance in architecture; (XI) the history of the Cathedral from the time of the Hussite wars to the end of the Jagiellonian era; (XII) Late Gothic decorations and outfitting; (XIII) the fate of the Cathedral during the Renaissance and (XIV) Baroque, its (XV) renovation and completion in the nineteenth and twentieth century as well as (XVI) Cathedral works of art during that period. The publication was supplemented by a detailed plan of the Cathedral, marking chapels and particular monuments; a list of important events in its history; a list of coronations of kings and queens held in the Cathedral; a list of royal and ducal burials as well as those of other members of ruling dynasties; and a list of bishops and archbishops. The publication ends with an outline of the most important testimonies concerning the cathedral from the modern era to the end of the twentieth century and discusses briefly the most significant twentieth-century scientific publications dedicated to the Cathedral. The presented work – the first serious English-language publication about the Cathedral – is addressed in particular to readers interested in the history of church and cathedral architecture as well as all varieties of artworks accompanying them, together with the history of the Middle Ages (mainly Late albeit not only) in Bohemia (especially in Prague) but also the history of royal patronage.

Piotr Goltz

Jiří Kuthan, Jan Royt, *Charles IV: Emperor and King of Bohemia – Visionary and Founder*, transl. Sean Mark Miller, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Prague 2018 (1st edition in Czech 2016), 1051 pp., publication in English, bibliography, index of persons, index of places, hardcover.

Jiří Kuthan (born 1945) is a Czech historian and historian of art specializing in the history of architecture in Bohemia and Central Europe from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Jan Royt (born 1955) is a world renowned Czech historian specialising in the history of art and Christian iconography, particularly Gothic and Baroque. Both authors published numerous works, some of which they prepared jointly. The presented publication is an English translation of a work that originally appeared in Czech (notice in *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* XX1 [2016], pp. 480-481). Charles IV Luxembourg, Emperor of Rome and King of Bohemia, is the most popular historical figure among the Czechs. The yardstick of the esteem, which the Czechs have for Charles was his victory in 2005 in a national plebiscite for the greatest figure in Czech history, organised by Czech Television – he defeated Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (second place, first President of Czechoslovakia in 1918-1935) and Vaclav Havel (third place). The sevenhundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles IV, celebrated in 2016, was an opportunity for special-occasion publications written by historians and scholars representing other domains – as exemplified by the presented tome.

The purpose of the discussed *opus magnum*, the outcome of years of studies on Charles IV, his epoch, and tradition dedicated to him, does not intend to provide a biography of Charles IV (there are already several such publications). Instead, the authors focused on testimonies of the legacy of Charles IV – in particular buildings, paintings, statues, the crafts (predominantly gold artefacts) – and his times. Suffice to add that Charles was one of the greatest constructors and patrons of all varieties of architecture and art of that era. First and foremost, the authors aimed at presenting the reign of Charles IV (and the Luxembourg era in general) as a stage in a causal effect sequence during which at an earlier stage (thirteenth century), under four rulers (Přemysl Otakar I, Wenceslas I, Přemysl Otakar II and Wenceslas II) the very character of the Bohemian monarchy and its population underwent a profound transformation (especially the growth of towns, settlements and ore mining). On the other hand, Charles attained goals unknown to his ancestors – the founding of a university (which Wenceslas II failed to do) and elevating the rank of Prague to that of an archbishopric (which Přemysl Otakar II did not achieve) while simultaneously profiting from their experiences so as to implement his plans

even more easily. The authors also accentuated the extent to which Charles' successes were prepared much earlier – chiefly due to the efforts of the last Přemyslids: either by his direct relations (father John of Luxembourg and uncle Baldwin but also grandfather Henry VII – predominantly winning the German royal crown and the imperial crown and the catastrophic Italian expedition). The yardstick of the significance of Charles was in the eyes of his Bohemian subjects the title: *pater patriae* associated with him, although they did not intend to negate the memory of Přemysl and Libuše or to forget about his partly non-Bohemian origin (his father was John of Luxembourg and his mother was Elizabeth of Bohemia [Eliška Přemyslovna], daughter of Wenceslas II). Attempts were made to depict Charles as constructively as possible, recalling accusations against him (those from past about a – presumably supposed – subjection to papal impact as well as contemporary ones about the failure to prevent the persecution of the Jews) or the voices of those who placed exaggerated hope in Charles (Petrarch – the establishment of peace in Italy and the unification of the country). An interesting attempt involves capturing the manner of Charles' thinking as a mature ruler (in contrast to the young Charles who, as in the case of his father, John, took part in tournaments and wars), and the, apparently, prime idea of his reign: the establishment and preservation of good order. Although this concept appears to be obvious (which reasonable ruler did not share such a wish?) its practical implementation is evidence of an outstanding persona – apart from a great capital of experiences and resources (but also the time at his disposal) Charles demonstrated their efficient usage. Take the example of the *Golden Bull*, *Maiestas Carolina* or the *Corona Regni Boemie* acts, and the foundation or restoration of ten universities – let us not forget the skill of selecting numerous eminent advisers. All this in addition to his – and here scholars appear to agree – charismatic personality, secular, worldly, but by no means that of a monk or a hermit although one that did not shy from periodic isolation from the world and spiritual contemplation in a state of utmost concentration.

The fundamental part of the presented book is composed of 28 unnumbered chapters – extensive presentations of the activity of Charles, including his foundations. The publication is addressed to predominantly to readers – also those pursuing history and affiliated domains in an unprofessional manner – interested in the epoch of Charles IV, the Bohemian realm and the Empire in the fourteenth century, as well as the art and architecture of that epoch.

Piotr Goltz

Jan Royt, *The Prague of Charles IV*, transl. Derek Paton, Marzia Paton, Karolinum, Prague 2016 (1st edition in Czech 2016), 199 pp., publication in English, illustrations, bibliography, hardcover.

Jan Royt (born 1955) is a world renowned Czech historian specialising in the history of art and Christian iconography, particularly Gothic and Baroque. The presented publication – a translation into the English of a work that originally appeared in Czech (*Praha Karla IV.*, 2016) – brings readers – not necessarily professionals – closer to Prague of the High Middle Ages, i.e. the so-called golden era of the Bohemian capital, and its wider historical context. Thanks to the coronation of Charles of Luxembourg as king of Bohemia (1346), king of Germany (1346) and Emperor (1355), for the first time in its history Prague became the seat of the monarch of the Holy Roman Empire (the term: “capital” would be an exaggeration in view of the fact that this political organism did not have of a capital – although a dispute on this topic is continued [and probably will go on] in pertinent literature). This was a period of Prague’s extraordinary heyday (in the second half of the fourteenth century it was the largest town in Europe north of the Alps although seventh as regards the size of the population [here estimates made by researchers are much more diverse]; *nota bene*, the area encircled by the town walls at the time of Charles delineated the terrain in which Prague grew to the nineteenth century), whose grand monuments (the Cathedral on Hradčany, the Charles Bridge, Charles University [the first in Central Europe], the Malá Strana quarter and many others) can be seen up to this day. During this special episode in its history the town became the destination of thousands of arrivals: artists, builders, students, scholars, and representatives of other professions. Naturally, it must be kept in mind that present-day Prague is composed of four mediaeval components (just as it is impossible to speak about, e.g. mediaeval Budapest; the beginning of the contemporary shape of Prague dates back to the reform of 1784): Hradčany (castle and cathedral; *nota bene*, at the time of Charles [1344] the Prague bishopric was elevated in the Church hierarchy to the rank of an archbishopric), Prague “proper” (today: the Old Town), Vyšehrad, and Malá Strana (founded by Přemysl Otakar II, originally as: New Town [*Nova civitas sub castro Pragensi*], from the fourteenth century as: Malá Strana (*Civitas Minor Pragensis*)). The main text is divided into three parts of unequal capacity. The first is an historical outline of Prague during the reign of Charles IV, the second, the longest one, is a guide to Prague of the period and its monuments, both extant and already non-existent; the third part concentrates on the *spiritus movens* of the discussed progress of Prague, the lineage of Charles IV – his ancestors and heirs, as

well as outstanding persons of his time and subsequent years. The chapters are supplemented by maps of Prague, the cathedral and castle on Hradčany, and the so-called Caroline cross of Prague, i.e. a hypothetical architectural-sacral-town-planning premise (a source in which it would be formulated outright is lacking although numerous premises in its favour regard it as an intentional, extensive, and costly project whose implementation took years). We can say that the book has two protagonists: Prague, followed by Charles IV, who ensured the town and Bohemian monarchy long years of peace and prosperity. Naturally, the book is worth recommending to aficionados of Gothic architecture (in particular in fourteenth-century Bohemia) and can successfully serve as a sightseeing guide to Prague much more reliable and containing fuller information than the majority of publications used by the average tourist while in the Czech capital.

Piotr Goltz

Maciej Zdanek, *Uniwersytet Krakowski wobec własnej przeszłości w XV-XVI wieku* (The University of Cracow and Its Past in the Fifteenth-Sixteenth Century), *Historia et Monumenta Universitatis Jagellonicae*, vol. VI, Kraków 2017, 372 pp., bibliography, summary in English, index, hardcover.

The topic of this book is historical self-awareness at the University of Cracow during the Late Middle Ages and the early modern age. Until now the University, a frequent subject of studies conducted by mediaevalists, has not been the topic of a monograph encompassing the approach of people creating its milieu towards the past. For this reason the publication by Maciej Zdanek fills an essential gap in recently popular research on the construction of historical memory (see: works by Wojciech Drelicharz or Piotr Węcowski).

The presented work is composed of four chapters, with the first discussing chronological and in this case rather obvious caesurae: the Jagiellonian age. Furthermore, the fragment in question brings the reader closer to questions associated with the state of research on the identity of mediaeval universities both in Western Europe and Cracow. The method proposed by Zdanek as the foundation for his studies is a typical source studies approach requiring, however, a very wide gamut of sources: the topic called for a survey to be conducted not only in assorted written sources but also in monuments of material culture.

The successive chapter considers various media – carriers of knowledge about the past of Cracow University. The author divided this part into subchapters on consecutive types of sources: normative, copybooks, statutes, official books, and, finally, hagiographic and historiographical texts. Apart

from them the author wrote about iconography, material sources and space, and, finally, liturgy and oral tradition as additional memory carriers.

The last two chapters have been devised as two interpretations of historical memory: problematic and chronological. In the first case Zdanek described concrete events and persons associated with the earliest history of the University. Apart from such prominent problems as the founders of the Cracow Academy or the act of foundation, first collegia and professors, the author analysed the remembrance and commemoration of the most significant persons creating the University milieu. As has been mentioned, the topic of the last chapter of Zdanek's book is a chronological interpretation of the discussed events. Its wide framework makes it possible to insert memory about the past into intellectual currents dominating in the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century and to depict the progress of historical self-awareness parallel with the political or religious history of the epoch.

Marcin Bogusz

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