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Blurring the Boundaries of Religious Dissent: A New Approach to Heresy in the Middle Ages

Edited by
Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel – Janine Larmon Peterson

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SUMMARY

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Foreword

Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel and Janine Larmon Peterson[1]

Most scholarship of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has automatically defined 'religious dissent' as 'heresy', with studies proceeding along the parameters of the history of persecution and repression. Such a trend originated with the 'source critical' approach pioneered by Herbert Grundmann's landmark study *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, in which all religious movements "achieved realisation either in religious orders or in heretical sects."[2] Later, it found its most influential expression in Robert E. Lerner's *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*,[3] in which the historian attempts to discover the 'real' people beneath the filters of ecclesiastical and inquisitorial language and imagery. While ground-breaking in its reluctance to merely repeat ecclesiastical authorities' polemical and stereotyped descriptions of those deemed 'heretics', this approach also led to two distinct but related strands of scholarship. One focuses on identifying whether a group or individual was 'really' heretical, evincing a concern either with weighing up alternative beliefs against official doctrine, or with examining an individual's beliefs as they appear in inquisitorial documents and other sources and attempting to judge whether they belonged to a particular 'sect'. Such an approach long defined studies of mystical or textual modes of dissent, where certain thinkers and their texts were framed within an either/or model of 'orthodox' and 'heretical' based on comparison to certain sets of doctrines.[4] The second strand of research questions the legitimacy of the sources entirely and denies the very existence of dissenting heretical groups, arguing that they were entirely constructed by ecclesiastical authorities. This latter strand, centred mostly around the study of so-called 'Catharism' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and exemplified in the work of scholars such as R.I. Moore, Mark Gregory Pegg, Monique Zerner, and Uwe Brunn, among others, has spearheaded the debate for the past thirty years.[5]

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[1] This foreword, along with the special issue that follows, is the result of the collaboration of its two co-editors with a forward-thinking and committed team of early career scholars, namely, in alphabetical order, Andra Alexiu, Rachel Ernst, Stamatia Noutsou, and Justine Trombley. We hereby recognize their authorship.

[2] Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik*.

[3] Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*.

[4] For example, see the essays in Stirnimann and Imbach, eds., *Eckhardus Theutonicus, homo doctus et sanctus. Nachweise und Berichte zum Prozess gegen Meister Eckhart*. See also Colledge, "Liberty of Spirit: 'The Mirror of Simple Souls'," in *Theology of Renewal*, ed. L. K. Shook, 100–117; Orcibal, "Le 'Miroir des simples âmes' et la 'secte' du Libre Esprit," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 176 (1969): 35-60; and Lerner, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*.

[5] See Moore, *The War on Heresy. Faith and Power in Medieval Europe*; Zerner, ed., *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'inquisition*; Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels:*

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These older models are now beginning to be challenged. Scholarship has started to move away from binary views of heresy and orthodoxy and attempts at definitive categorisation. While focusing on the 'long fifteenth century', John Van Engen investigated if "energies cutting across locales and groups, orthodoxy and heresy, devotion and worldliness" can be detected and how these were linked to the multiple religious options which according to him characterised this era.[6] In grappling with the categories of "religious, religion, religions" scholars have tended to operate from the assumption that one knows religion when one sees it, as Christine Caldwell Ames observed.[7] Thus, rather than investigating the complex dynamics which tend to characterise human interaction and their various implications, previous studies have prioritised questions rooted in a clear-cut and unambiguous categorisation and periodisation. A recent collection of essays edited by Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane and Anne Lester critiques Herbert Grundmann's model of "orders versus heretical movements," highlighting instead the various experiences and statuses that existed between these two ends of the spectrum in medieval religious life by looking at individuals and groups who fit into neither category.[8] In a similar vein, a collection edited by Matthias Pohlig and Sita Steckel seeks to define religious decision making and its implications in various contexts pertaining not only to the late Middle Ages, but also to the Early Modern Period.[9]

This special issue is situated in dialogue with these studies but also addresses questions that they leave unanswered. Like them, contributors emphasise diversity and move away from binary models and methods which rely on distinct labels and strict categorisation. Taking the 'blurring of boundaries' as its central organising principle of inquiry, the global aim of this issue is to establish a new framework for the study of religious dissent in the European Middle Ages. Broadening the chronological scope of previous studies by including examples from as early as the eleventh century, the articles that follow look into a variety of religious contexts across Europe. In sum, authors interrogate and challenge the traditional assumption that dissent is automatically heterodox in nature. Addressing the current lack of vocabulary to describe the individuals, ideas, and organisations that did not conform to either side of the orthodoxy/heresy binary, one of

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The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246; Brunn, *Des Contestataires aux 'Cathares:' discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans le pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*; Borst, *Die Katharer*. The most recent contributions to this controversial issue can be found in Sennis, *Cathars in Question*, and Biget, Caucanas, Fournié, and le Blévec, eds. *Le "catharisme" en questions*. For a similar approach to the Waldensian movement, see Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580*; Merlo, *Valdesi e valdismi medievali: itinerari e proposte di ricerca*.

[6] Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church." More recently, with a special attention to the public aspect of decision making, see Van Engen, "Freedom, Obligation, and Customary Practice: The Pursuit of Religious Life in the Later Medieval and Early Reform Periods."

[7] Caldwell Ames, "Medieval Religious, Religions, Religion."

[8] Deane and Lester, eds., *Between Orders and Heresy: Rethinking Medieval Religious Movements*.

[9] Pohlig and Steckel, eds., *Über Religion entscheiden / Choosing my Religion: Religiöse Optionen und Alternativen im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Christentum / Religious Options and Alternatives in Medieval and Early Modern Christianity*.

our objectives is to start building an applicable lexicon, as well as to discuss the utility (or lack thereof) of such labels in future historiographical narratives.

As recently shown by Sita Steckel, working with the 'religious field' metaphor coined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu can be fruitful for historians as well.[10] The most far-reaching aspect of Bourdieu's concept is that borders are negotiated continuously. Zooming in on indistinct boundaries can prove to be a useful instrument for the historian, as it facilitates the reconnection of phenomena, groups, and individuals who are normally separated by different fields of research or expertise. Instead of asking what heresy is or who the heretics are –questions to which the study of dissidence is often limited– this special issue aims to find out the *means* by which boundaries were blurred, how these differed between contexts, and why. These issues go hand in hand with an active questioning of the existing periodisation and of the historical narratives which generated them.

By incorporating material from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a time when several new religious orders and heretical sects were established, this special issue illustrates how the traditional polarised historiographical model evolved, as well as how porous the membrane between 'orthodox' and 'heretical' was, even at the beginning. Furthermore, this issue interrogates the perspectives of individuals and sects who were 'othered' by their contemporaries on the basis of religious experience. Exploring the ways in which the ideas of medieval dissent paved the way for the diversification of religious thought in the Early Modern Period and the reactions against it is the next natural step that we will tackle in future collaborations.

[10] Bourdieu, "Genèse et structure du champ religieux." For an updated conceptualization of the idea of boundaries of the religious field see: Reuter, "Grenzarbeiten am Religiösen Feld - Religionsrechtskonflikte und -Kontroversen im Verfassungsstaat"; Broy, "Bourdieu, Weber und Rational Choice: Versuch einer Weiterentwicklung des religiösen Feldmodells am Beispiel Chinas." For the applicability of the concept to historical analysis see: Steckel, "Historicizing the Religious Field. Adapting Theories of the Religious Field for the Study of Medieval and Early Modern Europe"; see also, Große Kracht, "Das ‚Katholische Feld'. Perspektiven auf den Katholizismus des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts im Anschluss an Pierre Bourdieu."

This special issue was first conceived in Leeds, as a result of a strand of sessions held at the International Medieval Congress 2022, but it truly became a reality during an exemplary collegial workshop held in London in June 2023 thanks to funding provided by UKRI Talent & Research Stabilisation Funds and the School of History of Queen Mary University of London. We would like to thank the authors for their enthusiasm for the project, and all those who took part in the workshop for their invaluable feedback and unfailing support, especially, Frances Andrews, Louisa Burnham, Claire Taylor, Pablo Acosta-García, João Luís Inglês Fontes, Michael Hahn, and Bojana Radovanović. Finally, we thank the anonymous reviewers for their generosity and nuanced comments on the articles and the editorial team of *I Quaderni del M.AE.S.*, particularly Antonio Marson Franchini and Lidia Zanetti Domingues, for bringing to fruition the first publication of what has now become the Blurred Boundaries of Religious Dissent Research Initiative.

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Blurring the Boundaries: Monastic Values and Lay Conduct in the Anti-heretical Writings of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Matina Noutsou

Abstract

Bernard of Clairvaux's anti-heretical writings offer a unique opportunity to follow, as historiography has demonstrated, how he could construct solid boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Moreover, this polemic is a moment of conflict that allows us to explore Bernard's complex approaches to laity, as it reveals a tension in the way that he envisioned the proper societal order. In his accusations against heretics monastic values, such as humility and obedience, play a central role. Having this as a point of departure, this study discusses their role by juxtaposing Bernard's polemic with his other works, in order to investigate how these monastic values could be imposed on non-monastic audiences through Bernard's anti-heretical writings. The overall aim is to explore how Bernard of Clairvaux could re-negotiate the boundaries and blur the lines between laity and clergy, while he fought against heresy.

Keywords: Bernard of Clairvaux; anti-heretical polemic; humility; obedience; monasticization

Introduction

Bernard, the renowned Cistercian abbot of the abbey of Clairvaux, has been portrayed as one of the most influential figures of the long 12th century, due to his role in the establishment of the Cistercian order, his theology, his works but also his activities outside the monastic walls.[1] One of these endeavors was the fight against groups and individuals who were labelled as heretics by the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1145 he joined Church's fight against heresy when he participated in a preaching mission in Southern France organized by a papal legate. However, his engagement with heresy had already begun probably around 1143/1144 when he composed two sermons of his famous commentary to the *Song of Songs* on the question (Sermons 65 and 66).[2] In front of his monastic audience, he expressed his profound concern for the appearance of heretics and based on Song of Songs 2.15, he famously described heretics as "little foxes who spoil the vines"[3] an image that became one of the most important motives of the later Cistercian polemic.[4] These Sermons were widely circulated even when Bernard was still alive, and thus massively influential.[5]

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[1] The historiography on Bernard of Clairvaux is vast. See for example Leclercq, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercian Spirit*; Pennington, *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, McGuire, *The Difficult Saint*; Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux*; McGuire, *A companion to Bernard of Clairvaux*; McGuire, *Bernard of Clairvaux; An Inner Life*.

[2] SBO*p* II, 172-188. Cf. *On the Song of Songs III*, 179-206.

[3] *On the Song of Songs III*, 174; Cf. SBO*p* II, 169: "vulpes pusillas, quae demoliuntur vineas".

[4] Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade* 85; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 156.

[5] SBO*p* II, xxiii-xxxi.

The Cistercian abbot was tormented as- in his eyes- the unity of the Church was under attack: "Women have left their husbands, and husbands their wives, to join these people. Clerks and priests, young and old, have left their people and their churches, and are to be found among those weavers and their women. Is this not great havoc? Is this not the work of foxes?".[6] For Bernard heresy was a threat to the proper social order, as he described heretics as a cause of confusion of the social roles. He presumed that heretics sought to act in a way that was not suitable to their social strata. The heretics sought to preach, without having the authority[7] and they claimed to live a chaste life, without belonging to a monastic order.[8] The same pattern of argumentation against heresy appears in two of Bernard' s epistles, written on the occasion of a preaching mission in Southern France, where he publicly preached against heresy in front of the local population.[9] In these two letters, one written to the Count of Toulouse Alphonse Jourdain before the mission, and one to the people of the city, composed after the mission was completed, he repeated in agony his fear that those accused as heretics will devastate the Church's wellbeing: "Churches without people, people without priests, priests without the reverence due to them, and Christians without Christ. The Churches are regarded as synagogues, the holiness of God´s sanctuary is denied, the sacraments are not considered sacred, and holy days are deprived of their solemnities".[10] The fear of violation of the hierarchical order and the transgression of social boundaries that Bernard envisioned for his ideal society is also present in his letters. The accusation is again that they seek to imitate roles that did not comply with their social status.

Historiography has pinpointed Bernard's anxiety for what he thought of as heretics' intention to abuse of the social roles. Luis Biget in his contribution to the volume *Inventer de l' hérésie* described how the Cistercians abbots, among them Bernard, mistrusted those laymen, who seemingly wished to follow the precepts of the evangelical life without belonging to an ecclesiastical institution. As a result they accused these laymen as heretics.[11] According to Biget, by categorizing those laymen as heretics and thus constructing heresy, the Cistercians monopolized the right to evangelical life and carved clear and distinguished lines between clergy, monks and laity.[12] Beverly Kienzle in her study of the Cistercian anti-heretical polemic did not argue that heresy was a Cistercian fabrication, but she concluded that the Cistercians could see the heretics as competitors due to their way of life, that resembled life in a monastery.[13] Moreover as she noticed, fear for the social order was one important rhetorical pattern that the Cistercian abbots frequently deployed in their discourse against

[6] *On the Song of Songs III*, 186; Cf. SBO*p* II, 176: "Clerici et sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barbate apud eos inter textores et textrices plerumque inventi sunt. Annon gravis demolitio ista? Annon opera vulpium haec?".
[7] SBO*p* VIII, 129. Cf. *The Letters*, 390.
[8] SBO*p* II, 174. Cf. *On the Song of Songs III*, 184.
[9] Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and the Crusade*, 81.
[10] *The Letters*, 388; cf. Ep 241, SBO*p* VIII, 125: "Basilicae sine plebibus, plebes sine sacerdotibus, sacerdotes sine debita reverential sunt, et sine Christo denique christiani. Ecclesiae synagogae reputantur, sanctuarium Dei sanctum esse negatur, sacramenta non sacra censentur, dies festi frustrantur sollemniis".
[11] Biget, „"Les Albigeois", 235-7.
[12] Biget, "Les Albigeois", 235-7.
[13] Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, 103-104.

heretics. According to Kienzle, the Cistercians accused the religious deviants of appropriating behaviors and practices that were not in accordance with their social stratum and hence they threatened the social order. She noted more specifically about Bernard: "his anger emerges most strongly when dissidents lay claim to religious practices that were special reserve to monks".[14] Finally, Karen Sullivan, building on Caroline Walker Bynum's arguments on Bernard's approach towards hybrids and monsters, has underlined that the Cistercian abbot was alarmed as heretics fail to comply with any social group but rather they mixed elements of religious and secular identity and by this way they were breaking down the social boundaries.[15]

The intention of this study is not to contradict the insight of the above-mentioned historians. From his writings, it is very difficult to argue that Bernard did not perceive heresy as a threat to social order. The aim of this study is, however, to modestly contribute to our understanding of Bernard's anti-heretical efforts and his ideas about hierarchy in society by directing the study of the Cistercian abbot's anti-heretical discourse in another direction. The main question is not how Bernard, through his anti-heretical polemic could shape clear borders and hermetic boundaries but on the contrary how he could blur the boundaries between the clergy, the monks and the laity. This inquiry emanates from a close look on Bernard's polemic that reveals that on one hand he was indeed accusing heretics of violating social boundaries but on the other hand the arsenal of Bernard's accusations against heresy included charges of arrogance and disobedience. In other words, the point that I would like to discuss is that it is not accidental that Bernard gave weight to humility and obedience, two crucial monastic values, which occupy a great place in the *Rule of Saint Benedict* and were particularly important for the Cistercian Order.[16]

Bernard's approaches towards laity: defending order or blurring the lines?

Historians who have studied the social theory of Bernard of Clairvaux, have argued that the Cistercian abbot envisioned a united Christian society, which consists of strictly distinct social groups, the monks, the clerics, and the laymen. [17] These groups had a common aim: the spiritual progress of their members towards salvation.[18] However, their function in society and consequently their needs and obligations were essentially different, so they were distinct from each other. Because of his belief in a strict social order with clear and impermeable lines between the different social categorizations Bernard was characterized as "a man of order".[19] Historians have spotted inconsistencies in his work, as he sometimes employed

[14] Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade*, 90.
[15] Sullivan, *The Inner Lives*, 36-39.
[16] Berman, *The Cistercian evolution*, 20.
[17] See for example Sommerfeldt, "The social theory", 35-48; Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity*; Constable, *Three Studies.*
[18] Michael Voights has demonstrated how Bernard through his epistles to lay people could promote the idea of spiritual progression; Voigts, *Letters of Ascent*, 140-142. Moreover, in Bernard's crusade rhetoric as well as in his treatise *In Praise of the New Knighthood: A Treatise on the Knights Templar and the Holy Places of Jerusalem* (*Liber ad Milites Templi De Laude Novae Militia*) the message for laity' s spiritual progress is repeated. See for example, Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity*, 183.
[19] Gillian Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 158.

twopartite images of social organization, namely laity and clergy, where clergy included both monks and clerics, and in his others works he used tripartite images. Nevertheless, scholarship has argued for the Cistercian abbot's adamant belief in the clear distinction among the social groups. For example, by using the biblical image of Daniel, Noah, and Job, in numerous of his works, Bernard sought to demonstrate the different and distinct roles, functions and obligations that each group hold and the clear lines among them.[20]

The clear boundaries between the different groups are also expressed in sermon delivered in front of his monastic audience, where Bernard discussed how monks, priests and laypeople could gain salvation (*A Sermon to the Abbots: How Noah, Daniel and Job crossed the sea, each on his way: on a ship, by a bridge, by the swallows*). When it comes particularly to laity, he recognized that, unlike the monks and the clerics, the salvation of laypeople is more difficult to be achieved: "the third, the rank of the married men, I pass over briefly, as they have little to do with us. For they cross the mighty sea by the swallows, troubled and dangerous though they are, and the path they take is long, for they take no shortcut".[21]

Bernard' s image of the perfect society is developed at length in his treatise *An Apologia to Abbot William (Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem)*, which was written in 1125 as an answer to William, abbot of St Thierry. Jean Leclercq characterized this tract as the first Bernardine work with a polemical character, as it deals with a controversy between the Cistercian Order and the monks of Cluny.[22] While the Cistercian abbot defended his Order against the complaints from members of the Cluniac Order, he argued that there should be different and distinct strata in society by employing both bipartite schemes and the tripartite image of Noah, Daniel, and Job:

> "we would have to take it for granted that celibate and married folk at a variance, simply because they lives are moderated by different Church laws, and that monks and regulars are always at odds due to differences in observances. We would never guess that Noah, Daniel, and Job share the same kingdom, since we know they followed very different paths of virtue. Finally, we would have to affirm that either Mary or Martha or both failed to please the Lord, since their efforts to do this were so very unlike".[23]

In the same passage, Bernard continued by using the metaphor of Joseph's robe in order to demonstrate the plurality of the Church. "Therefore, let there be no division within the Church. Let it remain whole and entire according to its inherited right"[24] and then defending

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[20] See for example, Sommerfeldt, *On the Spirituality of Relationship*, 1-13.

[21] *Sermons for the Autumn Season*, 85-90. Cf SBO*p* V, 289: "Tertium igitur, coniugatorum videlicet ordinem, magis succincte transcurro, tamquam minus ad nos pertinentem. Ipse est qui maxime mare magnum vado pertransit, laboriosum prorsus et periculosum, etiam et longum habens iter, quippe qui nulla viae compendia captet".

[22] Leclercq, "Introduction", 1-4.

[23] *An Apologia*, 38-39. Cf. SBO*p* III, 84-85: "Ergo et continents, et coniuges invicem se damnare putentur, quod suis Quique legibus in Ecclesia conversentur. Monachi quoque ac regulares clerici sibi invicem derogare dicantur, quia propriis ab invicem observantiis separantur. Sed et Noe, et Danielem, et Iob in uno se regno pati non posse suspicemur, ad quod utique non uno eos tramite iustitiae pervenisse cognovimus. Mariam denique et Martham necesse sit aut utramque, aut alteram Salvatori diplicere, cui nimirum tam dissimili studio devotionis contendunt ambae placer".

[24] *An Apologia*, 41. Cf. SBO*p* III, 86 "Non ergo dividatur, sed totam et integram hereditario iure sortiatur Ecclesia…".

the existence of many and distinct groups he wrote "one man is allotted one kind, one another, irrespective of whether he be a Cistercian or a Cluniac, a regular or one of the laity".[25] One of the main conditions for the wellbeing of this society is- according to Bernard- that everyone, appropriately to his or her order, works to maintain the harmony of the Church.[26] The Cistercian abbot advocated in this treatise not only the strict ordering of society but also social stability in the sense that Christians should remain inside the frame of their class: "whatever path a man is taking, let him not be so concerned about alternative routes that he lose sight of his destination".[27]

Besides the clear distinction among the different social strata, historians have also argued that the contemplative and the active life were always in dialogue in Bernard's work.[28] Moreover, John Sommerfeldt has demonstrated that Bernard envisioned a unified Christianity despite the differences among the monks, the priests and the laity. Furthermore, he eloquently concluded in his study of Bernardine social theory that for Bernard, there existed some fundamental values, that were common for every Christian regardless their social class.[29]

Bernard's social theory has been also explored by Martha Newman, who argued, in the same manner as Sommerfeldt, that Bernard believed in a unified Church consisting of distinct social orders. In her book, *The Boundaries of Charity*, she has argued that the Cistercian notion of *caritas* was the driving force behind the Order's engagement in the world outside the monastic walls, as they wished to preserve the Church's unity by encouraging the spiritual reformation of all, included the laymen.[30] The Cistercians in general and Bernard in particular seemed to be more interested in those laymen, who hold authority.[31] Nevertheless, as Newman has mentioned "their advice for such men had implications not just for the behavior of rulers but for the development of a knightly ideology and a lay spirituality".[32] More importantly for this study, Newman argued that Bernard of Clairvaux's praising of the Knight Templars "seemingly blurred the line between monastic and secular life that he usually tried so hard to keep distinct".[33] However, she added that the Cistercian abbot did not wish to delete the boundaries between monks and laymen. In her introductory chapter of the English translation of the Bernardine treatise *On the Conduct and the Office of Bishops* (*De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum*), she came to the same conclusion as Sommerfeldt, that Bernard believed that there are some universal values that every Christian, besides his or her order, should follow.[34] The more specific characteristics of these values were changing according to the particular needs and functions of every social group.[35]

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[25] *An Apologia*, 41. Cf. SBO*p* III, 86-87: "alius quidem sic, alius vero sic, sive Cluniacenses, sive Cistercienses, sive clerici regulares, sive etiam laici fideles".
[26] SBO*p* III, 87. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, "*An Apologia*", 41.
[27] *An Apologia*, 44. Cf. SBO*p* III, "Viderit autem quisque quacumque incedat, ne pro diversitate semitarum ab una iustitia recedat…".
[28] Constable, *Three Studies*, 64.
[29] Sommerfeldt, *On the Spirituality*, 91.
[30] Newman, The Boundaries, 171-190.
[31] Newman, *The Boundaries*, 171.
[32] Newman, *The Boundaries*, 171.
[33] Newman, *The Boundaries*, 185.
[34] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues, 14.
[35] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues", 14.

Newman has described these values as monastic.[36] More importantly she traced in the Cistercian abbot's writings a tension between the contemplative and active lives, as no order should only be contemplative or active. Building on the works of Caroline Walker Bynum and Karl Morrison on Bernard's fascination in antithesis, Newman has suggested that the Cistercian abbot did not envisage that orders were either contemplative or active. However, as she pointed out, Bernard was not interested in creating a synthesis of the contemplative and active life as these two ways of life- in his mind- remained, despite the commonalities always separated and thus in tension.[37] She asserted that Bernard "did not wish to make the world into a monastery, but he did believe that all Christians needed to develop virtues which could best be learned in Cistercian life".[38]

The issue of common values that according to Bernard all the social groups should demonstrate is further analyzed in the work of Michael Voigts. In his study of the Cistercian abbot's epistolary corpus, he illustrated how Bernard intended to promote, through his epistles, his ideal on spiritual reform to monks, clerics and laymen, as, mirroring Gregory the Great, he believed that the ascetic lifestyle could be followed by all Christians.[39] When it comes to his lay recipients, Voigts demonstrated how Bernard was emphasizing laymen's spiritual commitments to inner reform and obligations such spiritual responsibility and obedience similar to the ones of the monks.[40]

Finally, the imposition of monastic values and obligation to non-monastic audiences has also been addressed by Christine Caldwell Ames, who argued that in the High Middle Ages a paradox took place, as while the boundaries between the clergy and laity were cemented, at the same time they were becoming more vague.[41] Following the work of historians as M. C. Chenu, André Vauchez and Adolf von Harnack, she employed the phrase "monasticization of the world", in order to describe how monastic values could be diffused in the world outside the monastery resulting in the creation of a particular lay religiosity.[42] Both the crusades as well as the anti-heretical struggle and most importantly the inquisition were vehicles for the fulfillment of this process.[43] In this framework, Bernard's plea to the Count of Toulouse to join the Church's anti-heretical fight is an example of how spiritual responsibilities, i.e. obedience to serve the Church and protect the hierarchical order, were imposed upon a secular lord in the same manner as similar spiritual duties placed upon his father, who took part in First Crusade.[44]

These insights of historiography regarding Bernard's social theory can open new avenues in the study of the abbot of Clairvaux's anti-heretical discourse. Under this prism, the focus of inquiry is shifted from the question of how the Cistercian abbot could- through his anti-heretical efforts- defend the social order to how he could blur the lines between clergy and laity. By taking this direction our understanding

[36] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues", 27.
[37] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues", 13- 14.
[38] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues", 35.
[39] Voigts, *Letters of Ascent*, 18.
[40] Voigts, *Letters of Ascent*, 140-142.
[41] Ames, "Monasticization, 2.
[42] Ames, "Monasticization", 2.
[43] Ames, "Monasticization", 5-9.
[44] Ames, "Monasticization", 6.

of Bernard's approaches towards laity will be enriched, as we will follow how in Bernardine thought the boundaries between clergy and laity were more permeable and porous than consolidated positions in scholarly work on his anti-heretical discourse has shown.

One of the core themes of this study is the assumption that the Church's struggle against heresy represents not only a moment of conflict between clergy and laity but also an opportunity to shape religious mentalities and promote an (monastic) ideal. Therefore this examination is substantially influenced by scholarship that puts emphasis on the central political role that the anti-heretical struggle had in medieval society.[45] This inquiry is as well as in dialogue with historians who have connected the Church's anti-heretical fight with the churchmen's intention to create a particular orthodox identity, as the image of the heretic can operate as an anti-image or an anti-model, whose behavior should be avoided.[46] More specifically scholars, for instance Pilar Jiménez Sánchez has associated Cistercian endeavors against heresy to their efforts to impose crucial aspects of their monastic ecclesiology on the world outside the monastery.[47]

Since the article seeks to discuss the role of monastic values in Bernard's anti-heretical polemic, the main focus of the analysis will naturally be on his works, where he engaged in the problem of heresy, namely Sermons 65 and 66 from the compilation *on the Song of Songs* and the epistles to the count of Toulouse and the people of the city (Epistles 241 and 242).[48] In the next step, I will juxtapose these texts with other works from the Bernardine *corpus* addressed to different audiences, which may look at first sight unrelated. However, the methodological premise of this study lies on the assumption that there is a common element that runs through all the Bernardine works, specifically his monastic ecclesiology, and by this way they are connected.[49] Sita Steckel's inquiry of the accusations of hypocrisy by comparing otherwise fragmented texts from criticisms and polemic (included Bernard's polemical texts) has furthermore been a point of departure for this study.[50] I would like to argue that by comparing the accusations for lack of humility and obedience to the discussion of these values in Bernard's other texts, we can understand how the anti-heretical discourse could be used not only to demarcate differences but also to renegotiate boundaries among monasticism, clergy, and laity.

The obligation to humility

Bernard of Clairvaux returned frequently to the image of the boasting and arrogant heretic in his polemic. However, the accusations of pride (*superbia*) against heresy are by no means a Bernardine novelty. As Herbert Grundmann authoritatively demonstrated the image of the arrogant and proud heretic, which has its roots in the polemical work of Augustine and the connection of the heretics with the *civitas diaboli*, became a stereotypical element in the

[45] See for example Patschovsky, "Heresy and Society, 23-44; Given, *Inquisition*, 5; Arnold, "Repression and Power", 346; John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 11.
[46] Grundmann, "The Profile (Typus)", 17.
[47] Sánchez, *Les catharismes*, 263-276.
[48] SBO*p VIII*, 125-129,*The Letters*, 317 and 318, 387-391.
[49] See for example Bruun, Mapping of Spiritual Topography, 1-15.
[50] Steckel, "Critiques of Religious Movements".

medieval anti-heretical discourse of the later centuries.[51] The German historian argued that the heretic who boasts, believes that he/she is better than others and dares to arrogate roles that belong mainly to clergy is a common "*topos*" in numerous medieval texts, where the ecclesiastical authors described the behavior of heretics and the place of heresy in the moral order.[52] Bernard of Clairvaux's anti-heretical polemic is certainly not an exemption. However, taking into consideration the central role that humility played in the abbot's overall works, I believe that before we categorize the charges of pride and arrogance as "*topos*", it is justifiable to compare these accusations to his ideas in the other works.

Turning our attention to Bernard's overall oeuvre, it is not an exaggeration to claim that humility as an essential value of monastic life occupies a crucial role in his thought. Firstly, in his treatise *The Steps of Humility and Pride* (*De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae)*, which was written in 1124 by a quite young Bernard as a reply to the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Fontenay, Godfrey of Langres, the abbot of Clairvaux discussed in length the virtue of humility in monastic community. His departure point was the seventh paragraph of the Benedictine Rule (*Humility- De Humilitate*).[53] The importance of humility as one of the main foundations of monastic life appears almost everywhere in his works.[54] The Cistercian abbot not only highlighted the importance of humility for the life in the monastery, but he also examined carefully its different forms. For example in the Sermon 42 of his *Sermons of the Song of Songs*, he stated that "… there is a humility inspired and inflamed by charity, and a humility begotten in us by truth..".[55] However, for Bernard humility did not only belong to the monastic environment. As Sommerfeldt has argued, Bernard considered humility as a value with "universal character", which all Christians regardless of their social status should strive to attain.[56] And indeed in his Sermon *Homily I*, which was composed shortly after the treatise on humility and pride,[57] Bernard praised Mary for her virginity and humility, and he compared the two virtues:

> "Virginity is a praiseworthy virtue, but humility is by far the more necessary. The one is only counselled; the other is demanded. To the first you have been invited; to the second you are obliged. Concerning the first he said 'he who is able to receive this, let him receive it' (Mt 19:12), of the second is said, 'Truly I said to you, unless you become like this child, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 18:3). The first is rewarded; the second is required. You can be saved without virginity; without humility you cannot be".[58]

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[51] Grundmann, "The Profile", 18.
[52] Grundmann, "The Profile ", 18-21.
[53] Pennington OCSO, "Introduction", 5, 11.
[54] See for example Bernard's sermon In Adventu: De Triplici Inferno: Hoc ergo collum firmum esse debet er immobile, et supereminens sicut turris, cuius fundamentum debet esse humilitas, SBO*p* VI-1, 15. Cf. *Various Sermons*, 11.
[55] *On the Song of Songs II*, 214-218; Cf. SBO*p* II, 36: "quoniam est humilitas quam caritas format, et inflammat; et est humilitas, quam nobis veritas parit"
[56] Sommerfeldt, *On the Spirituality*, 91.
[57] Wadell, "Introduction", xiv.
[58] "Homily I", 9. Cf. SBO*p* IV, 17-18: Laudabilis virtus virginitas, sed magis humiltas necessaria. Illa consulitur, ista praecipitur. Ad illam invitaris, ad istam cogeris. De illa dicitur: QUI POTEST CAPERE, CAPIAT; de ista dicitur: NISI QUIS EFFICIATUR SICUT PARVULUS ISTE, NON INTRABIT IN REGNUM CAELORUM. Illa ergo remunerator, ista exigitur. Potes denique sine virginitate salvari; sine humilitate non potes.

Likewise, in his treatise *On Precept and Dispensation (De Præcepto et Dispensatione)*, which was written in the years between 1141 and 1144 as an answer to two Benedictine monks of the monastery of Saint-Pér-en-Vallée on their questions about the obedience to the Benedictine Rule,[59] Bernard repeated the idea that humility belongs to the set of values that Christians are necessary to follow:

> "But what is to be understood by the third kind of necessity, which I have called *fixed* necessity; [...] Under this heading falls that spiritual doctrine and teaching on charity, humility, meekness, and the other virtues [...] At all times and for all persons they bring salvation when they are kept and cause death when they are rejected".[60]

According to the abbot of Clairvaux humility was likewise necessary for the bishops, as it is demonstrated in his work *On the Conduct and Office of Bishops* (*De Moribus et Offcio Episcoporum*). Writing in the end of 1130s decade to the archbishop of Sens, Henry Sanglier, in this work that has been characterized either as letter or a treatise, Bernard argued in detail (as Newman has noticed almost half of the composition is about humility) that it was necessary for the prelates to follow contemplative values such as charity, chastity and not least humility.[61] For Newman the discussion about humility demonstrates one the one hand how contemplative and active life are in continuous tension, as monastic values should be followed by non-monks. On the other hand, Bernard, who was praising stability, in the sense that Christians should not leave their social stratum, seems to understand that every social group has its own different functions and needs, so he could reshape the monastic values according to his specific audience. When it comes more specifically to the bishops, the characteristics of humility that Bernard propagated, are compatible with their duty to serve their flock.[62] In order to fulfill their duties and avoid seeking the domination of others instead of service, the abbot of Clairvaux warned them to be vigilant for arrogance and vanity.[63] In other words, they should avoid self-exaltation, thinking that they are better than others and demanding more privileges, rights, higher positions or praisings. In *Steps of Humility and Pride*, Bernard declared that "the only one who can instruct the brethren are those who are merciful, those who are meek and humble".[64] Therefore, acquiring the monastic value of humility the bishops will have the necessary capacities to minister to their flock.

But if, following Newman's conclusion, humility had a protean character in Bernard's thought, the question that arises is what kind of humility Bernard promoted through his anti-heretical discourse. In the next paragraphs Bernard's charges against the arrogant and proud heretic will be juxtaposed with his *Steps*, which is addressed to a monastic audience and *On the conduct and Office of Bishops*.

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[59] Leclercq, "Introduction", 73.
[60] *On Precept*, 110. Cf. SBO*p* III, 258: Iam vero necessarium incommutabile quid accipi velim? [...] Sub hoc genere est omnis illa sermonis Dominici in monte habiti spiritualis traditio, et quidquid de dilectione, humilitate, mansuetudine ceterisque virtutibus [...] Omni tempore, omni personae, mortem contempta, custodita salutem operantur.
[61] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues", 22-23, 26-27.
[62] Newman, " Contemplative Virtues", 28-29.
[63] SBO*p* VII, 121-127. Cf: *On the Office*, 67-77.
[64] *The Steps*, 42. Cf. SBO*p* III, 26: Instructio quippe fratrum pertinent ad misericordes, spiritus lenitatis ad mites.

It is noteworthy that in both works, Bernard's aim is to promote humility but he- at the same time- stated that humility can be better understood through the examination of pride.[65] In his earlier work, he provided a definition of both humility and pride, which demonstrates the relation between those two poles: "For what else is pride but, as a saint defined it, the love of one's own excellence? We may define humility as the opposite: contempt of one's own excellence".[66] In the same work, the Cistercian abbot based on the seventh chapter of the Benedictine Rule and the description of the twelve steps to humility, identified the twelve steps of pride, as following: curiosity (*curiositas*), levity (*de levitate animi*), giddiness (*de inepta laetitia*), boasting (*de iactantia*), singularity (*de singularitate*), self-conceit (*de arrogantia*), presumption (*de praesumptione*), self-justification (*de defensione peccatorum*), hypocritical confession (*de simulata confessione*), revolt (*de rebellione*), freedom to sin (*de libertate peccandi*) and lastly, habit to sin (*de consuetudine peccandi*).[67] According to Bernard, the first six steps have to do with the monks' relation to their brothers, the next four with submission to the superiors and the last two with submission to God.[68] And also in the *On the Conduct and the Office of the Bishops* he stated that humility "subdues pride, the enemy of all grace and beginning of all sin"[69] and "pride is a passionate desire for own superiority"[70]. In the same work the Cistercian abbot named two different kinds of pride: blind pride (*caeca superbia*) and vanity (*vana superbia*), where the former is the lust for one's own superiority and the latter is the desire to hear from other praises regardless of if they are real or not.[71]

Returning to Bernard's anti-heretical polemic, there is no definition or discussion of pride or humility as in his other two works. Nonetheless if we follow Bernard's methodology where the examination of the figures of the arrogant monks and prelates, illuminates the ideal of humility, it can be assumed that the descriptions of heretics can function as anti-models, which promote a specific humble behavior to the laity.

A closer look at the Cistercian abbot's polemic reveals that a recurrent allegation against heretics is that they boast about their way of life. Already in Sermon 65, Bernard rhetorically asked them: "In what passage of the Gospels, not even one iota of which you falsely boast you do not pass over (Matt 5:18), do you find this exemption?".[72] Moreover, heretics, echoing the fourth step of pride in Bernard's treatise (boasting) were those who "boast" falsely about their "apostolic life" and their beliefs:

> "I am not unaware of their boast, that they alone, are the Body of Christ. But since they believe this, they must also believe that they have the power of consecrating the Body and the Blood of Christ on their altars every day, to nourish them to become members of the Body of Christ. To be sure, they

[65] SBO*p* III, 37. Cf. *The Steps*, 56; SBO*p* VII, 114. Cf. *On the Office*, 58.
[66] *The Steps*, 42. Cf SBO*p* III, 26: "Quid enim aliud est superbia, quam, ut quidam sanctus diffinit, amor propriae excellentiae? Unde et nos possumus dicere, per contrarium, humilitatem propriae excellentiae esse contemptum.
[67] SBO*p* III, 38- 55. Cf. *The Steps*, 57-78.
[68] SBO*p* III, 53. Cf. *The Steps*, 75-76.
[69] 57. Cf. SBO*p* VII, 114: Inimicam omnis gratiae, omnisque initium peccati debellat sperbiam.
[70] *t*, 58. Cf. SBO*p* VII, 114: Superbia est appetitus propriae excellentiae.
[71] SBO*p* VII, 114. Cf. 58.
[72] *On the Song of Songs III*, 181. Cf. SBO*p* II, "De quonam mihi Evangeliorum loco producitis istam exceptionem, qui ne iota quidem, ut falso gloriamini, praeteritis?", 173.

> confidently claim to be the successors of the Apostles, and call themselves apostolic, although they are unable to show any sign of their apostolate".[73]

In this passage is presented Bernard's most common charge against heresy, namely that the heretics believe that they are superiors than the others. This accusation which recalls the fifth step of pride, the singularity or belief in own's superiority, is repeated quite often in Bernard's polemic. For example, he accused heretics of dismissing everyone else in the Church and they believe that they should keep their ideas secret from those who do not share the same ideas. Likewise, according to Bernard the alleged heretics claimed that they alone represent the true Church. Moreover, they did not seek to glorify God, as they were hostile against or jealous of God's glory. This accusation resembles the "blind pride" of Bernardine work addressed to the bishops, as those who fall into arrogance seek to glory themselves and not God.[74] Newman argues that the "blind vanity" corresponds to the "singularity" of *The Steps*.[75] In Bernard's categorisation the fourth and the fifth step represent how the proud monk acts against his brethren. As a result of his boasting the monk is not concerned about how he can help others: "His aim is not to teach you or to be taught but to show you how much he knows"[76], alleged Bernard. And for the monks who believe that they are better than the others, "the common rule of the monastery and the example of the seniors are no longer enough".[77] I would like to argue that it is not a coincidence that Bernard deployed these accusations against heresy. Like the monks who live in a community, so the heretics are part of the Christian society. And as the arrogant monk does not respect his brothers, the alleged heretics show disrespect towards their "brothers", the other members of the society. And if the heretics function as anti-models, whose example must be avoided, Bernard by utilizing charges that resemble these two steps of pride, promoted a humility where the members of laity not only have a low opinion about themselves but also are humble and tentative over each other. Thus, laymen as well as monks should protect their community by helping each other.

Another point of criticism in Bernard's polemic, which can be related to his description of the twelfth steps of pride, is the "stubbornness" of the heretics, who either do not admit their errors or they try to defend them. In his Sermon 66 of his commentary *on the Song of Songs*, while the Cistercian abbot discussed an episode which took place in Cologne, where heretics were caught by people and brought in front of the ecclesiastical authorities, provides an example of this behavior:

> "When questioned on the points of their belief which are suspect, they have denied everything completely, as they always do, and when examined by the

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[73] *On the Song of Songs III*, 198-199. Cf. SBO*p* II, 183: "Non ignoro quod se et solos corpus Christi esse glorientur; sed sibi hoc persuadeant qui illud quoque persuasum habent, potestatem se habere quotidie in mensa sua corpus Christi et sanguinem consecrandi, ad nutriendum se in corpus Christi et membra. Nempe iactant se esse successors Apostolorum, et apostolicos nominant, nullum tamen apostolates sui signum valentes ostendere".

[74] SBO*p* VII, 114. Cf. 58.

[75] Newman, "Contemplative Virtues", 31.

[76] *The Steps*, 69. Cf. SBO*p* III, 48: Non curat te docere vel a te doceri ipse quod nescit, sed ut scire sciatur quod scit.

[77] *The Steps*, 70. Cf. SBO*p* III, 48: Proinde non sufficit ei quod communis monasterii regula vel maiorum cohortantur exempla.

> ordeal of the water they have been found to be lying. But when detected and unable to make any further denial because the water would not receive them, they have taken the bit between their teeth, as the saying is, and instead of confessing their blasphemy freely and with penitence, they have declared it openly, alleging that it was true piety".[78]

In juxtaposition with his treatise on the humility in the monastery, the abbot of Clairvaux claimed that the eighth step of pride (self-justification) represents "the stubborn and obstinate self-defence"[79], as the proud monk either denies or justifies his sins.[80] This step of pride (along with the next one with the title "hypocritical confession") deals with the issue of confession in the monastery. For Bernard those monks who out of arrogance do not accept their sins or defend them, violate the Benedictine Rule and its precept that the monks should humbly confess to their abbots both their thoughts and sins.[81] An echo of this arrogant behavior can be found in Bernard's anti-heretical work, where in an imaginary dialogue an accused heretic neglects to accept his beliefs and mistakes by insisting on his innocence, although the catastrophic results of his actions are visible in the community.[82]

In the tenth step of pride (revolt), Bernard detailed how the monk who has fallen to pride and as a result has shown disrespect over his brothers and his superiors, has revolted against his own community by causing scandal by his behavior.[83] "But if a monk refuses to live in harmony with his brethren or to obey his superior, what is he doing in the monastery except causing scandal?"[84] wondered Bernard. For him the result of such a conduct is that the arrogant monk has either to leave or be expelled from the monastery.[85] Comparing this paragraph with the Cistercian abbot's polemic, a similar accusation against the heretics can be detected. The heretics are causing, too, scandal in their community, namely the Church by their arrogant and disrespectful behavior: "when they dismiss everyone within the Church as dogs and swine (Matt 7:6), is this not an open admission that they themselves are not within the Church",[86] Bernard asks his audience and he continues in the same Sermon (65): Does the gospel not condemn the man who offends someone within the Church (Matt 18:6)? You scandalize the Church".[87] In Sermon 66, he concluded "If he will not listen to the Church", it says, "let him be to you as a stranger and a tax collector (Matt 18:17)"[88]. The exclusion of the proud heretics from the Church is presented as both an anticipated and a self-chosen outcome in a way that is analogous to the expulsion of the

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[78] *On the Song of Songs III*, 204. Cf. SBO*p* II,186: "Quaesiti fidem, cum de quibus suspecti videbantur omnia prorsus suo more negarent, examinati iudicio aquae, mendaces inventi sunt. Cumque iam negare non possent, quippe deprehensi, aqua eos non recipiente, arrepto, ut dicitur, freno dentibus, tam misere quam libere impietatem non confessi, sunt, palam pietatem astruentes…"

[79] *The Steps*, 73. Cf. SBO*p* III, 51: Pervicax et obstinata defensio.

[80] SBO*p* III, 51, Cf. *The Steps*, 73.

[81] SBO*p* III, 51, Cf. *The Steps*, 73.

[82] SBO*p* II, 175-176. Cf. *On the Song of Songs III*, 185.

[83] SBO*p* III, 53, Cf. *The Steps*, 75-76.

[84] *The Steps*, 76. Cf. SBO*p* III, 53: Denique ubi fratrum concordiam ac magistri sententiam monachus spernit, quid ultra in monasterio, nisi scandalum facit?

[85] SBO*p* III, 53, Cf. *The Steps*, 76.

[86] *On the Song of Songs III*, SBO*p* II, 173: "At istud aperte fateri est, se non esse de Ecclesia, qui omnes, qui de Ecclesia sunt, canes censet et porcos".

[87] *On the Song of Songs, III*, 184. Cf. SBO*p* II:"Qui scandalizaverit unum de Ecclesia, nonne Evangelium condemnat illum? Tu Ecclesiam scandalizes", 175.

[88] *On the Song of Songs III*, 187. Cf. SBO*p* II: "Si, inquit Ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus", 176-177.

proud monk from his monastery. The end of the monk who has been expelled from his community is tragic: "the monk has no longer a superior to fear nor brethren to respect, so with fewer qualms he can happily gives himself desires which in the monastery fear and shame held in check".[89] The former monk does not feel fear for God anymore and "the plans of his heart, the ready words of his mouth, the works of his hands, are at the service of every impulse. He has become malevolent, evil-speaking, vile".[90] These passages are from the two last steps of pride (Freedom to sin and the habit of sinning). The destructive ending of the arrogant monk can be seen as a reminder for the importance of humility. The heretics are similarly those who chose to discard the Church and follow a sinful life. In his letter to the Count of Toulouse, Bernard describes how dangerous the heresiarch Henry of Lausanne, a former monk, who abandoned the monastic life, is as he "returned to the world and the filth of the flesh, like a dog to its vomit".[91] In Sermon 66, the Cistercian abbot predicts: "The end of these men is destruction, fire awaits them at the last".[92] The image of the heretics is an example to be avoided. It can be assumed that their ending, as Bernard vividly described it creating an atmosphere of fear, is a warning for the lay people that humility is a necessary and essential virtue.

This study of Bernard's anti-heretical polemic in connection to *Steps of Humility and Pride* and *On the Conduct and Office of Bishops* confirms the importance that the Cistercian abbot placed on humility for laymen, as an essential and "universal" value, which nevertheless had its origins in the monastic environment. The image of the heretic like that of the proud monk and the arrogant prelate, is the anti-model, that the Cistercian abbot deploys in order to promote humility to laity. The character of humility that he promotes to laypeople is significantly different from the one to the bishops. Whereas in his treatise on the prelates the Cistercian abbot focuses on the fifth and the six steps of pride (singularity and self-conceit), in his anti-heretical discourse indirectly stresses the fourth (boasting), the fifth and sixth but as well as the eight (self-justification) and tenth (revolt) steps. The difference can be explained by the different functions and needs of the prelates and the laity: The bishops' main duty is to serve their flock, whereas laypeople should live harmonically in society by respecting others and their superiors to protect the unity of the Church. Therefore, it seems that Bernard promotes a kind of humility to the laity that has more similarities to the one to the monks in comparison to the one who promotes to bishops. The juxtaposition of the above texts reveals aspects of Bernardine ecclesiology. It can be assumed that Bernard thinks of the world in similar terms to his monastic community. From the analysis of the texts, we can speculate that the heretics resemble the arrogant monk who by boasting and believing in his own "singularity and superiority" not only sins but also violates the

[89] *The Steps*, 76. Cf. SBO*p* III, 54: per quam monachus, cum iam nec magistrum videt quem timeat, nec fratres quos revereatur, tanto securius quanto liberius sua desideria implore delectatur, a quibus in monasterio tam pudore quam timore prohibebatur.
[90] *The Steps*, 77. Cf. SBO*p* III, 54: sed quidquid in cor, in buccam, ad manum venerit, machinatur, garret, et operator, malevolus, vaniloquus, facinorosus.
[91] *The Letters*, 389. Cf. SBO*p* VIII, 126: "… ad spurcitias carnis et saeculi, tamquam canis ad suum vomitum, est reversus".
[92] *On the Song of Songs III*, 204. Cf. SBO*p* II, 186: "Horum finis interitus, horum novissima incendium manet".

harmonic relation with his brothers, where the one is supposed to teach and be taught by the others.[93] Moreover, as the monks who had fallen into the trap of pride and had caused scandal at the monastery broke their ties with their community, the heretics did not belong to the Christian society. As in case with his advice to bishops, in Bernard's anti-heretical writings, there are no accusations that resemble the first three steps of pride (curiosity, levity and giddiness). These three seems to be related exclusively to the life of monks in the monastery. The humility that Bernard promotes to the laity seems to be the one that importantly lays out the mutual respect of the members of society and equally the respect to the superiors, which ensure the harmonic coexistence inside the Church by and the well function of the world.

The obligation to obedience

Obedience played a central role in Bernard's thought, as he considered it as a crucial condition for the contemplative life.[94] If humility was the foundation of the life of the monks, obedience was the wall, which was protecting the monastic life.[95] The Cistercian abbot called his monastic audience to strive for true obedience, "a most powerful force"[96], by being submissive not only to God but also their superiors in the monastery.[97] "Perfect obedience knows no law. It can be held within no limits"[98] asserted the abbot to his monastic audience. And in order to illustrate them the dangers of disobedience, he provided the example of Adam, who after he ate the forbidden fruit and he failed to show any regrets, he was expelled.[99] The obligation to obedience originates in the Benedictine Rule, the abbot of Clairvaux repeats in his works the Rule's precept to "obey without delay" in order to show its urgency and gravity.[100] And even if the adherence to the Rule was a monastic obligation, Bernard argued in his tract *On Precept and Dispensation* that it would be beneficial for every Christian to follow its commands.[101] Thus, the Cistercian abbot seems to open the way for the diffusion of the monastic values to the rest of society.

Moving back to Bernard's anti-heretical polemic the charges of disobedience, similarly to the accusations of arrogance are numerous. The image of the disobedient heretic cannot- of course- be attributed exclusively to the Cistercian abbot, as disobedience to God and to ecclesiastical authorities were keystones of the polemical discourse against heresy.[102] However, as in the case of pride, the comparison of the anti-heretical discourse with Bernard's other works provides us the opportunity firstly to reveal how elements of his monastic thought

[93] The relation between monastic community and humility in Bernard's thought is also discussed by Caroline Walker Bynum, who argues that for the Cistercian abbot the communal life offers the opportunity to monks to learn how to be humble. Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, 129- 131.
[94] See Casey, "Introduction", xxix-xxxix.
[95] SBO*p* VI-1, 16. Cf. *Various Sermons*, 11.
[96] *Monastic Sermons*, 216. Cf. SBO*p* VI- 1, 246: "Fortissima res est oboedientia vera".
[97] SBO*p* VI-1, 246. Cf. *Monastic Sermons*, 216-217.
[98] *On Precept*, 114. Cf. SBO*p* III, 261: "Nam perfecta oboedientia legem nescit".
[99] SBO*p* VI-1, 10 Cf. *Various Sermons*, 5.
[100] SBO*p* VI-1, 249. Cf. *Monastic Sermons*, 219.
[101] SBO*p* III , 255. CF. *On Precept,* 106
[102] Grubdmann, "The Profile", 18-19. Grundmann establishes a connection between arrogance and disobedience, as the latter is the result of the former; Nelson, "Society, theodicy and the origins", 74; Moore, *The Formation*, 64.

were introduced in his polemic and secondly to inquire how he could renegotiate the boundaries between active and contemplative life through the value of obedience.

In his Sermons 65 and 66 as well as his epistles to the Count and the people of Toulouse the charges of disobedience can be divided into three categories: the first is lack of obedience towards God/natural law, the second towards the Church and the third towards the clergy.

Beginning with the first category, the Cistercian abbot denounced the heretics of not following God's commands by refusing to reveal publicly their beliefs. "How long will you keep secret what God commands should be reveal?" wonders Bernard.[103] Obedience to God has a distinguished role in Bernard's thought. The monk's obedience to God is described as a "special obedience" (*oboedientia specialis ad Deum*) that "should never be neglected".[104] The image of the heretic, who discards this "special obedience" intensifies the threat of heresy and consequently the role of heretics as anti-models. Moreover, Bernard's anti-heretical polemic includes an interesting passage, which, I believe echoes his monastic thought. In the same Sermon, Bernard is attacking the heretics who are refusing to take an oath, by referring to a passage in Matthew (Matt 5:34-5): "What was given me as a counsel of perfection, "swear not", that is, they observe as minutely as if it were a positive command; but committing perjury, which is forbidden by natural law (which is unchangeable) they dismiss at will as unimportant".[105] In this passage, the abbot of Clairvaux seems to make a division between counsels and commands, that it is beneficial to be followed and rules that should be obeyed under any circumstance, as they have divine origins. The question about the proper obedience in the monastery and especially the limits of submission to superiors occupies a central place in Bernard's thought. In his works as the treatise *On Percept and Dispensation*, the Sermon "Concerning the Seven Steps of Obedience", where he sketches how obedience must be conducted, and his second letter to the monk Adam, where he expressed his condemn for the decision of the monks of the monastery of Morimond to follow their abbot and leave with the crusaders, Bernard constructed length and complicated arguments abbot the differentiation among degrees of obedience. However, when it comes to commands with divine origin, he was absolute: "God commands that we do good deeds; he orders us to abstain from evil deeds. The holy and unchangeable authority of this precept cannot be refuted in any way, because it is authenticated with the seal of the one who says, I am the Lord and I do not change (Mal 3:6)".[106] Thus, in his anti-heretical polemic, Bernard introduced the notion of "special obedience" who is dedicated to God or to natural law and that the degree of obedience can vary.

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[103] *On the Song of Songs III*, 183; Cf. CS. SBO*p* II, 174: "Usquequo occultum tenetur, quod palam Deus fieri iubet?".

[104] *Monastic Sermons*, 216-217. Cf. SBO*p* VI- 1, 246.

[105] *On Song of Songs III*, 181. Cf. SBO*p* II, 173: "Quod ad cautelam consultum est, videlicet non iurare, hoc isti mandate vice tam contentiose observant; et quod immobili iure sancitum est, non periurandum scilicet, hoc tamquam indifferens pro sua voluntate dispensant".

[106] *Monastic Sermons*, 216. Cf. SBO*p* VI- 1, 246:"Bona praecipit Deus ut faciamus, a malis iubet ut abstineamus. Praecepti huius sancta et incommutabilis auctoritas non valet quoquo modo refelli, quia illius est charactere consignata qui dicit: EGO DOMINUS ET NON MUTOR".

The danger that heretics represent against the unity of the Church by their disobedience is one of the most common accusations of the ecclesiastical authorities. The abbot of Clairvaux, who believed at the unity of the Church was one of the conditions for salvation, highlighted this threat in his polemic: "If you obey the Gospel, you will not cause scandal, for the Gospel clearly forbids you to do so (Matt 18: 6-7). But this is what you are doing, by disobeying the precept of the Church".[107] Bernard defended the Church's unity in his letter to the monk Adam. Marko Jerković, in his analysis of this letter, underlined that for Bernard the monks the monastery of Morimond by their decision to leave their monastery without the approval of the Order's authority, caused a great scandal and jeopardized the unity of the Cistercian Order.[108] The abbot of Clairvaux reminded the renegade monks that by their choice offended and wounded charity, the mother of unity and peace.[109] In the same way, the heretics injure the well function of the Church. The superiority of the unity of the Church is illustrated in the Cistercian abbot's polemic, where he appealed to ecclesiastical authorities and urged them to expel the heretics:[110] If the heretics did not show submission to the ecclesiastical authorities and by this way cause problems to the Church, they needed to be expelled as the unity of the Church in the same manner as the unity in the monastic community is crucial.

In the Cistercian abbot's discussion about the submission of the monks to their superior, Bernard is clear that "in disobeying one's abbot one also disobeys God". [111] And in his Sermon about obedience to his monastic audience, he reminded them: "This is common between God and humankind: that whatever obedience is shown to superiors is shown to him…".[112] In his anti-heretical discourse, the abbot of Clairvaux charges the heretics for disobedience to clergy, as they considered them as sinners and thus incapable of fulfilling their ministry. In Bernard's refutation of the heretics, he claimed:

> "The Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses´s seat (Matt 23:2), and those who did not give them the obedience due to the bishops were guilty of disobedience, for the Lord himself gave this command when he said: "Whatever they say, do it" (Matt 23:2). It is clear that although they were Scribes and Pharisees, although they were great sinners, yet because of the seat of Moses, the saying which he uttered applies to them: "He that hears you hears me; he that despises you despises me" (Lk 10:16)"[113]

In his epistle to the letter to the people of Toulouse, Bernard exhorted that they should show obedience only to superiors and the

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[107] *On the Song of Songs III*, 187. Cf. SBO*p* II, 176: "Si oboedias Evangelio, non facies scandalum; prohibit enim plane Evangelium scandalum facere. Facis autem tu, istam non amovendo iuxta constitutum Ecclesiae".
[108] Jerković, "(Dis)obedience", 509-512.
[109] SBO*p* VII, 31-32. Cf. *The Letters*, 26.
[110] SBO*p* II, 176-177. Cf. *On the Song of Songs III*, 187.
[111] *On Precept*, 127. Cf. SBO*p* VII, 273: "et tamen in Deum nihilominus praevaricatio fit, quoties abbatis iussio praeteritur".
[112] *Monastic Sermons*, 217. Cf. . SBO*p* VI- 1, 247: "Communis est etiam ista inter Deum et hominem. Quia quidquid oboedientiae praelatis exhibetur, ei exhibetur qui dicit: QUI VOS AUDIT ME AUDIT".
[113] *On the Song of Songs III*, 203. Cf. SBO*p* II, 186: "SUPER CATHEDRAM MOYSI SEDERUNT SCRIBAE ET PHARISAEI, et qui non oboedierunt eis tamquam episcopis, inoboedientiae rei fuerunt, ipso Domino praecipiente et dicente: QUAE DICUNT FACITE. Patet quamvis Scribae, quamvis Pharisaei, quamvis videlicet maximi peccatores, propter cathedram tam Moysi ad eos quoque nihilominus pertinere quod item dixit: QUI VOS AUDIT ME AUDIT; QUI VOS SPERNIT, ME SPERNIT".

churchmen.[114] The precept of the total submission to the ecclesiastical authorities, who- according to Bernard- represent the divine authority in earth, is similar to the abbot-monk relationship, as the abbot deploys similar argumentation. However, there is a substantial difference between his polemical discourse and his works addressed to his monks. Bernard admits that the monks should disobey their superior when the latter's commands are contrary to God's commands.[115]This question is the subject of his letter to the monk Adam, where he makes similar conclusions.[116] Examining this letter, Jerković has argued that the appeals to personal prudence and conscience in Bernardine work indicate a substantial shift that took place in the 12th century, which highlighted individual responsibility and choices according to personal conscience.[117] In his anti-heretical discourse, obedience is not presented as a matter of personal conscience. On the contrary, the obedience that the Cistercian abbot propagated is an absolute one, without conditions or reservations. This omission might indicate that Bernard believed that the monks were more capable of making such decisions and depend to their conscience, where laity did not have such a capacity. Or there was no space for such nuanced argumentation in polemic works. Nevertheless, Bernard mentioned that the heretics refuse to obey, so their disobedient conduct was a result of deliberate choice.

Bernard's approach to the heretical disobedience illustrates that monastic elements, such as the different degrees of compliance according to the authority that issued a command, as well as the obedience as a touchstone of the unity of community, in similar way as in the monastery, were deployed in his anti-heretical polemic and promoted to the laity by showing heretics as anti-models. However, as with the value of humility, the message for obedience was shaped in relation to its recipient, in his discourse against heresy there were no nuances when it comes to the need to obey the superiors.

Conclusion

Bernard of Clairvaux has been described by modern historiography as a defender of the unity of the Church and the strict societal order, and as a fierce opponent of instability, since he believed that every Christian should remain in the frame of his/her group. His social ideas about the distinct groups were also expressed in his anti-heretical polemic. Faced with the challenge of heresy, Bernard of Clairvaux expressed his deep concern for the unity of the Church, as he considered heretics a threat to the social order and hierarchy. Thus, through his anti-heretical endeavors the gap between churchmen and layperson was becoming wider. The aim of this inquiry was to demonstrate that the Bernardine polemical discourse also has another function, namely, to blur the boundaries between the different social groups by imposing certain monastic values.

Based on the insights of historians as John Sommerfeldt, Martha Newman, Michael Voigts and Christine Caldwell Ames in this study I suggest and alternative reading of the Bernardine anti-heretical sources by juxtaposing them with works that there either addressed to

[114] SBO*p* VIII, 129. Cf. *The Letters*, 390.
[115] SBO*p* VII, 266-269. Cf. *On Precept*, 119-120.
[116] SBO*p* VII, 33-35. Cf. *The Letters*, 28-29.
[117] Jerković, "(Dis)obedience", 513.

a monastic audience or to prelates. Having as a reference point the monastic values of humility and obedience, I explored how these values appear in his polemic and his other works. And indeed, through these writings, Bernard could impose these contemplative values on the world outside the monastery. It is important to note that as for Bernard the social stability was crucial for the unity of the Church, the values of humility and obedience acquired different characteristics when they were propagated to monks, priests and laymen. The argument of this study is that even if these values were shaped to fulfill the needs of different audiences, nevertheless they were in their essence monastic. The image of the proud heretic, which can function as an anti-model, echoes the arrogant monk, who descending the steps of pride, places himself outside his monastic community. Regarding to obedience, the Cistercian abbot promoted the absolute submission not only to God's precept but also to the superiors, as the monks comply with the commands of their abbots. Both in his discussion of humility and obedience, the unity of the Church and the need to expel those who threaten it are being stressed. The comparison of these texts has showed that for Bernard the monastery as an ideal community and the monastic relationship between the monks and the abbot can be transferred to the world outside the monastic walls. Thus, the boundaries between laymen and monks, even if they were not erased, were becoming more permeable through Bernard's anti-heretical writings.

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Abbreviations

SBO*p* II: *Sancti Bernardi Opera II*, ed. Jean Leclercq – Charles H. Talbot – Henri Rochais, Roma: Editiones Cisterciences 1958.

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Constructing 'Orthodoxy', Creating Identity. The Sermons of Master Alan of Lille (d. 1202/03)[1]

Anne Greule

Abstract

This paper suggests a fresh look at the sermons of Alan of Lille, who taught arts and theology in Paris in the second half of the 12th century. It takes two concepts as a starting point: Firstly, Clare Monagle's thesis of the "Scholastic Project", which highlights the socially exclusive effects of scholasticism; secondly, the concept of "blurred boundaries" between 'orthodoxy' and 'heresy' that helps to emphasize the fluid character of 'orthodoxy'. Rather than being a homogenous entity, it is equally as instable as 'heterodoxy', and subject to the interests of its proponents. This is of particular importance for the period considered here, when Paris masters had not yet acquired the status of theological experts that later university masters would have. Against this background, this paper argues that Alan did not only disseminate theological doctrine, but at the same time contributed to his self-fashioning as an orthodox theologian in a time of transition at the Paris schools. It becomes clear how the promotion of 'orthodoxy' is linked to social and personal circumstances.

Keywords: Alan of Lille, 12th-century schools, Paris, sermons, orthodoxy

Introduction

In 2017, a short, but thought-provoking book appeared: Clare Monagle's *The Scholastic Project*.[2] Medieval scholasticism, she argues, should not only be seen as a method that is based on free inquiry and opens up the way to intellectual diversity. By treating scholasticism as a project similar to the Enlightenment, Monagle wants to shift the focus to its less bright aspects. She writes: "It was a project, in as much as the Enlightenment can be conceived as such, one that depended upon a shared idea of reason as a means of coming to know the world, as well as a way of building knowledge in the world."[3] This intellectual approach was intended to ensure orthodoxy. Reason had to constitute 'correct' doctrine, to spread this doctrine, and to fight deviant approaches. Thereby, the scholastic project did not only exclude those persons seen as irrational, such as women, but also constructed clear lines between the orthodox and the heretic.[4] "To do theology was to produce the boundaries around licit and illicit God-talk",[5] Monagle writes. The synthesizing works of Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, the *Sentences* and the *Summa Theologica*, serve as

[1] I thank the anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on this paper's main argument – Their thorough reading and supportive criticism gave me very precise ideas for its revision. I also would like to thank the editors for the immense work they put in this project, which included intensive workshop discussions in an exemplarily supportive atmosphere.

[2] Clare Monagle, *The Scholastic Project,* Past imperfect series (Kalamazoo: Arc Humanities Press, 2017).

[3] Monagle, *The Scholastic Project*, 8.

[4] Monagle, *The Scholastic Project*, 9.

[5] Monagle, *The Scholastic Project*, 43.

her most important examples for this process of definition. The project, however, did not remain in the spheres of mere intellectual speculation. In the person of Innocent III, a Paris-trained theologian and canonist, the scholastic project merged with papal claims of power, as the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 clearly shows. "The persecuting society and the scholastic project, at least at this moment, were moving together",[6] Monagle states, echoing Robert Ian Moore[7].

Monagle's shift of perspective on scholasticism is highly important for questions pertaining to the blurred boundaries of religious dissent.[8] Instead of (re-)telling the success story of continuous rationalisation with the Paris schools of the 12th century as its focal point, as it has long been the case,[9] we are encouraged to conceive of them in terms of hegemony and exclusion. Scholasticism, accordingly, tries to establish a boundary between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, with the Paris schoolmasters as the guardians of the former. At the same time, conceiving of the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy as blurred helps us to adopt a nuanced view on orthodoxy. Rather than being a monolithic, homogenous entity, it is equally instable as heterodoxy and subject to the interests of its proponents. It is, firstly, this perspective that we should adopt, and ask how various agents in the school milieu contributed to a concept they conceived of as orthodoxy.

Secondly, Monagle's approach can be further developed towards a more detailed look at the different stages of the schools' historical situation.[10] It makes a huge difference if we, as in Monagle's examples, focus on a figure like Peter Lombard in the years around 1140 to 1160, schoolmaster at the Paris cathedral school and later bishop, or on Thomas Aquinas, lecturing at the university of Paris from ca 1250 onwards. Interests and perspectives differ according to the institutions and their respective development and standing.

Therefore, I ask how the Paris masters contributed to the construction of orthodoxy in a specific historical situation in the history of the schools. Thereby, utterances which otherwise would not attract attention can become meaningful. As an example, I shift the focus to a thinker who, chronologically, stands between the Lombard

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[6] Monagle, *The Scholastic Project*, 49.

[7] Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, ²2007).

[8] Cf. Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel, "*Introduction. All but Marginal: The Co-Constructions of Otherness in the Middle Ages.*" In *Living on the Edge. Transgression, Exclusion, and Persecution in the Middle Ages*, eds. Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel and Laura Miquel Milian (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 3–19; Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane and Anne Elisabeth Lester, "*Introduction: Religion and Religious Worlds in Between.*" In *Between Orders and Heresy: Rethinking Medieval Religious Movements*, eds. Jennifer K. Deane and Anne E. Lester (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022), 3–22.

[9] For such a view, see, e.g., the otherwise outstanding studies of Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*: *Vol. 1*, eds. Frederick M. Powicke and Alfred B. Emden (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1936); Peter Weimar, ed., *Die Renaissance der Wissenschaften im 12. Jahrhundert,* Zürcher Hochschulforum 2 (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1981); Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Peter Dinzelbacher, *Structures and Origins of the Twelfth-Century "Renaissance"*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 63 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2017).

[10] For the history of the 12th-century schools cf. Cédric Giraud, ed., *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools,* Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 88 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020). For Paris, see Nathalie Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*: *Les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200–v. 1245),* Études d'histoire médiévale 14 (Paris: Champion, 2012); Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*: *The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, Calif.: Univ. Press, 1985).

and Aquinas: Alan of Lille. The master Alan of Lille was active during that time when the Paris schools gradually transformed into the University of Paris. Their masters had not yet acquired the status of experts in theological matters.[11] Thus, how did Alan contribute to the "Scholastic Project" as regards the construction of orthodoxy? How did his insecure status influence his thinking, or, to be more precise, the textual representation of his thinking?[12] To tackle these questions, I want to concentrate on a different type of text: sermons to students and masters. The masters developed their thoughts not only in (later to become) authoritative *summae*, but also by disputing and preaching.[13] Orthodoxy was thus constructed by various means.[14]

In the following, I describe the development of the Paris schools in the 12th century to make it clearer that the masters' expert status was far from safe. I will continue with a quick overview of Alan's biography and his homiletic works before turning to the analysis of his sermons. I will try to interpret my findings against Monagle's thesis of the "Scholastic Project". The masters of Paris in Alan's time had not yet acquired the status of experts of theology, they still had to defend their status as teachers and creators of religious doctrine. The sermons of Alan of Lille, I argue, testify to the masters' efforts to present themselves as representants of orthodoxy which, at the same time, helped creating cohesion among the scholars and students.

The Schools of Paris in the Twelfth Century

In Alan's time, the landscape of Christian schools in Paris included the various monastic and collegiate schools, for example at St. Denis or St. Victor, as well as the cathedral school of Notre-Dame.[15] In addition, there was a growing number of *scholae*, each run by individual masters. The "croissance anarchique"[16] of these schools, as Jacques Verger calls it, cannot be substantiated numerically, but historiographical sources in particular give the impression of a steady

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[11] See Sita Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*: *Autorität, Wissenskonzepte und Netzwerke von Gelehrten,* Norm und Struktur 39 (Köln: Böhlau, 2011). For the research concept of 'experts' in the Middle ages c.f. Frank Rexroth and Teresa Schröder-Stapper, eds., *Experten, Wissen, Symbole*: *Performanz und Medialität vormoderner Wissenskulturen,* Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft 71 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2018).

[12] Only recently, scholars have paid more attention to the socio-cultural circumstances of the Paris schools, see Frank Rexroth, *Fröhliche Scholastik*: *Die Wissenschaftsrevolution des Mittelalters* (München: C.H.Beck, 2018). The book was translated into English: Frank Rexroth, *Knowledge True and Useful: A Cultural History of Early Scholasticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2023).

[13] For the teaching practices in the 12th century schools, see e.g. Francesco Siri, "*Lectio, disputatio, reportatio*: Note su alcune pratiche didattiche nel XII secolo e sulla loro trasmissione," In *Medioevo e filosofia: Per Alfonso Maierù*, eds. Massimiliano Lenzi, Cesare A. Musatti and Luisa Valente, I libri di Viella 150 (Rom: Viella, 2013) 109–28; Olga Weijers, *A Scholar's Paradise*: *Teaching and Debating in Medieval Paris,* Studies on the Faculty of Arts 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

[14] We must keep in mind that we never have access to the sermon as it was delivered; the oral event is lost forever. For this paper, however, the question of the actual delivery is of less importance. If a specific sermon had been disseminated only in written form, it still would have contributed to the formation of belief. See the contributions in Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages,* A New History of the Sermon 3 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002).

[15] Cf. e.g. Jacques Verger, "Des écoles à l'université: La mutation institutionnelle," In *La France de Philippe Auguste*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 602 (Paris, 1982), 817-46.

[16] Jacques Verger, "A propos de la naissance de l'université de Paris: Contexte social, enjeu politique, portée intellectuelle," In *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried, Vorträge und Forschungen 30 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), 81.

growth in students and schools. Around 1200, students probably had a choice between a total of about thirty to forty theology masters and at least fifty, if not twice as many, *artes* masters.[17] From this period onwards, there is also increasing evidence of collaborative action by the masters, or at least by some of them. This included the drafting of statutes and, as early as 1221, the use of a common seal.[18] The growth seems to have created a need for regulation, which eventually led to the creation of the University of Paris.[19]

The following should be given more consideration in research: It made a difference whether one was a master at the cathedral school of Notre-Dame, in the abbey of St. Victor, or one of the 'free' masters who settled mainly on the left bank of the Seine. Notre-Dame's school was headed by the chancellor, who transferred the teaching obligations to a master. Canons of the cathedral equally taught considerable numbers of students, which continuously prompted the bishops to prohibit lending the cloister's houses to external students.[20] The abbey of St. Victor was, in the first half of the 12th century, a distinguished place of learning for both its members and a small number of individual students who, as Peter Lombard did, used their networks to get access to the abbey's teaching.[21] In the second half of the century, the abbey and its school partly lost their previous importance, starting with the financial mismanagement of the abbot, Ernis (1162–1172),[22] and continuing with the attacks against schoolmen by the prior Walter (1173–ca 1180).[23] Compared to the 'free' schools, both the cathedral

[17] See John W. Baldwin, "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective," In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 138–72, and Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, pp. 71, 91, 132–33.

[18] Cf. Jacques Verger, "Que sait-on des institutions universitaires parisiennes avant 1245?," In *Les débuts de l'enseignement universitaire à Paris (1200–1245 environ)*, eds. Jacques Verger and Olga Weijers, Studia artistarum 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 27-47; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, 354–60.

[19] Cf. Frank Rexroth, "Reformen gegen den Eigensinn: Die Pariser Statuten 1215 und der Konservatismus der frühen Universitätsgeschichte," In *Universität - Reform: Ein Spannungsverhältnis von langer Dauer (12.–21. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Stefan Hynek et al., Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte 14 (Basel: Schwabe Verlag Basel, 2018), 23-50. See also Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*: *Theologians and the University, c. 1100–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), 86–101, who interprets the regulations as a response to monastic criticism and equally highlights the schools' and the early university's fragile status.

[20] See Thierry Kouamé, "L'école cathédrale," In *Notre-Dame de Paris. Une cathédrale dans la ville. Des origines à nos jours*, eds. Boris Bove and Claude Gauvard (Paris: Belin, 2022), 163–87, especially the helpful chart on pp. 186–87, which shows the masters and their different offices; Astrik Ladislas Gabriel, "The Cathedral Schools of Notre-Dame and the Beginning of the University of Paris," In *Garlandia. Studies in the History of the Mediaeval University* (Notre Dame, Ind.: The Mediaeval Inst., Univ. of Notre Dame; Frankfurt a.M.: Knecht, 1969), 39–64.

[21] Cf. Cédric Giraud, "L'école de Saint-Victor dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle, entre école monastique et école cathédrale," In *L'école de Saint-Victor de Paris. Influence et rayonnement*, ed. Dominique Poirel, Bibliotheca victorina 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 101–19; Matthew Doyle, *Peter Lombard and his Students*, Studies and Texts 201 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2016), pp. 26–33.

[22] Cf. Marshall E. Crossnoe, "The Regular Canons of Saint-Victor in the World of Louis VII," In *Louis VII and His World*, ed. Michael L. Bardot and Laurence W. Marvin, Later Medieval Europe 18 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 126–45, 142–43; Rolf Große "Entre cour et cloître: Saint-Victor et les Capétiens au XII^e siècle," In *L'École de Saint-Victor de Paris. Influence et rayonnement*, ed. Dominique Poirel, Bibliotheca victorina 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 79–100, 95–99.

[23] See below and cf. Helmut G. Walther, "St. Victor und die Schulen von Paris vor der Entstehung der Universität," In *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Kintzinger, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte. Beihefte 42 (Köln: Böhlau, 1996), 53–74, 69–72; Palémon Glorieux, "Le

school and the teaching at St. Victor offered more stability and regularity to (mostly internal) students and masters.

These 'free' schools, finally, run by independent masters, settled around the cathedral, on the Petit-Pont, and on the left bank of the river Seine.[24] The students had the possibility to regularly change their masters, which limited the control over them. The 13th century statutes prescribing that students must be assigned to one master who holds judgement over them can be interpreted as an effort to gain control over them.[25] The masters of the free schools were not protected by a local community, were not part of the parish community, and their works had poorer chances of being transmitted due to the lack of corresponding institutions. They were also in greater competition for paying students, as they often lacked a prebend as a source of income.[26]

Although the masters of the second half of the 12th century were no longer a new phenomenon in Paris, they still were in a precarious situation. Even the cathedral master Peter of Poitiers could, at the very beginning of his career, not rely on an already acquired expert status,[27] but felt the need to receive the approvement of the powerful archbishop of Sens (1168/69–1176), William of Champagne, for his *Sentences*[28] – a gesture that could at the same time hint to Peter's further career ambitions. In 1179/80, Peter's theological work fell victim to the attacks of Walter of St. Victor, who saw in Peter, together with Abaelard, Gilbert of Poitiers and Peter Lombard, a threat to orthodox theology.[29] Some passages were also directed against Godfrey of St. Victor.[30] The influence of the work is not clear, but the fact that the prior of St. Victor published such a polemical work should be taken serious as an attack against Peter's theological method. It equally reflects the insecure status of the Lombard's *Sentences*, which only gradually acquired the status of the standard theological reference work.[31]

Alan of Lille, for his part, felt the need to ask high-ranking church authorities for the correction of his writings, and to put himself under

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'Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae' de Gauthier de Saint-Victor," In *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 19, 1952, 187–335.

[24] Cf. Ferruolo, *Origins*, pp. 11–25.

[25] See Rexroth, "Reformen", 46; Rexroth, *Fröhliche Scholastik*, p. 324. Ferruolo, *Origins*, pp. 17–24.

[26] See Jacques Verger, "De l'école d'Abélard aux premières universités," In *Pierre Abélard: Colloque international de Nantes*, eds. Jean Jolivet and Henri Habrias, Collection "Histoire" (Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 2003), 17-28; Rexroth, "Reformen," 42–46. In the case of the theology masters, it is at least possible that they had a prebend in their home region, see Baldwin, "Masters at Paris", 158–60.

[27] On Peter, see John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*: *The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle, Vol. 1* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), p. 44; Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université*, p. 54-55.

[28] William was the brother-in-law of king Louis VII, through the latter's marriage to Adela of Champagne, cf. John D. Hosler, "The War Councils and Military Advisers of Louis VII of France," In *Louis VII and His World*, ed. Michael L. Bardot and Laurence W. Marvin, Later Medieval Europe 18 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 11–28, 22. For the dedication of the "Sentences" to William, see Petrus Pictaviensis, *Sententiae*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina 211 (Paris, 1855), col. 790.

[29] Glorieux, "Le 'Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae'".

[30] Godfrey of St. Victor, *Le Microcosme (L'œuvre de Godefroid de Saint-Victor, vol. 1)*, ed. Françoise Gasparri, Sous la Règle de Saint Augustin, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 23–25.

[31] Cf. on this topic Clare Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse. Peter Lombard's 'Sentences' and the Development of Theology*, Europa sacra 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

their patronage.[32] He dedicated his distinction collection to Ermengaud, abbot of St. Giles (1179–1203) in the diocese of Nîmes.[33] In the dedicatory lines, he expresses the hope that Ermengaud's reputation will protect the work, and that his learning will ensure its conformity with orthodox doctrine.[34] Alan's *Liber Poenitentialis* contains a dedication to the archbishop of Bourges (1983–1199/1200), Henry of Sully, in which Alan assures Henry of the work's consonance with the Scriptures, and – as he does in the distinction collection – humbly speaks of himself as "dictus magister".[35] Henry was not only the cousin of the mentioned William of Champagne, but also of Adele of Champagne, queen and mother of Philip August.[36] As in the case of Peter of Poitiers, the dedications serve as a means of protection against potential accusations of theological inadequacy. Moreover, they can be read as attempts to find new career options with the help of powerful patrons, in a time when Alan was about to (or already had) quit his teaching in Paris and was heading to the south.

Alan of Lille as a 12th-century master

Alan of Lille is usually seen as a representative of the older schooling system of the Cathedral schools, an old man decrying the changes that took place in the Paris schools.[37] However, there are strong reasons to assume that he was born later, probably around 1140. He was a master in his thirties, active in the schools in a period

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[32] This is how I interpret Alan's dedications of works to ecclesiastical authorities, see Anne Greule, "Prediger der Transformation: Alain von Lille und die Pariser Schulen in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts" (Dissertation: Jena, 2022), forthcoming (Pariser Historische Studien). For Alan's dedications (partly), see Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*: *Textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres,* Études de philosophie médiévale 52 (Paris: Vrin, 1965), 13–17. Concerning the topical request for correction, see Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, 673–76.

[33] On Ermengaud, see Ulrich Winzer, *S. Gilles. Studien zum Rechtsstatus und Beziehungsnetz einer Abtei im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 59 (München: Fink, 1988), pp. 248–52.

[34] Alanus ab Insulis, Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina 211 (Paris, 1855), coll. 685–86: *Reverendissimo Patri et domino Hermengaldo, Dei gratia Sancti Aegidii abbati, Alanus dictus magister* […]. *Tali igitur sideri mei operis sidus devoveo, divinis stellarum sententiis theologicarum auctoritatum praeditum munimentis; et sicut tuo titulatur sub nomine, ita tuo insigniatur munimine, quatenus tui libra judicii mei libri libret sententias, ut si aliquid minus fuerit igne rationis decoctum, sepeliatur silentio; quod vero videbitur in fabrica prudentiae expolitum, celebretur in publico. Non enim volo ut opus meum prius in aures publicas exeat divulgatum quam a statera tuae examinationis exierit trutinatum, ut vel valeat tuae prudentiae judicio comprobatum, vel vileat tuae auctoritatis sententia reprobatum.* – "To the most reverend father and lord Ermengaud, by the grace of God abbot of Saint Giles, Alanus, called 'master' […]. Therefore, I dedicate to such a star the star of my work, fortified with the divine sentences of the stars of the theological authorities; and as it is named under your name, so may it be under your protection, so that the balance of your judgment weighs the sentences of my book, so that if anything has not been boiled enough by the fire of reason, it is buried in silence; what seems to be polished in the workshop of prudence, is celebrated in public. For I do not wish my work to go out divulged to the public ears before it has come out weighed from the balance of your examination, that it may either be approved according to the judgment of your prudence, or rejected according to the sentence of your authority."

[35] Alanus ab Insulis, *Liber Poenitentialis*: *Vol. 2: La tradition longue, texte inédit*, ed. Jean Longère, Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia 18 (Louvain - Lille: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1965), prologus, pp. 17–18: *Henrico Dei gratia Bituricensi patriarchae, Aquitanorum primati, Alanus dictus Magister opus suum.* […] *Hoc autem opusculum ita Sacrae Scripturae consonum esse videtur, ut non nostrum inventum sed furtum esse credatur.*

[36] See John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1986), pp. 50, 67, 437.

[37] Paradigmatically Charles S. Jaeger, "Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century "Renaissance"," In *Speculum* 78, no. 4 (2003), 1151-83.

of transformation. Probably from 1160 to around 1185, he lectured, held disputations, and preached in Paris as an independent master of the liberal arts and of theology.[38] Furthermore, he composed manuals for preaching and confession as well as commentaries on the *Our Father* and the *Credo*.[39] These works were intended to provide preachers and confessors with orthodox material and to enhance the quality of pastoral care. Activities of this kind have long been associated with the so-called "circle of Peter the Chanter", investigated by John Baldwin. For him, Alan belonged to the scholars in the tradition of Gilbert of Poitiers, opposed to the Chanter's orientation, and allegedly marked by their purely intellectual theological interests.[40] However, Alan's manuals and commentaries show that this characterisation is one-sided, and this further adds to recent criticism of Baldwin's typology.[41] Thus, Alan must not only be seen as a younger representant of the Paris schools of the 12th century, but also as an active intellectual, promoting orthodoxy and pastoral care.

Around 1185, Alan went to Southern France where he seems to have enjoyed high esteem in the entourage of William VIII of Montpellier. It is likely that he wrote his apologetic treatise against Valdensians, 'heretics', Muslims, and Jews at that time.[42] Shortly before his death in 1202/03, he went to the Cistercian monastery of Cîteaux, where he was buried. This is why some researchers imagine Alan as part of Cistercian preaching campaigns, directly confronting the Southern Cathars.[43]

From my studies in Alan's sermons, my view is a different one. Based on the general difficulty of the content and the rhetorical elements as well as the manuscript rubrics, direct addresses like "vos

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[38] For this thesis and the following, see Greule, "Prediger der Transformation". The earlier years of birth, ranging from 1115 to 1128, are pure conjectures or stem from Alan's confusion with Alan of Auxerre. As his year of death in 1202 or 1203 is rather safely reported by Alberic of Troisfontaines, and Alan's period of work most likely started in the 1170s, it seems more reasonable to assume a later year of birth. For the best biography so far see d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 11–29. In his introduction to Alan's penitential manual, Jean Longère already suggested to place Alan's year of birth after 1130, see Alanus ab Insulis, *Liber Poenitentialis*: *Vol. 1: Introduction doctrinale et littéraire*, ed. Jean Longère, Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia 17 (Louvain, Lille: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1965), 21.

[39] D'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 79–85, 109–19, 152–54.

[40] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, pp. 43–46. In this sense also Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole*: *La prédication à Paris au* XIII^e^ *siècle. Vol. 1,* Collection des études Augustiniennes. Moyen âge et temps modernes 31 (Paris: Inst. d'Études Augustiennes, 1998), 30–45, esp. 43. Baldwin's dichotomy of "theoretical" and "practical" theologians, which goes back to Martin Grabmann, is still influential to the interpretations of Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université* concerning the development of the University of Paris.

[41] Cf. Alexander Andrée, "*Sacra Pagina*: Theology and the Bible from the School of Laon to the School of Paris," In *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, ed. Cédric Giraud, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 88 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020), 272-314; Mark J. Clark, "Peter Lombard, Stephen Langton, and the School of Paris: The Making of the Twelfth-Century Scholastic Biblical Tradition," In *Traditio* 72 (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 2017), 171–274.

[42] Cf. Joseph H. Pearson, "The Anti-Jewish Polemic of Alan of Lille," In *Alain de Lille, le Docteur Universel: Philosophie, théologie et littérature au* XII^e^ *siècle*, eds. Jean-Luc Solère, Anca Vasiliu and Alain Galonnier, Rencontres de philosophie médiévale 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 83-106.

[43] John M. Trout, "Alan the Missionary," In *Cîteaux* 26, no. 3 (1975), 146-54; Guy Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille*: *Poète du* XII^e^ *siècle* (Montreal, Paris: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1951). Kienzle highlights more Alan's intellectual contributions to manuals of pastoral care and to the apologetic genre, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229*: *Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 172–73.

claustrales" or references to specific living conditions, I conclude that his main audience students and masters, clerics, and cloistered men.[44] There is no indication that Alan preached directly to 'heretics' or persons with a non-academic or non-clerical background. It is possible that they formed part of the audience, but Alan's main target group were his fellow scholars and religious groups.[45] This is why I also consider his apologetic treatise against the heretics as a scholastic product.[46] In contrast to Hilbert Chiu, I do not assume that Alan builds 'the heretic' as a mere straw man against whom he can direct his arguments about orthodoxy.[47] I rather think that he had encountered some ideas considered heretical, be it in Paris or in the French South, which he wanted to refute. But his target group as listeners or readers were students of theology and clerics which he provided with doctrine and arguments, as he did in his sermons.[48]

Emmanuel Bain's study on Alan's treatise makes this even clearer: He convincingly argues that Alan and William VIII of Montpellier joined forces to their respective advantage: Alan, as a scholar in a precarious situation, was in need of a patron. The lord of Montpellier, who is well known for his support of the town's medical schools, welcomed the theologian who could be useful for his own cause. In order to obtain the legitimization of his son William from pope Innocent III, he was eager to represent himself as the most prominent fighter for orthodoxy. Thus, he did not only ask for a legate for this mission, but also included a Paris-trained theologian in his entourage.[49] Bain further highlights the fact that Alan's work was not meant to refute a particular heresy. Although it contains a book specifically against the Valdensians, its overall impetus is to provide a general defence of Catholic beliefs against the spectre of a universal heresy with the means of an intellectual: providing rational arguments and authorities against alleged claims of deviant groups. Self-confidently, he offers an orthodox *summa* to be used against all kinds of heretical arguments.[50]

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[44] Analyzed in Greule, "Prediger der Transformation". For Alan's preaching and a first listing of his sermons see also d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 109–48. Editions of sermons are provided ibid. 237–287. Among the publications of Jean Longère, cf. e.g. Jean Longère, "Alain de Lille, prédicateur," In *Les Sermons au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Marie T. Jones-Davies, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Société Internationale de Recherches Interdisciplinaires sur la Renaissance, SIRIR 24 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999), 125-42.

[45] For the efforts of the Parisian masters to expand and enhance preaching see Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres, Vol. 1*; Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants, Vol. 1*; Jessalynn L. Bird, "The Construction of Orthodoxy and the (De)Construction of Heretical Attacks on the Eucharist in Pastoralia from Peter the Chanter's Circle in Paris," In *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, eds. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, York Studies in Medieval Theology 4 (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2003), 45-61.

[46] Alanus ab Insulis, *De Fide Catholica Contra Haereticos*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina 210 (Paris, 1855). Häring lists 35 manuscripts with the treatise, see Nikolaus M. Häring, "Alan of Lille's De Fide Catholica or Contra Haereticos," In *Analecta Cisterciensia* 32, 1976, 216-37.

[47] Hilbert Chiu, "Alan of Lille's Academic Concept of the Manichee," *Journal of Religious History* 35, no. 4 (2011), 492-506.

[48] Peter Biller concludes from the anti-heretical tracts by Alan and Alexander Neckam that there could have been Cathars in the Paris region. See Peter Biller, "Northern Cathars and Higher Learning," In *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life. Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff*, ed. Peter Biller and Richard B. Dobson, Studies in Church History. Subsidia 11 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 25-53.

[49] Emmanuel Bain, "Les hérétiques du prince: Alain de Lille et les hérétiques méridionaux," In *Le »Catharisme« en questions*, ed. Jean-Louis Biget, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 55 (Fanjeaux, 2020), 180–82.

[50] Bain, "Les hérétiques du prince," 174–88. Cf. also Alanus ab Insulis, *De Fide Catholica Contra Haereticos*, prologus, col. 307–8.

Preaching to the choir: Alan of Lille's 'orthodox' sermons

Alan's preaching served the cause of magisterial self-fashioning as promoters of 'orthodoxy' as well. Drawing on Jessalynn Bird, who stressed the role of Parisian masters in the construction of orthodoxy via preaching,[51] I will distinguish two methods of communicating orthodox belief: On the level of religious content, the masters tried to teach essential theological doctrines to wider audiences, thereby adopting different techniques of communication. Furthermore, they promoted self-inquiry and penance as a means of religious control. I will show that we can find both of these elements in Alan's sermons, although "wider audiences" in his case means: fellow schoolmen, as potential future prelates.

I chose a collection of Marian and Lenten sermons as examples. Marian sermons, on the one hand, are particularly interesting, because they show us how the Paris masters dealt with new dogmatic theories on the mother of God. Lenten sermons, on the other hand, are intended to prepare the audience for penance and thus are more likely to contain statements on self-inquiry. Their specific exhortations will receive special attention here.

If we consider the first element of communicating orthodox belief – providing instruction –, we could ask why it should be necessary to preach Marian doctrine to fellow schoolmen. Had not the Councils of Constantinople in 381 and 553 already clearly defined that Mary was *semper virgo*, always virgin, before and after giving birth? However, in Alan's time, this was challenged by groups which Alan usually calls "some heretics" in his apologetic treatise.[52] Here, he also addresses the Jewish opinion against the Christian virginity dogma.[53]. Thus, the virginity dogma was contested by groups clearly marked as "others".

Furthermore, new questions about Mary arose in the 12th century. In the 1140s, Bernard of Clairvaux argued against Mary's Immaculate Conception – an idea saying that she had been conceived in her mother Anne without the original sin. Before, canons in Lyon had introduced a feast commemorating the Immaculate Conception. The final papal decision in favour of this dogma came only in 1854. The second question that received new attention in the 12th century was about Mary's assumption – had she been assumed in body and soul or her soul only? Here, "orthodox" answers had to be established. It was in

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[51] Bird, "Construction of Orthodoxy"; Jessalynn L. Bird, "The Wheat and the Tares: Peter the Chanter's Circle and the Fama-Based Inquest Against Heresy and Criminal Sins, C. 1198–c. 1235," In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Monumenta iuris canonici C/ 13 (Città del Vaticano : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 763-856.

[52] Alanus ab Insulis, *De fide catholica*, col. 322: *Dicunt etiam quidam haeretici, nec vere ipsum natum de Virgine, nec conceptum*. See also Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 193–94, (with note 89 on Alan) for further 'heretical' opinions on Mary.

[53] Alanus ab Insulis, *De fide catholica*, cap. XVI (*Quibus auctoritatibus muniti dicunt Christum non esse conceptum de Virgine*), col. 415: *Conantur etiam praedicti asserere Christum non esse conceptum de Virgine. Ait enim auctoritas: Rorate, coeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum, aperiatur terra, et germinet Salvatorem (Isai. XLV). Quid per terram significatur, nisi Maria mater Christi? Quae est hujus terrae apertio, nisi Mariae defloratio? In Ezechiele etiam legitur, quod clausa porta aperietur principi (Ezech. XLIV). Quid per principem intelligitur, nisi Christus, filius Joseph? Et de ipso Christo, mater ejus ait: Ego et pater tuus dolentes quaerebamus te (Luc. II). Praeterea, quomodo potest aliqua concipere vel parere, nisi viro cognita? Ubi autem Christiani dicunt: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium (Isai. VII), textus Hebraeus non habet virgo, sed potius abscondita, vel occulta*.

1950 that Pope Pius XII declared Mary's bodily assumption as dogmatic.[54]

The theologian and sermon specialist Jean Longère observed that the Paris masters of the 12th century devoted most of their attention to Mary's conception and virginity. They stressed the latter fact in their Marian sermons and discussed several theories about her conception. Most agreed that she had been conceived with the original sin, but was purified either once or twice.[55] Older theological research wanted to make Alan of Lille an early partisan of her immaculate conception and bodily assumption.[56] This view cannot be upheld. In his Marian commentary on the Song of Songs, probably deriving from his lectures on the biblical book, Alan clearly states that Mary was purified in the moment of Christ's conception.[57] Concerning Mary's assumption, Alan is in line with Pseudo-Hieronymus, the authority in this question, according to which nothing can be said in this matter safely.[58]

In his sermons, Alan comments on Marian doctrine on various occasions. For the feast of Annunciation, he combines statements on Mary's conception and her virginity. By comparing the *virgo* to *virga*, a popular word game, he states: "Just as the rod is used to correct excesses, so in the Virgin the sin is deleted."[59] The following shows that this sentence is a statement against the Immaculate Conception: If

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[54] From a critical point of view towards teleological and ahistorical accounts of the history of Mariology: Elisabeth Gössmann, "Reflexionen zur mariologischen Dogmengeschichte," In *Maria – Abbild oder Vorbild? Zur Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Marienverehrung*, eds. Hedwig Röckelein, Claudia Opitz and Dieter R. Bauer (Tübingen: Ed. Diskord, 1990), 19-36. From a traditional point of view: Walter Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung* (München, Basel: Reinhardt, 1963), 173–77; Georg Söll, "Maria in der Geschichte von Theologie und Frömmigkeit," In *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, eds. Wolfgang Beinert and Heinrich Petri (Regensburg: Pustet, 1984), 96–114.

[55] Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au XII^e siècle: Étude historique et doctrinale. Vol. 1: Texte* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1975), 222–28. See also Marielle Lamy, "La doctrine mariale des maîtres parisiens au tournant des XII^e et XIII^e siècles," in *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1163–2013: Actes du colloque scientifique tenu au Collège des Bernardins, à Paris, du 12 au 15 décembre 2012*, ed. Cédric Giraud and Véronique Julerot (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 97-112.

[56] Palémon Glorieux, "Alain de Lille, docteur de l'assomption," In *Mélanges de science religieuse* 8 (1951), 5-18.

[57] Alanus ab Insulis, *Elucidatio in Cantica Canticorum*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina 210 (Paris, 1855), col. 61: *Ergo, dum esset rex Christus, videlicet me* [i.e. Mariam] *et alios regens, in accubito suo, id est in me, in qua erat non solum in mente per gratiam, verum etiam in ventre per humanam naturam, nardus mea dedit odorem suum, id est caro mea fragilis* […], *adventu Spiritus sancti mundata, fomite peccati exstincto, in ea dedit odorem suum.*

[58] Alanus ab Insulis, *Elucidatio in Cantica Canticorum*, col. 73–74: *Non enim statim post ascensionem Christi, assumpta est gloriosa Virgo*; [...]. *Sed si Mater Virgo resurrexerit et in carne in coelum ascenderit, vel quando resurrexerit vel ascenderit, incertum est. Ideo monet Christus filias Jerusalem, id est Ecclesias, quod de resurrectione gloriosae Virginis nunquam definiant, vel de ejusdem resurrectionis tempore, quod a patriarchis, prophetis et apostolis distinctum non est* […]. *O filiae Jerusalem, id est Ecclesiae, adjuro vos per capreas cervosque camporum, id est in hoc imitantes antiquos modernosque doctores, ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam meam, id est non firmiter asseratis tanquam ex auctoritatibus certum Virginem a mortis somno suscitatam vel excitatam; donec ipsa velit. Quasi dicat: Hoc reservatum est voluntati Virginis, quae divinae voluntati est consona, ut sciri velit se esse suscitatam*. About Pseudo-Hieronymus/Paschasius Radbertus, see Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung*, 150–53; Gössmann, "Reflexionen," 30–32.

[59] Edited in Jean Longère, "Un sermon d'Alain de Lille († 1203) pour la fête de l'annonciation: Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, ciuitas Dei (Ps. 86, 3)," In *Fons lucis: Miscellanea di studi in onore di Ermanno M. Toniolo*, ed. Rosella Barbieri, Ignazio M. Calabuig and Ornella di Angelo, Scripta pontificiae facultatis theologicae Marianum 58 (Rom: Marianum, 2004), § 6, 405: *Sicut uirga excessus corriguntur, sic in Virgine peccatum deletur.*

Mary had been conceived without sin, it would not have been necessary that Christ ordered the angels to guard her from temptation. When Christ entered the "castle" Mary, he fought against sin, but he entered this castle through a golden door, since Mary was a virgin.[60]

A sermon on Mary's assumption starts with affirming her virginity: Christ had three weddings, the first of which was in the Virgin's uterus. Here, the bedroom was the secret chamber of the virgin hall. Mary was always virgin and an "immaculate" mother, meaning here that her motherhood was not caused by intercourse.[61] In all of his four sermons on Assumption, Alan is careful to avoid the impression that he spoke in favour of the bodily assumption. He speaks of her ascent in general terms, as in the comparison of Mary and the elevated plane tree of the Book of Sirach (Sir 24:19).[62]

As we can see, these statements are far from special. Why then did Alan include them? In general, I think, Alan regarded his hearers as potential spreaders of orthodoxy which he wanted to equip with suitable sermon texts and ideas.[63] Furthermore, Alan could provide future preachers with the right images and metaphors for complicated theological issues.[64] The greatest success in this sense was obtained by his preaching manual, the *Ars Praedicandi*, which is extant in over 140 manuscripts.[65] Other sermons were quoted by the chronicler Emo van Wittewierum,[66] by Stephen Langton,[67] or, extensively, by the Carthusian Hugues of Miramar.[68]

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[60] Longère, "Un sermon d'Alain de Lille", § 7, 405–06: *Hec* [Maria] *est castrum, immo castellum*, […]. *Humana enim natura ante Christi Incarnationem angelice nature fuit contraria. In hoc castello erant asina et pullus ligati, id est sensualitas et sensualitatis motus primitiui, qui ex se non erant bono obnoxii, sed per angelorum custodiam ad bonum sunt soluti. Et postquam Christus per Incarnationem aduenit, asinam et pullum insedit, quia tam sensualitas quam primitiui eius motus ei obediuit. Christus hoc intrauit castellum, pugnaret contra diabolum, sed intrauit per auream portam, ianuis clausis, quia neque in ingressu neque in egressu fractum est in ea sigillum uirginitatis*.

[61] For this sermon on Ct 3,6 and its manuscript tradition, see d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 136. In my thesis, I discuss its authenticity and provide a critical edition. The following quote is from this edition, which closely follows London, BL, Add. 19767, fol. 90r–95r, here fol. 90r: *Miserator et misericors Dominus, longanimis et multum misericors pater familias numquam ociosus ad nostri reparationem tres nuptias filio suo celebrauit: Primas in utero Uirginis. Secundas in ecclesie gremio. Tercias in celesti solio* […]. *Primarum nuptiarum thalamus fuit secretarium aule uirginee* […]. *In primis nuptiis sancta Dei genitrix fuit uirgo perpetua et mater inmaculata.*

[62] In my thesis, I argue in favour of the authenticity of the sermon on Sir 24,19 *Quasi oliva speciosa in campis*, as it can be found in Paris, BNF, lat. 3818, fol. 41v*: Unde legitur: Aque sapientie et intellectus potauit eum. Hec uero platanus, id est uirgo sanctissima, exaltata fuit iuxta hanc aquam, id est diuinam sapientiam, quia preter Dei filium humanatum, qui est diuina sapientia, uirgo excellentior est omni creatura et haec habet ab ipsa sapientia et sic exaltata est iuxta aquam in plateis.* […] *In hiis plateis predictis modis platanus exaltatur, exaltata usque ad celos immo supra paradysi cedros. Hec que fuit uirgula deserti eleuatur supra cedros paradysi. De qua uirgula legitur in cantico amoris: Que est ista que ascendit per desertum sicut uirgula fumi.*

[63] See also Bird, "Construction of Orthodoxy."

[64] Cf. Bird, "Construction of Orthodoxy," 58.

[65] Francesco Siri provides a list of 128 manuscripts in Francesco Siri, "Et natura mediocritatis est amica: Empreintes philosophiques dans la prédication d'Alain de Lille," In *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 97 (Paris: Vrin, 2013): 335–42. In my thesis, I added 17 more to that number.

[66] See d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 18.

[67] See Magdalena Bieniak, "Stefano Langton sulla volontà sensitiva in Cristo," In *Przegląd Tomistyczny/ The Thomistic Revue* 22 (Warsaw: Thomistic Institute, 2016), 55-72.

[68] As I found out, Hugues, in his *De hominis miseria, mundi et inferni contemptu*, makes heavy use of the sermon edited by Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Un sermon d'Alain de Lille sur la misère de l'homme," In *Pensée médiévale en occident: Théologie, magie et autres textes des* XII^{e}–XIII^{e} *siècles*, ed. Charles Burnett, Variorum Collected Studies Series 511 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), 515–35.

But there is one more dimension of his religious teaching: one which is connected to the still insecure situation of the Paris masters as theologians. Bearing in mind the precarious situation of independent masters in a time when the schools became more and more numerous, it is likely that his explanations served to strengthen the identity of the masters as representatives of orthodoxy.[69] By repeating the 'correct' or the least suspicious doctrines among peers, the group members could practice their self-fashioning as orthodox teachers.

This reading is supported by the fact that Alan advocated the masters' expert role in theology on several occasions. In his preaching manual, the *Ars Praedicandi*, he postulated an intellectual ascent, involving the study and teaching of theology, as necessary for preaching.[70] In his sermons, he distinguished the respective fields of monks and scholars, as the masters Peter Comestor and Hilduin at Notre Dame did before him:[71] The monks' task is to pray for humankind.[72] The masters of the schools are responsible for doing theology.[73] This way, Alan contributed to the social cohesion of the otherwise fluid groups of masters and students.

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[69] For the time around 1200, Nathalie Gorochov finds an increasing fear of heresy among the Paris masters and even advances the thesis that this fear might have contributed to the formation of the university, see Gorochov, *Naissance de l'université,* 160: "N'est-ce pas la lutte anti-hérétique qui incite alors les théologiens parisiens, à se donner les moyens de contrôler étroitement l'enseignement d'éventuels maîtres dissidents au sein des écoles de la capitale capétienne? Le présent chapitre propose un retour sur ce contexte religieux qui semble avoir pesé d'un grand poids dans la genèse de l'université, une institution capable de fédérer et de contrôler les maîtres."

[70] Alanus ab Insulis, *Ars Praedicandi*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina 210 (Paris, 1855), col. 111: *Vidit scalam Jacob a terra usque ad coelum attingentem, per quam ascendebant et descendebant angeli (Gen. XXVIII). Scala est profectus viri catholici, qui congeritur ab initio fidei, usque ad consummationem viri perfecti. In hac scala primus gradus est, confessio; secundus, oratio; tertius, gratiarum actio; quartus, Scripturarum perscrutatio; quintus, si aliqui occurrat dubium in Scriptura, a majore inquisitio; sextus, Scripturae expositio; septimus, praedicatio.*

[71] See Petrus Comestor, *Sermones*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina 198 (Paris, 1855), col. 1747: *Sane, sicut sunt duo rami contemplationis, lectio, scilicet, et oratio, in quibus tota meditatio contemplantis versatur: ita sunt qui orationi magis operam dantes lectioni minus insistunt, et hi sunt claustrales. Sunt alii qui lectioni invigilant, rarius orantes, et hi sunt scholares*. Cf. also Hilduins statement, as quoted by Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au* XII^e *siècle*: *Étude historique et doctrinale. Vol. 2: Notes* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1975), 292: *Sunt autem duo genera contemplatiuorum: alii sunt claustrales, alii sunt scolares. Claustrales vacant orationi, scolares vero lectioni.*

[72] In the sermon on Ps 24(25),1 *Ad te levavi animam meam*, see d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 127. Dijon, BM, 219, fol. 85vb–86ra: *Vos ergo claustrales, qui ad Dominum animam leuastis, qui cum Iob animam suspendistis, qui cum Moyse in monte contemplationis cum Deo colloquium habetis, surrigite ad Deum manus bonorum operum eleuatas, orantes pro Israhelitis pugnantibus contra Amalechitas, id est pro nobis dimicantibus contra demonum insidias*. On this motive see Thierry Kouamé, "*Monachus non doctoris, sed plangentis habet officium*: L'autorité de Jérôme dans le débat sur l'enseignement des moines aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," In *Le système d'enseignement occidental (XI^e– XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Thierry Kouamé, Cahiers de recherches médiévales 18 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009), 9-38.

[73] In a sermon on the dedication of a church about Mt 21,13 *Scriptum est enim, quod domus mea domus orationis*, Alan distinguishes four 'houses of prayer' in the typical scholastic manner. The first *domus* is the Church, where there is the 'school of discipline'. The monastery is such a house, because the practices there pray to God: ascetic practices and prayers by word and mind. The third exegesis of *domus orationis* says that it can be understood as 'sacra scriptura' – a term that can designate the Bible as well as theology in Alan's time. In any case, he states that he (as a master) and his scholarly audience fight for the first (the Church), adore the second (Christ's human nature), scrutinize the third, i.e. the *sacra scriptura*, and merit to reach the fourth *domus*, which is eternal life. He thereby claims doing theology for his group. See the sermon text in Toulouse, BM, 195, fol. 105v–106r*: Specialiter etiam cenobium siue conuentus fidelium claustralium dicitur domus orationis. Ibi enim orat ad Deum deiectio habitus, asperitas uictus, silentium oris, silentium cordis, ieiunium carnis a cibo, ieiunium mentis a peccato, vigilia oculi, vigilia animi,*

The second strategy to foster orthodoxy according to Jessalynn Bird was to promote self-inquiry. The Paris masters designed manuals for confession to help confessors scrutinize the minds and consciences of their penitents. Thereby, they could both discover deviant thought and implement orthodox doctrine.[74] In the time between Peter Lombard and the later university masters such as Alexander of Hales, it was still contested whether remission from sins, be they interior sins or sins of deed, required oral confession with a priest. In general, the schoolmen of that time instilled a new urge to scrutinize one's inner self, as Susan Kramer argues.[75] Alan clearly subscribed to this agenda and authored a confessor's manual.[76]

However, Alan did not only focus on confessors and lay persons, but also had his fellow schoolmen in mind, as carriers and disseminators of 'orthodoxy'. Confession and self-inquiry are meant to ensure the scholars' conformity with approved doctrine. Alan belonged to those preachers calling for contrition, confession, and satisfaction.[77] He argued for priestly confession as a necessary step in reconciliation. A good example is his sermon for Ash Wednesday about the Book of Sirach 7,40, *Memorare novissima tua.* His audience, the scholars, are constantly admonished to "know themselves". Pitiless searching for one's own failures leads to acknowledging the need for pastoral care. Here, contrition is only achieved after confession, which is followed by satisfaction.[78] His words echo passages in a model sermon of Alan's preaching manual, where confession is treated as obligatory as well.[79] In other sermons and in Alan's penitential manual, the three steps are contrition, confession, and satisfaction.[80] The role of the priest or – in Alan's context – the role of theology masters with priestly consecration is defined as a means of discipline. The scholars themselves are subjected to control via the confessional. The practice of confession could both help discover deviant thoughts and avoid deviant thinking beforehand, in a sort of self-censorship.

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oratio uocalis, oratio mentalis. […] (fol. 106r) *Sacra etiam scriptura dicitur domus orationis*. […] *Nos ergo in prima domo orationis militantes, secundam adorantes, terciam perscrutantes, ad quartam peruenire mereamur*. The sermon is listed in d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 137–38.

[74] Cf. Bird, "Construction of Orthodoxy," 51–53.

[75] Susan R. Kramer, "The Priest in the House of Conscience: Sins of Thought and the Twelfth-Century Schoolmen," In *Viator* 37 (2006), 149-66.

[76] Alanus ab Insulis, *Liber Poenitentialis*: *Vol. 2.*

[77] These steps of penance were increasingly discussed among the Paris masters of the 12th century, cf. Kramer, "The Priest", and on Alan cf. Jean Longère, "Théologie et pastorale de la pénitence chez Alain de Lille," In *Cîteaux* 30 (1979), 149-66; Jean Longère, "Alain de Lille, théologien de la pénitence," In *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps*, ed. Henri Roussel (Lille: Presses Univ. de Lille, 1980), 101-12.

[78] Alanus ab Insulis. Sermon on Sir 7,40, edited in: d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 267–73, 273: *Sed iam hoc dele* [i. e. delete from the 'book of conscience'] *per confessionem quod scripsisti per falsam loqutionem, dele per contritionem quod scripsisti per malam cogitationem; dele per satisfactionem quod scripsisti per prauam operationem* […]. *Per confessionem hunc librum* [i. e. the *liber conscientiae*] *aperi, ne aperiatur in die iudicii, quando aperientur libri conscientiarum. Reuela peccatum, ne reueletur; accusa delictum, ne accusetur*.

[79] Alanus ab Insulis, *Ars Praedicandi*, cap. 31, col. 172: *Per quod demonstratur, quod poenitens curatus a spirituali lepra per contritionem, tenetur se ostendere sacerdoti per confessionem. Tu ergo, confitere peccata ut absolvaris, accusa ut excuseris. Si in praesenti non es accusator tui, tres habebis accusatores in die judicii: Deum accusatorem et judicem, conscientiam accusantem et punientem, daemonem accusantem et punitorem*.

[80] Cf. the 'Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accedentibus', edited in d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 274–78, 278; Alanus ab Insulis, *Liber Poenitentialis*: *Vol. 2*, IV, 3, p. 163: *Ad hoc autem ut vera sit confessio, necessaria tria concurrunt: cordis contritio, oris confessio, non relabendi intentio vel operis satisfactio*.

Furthermore, Alan admonishes his listeners to "know themselves". He does so in at least 10% of his sermons, most of them Lenten sermons.[81] In his time, Lenten preaching became more and more frequent, sometimes occurring even daily during the Lenten period.[82] The so-called Christian socratism, condensed in the phrase "Know thyself",[83] is one of his major topics, and means to acknowledge both one's sinful state and one's likeness to God. To know one's sinful state means to reflect upon committed vices, such as the typical scholastic vices of pride and excess (*superbia* and *luxuria*).[84] But, what is even more important, self-knowledge is a prerequisite for the knowledge of God, according to Alan. In a sermon on Ijob 14,1, he states that via self-knowledge, one is able to restore one's likeness to God and thereby to regain the abilities to know God.[85] In the sermon for Ash Wednesday on Sirach 7,40, he equates self-knowledge with a certain state of mind that is associated with higher knowledge of God: The person becomes a "human being-spirit" (*homo spiritus*).[86] Self-knowledge, thus, becomes central for doing 'orthodox' theology.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can see that Alan's preaching shows the elements of promoting orthodoxy, as defined by Jessalynn Bird: instruction and

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[81] For a preliminary study on this topic, see Anne Greule, "Curiositas und Wissbegier im Predigtœuvre des Alain von Lille," In *Curiositas*, ed. Andreas Speer and Robert M. Schneider, Miscellanea Mediaevalia 42 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 267-91.

[82] Cf. Jean Longère, "Fastenpredigten," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 4 (1989). coll. 310-12; Pietro Delcorno, Eleonora Lombardo, and Lorenza Tromboni, "Introduzione: I sermoni quaresimali. Digiuno del corpo, banchetto dell'anima," In *I sermoni quaresimali. Digiuno del corpo, banchetto dell'anima*, eds. Pietro Delcorno, Eleonora Lombardo and Lorenza Tromboni, Memorie domenicane 48 (Firenze: Nerbini, 2017), 9-15.

[83] Cf. Pierre Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même*: *De Socrate à Saint Bernard,* 3 vols. (Paris: Études Augustiennes, 1974–1975).

[84] For these "scholastic' vices", cf. Antoine Destemberg, *L'honneur des universitaires au Moyen Âge*: *Étude d'imaginaire social,* Le nœud gordien (Paris: Presses Univ. de France, 2015), 64–74.

[85] Through sin, humankind has lost the *gratuita* and *naturalia* of God, which made them *ad Dei similitudinem* and *ad eius imaginem*, and thereby they also lost their ability to know God. But by pitiless self-examination and self-knowledge brings both back and thus also allows for the knowledge of God. See Alanus ab Insulis. *Sermon on Ijob 14,1*, edited in: d'Alverny, "Un sermon d'Alain de Lille sur la misère de l'homme", 530–534: *O homo, creatus eras ad Dei similitudinem in gratia, ad eius imaginem in natura; sed iam deleta similitudine, pertransis in sola imagine, nec imagine vera, sed imaginis umbra, quia non tantummodo gratuita respuis, verum vite etiam naturalia euacuas et extinguis. O homo, ubi intellectus tuus, quo intelligere debes quis te fecit, de quo fecit, qualem fecit, ad quid fecit?* […] *O homo, quomodo amisisti tuum intellectum quo scrutari debes Scripture abyssum, diuidens a spiritu litteram, a nucleo testam,* […]*? Ubi rationis ventilabrum, quo diuidatur verum a falso, iustum ab iniusto, caducum ab eterno, ut istud fugias, illud appetas,* […]*? Ubi memoria que intellectum thesaurizet, que laudabiliora armario recordationis commendet?* […] *Sed ad te, homo, reuertere, te cognosce, tuam mentem ingredere, conscientiam discute, mala ab animo excute; quia homo es, te considera; quia natus de muliere, te humilia; quia breui viuens tempore, breuitatem vite longanimitate compensa;* […] *et quia egrederis ut flos, fructum redde; et quia aduersitatibus extra contereris, intus animum per penitentiam contere. noli ut umbra illum fugere, quem non potes effugere; sed ad ipsum accede per bonorum naturalium usum, ut eius vera fias imago; per gratuitorum fructum, ut eius sis similitudo; per perseuerantiam bonorum <operum>, ut eius sis signaculum.*

[86] See Alanus ab Insulis. Sermon on Sir 7,40, edited in: d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, 267–73, 271: *Est homo qui querit se intra se, qui suam vitam legit, suam miseriam intelligit, suam culpam agnoscit, preteritum dolet, futurum timet. Qui querit se supra se fit diabolus, qui querit se iuxta se phariseus, qui querit se infra se fit homo pecus; qui querit se intra se fit homo spiritus*. The idea of the *homo spiritus* is part of Alan's knowledge system that links this state to the angelic knowledge of God, see Giulio D'Onofrio, "Alano di Lilla e la teologia," In *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel: Philosophie, théologie et littérature au* XII^e^ *siècle*, eds. Jean-Luc Solère, Anca Vasiliu and Alain Galonnier, Rencontres de philosophie médiévale 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 289–337.

promotion of self-inquiry. Alan spoke to his fellow schoolmen about Marian doctrines in a rather traditional way, avoiding potentially suspicious statements. He urged them to make confession to a priest, to "know themselves" and to scrutinize their consciences regularly. He even stated a causal connection between self-knowledge and the knowledge of God, thereby linking 'orthodoxy' to the successful inquiry of the self.

Clare Monagle's work helps us to see these elements in the context of the "Scholastic Project". This project excluded those persons which were considered as standing outside of the established lines of orthodoxy as defined by the men of the schools. At the same time, these men did not all speak from a hegemonic position. The second half of the 12th century was the time when the schools grew, and the masters partly started to cooperate. It was only in the 13th century that the university of Paris, as a new institution, came into being and gradually acquired its status as a religious authority. Before, the independent masters in particular had to find ways to establish themselves as experts in questions of faith and religion.

Taking the example of Alan of Lille, I tried to show how the masters of Paris aimed to present themselves as orthodox teachers and to subject themselves under the control of the confessor and their own conscience. Alan's statements on doctrine to peers served as a means of orthodox self-fashioning in a time of transition in the history of the Paris schools. Utterances formerly seen as insignificant and common thereby acquire new meaning.

Further research could investigate how the theological views of the Paris masters in the 12th century – and one should clearly distinguish between the independent masters, the masters of the Cathedral school, and of St. Victor or monastic schools – potentially relate to the papal schism of that time, as Alexander III was supported by the French king Louis VII. It could be further asked if topics that are important for popular piety, such as the veneration of Mary, were treated differently than academic subtleties, assuming that topics with wider relevance better served the purpose of authority building.

On a more abstract level, research on the blurred boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, as concepts established by contemporaries, could profit from the view adopted here: That seemingly hegemonic positions can be associated or even caused by insecure status and internal dynamics.

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'Pagan,' a Blurred Concept: 'Pagan' Practices in Burchard of Worms' *Corrector sive Medicus*

Larissa de Freitas Lyth

Abstract

This piece explores the concept of "pagan" and the idea of "pagan survivals" in Burchard of Worms' *Corrector sive medicus.* The Corrector sive medicus, also known as Corrector Burchardi or Da poenitentia was written between the year 1000 and 1025 by Burchard, bishop of Worms, born around the year 965. The *Corrector* is a penitential manual, the 19th chapter of the *Decretum*, which recommended penance for those who performed unchristian acts such as murder, adultery, magical practices and others. This article discusses the blurry concept of "pagan" as an initial attempt to shed light on Burchard's understanding of magic. This article discussed the methodological problems of the idea of "pagan survivals" and "popular beliefs" and argues that trying to find the archaic origins of certain beliefs is not particularly useful in uncovering the way medieval writers thought about and saw them.

Keywords: Pagan, pagan survivals, *ars magica*, penance, Middle Ages

Introduction

One of the conundrums historians of religion must often grapple with is the boundary between that which is considered orthodox and that which is considered heterodox, or sometimes heretical. Even in cases where it is a known fact that certain ideas are not part of orthodoxy, different concepts often confound. Most historians would probably agree that practices that normally fall under umbrella concepts such as pagan, magic, and popular beliefs are not part of orthodox Christianity. But medieval belief and the way belief works in medieval sources is naturally blurry.[1] Recent scholarship has been working on exploring the boundaries between heresy and orthodoxy as well as different heresies and different orthodoxies.[2] Similarly, concepts can be blurry – most recently Ronald Hutton talked about how the boundaries of the concept of "pagan survival" were always going to be blurred.[3] The boundaries of what "pagan" means have also been rather blurry: according to Bernadette Filotas "paganism is a notoriously amorphous notion. It has no content in itself, and does not

[1] See: John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: New York: Hodder Arnold, 2005).
[2] See other essay in this publication as well as Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane and Anne Elisabeth Lester, eds., *Between Orders and Heresy: Rethinking Medieval Religious Movements* (Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press, 2022).
[3] Ronald Hutton, *Queens of the Wild: Pagan Goddesses In Christian Europe: An Investigation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022).

describe a coherent set of beliefs and practices".[4] Whatever meaning the word had, it also changed from the classical period and throughout the Middle Ages.[5]

Early scholarly debates accepted the common assumption that the Middle Ages were, fundamentally, Christian or Catholic. In the nineteenth century, anthropology and folklore became favoured approaches for the study of medieval religious life and thus the "people", or the "folk", became topics of interest to European scholarship. Practices previously dismissed by scholars of the Enlightenment as "superstition" and often overlooked by Catholic scholars were then seen as the true religion of the people.[6] This conception held that the religion of the people was unadulterated by elite clerical culture and was thus non-Christian, or pagan. Consequently, concepts such as "popular" or "folk" beliefs, "superstition" and "pagan" became even more muddled. Scholarly interest in folk traditions in Europe goes back to the work of the Grimm brothers in Germany, first published in the early nineteenth century. In 1835 Jacob Grimm argued the survival of old Teutonic cults, whereas Soldan argued for Greco-Roman antecedents.[7] Equally important in the nineteenth century was the influence of Sir James Frazer's The Golden Bough, first published in 1890. Indeed, many started to interpret all sorts of rituals as derived from ancient forms of fertility magic. Thus, the idea of pagan survivals – that is, pagan cults that persisted through the Middle Ages into the Early Modern period – became popular. Perhaps the most infamous work of this period is that of Margaret Murray, who theorised that witches were members of a secret fertility cult dedicated to the god Dianus which had been preserved since prehistorical times down to the seventeenth century.[8]

From the 1970s onwards, the Murray thesis became largely discredited, and this allowed scholars to view the source material from a different perspective. Keith Thomas, who applied anthropology to the analysis of European witchcraft, criticised Murray's theory whilst approaching European witchcraft from a social history perspective and viewing it as a specific type of social structure.[9] In 1972, Jeffrey

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[4] Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*, Studies and Texts 151 (Toronto (Canada): Pontifical institute of medieval studies, 2005).

[5] Robert Austin Markus, 'Gregory the Great's Pagans', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford university press, 2001).

[6] In Germany in particular the interest in the *Volkskunde* heightens and the works of intellectuals such as the Brothers Grimm became extremely influential. See: Burke, *Popular culture in Early modern Europe.* According to Burke, the idea of a "religion of the people" was first suggested by Ludwig Achim von Arnim in Lenz, *Das Volkserlebnis bei L. A. von Arnim*, 123 and was developed by Chateaubriand, who used the term dévotions populaires in his *Génie du Christianisme.*

[7] Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie; Soldan, Geschichte der Hexenprozesse.

[8] Margaret Murray, The witch-cult in Western Europe.

[9] Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971).

Burton Russell continued to criticise Murray, whilst recognising that her work advanced valid anthropological ideas, such as the connection between religion, low magic and pagan folk customs.[10] Even though Murray's theory of direct pagan survivals had been refuted, questions about how actually "Christian" the Middle Ages were continued. Jean Delumeau was one of the first scholars to argue that medieval people were not thoroughly Christianised.[11] Other early modernists such as Keith Thomas, Carlo Ginzburg, and Gerald Strauss soon followed.[12]

A different model, but which is often used to analyse the same kinds of practices was the two-culture model. This model posited that there were two distinct cultures: that of the clerical and bookish and that of the masses of uneducated laypeople, who believed in popular or folk beliefs.[13] That is, the beliefs of the laity and the beliefs of the Church were not the same and were frequently in conflict or at least in tension. The primary texts used to produce these scholarly works, however, consisted mainly of *exempla* and inquisitorial records and, as such, could only reveal the views of a small clerical elite.[14] According to this school, even though these sources were mostly formulaic, they still preserved an authentic essence, untouched by clerical culture. From thence, certain historians extrapolated and started to suggest that certain practices remained essentially unchanged from pre-Christian Europe to the late Middle Ages.[15] Later scholarship, on the other hand, has shown that several forbidden practices were not necessarily restricted to a rural environment or to the lower classes. Eamon Duffy, for instance, argued that, in pre-Reformation England, there was no major divide between the religion of the masses, the religion of the secular elite and the religion of the clergy.[16] While others have argued that this strict division between lay and clerical

[10] Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, 37.
[11] Jean Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*, (Paris: Nouvelle Clio, 1971).
[12] Thomas, R*eligion;* Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980)*;* Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning; Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). For an overview of this discussion see: John van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem", *The American Historical Review,* 519-552 and, for the Early Modern period, Natalie Z. Davis, "From 'Popular Religion' to Religious Cultures", in *Reformation Europe: a guide to research* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982).
[13] Even though this notion had started with the Germanic *Volk* scholarship mentioned above, in the second half of the twentieth century it was likely propagated by scholars such as Jacques Le Goff, in his *Pour un autre moyen age* and Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 11-35 and Schmitt, "'Jeunes' et danse des chevaux de bois: Le folklore méridional dans la littérature des 'exempla' (XIIIe - XIVe siècles)", in *Religion Populaire en Languedoc* (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1976).
[14] Schmitt's sources for *The Holy Greyhound* were primarily *exempla* whereas inquisitorial records were the main sources for Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* and for Le Roy Ladurieís *Montaillou*. Also see: Schmitt, "'Jeunes'", 127-158.
[15] See Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1990) and for a more recent and skeptical discussion see Ronald Hutton, *Pagan Britain* (New Haven (Conn.): Yale University Press, 2013).
[16] Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England c. 1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

culture does not take into account the lived experience of the clergy, who had things in common with their parishioners and who also exchanged ideas and experiences with them.[17] Although critics of the twofold culture model have often dismissed it as simplistic and monolithic, the proponents themselves have indeed brought attention to how medieval belief was complex and nuanced.[18]

I deemed this brief digression into historiography necessary not because it is novel – in fact, many historians have examined these concepts in greater detail – but because it is rich and still ongoing.[19] It is also helpful to demarcate how the categories "popular belief" and "pagan survivals" were discussed by modern scholars, in order to understand how "paganism" and "magic" were understood by medieval scholars. One encounters several problems when dealing with the concept of "pagan". Firstly, it is very tempting to define the notion of paganism as opposed to that of "Christian", but the fact that certain practices were seen as non-Christian does not mean that they were pagan in origin or that, if they were, by the time they were put on paper, they had not been imbued with Christian meaning.[20] The word as it appears in the sources does not imply a rejection of Christianity: in fact, it referred to people who thought of themselves as Christian and who developed genuine Christian piety that flourished alongside practices labelled by Church writers as pagan.[21] Secondly, there is the temptation to search over vast areas and back to a remote past in order to find similar morphological elements in the rituals or practices described by medieval authors. However, as Carl Watkins advised, it is more useful for us historians to look at these motifs as an organic whole in order to uncover their functionality and how they were understood by members of the community.[22] Then

[17] See Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages" and Leonard Boyle, "Popular piety in the Middle Ages: what is popular?", *Florilegium* 4 (1982): 184-193.

[18] Scholars of the two-culture model did not present it as a rigid paradigm, Le Goff, Schmitt, Gurevich and others pointed out elements of reciprocity and diversity: Schmitt, "Religion, folklore and society in the Medieval West", in Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little *Debating the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 376-387.

[19] Natalie Zemon Davis, 'From "Popular Religion" to Religious Cultures', in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982); Carl Watkins, '"Folklore" and "Popular Religion" in Britain during the Middle Ages', *Folklore* 115, no. 2 (September 2004): 140–50; and for a very thorough overview see Peter Biller, 'Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley, 1. publ. in paperback, World Reference (London: Routledge, 2002). Most recently see Hutton, *Queens of the Wild*.

[20] John Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (June 1986): 519, https://doi.org/10.2307/1869130; Watkins, '"Folklore" and "Popular Religion" in Britain during the Middle Ages'; Carl Watkins, 'Inventing Pagans', in *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[21] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature,* 16. Felice Lifshitz has the interesting argument that, in the early Middle Ages, accusations of paganism were disagreements over what it meant to be a Christian rather than pagan survivals. Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684-1090*, Studies and Texts 122 (Toronto, Ont., Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995).

[22] Watkins, '"Folklore" and "Popular Religion" in Britain during the Middle Ages': 144.

there is the difficulty that is intrinsic to the nature of the sources. Sources about alleged pagan survivals are too fragmentary - they do, however, exist. Nevertheless, much of it comes from normative sources such as penitential manuals. Penitential texts are comprised mostly of an assemblage of older texts that were seen as authoritative by the author.[23] Old canons were often quoted in new texts and this standard literary practice makes it harder for the historian to demarcate what was being quoted simply out of convention of the literary genre and what was current practice.[24] Not to mention that uncovering the allegedly archaic origins of practices described in the sources is not particularly helpful when trying to understand how these practices were viewed by the medieval writers who wrote them down, which is what I attempt to do here. This piece aims to discuss the implications of the word "pagan" as it was used by Burchard of Worms in his *Corrector sive medicus*.

The *Corrector sive medicus*, or *Da poenitentia*

The *Corrector sive medicus*, also known as *Corrector Burchardi* or *Da poenitentia* was written between the year 1000 and 1025 by Burchard, bishop of Worms, born around the year 965.[25] The *Corrector* is a penitential manual, and it is the 19th chapter of the *Decretum*, a book that dealt with various aspects of canon law, synods, eucharist, fasting, and others. Manuscripts used to administer penance were known as penitential manuals, or *libri paenitentiales*, between the 6th and 11th centuries. They differ from manuals for confessors (*summae confessorum*) which became ubiquitous from the first half of the 12th century. Whilst the latter consisted of long treatises that discussed theology and canon law, *libri paenitentiales* were shorter works, most commonly handbooks which contained questions and answers related to sin and penance.[26] These questions were aimed at sinners who needed confession and the answers were the corresponding penance to each transgression. Penitential manuals dealt with a wide variety of

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[23] Greta Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms*, Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009). See also *Burchards Dekret Digital* (*https://www.adwmainz.de/en/projekte/burchards-dekret-digital/current-issues.html*), a project based at the University of Mainz which is currently developing a digital edition of the *Decretum*.

[24] Rob Meens, 'Thunder over Lyon: Agobard, the Tempestarii and Christianity', in *Paganism in the Middle Ages: Threat and Fascination*, ed. Carlos G. Steel, John Marenbon, and Werner Verbeke, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, series 1, studia XLIII (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2012): 163. Although certain scholars argue for the practical purpose of penitential manuals and how They must reflect what people were doing.Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150* (University of Toronto Press, 1984), 13; Cyrille Vogel, *Les 'Libri Paenitentiales'* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978): 31. Yitzak Hen, on the other hand, argued against the idea of living paganism, even in the Merovingian period, but remarked that fear of paganism persisted amongst the clergy even after practices and beliefs had vanished, see:

[25] Greta Austin, 'Burchard of Worms', in *Great Christian Jurists and Legal Collections in the First Millennium*, ed. Philip L. Reynolds, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 458–70.

[26] Payer, "Confession and the study of sex in the Middle Ages", 3-31.

sins, such as murder, perjury, theft, magical practices, and so forth.

Scholarship has previously discussed the *Decretum*'s popularity during the 11th century, and most scholars seem to attribute this popularity to Burchard's thoroughness and the book's functionality since it managed to discuss a variety of themes in a single and fairly compact volume.[27] Greta Austin however, mentions not only the functionality of Burchard's writings, but also the concern about the legitimacy of his sources as well as his attempt at consistency and lack of contradictions.[28] Burchard successfully wrote a book that made sense from beginning to end rather than – as most works up to his point – quote various sources that contradict one another.[29] In order to write the *Decretum*, Burchard and his assistants selected passages from previous works, sometimes simply quoting them directly, and sometimes altering them – although they did not always indicate that they did so.[30] Burchard and his collaborators would sometimes invent texts and attribute them to existing sources, especially if they were considered by them as authoritative.[31] Several scholars have shown that Burchard used other penitentials as sources to write the *Corrector*, notably Regino of Prum's *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*.[32] But while Regino's penitential contains only forty questions, Burchard's *Corrector* has over one hundred and ninety.[33] What is particularly curious about Burchard's work is that some of the material concerning non-Christian beliefs seems to be original.[34] Some historians go so far as to argue that the original passages most likely come from Burchard's observations in his diocese.[35] There is some debate amongst scholars on whether the practices described in penitential literature, including Burchard's material, actually took place.[36] While some scholars argue that most medieval sources regarding superstitions drew so heavily upon older canons that they

[27] Fournier, "Études Critiques sur le Décret de Burchard de Worms", 41–584; Hoffmann and Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*; Austin, *Shaping Church Law Around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms*.
[28] Austin, *Shaping Church Law*.
[29] Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature,* 55.
[30] Greta Austin, 'The Bishop, "Magic" and Women: Episcopal Visitation of the Diocese, Laywomen and the Supernatural, and Clerical Authority in the Central Middle Ages', *Gender & History*, 14 September 2023, https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12732, 1.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus: Ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters;* Regino of Prüm, *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis;* Fournier, "Études Critiques," 45. Meens, "The frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance".
[33] Körntgen, "Canon Law and the Practice of Penance: Burchard of Worms's Penitential", 110. Austin, *Shaping Church Law,* 231. Maraschi, "There is More than Meets the Eye: Undead, Ghosts and Spirits in the Decretum of Burchard of Worms," 31.
[34] Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200*, 150-151; Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050,* 40. Vogel, "Pratiques superstitieuses au début du XIe siècle d'après le *Corrector sive Medicus* de Burchard, évêque de Worms (965-1025)", 751-761.
[35] Maraschi, "There is More than Meets the Eye", 31.
[36] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, 152; Smith, *Ordering Women's Lives: Penitentials and Nunnery Rules in the Early Medieval West*.

can have no basis in reality,[37] others defend the idea that the authors of penitential manuals were actively trying to eradicate superstitions and non-Christian customs among their parishioners and that repetitions in the sources should be regarded as evidence of the vitality of the phenomena which they interpret.[38] While it is possible that some of the questions might have described practices and beliefs of laywomen in Burchard's diocese, this notion is often linked to the problematic concept of "pagan survivals" to which Burchard's work is often linked.[39]

Crucially, penance was not merely an expression of top-down control, from the Church and inflicted upon the lay penitent: the act of recommending penance to someone else, in and of itself, also taught members of the Church what should and should not be done and this might have affected their behaviour. This is particularly relevant when talking about the period leading up to the Gregorian Reform.[40] There was a growing concern with creating a clear distinction between holy and unholy, between the pure and the impure. The Church was the earthly manifestation of the Spirit and thus was seen as superior to earthly things. During this time, the Church attempted to achieve certain independence from the power of the state, and this required a clear differentiation between clergy and laity. With the emergence of the reform movement of the eleventh century, as part of a wider move towards separating the Church from the worldly, a new body of literature which highlighted ritual purity was developed.[41] Purity was now even more necessary for the clergy, because there was a new focus on rituals such as the Eucharist, which only a priest could perform.[42] The attempt to establish a more consistent form of orthodoxy becomes particularly relevant during Burchard's lifetime,

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[37] Dieter Harmening, 'Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters' (Berlin, BRD, E. Schmidt, 1979); Wilhelm Boudriot, *Die Altgermanische Religion in Der Amtlichen Kirchlichen Literatur Des Abendlandes Vom 5. Bis 11. Jahrhundert.* (Bohn: Röhrscheid, 1964).

[38] Aron Gurevič, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 36-37; Dieter Harmening, 'Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters' (Berlin, BRD, E. Schmidt, 1979).

[39] For a more nuanced view and an overview of the scholarly debate see: Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*; Austin, 'The Bishop, "Magic" and Women'. Austin presents evidence that at least some of the questions might have originated in Burchard's observations in his diocese: "The specificity of the questions, their lack of precedent in that textual tradition, and the evidence from Burchard's *Life* all suggest that Burchard sought to regulate the practices and beliefs of local laywomen in his diocese."

[40] It is possible to see this influence in the way Burchard discussed marriage and sexual practices, for instance. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, 'The Prohibition of Clerical Marriage in the Eleventh Century', *The Jurist: Studies in Church Law and Ministry* 68, no. 1 (2008): 22–37, https://doi.org/10.1353/jur.2008.0001.

[41] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing unto Others*, 3rd edition (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 53.

[42] Ibid. The act of shedding blood or touching corpses could also put the clergy in a state of ritual impurity, see: Amy G. Remensnyder, 'Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076', in The Peace of God, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 280–307, https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501725562-016.

since the boundaries between orthodoxy and heterodoxy were blurred even amongst the clergy. Sources show that lay people were not the only ones believing in or even – perhaps – practicing "magic", and manuals such as the *Corrector* not only prescribed penance to the laity but could also teach the clergy how one should conduct oneself.

With this piece, I intend to look at a broader concept of religious dissent which focuses on discourse about (potential) religious diversity on the eve of the Gregorian Reform, as opposed to heretical movements. I see Burchard as a precursor to the reform movements that are going to flourish in the second half of the eleventh century. I argue that he understood that managing ritual and making it a prerogative of the male clergy was a way of claiming authority.[43] I also aim to find out if there is a difference between penance prescribed for practices that were labelled as "pagan" and other "magical" practices described in the *Corrector,* as an initial exploration towards discerning Burchard's understanding of what he called *ars magica* and what that means for his wider view on ritual purity. In order to do so, I have looked at six questions from the *Corrector* and their corresponding penance.

Ars Magica

Out of a total of one hundred and ninety-two questions, forty-eight refer to some type of magical practice, most of them under the heading *ars magica*. The earliest precisely datable reference to *ars magica* appears in a Carolingian edict which prohibited the drawing of lots before a duel unless they – although who "they" was referring to is unclear – lie in wait with "spells, diabolical tricks and the magical arts".[44] Years later, the Council of Tours (813) admonished the faithful against using incantations and the "arts of magic" to cure men or beast.[45] Burchard never defined what he understood by *ars magica*, and used almost fifty technical terms to identify practitioners of "magic" throughout the *Decretum*.[46] I must also add the caveat that throughout this paper I ascribe certain positions and beliefs to Burchard. This is somewhat dubious practice, especially for works such as the *Corrector,*

[43] Martha Rampton, 'Burchard of Worms and Female Magical Ritual', in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster (BRILL, 2002), 7–34, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004475830_006, 13.

[44] *Conc. Neuchingense* (772), *MGH Concilia 2.1:* 100: "De pugna duorum, quod *wehadinc* vocatur, ut prius non sortiantur, quam perati sint, ne forte carminibus vel machinis diabolicis vel magicis artibus insidiantur."

[45] *Conc. Turonense* (813), *MGH Concilia* 2.1: 292: "Admoneant sacerdotes fideles populos, ut noverint magicas artes incantationesque quibuslibet infirmitatibus hominum nihil posse remedii confere, non animalibus languentibus claudicantibusve vel etiam moribundis quicquam mederi, non ligaturas ossum vel herbarum cuiquam mortalium adhibitas prodesse, sed haec esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostis, quibus ille perfidus genus humanum decipere nititur."

[46] *Ariolus, aruspex, augur, caragius, cocriocus, divinus, herbarius, incantator, magus, maleficus, necromanta, obligatur, praecantator, praedicator, pithon, somnarius, sortilegus, suffitor, tempestarius, vaticinatur,* and *veneficus* and their variations. Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature,* 219.

which is an amalgamation of writings borrowed from various authors over several centuries. However, even though there is no evidence that Burchard and the various hands which compiled his work would have agreed with every canon in the *Corrector*, it is fair to assume that it must mostly reflect Burchard's convictions. We know that Burchard interpreted his sources freely, modifying them and altering passages to bring them into line with his own ideas about reform, as well as added several new canons which do not appear in other sources.[47] The conception of "pagan" is merely a facet of Burchard's understanding of *ars magica,* and therefore I make no attempt to provide his definition of this notion just yet.[48]

Burchard's understanding of *ars magica* seems to be consistent with that of Augustine of Hippo, in the sense that, according to him, miracles were allowed by and through God and marvels which were not performed for His honour and for the public good were deceitful tricks performed by demons.[49] For Burchard, however, believed that demons could create illusions which may make people think that they were performing marvels, when, in reality, they were not. Marvels, according to Burchard, are only possible through God.[50] Other writers from late antiquity and from the Middle Ages drew from Augustine: in his treatise *De magicis artibus*, Hrabanus Maurus, the ninth-century theologian and archbishop of Mainz also condemned incantations and divination.[51] Burchard and his compilers made substantial use of Hrabanus' *De consanguineorum nuptiis et magorum praestigiis* in order to define certain "magical" practices as well as for differentiating different types of practitioners (*magi, necromantii, hydromantii*).[52]

Out of these forty-eight questions, six use the word "pagan" when

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[47] Rampton, 'Burchard of Worms and Female Magical Ritual', 2002.

[48] Which, for the sake of convenience I will from now on refer to as magic. Scholars have looked at other dimensions of magical practices within Burchards work, including the undead, ghosts and Spirits, Andrea Maraschi, 'There Is More than Meets the Eye. Undead, Ghosts and Spirits in the Decretum of Burchard of Worms' 8, no. 1 (2019), https://thanatosjournal.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/maraschi_decretum_burchard_of_worms.pdf. Love magic Larissa de Freitas Lyth, 'Women's Sexuality as a Threat: Erotic Magic in Burchard of Worms' Corrector Sive Medicus', in *Becoming a Witch: Women and Magic in Europe during the Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. Andrea Maraschi and Angelica Aurora Montanari (Budapest: Trivent, 2023); Andrea Vanina Neyra, 'La Magia Erótica En El Corrector Sive Medicusde Burchard von Worms', *Brathair* 10, no. 1 (2010): 83–99. As well as magic performed by women Rampton, 'Burchard of Worms and Female Magical Ritual', 2002.

[49] This is a rather simplistic explanation on how Augustine viewed *ars magica*. For more information see 21.6 of the City of God: "Neque enim potuit, nisi primum ipsis docentibus, disci quid quisque illorum appetat, quid exhorreat, quo invitetur nominee, quo cogatur – unde magicae artes earumque artifices extiterunt". Augustine, *The city of God against the pagans: in seven volumes. 7: Books XXI - XXII / with an Engl. transl. by William M. Green*, Reprinted, The Loeb classical library 417 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995). For an overview see: Robert Austin Markus, 'Augustine on Magic: A Neglected Semiotic Theory', *Revue Des Études Augustiniennes* 40 (1994): 375–88.

[50] Rampton, 'Burchard of Worms and Female Magical Ritual', 29.

[51] Hrabanus Maurus, *De magicis artibus*. PL 110, cols. 1095–110.

[52] This was heavily used as a source by Burchard and his compilers, although Burchard failed to mention Hrabanus and attributed canons 10.41-47 to Augustine, see: Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 113*.

referring to certain practices. This is the first one in Book 19:

> "Have you consulted sorcerers, and brought them into your house to seek evil arts, or for the purpose of making purifications, or, following the custom of the pagans, did you invite diviners to ask about the future almost like prophets? Or have you invited those who practice spells, or those who through enchantments try to see into the future, or those who devote themselves to either auguries or enchantments? If you have done so, you shall do penance for two years on the appointed days."[53]

At least five other questions in the *Corrector* inquire about some kind of divination – which shows this was a concern for Burchard – although divination, in and of itself, was not always linked to the idea of pagan.[54] Burchard started this discussion in Book 10 of the *Decretum*, called *De incantatoribus et auguribus,* and then used the same principles to guide him in the writing of the *Corrector*.[55] Canons 10.46-47, in Book 10 – incorrectly attributed to Augustine – argue that demons may be able to predict future events.[56] Thus, a diviner would learn about the future not through their own knowledge, but through the aid of demons. Demons, Burchard believed, are not able to predict future events: they simply use their heightened senses and their ability to read the signs of nature to obtain this knowledge. For Burchard and for other medieval thinkers, God alone created the world and only God had power and absolute knowledge over it. Thus, the belief that any being other than God would know about the future should be condemned.[57]

In Book 10 of the *Decretum,* once again, Burchard discusses a series of practices and beliefs that were seen as unchristian and, as such, were prohibited by the Church. Some of the practices discussed in this chapter reappear throughout Book 19, the *Corrector*, but phrased as a

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[53] "Consuluisti magos, et in domum tuam induxisti exquirendi aliquid arte malefica, aut expiandi causa, vel, paganorum consuetudinem sequens, divinos qui tibi divinarent, ut futura ab eis requireres quasi a propheta, et illos qui sortes exercent, vel qui per sortes sperant se futura praescire, vel illos qui vel auguriis vel incantationibus inserviunt, ad te invitasti? Si fecisti, duos annos per legitimas ferias poeniteas", *DB19.5-61*, 509.

[54] Even though, in general terms, divination was associated with the word "pagan". The author of the eight-century *Homilia de sacrilegiis* labels anyone who believed in fortune tellers as "pagan".Martha Rampton, *Trafficking with Demons: Magic, Ritual, and Gender from Late Antiquity to 1000* (Cornell University Press, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501735301, 297.

[55] I am not going to discuss Book 10 at length, but I must digress once again in order to present some of the ideas used by Burchard when writing Book 19. For more in-depth information on Book 10 see Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, 174-181.

[56] For a discussion on Burchard's sources see Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 133*.

[57] Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 176-177. Austin also points out that Burchard drew heavily from Hrabanus Maurus, who had a similar view on the matter. See: Matthew B. Edholm, 'Re-examining Hrabanus Maurus' Letter on Incest and Magic', *Early Medieval Europe* 31, no. 2 (May 2023): 252–73, https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12624.

question.[58] In Book 10, for example, Burchard writes a rubric that sums up one of the principles of the *Corrector*. It reads, "Regarding those who seek salvation not from the Saviour but from his creation" (*De illis qui salutem non a Salvatore sed ab eius creatura requirunt*). This summarizes the canon's condemnation of all those who seek salvation in soothsayers, magicians and idols. Relying on them was not only an offense against God, but also against the unity of Christendom.[59] Laypeople were not the only ones tempted to consult magicians and the like. In Book 10 Burchard suggests two different penances for those who practice divination: three years for clergy and one and a half years for laypeople (*clerici annos tres, laici annum unum et dimidium*).[60] Burchard is not clear about who these diviners were, but the way that he phrased his questions indicates action, rather than simply belief in divination. According to Rampton "still, at its most basic, ritual always involves action in some way".[61] Rampton argued that "there was alarm at what, in Burchard's view, was an ill-defined female power, threatening to men, operating on the village level, a power being worked out through ritualisation and the perpetuation of myths and symbols, the vocabulary of which was unmediated by the church".[62] Recently, Austin analysed canons on laywomen and the supernatural and further developed Rampton's discussions, arguing that both the *Canon Episcopi* and the *Decretum* "emphasise that the clergy provide the only conduit for the laity to reach God, the only true source of supernatural authority".[63] Thus, the emphasis on ritual in questions which used the term *paganus* was part of Burchard's wider views on ritual purity as an attempt to differentiate the clergy from the laity, on the eve of the Gregorian Reform. The *Corrector* attempted to reinforce the monopoly of the male clergy over the supernatural by condemning any type of ritual which did not follow appropriate liturgy and was not mediated by the clergy.

The following question was taken from Book 19, but also appears in several canons in Book 10.[64] It refers to the worshipping of natural elements and to the idea that people could interfere in how they behave.

"If you have observed the traditions of the pagans, which, as

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[58] Austin, *Shaping Church Law*, 174-181.
[59] Edholm, 'Re-examining Hrabanus Maurus' Letter on Incest and Magic'.
[60] "Auguria vel sortes quae dicuntur falsae sanctorum, vel divinaciones, qui eas observaverint, vel quarumcunque scripturarum, vel votum voverint, vel persolverint ad arborem, vel ad lapidem, vel ad quamlibet rem, except ad Ecclesiam, omnes excommunicentur. Si ad poenitentiam venerint, clerici annos tres, laici annum unum et dimidium, poeniteant", 352.
[61] Rampton, 'Burchard of Worms and Female Magical Ritual', 15.
[62] Martha Rampton, 'Burchard of Worms and Female Magical Ritual', in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster (BRILL, 2002), 7–34, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004475830_006, 33.
[63] Austin, 'The Bishop, "Magic" and Women', 7.
[64] DB 10.13 condemns observing the beliefs of pagans and worshipping the moon or the stars' courses, or considering any omens for building a house or getting married.

> if by hereditary right established by devil, up to these days the fathers have always bequeathed to their sons, that is to say, have you worshiped the elements, that is the moon, or the sun, or the course of the stars, the new moon, or the eclipse of the moon? Did you think that you were able to restore their splendour by your cries, or that those elements were able to help you? Or did you wait for the new moon to build a house or to form a marriage? If you have done so, you shall do penance for two years on the appointed day, because it is written: "Whatever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of our Lord Jesus."[65]

In many religions and cultures, natural phenomena were omens for significant events in people's lives and had capacity to directly affect the course of people's lives.[66] Here Burchard condemns idolatry and the worshipping of anything else that could be linked to what he considered "pagan", such as inanimate objects and natural sites. This was a concern during Burchard's time, not only due to the pagan associations linked to the worship of nature, but also because of the constant attempt by the Church to draw a hard line between the sacred and the profane. This principle is made clear when one canon in book 10 allows prayers to be said over crops, but not "incantations".[67] Burchard also reiterates his message by quoting from Colossians 3:17.[68] That is, whatever one did, one ought to do it in the name of God as opposed to natural forces. Once again, the verb used by the bishop indicates action, that is, *facere*. Later, another question under the heading *ars magica* does not use the word "pagan" but refers to the worship of nature: "Did you come to any place to pray other than a church […] that is, to fountains or trees, or to stones, or to crossroads?" Penance in both cases is quite harsh: two and three years on the appointed days.[69] Any kind of idolatry, or worship of inanimate objects, was prohibited and seen as demonic since only the Christian

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[65] "Si observasti traditiones paganorum, quas, quasi haereditario jure diabolo subministrante, usque in hos dies semper patres filiis reliquerunt, id est ut elementa coleres, id est lunam aut solem, aut stellarum cursum, novam lunam, aut defectum lunae, ut tuis clamoribus aut auxilio splendorem ejus restaurare valeres, aut illa elementa tibi succurrere aut tu illis posses, aut novam lunam observasti pro domo facienda aut conjugiis sociandis? Si fecisti, duos annos per legitimas ferias poeniteas, quia scriptum est: 'Omne quodcunque facitis in verbo et in opere, omnia in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi facite'", *DB 19.62,* 509.

[66] Filotas has a long overview about different ways in which the cult of nature was discussed in medieval sources, see: Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature,* 120-152.

[67] Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000,* 176.

[68] "And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him", Col. 3:17 KJV.

[69] "Venisti ad aliquem locum ad orandum nisi ad ecclesiam vel ad alium locum religiosum quam episcopus tuus vel tuus sacerdos tibi ostenderet, id est vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides, vel ad arbores, vel ad bivia, et ibi aut candela aut faculam pro venerationem illuc detulisti aut ibi comedisti, aut aliquam salute corporis aut anime ibi requisisti? Si fecisti, aut consensisti, tres annos per legitimas ferias poeniteas."

God had the power to affect people's lives and the physical world.[70]

The next passage is also in DB 10.16-17, where Burchard prohibits observing the first of January (*de illis qui Kalendas Ianuarias ritu paganorum colere praesumunt*), but the canons from Book 10 are amalgamated and expanded in the following passage from Book 19:

> "Did you observe the first of January, according to the rites of the pagans, that you did something more for the New Year than what you normally do before, or after, namely: that you would prepare your table in your house by arranging stones or banquets, or you would lead singers and dancers through the streets or you would sit on the roof of your house and draw a circle with your sword so that you could see and understand what would happen to you in the following year? or did you sit on the skin of a bull at a crossroads so that you might understand what was going to happen to you in the future? or if you made bread for yourself the night before, so that if it rose well and became dense and high you would foresee prosperity for your life that year? If so, because you have forsaken God your Creator, and converted to idols and those vain things, you have become an apostate and you shall do penance for two years on the appointed days."[71]

Although this question was taken from Book 19, the first part of this canon can also be found in Book 10 and seems to have been taken from Regino's *Libri duo*.[72] The general scriptural idea, in this case, is that Christians should not observe customs that presuppose beliefs in some other religion or power. In addition to this canon by Regino, Burchard added more information from unknown formal sources. These additions agree with the previous prohibition and give specific examples of forbidden "pagan" practices, such as decorating one's house with laurel or leading singers through the streets.[73] One more question under the heading *ars magica* mentions the first of January,

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[70] Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000,* 177.

[71] "Observasti Kalendas Januarias ritu paganorum, ut vel aliquid plus faceres propter novum annum quam antea, vel post soleres facere, ita dico ut aut mensam tuam cum lapidibus vel epulis in domo tua praeparares eo tempore, aut per vicos et per plateas cantores et choros duceres, aut supra tectum domus tuae sederes, ense tuo circunsignatus, ut ibi videres et intelligeres quid tibi in sequenti anno futurum esset? vel in bivio sedisti supra taurinam cutem, ut et ibi futura tibi intelligeres? vel si panes praedicta nocte coquere fecisti tuo nomine, ut, si bene elevarentur, et spissi et alti fierent, inde prosperitatem tuae vitae eo anno praevideres? Ideo, quia Deum creatorem tuum dereliquisti, et ad idola et ad illa vana te convertisti, et apostata effectus es, duos annos per legitimas ferias poeniteas", *DB 19.63,* 509-510.

[72] For more information on how Burchard drew from *Libri duo* see: Ludger Körntgen, 'Canon Law and the Practice of Penance: Burchard of Worms's Penitential', *Early Medieval Europe* 14, no. 1 (January 2006): 103–17, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0254.2006.00176.x.

[73] "Si quis Kalendas Januaris ritu paganorum colere, vel aliquid plus novi facere propter novum annum, aut mensas cum lapidibus vel epulis in domibus suis preparare, et per vicos et plateas cantatores et choros ducere praesumpserit, anathema sit".

but the penance in this case in only thirty days on bread and water.[74] DB 19.63 likely condemns this type of celebration of the first of January on the basis that it does not resemble – or that it was an inappropriate – celebration of the Octave, which was not mediated by the Church.[75] The next question in Book 19 which mentions *ritu paganorum* also involves inappropriate singing.

> "Have you observed the funeral wakes, that is, were you were present at the vigils where the bodies of Christians were kept according to the rites of the pagans; and there you sang devilish songs, and there you performed the dances which the pagans devised according to the teachings of the devil; and there you drank, and you twisted your mouth with loud laughter; abandoning all piety and charity, as if rejoicing in death of a brother? If you have done so, you shall do penance for thirty days on bread and water."[76]

DB 19.93 seems to follow the same principle, prohibiting community-based practices that resemble the Church ones, thus reminding laypeople that only male clergy could perform rituals which provided access to the supernatural.[77] As in Book 6 of the *Decretum*, some canons anathematize or excommunicate offenders without stating a particular penance. For instance, DB 10.15-17 prohibits various practices pertaining to the kalends of January and funerals, but the canons in Book 10 lack a penance or conclude with the lines, "Let him be anathema" (*anathema sit)*.[78] Upon closer look, one can find the appropriate penance in DB 10.33, which describes several offenses and provides penance for all of these: five years of penance for monks, four for clergy, two for laity.[79] Which again shows magical

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[74] "Fecisti aliquid tale quale pagani facerunt et adhuc faciunt in Kalenda Januarii, in cervulo, vel in vegula? Si fecisti, triginta dies in pane et aqua debes poeniteas.", *DB 19.64*, 515.

[75] Canon 17 of the Second Council of Tours (567) proclaimed the entire period between Christmas and Epiphany as part of Christmastide. The eight day, or the Octave, was the first of January and was the feast of the circumcision of Christ: "De Decembri usque ad natale Domini et epiphania omni die festivitates sunt, itemque prandebunt. Excipitur triduum illud, quo ad calcandam gentilium consuetudinem, patres nostril statuerunt privatas in Kalendis Januarii fieri litanias, ut in ecclesiis psallatur, et hora octava in ipsis Kalendis Circumcisionis missa Deo propitio celebretur." Jean Hardouin, Philippe Labbé, and Gabriel Cossart, eds., *Acta Conciliorum et Epistolae Decretales* (Paris: Typographia Regia, 1714).

[76] "Observasti 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 adinvenerunt; et ibi bibisti, et cachinnis ora dissolvisti, et, omni pietate et affectu charitatis postposito, quasi de fraterna morte exsultare visus es? Si fecisti, XXX dies in pane et aqua poeniteas", *DB 19.93*, 513.

[77] Austin, 'The Bishop, "Magic" and Women', 5.

[78] "Non licet iniquas observations agree Kalendarum, et otiis vacare, neque lauro, aut viriditate arborum cingere domos. Omnis haec observation paganorum est."

[79] "Quicunque execuerint hoc, quando luna obscuratur, et cum clamoribus suis ac maleficiis et sacrilego usu se posse defendere credant, et quicunque divinos praecantatores phylacteria etiam diabolica, vel characters diabolicos, vel herbas, vel sucos, suis sibi impendere tantaverint, vel quintam feriam in honorem Jovis, vel Kalendas Januarias secundum paganam consietudinem honorare praesumpserit,

practices were not seen by the compilers as a problem just amongst laypeople.[80] The first item in Book 10 is also in Book 19. It is a well-known passage taken from Regino's *Libri duo*, which Burchard attributes not to Regino, but to the Council of Ancyra:

> "Have you believed or participated in this incredulity, that some wicked women who, seduced by illusions and phantasms of demons, turned back after Satan, [they] believe and profess: with Diana, goddess of the pagans, and an unnumbered multitude of women, they ride on certain beasts and traverse many areas of the earth in the silence of the night, obey her commands as if she was their mistress, and are called upon on certain nights to her service? But if only you alone should perish in your perfidy and not drag many with you into your weakness. For an unnumbered multitude, deceived by this false opinion, believe these things to be true and, in believing this, deviate from the right faith, and go back to the error of the pagans, when they think there is any divinity or heavenly authority except God. But the devil transforms himself into the shape and likeness of many people, deluding in sleep the mind which he holds captive, now with joy, now with sadness. Now showing unknown people, he leads them in deviant ways, and while only the spirit suffers, the mind of the unfaithful thinks that these things happen not in spirit, but in body. For who has not been led out of themselves, during night visions, and who while sleeping has not seen many things which they never saw while awake? Who then is so foolish and stupid to assume that those things which take place in spirit only, also happen in the body? When the prophet Ezekiel saw and heard visions in the spirit, not in the body, he himself spoke thus: 'Immediately', says he, 'I was a spirit.' And Paul does not venture to say that he was caught up in the body. Therefore, it is to be openly announced to all, that those who believe such things lose their faith; and those who have no sound faith in God are not his, but in whom he believes, that is, the devil. For it is written of our Lord: 'All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing.' If you have believed

monachus V, clericus IV, laicus II, annos poeniteat."See also Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000,* 179.

[80] "Quicunque exercuerint hoc, quando luna obscuratur, ut cum clamoribus suis ac maleficiis et sacrilego usu se posse defendere credant, et quicunque divinos praecantatores phylacteria etiam diabolica, vel characteres diabolicos, vel herbas, vel sucos, suis vel sibi impendere tentaverint, vel quintam feriam in honorem Jovis, vel Kalen. Janua. secundum paganam consuetudinem honorare praesumpserit, monachus V, clericus IV, laicus II, annos poeniteat."

> these vanities, you shall do penance for two years on the appointed days."[81]

This is probably the most well-known passage of the *Corrector* and it was quoted almost verbatim from Regino's *Libri duo,* and it later became known as *Canon Episcopi*. It starts with the verb *credidisti* and so it does not refer to a specific action or ritual. Rather, it condemns the *belief* that one went on nocturnal cavalcades with Diana. By analysing this passage, it is possible to identify a few patterns which also appear in other questions concerning the idea of "magic" throughout the *Corrector*. Most importantly, believing that any being other than the Christian God has the power to create or change things should be prohibited: "God is omnipotent, the *Decretum* condemns those who believe in any other power to cause change in the world, except by the will of God."[82] An interesting point could also be made about how Burchard was troubled by the idea that Christians could potentially deviate from their faith and relapse into paganism. When analysing this same passage in Regino's *Libri duo,* Christ Halsted discussed the levels of transmission which might have affected the way in which the *Canon Episcopi* might have been interpreted during Regino's lifetime. "Transmission along a chain of interlocutors who likely did not understand or endorse this belief, translation from vernacular to Latin, and whatever additional modifications Regino made himself together compound the distortion between source and text."[83] The same can be said of Burchard and his compilers, who

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[81] "Credidisti aut particeps fuisti illius incredulitatis, quod quaedam sceleratae mulieres retro post Satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus et phantasmatibus seductae, credunt et profitentur se nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea, et cum innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multa terrarum spatia intempestae noctis silentio pertransire, eiusque iussionibus velut dominae obedire, et certis noctibus ad eius servitium evocari? Sed utinam hae solae in perfidia sua perissent, et non multos secum in infirmitatis interitum pertraxissent. Nam innumera multitudo, hac falsa opinione decepta, haec vera esse credit, et credendo a recta fide deviat, et in errore paganorum volvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra unum Deum esse arbitratur. Sed diabolus transformat se in diversarum personarum species atque similitudines, et mentem, quam captivam tenet, in somnis deludens, modo laeta, modo tristia, modo incognitas personas ostendens, per devia quaeque deducit, et cum solus spiritus hoc patitur, infidelis mens haec non in animo, sed in corpore evenire opinatur. Quis enim non in somnis et nocturnis visionibus extra seipsum educitur, et multa videt dormiendo quae nunquam viderat vigilando? Quis vero tam stultus et hebes sit qui haec omnia, quae in solo spiritu fiunt, etiam in corpore accidere arbitretur? Cum Ezechiel propheta visiones Domini in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit et audivit, sicut ipse dicit: 'Statim, inquit, fui in spiritu.' Et Paulus non audet se dicere raptum in corpore. Omnibus itaque publice annuntiandum est quod qui talia et his similia credit, fidem perdit: et qui fidem rectam in Deo non habet, hic non est eius, sed illius in quem credit, id est diaboli. Nam de Domino nostro scriptum est: 'Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.' Si credidisti has vanitates, duos annos per legitimas ferias poeniteas", *DB 19.5-91,* 512-513.

[82] Austin, "*Shaping Church Law*", 176.

[83] Halsted not only presented a critique of various readings of the *Canon Episcopi,* but also, through a philological approach, argued that the text reveals an inversion of the imagery of masculine dominance during the Carolingian period, due to anxieties generated by elite crises and the anxieties of elite men. Chris Halsted, '"They Ride on the Backs of Certain Beasts": The Night Rides, the Canon Episcopi, and Regino of Prüm's Historical Method', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 15, no. 3 (2021): 361–85, https://doi.org/10.1353/mrw.2021.0009.

copied the text several years later, thus adding a different contextual layer to the chain of transmission. Burchard's idea of paganism, however, seems to be simply believing that there was another divinity other than the Christian God (*et in errore paganorum volvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra unum Deum esse arbitratur*). Only God can change something into something else thus, any sort of shapeshifting was viewed as magic, as well as any kind of power to change emotions. Furthermore, "even though Burchard did not believe women fly, there was a danger if they themselves believed it because that belief had the power to transform their understanding of the cosmos" – and perhaps, in turn, their understanding of who had access to otherworldly powers.

Concluding remarks

Overall, most practices that are under the heading *ars magica* and that are not labelled as "pagan" by Burchard receive shorter penance – for example: ten days of penance for the gathering of herbs,[84] a year of penance for causing it to rain[85] – whereas practices labelled as "pagan" receive a penance of at least two years. As I have discussed during my historiographical digression, the concept of pagan is a blurry one in general and even more so during the Middle Ages. Hence, I do not suggest that these practices have indeed survived from pre-Christian times. My aim was to determine if Burchard had any internal logic when labelling certain practices as pagan and to observe the severity or leniency of the penances prescribed for such acts, in order to better understand his notion of *ars magica*.

What I am tentatively pointing out is that there are two main characteristics pertaining these so-called pagan practices in the *Corrector sive medicus*: firstly, most of these questions indicate action rather than belief. Questions are phrased using words such as *observasti*, or *fecisti*, rather than *credidisti* which is more common in other questions related to *ars magica.*[86] Even questions that do start with the word *fecisti* offer more lenient penance when they are not referring to pagan beliefs, the harshest one being twenty days on bread and water.[87] Secondly, and perhaps related to the previous

[84] "Collegisti herbas medicinales, cum aliis incantationibus cum symbolo et Dominica oratione, id est cum Credo in Deum et Pater noster cantando. Si aliter fecisti, decem dies in pane et aqua poeniteas", *DB 19.66,* 510.

[85] "Credidisti unquam vel particeps fuisti illius perfidiae, ut incantatores et qui se dicunt tempestatum immissores esse, possent per incantationem daemonum aut tempestates commovere aut mentes hominum mutare? Si credidisti, aut particeps fuisti, annum unum per legitimas ferias poeniteas", *DB 19.69*, 510.

[86] Four questions that do not mention anything "pagan" start with the word *credidisti*.

[87] "Fecisti quod quidam faciunt, dum visitant aliquem infirmum: cum apropinquaverint domui ubi infirmus decumbit, si invenerint aliquem lapidem juxta jacentem, revolvunt lapidem, et requirunt in loco ubi jacebat lapis, si ibi sit aliquid subtus quod vivat, et si invenerint ibi lubricum, aut muscam, aut formicam, aut aliquid quod se moveat, tunc affirmant aegrotum convalescere. Si autem nihil ibi invenerint quod se moveat, dicunt esse moriturum. Si fecisti, aut credidisti, viginti dies in pane et aqua poeniteas.", *DB 19.103,* 515.

characteristic, practices labelled as pagan often seem to have a ritualistic component. That is, people would gather at a certain place, sometimes during a specific time – as in the first of January, for instance – and would perform certain activities in a specific way. This seems to be in keeping with Burchard's wider view on ritual purity and the differentiation between laypeople and clergy prior to the Gregorian Reform. The only legitimate way to reach the divine was through the Church, and only male clergy were in a state of ritual purity which allowed them to carry out rituals such as the Eucharistic feast in which the laity could access the sacred.

Furthermore, Burchard had a principle underlying all questions about *ars magica*: only the Christian god had the power to create things or cause a change in the physical world. Divination was also condemned because only the Christian God was all knowing and knew about future events. According to Burchard, demons could not predict future events, but simply use their senses and their ability to read the signs of nature in order to obtain this knowledge.[88] Similarly, the belief that any being other than the Christian God had the power to create or change the course of people's lives was condemned, because only God can cause change in the physical world and affect people's emotions. People or creatures who said they could do such things were in fact aided by demons or were demons themselves. Hence any sort of shapeshifting was viewed as magic, as well as any kind of power to change someone else's feelings and emotions.

This was merely an attempt at elucidating Burchard of Worms' understanding of magic according to his writings on *ars magica*. For a more thorough understanding, it might also be helpful to look at the penance prescribed for practices considered as de *sacrilegio, de superstitione* and *de incredulis*. The *Corrector sive medicus* has often been examined by historians not only because of how influential it was during the Middle Ages but also because it was infused with specific detail that is not found in other penitential manuals and might as well reflect local belief and practice in south-western Germany. The approach I have adopted here tries to focus on Burchard's internal logic when writing the *Corrector* rather than attempting to find the (supposedly) archaic origins of the practices which he described. Medieval religious culture can be thought of as an amalgam of official and unofficial beliefs, which were shared and lived by all levels of society although perhaps to different degrees. Talking about a "popular" culture is perilous, since this approach normally ignores the question of who the "people" are and ascribes a whole set of practices to a single social group. We should instead consider the context of the source, as well as the context of the author and of the community they

[88] Austin, "*Shaping Church Law*", 177.

describe. Burchard's understanding of *ars magica* is indeed rather rich influenced by various writers, and merits further investigation.

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Abbreviations

MGH – *Monumenta Germania Historica*

DB – *Decretum Burchardi,* Ms. Barth. 50

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Was it Augustine After All? Patristic Sources of Medieval Anti-heretical Polemics from the Perspective of Text Reuse Analysis[1]

Reima Välimäki - Marius Aho

Abstract

This article explores the extent to which medieval polemical authors resorted to patristic originals and how much they adopted patristic argumentation. The authors used computational text reuse analysis using Basic Local Alignment Search Tool (BLAST) to compare 189 classical and medieval texts, mainly from open repositories of digitised texts, to find similarities. The corpus includes classical works, particularly Augustine's anti-heretical treatises, canon law, inquisition manuals, exempla collections and florilegia, sermons and theological commentaries. The lack of medieval texts after ca. 1200 in machine-readable format is the greatest hindrance to building a representative medieval corpus. The authors propose that although medieval polemicists saw Augustine and other Church fathers as models of Christian champions fighting heresy, intensive engagement with patristic theology took place in medieval works that enjoyed limited circulation and influence.

(Abstract created with the help of Perplexity.ai.)

Keywords: Anti-heretical polemics; ancient heresy; medieval heresy; Augustine; text reuse; BLAST

Introduction

In 1927, almost a century ago, Herbert Grundmann demonstrated that the profile (*Typus*) of the heretic in medieval literature derived "from early Christian apologetics and patristics." In particular, Augustine had a strong and lasting legacy: "The dominance of his personality and his psychological skill made Augustine irreplaceable among the coarse methods of later times."[2] In scholarly literature on heresy and inquisition, it has since become commonplace to state that medieval theologians adopted Augustine's view on heresy.[3] However,

[1]This study is part of the project titled "Causalities of Polemics and Persecution in Late Medieval Europe" (PERSECUTIO, https://sites.utu.fi/persecutio/), funded by the Research Council of Finland (Academy Fellowship 2023–2027, grant number 356086). This research was also supported by the Turku Institute for Advanced Studies postdoctoral fellowship (2020–2022).

[2] Grundmann, 'Der Typus', 327; translation according to Grundmann, 'The Profile (Typus) of the Heretic in Medieval Perception.' On the continuing importance of Grundmann's methods, see Välimäki, 'The Worst of All Heresies'.

[3] Grundmann, 'Oportet et haereses esse. Das Problem der Ketzerei im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Bibelexegese', 136–37; Patschovsky, 'Häresie'; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 38, 66; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 191–93; Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 170, 219,

while it is clear that many medieval *topoi* of heretics were invented in late Antiquity and that Augustine was a dominant figure of Latin apologetic literature, it is much more debatable the extent to which medieval polemical authors actually resorted to patristic originals and how much they adopted patristic argumentation.

Some scholars have questioned the assumption that Augustine was the primary source of inspiration for medieval polemical literature. M. Frassetto has pointed out that despite the common assumption that the twelfth-century author Ademar of Chabannes was dependent on the works of Augustine for his understanding of heresy,[4] quotations of Augustine are absent in Ademar's corpus.[5] D. L. Goodwin has made a similar misassumption regarding the medieval reception of Augustine's views on Jews as "witness-people" and concludes that instead of Augustine's more tolerant attitude, hostility to Jews prevailed. Goodwin has called for an elucidation of the degree to which later theologians adopted (or neglected) Augustine's views.[6]

In this article, we attempt to illuminate Augustine's influence on medieval antiheretical polemics from a fresh viewpoint: computational text reuse analysis using Basic Local Alignment Search Tool (BLAST), a programme originally engineered in 1990[7] and used in bioinformatics to compare nucleotide or protein sequences to DNA/RNA databases to find similarities. Text reuse BLAST is a modification of this programme aimed at further utilising BLAST's comparison capabilities on natural languages. The version we used was originally designed at the University of Turku to be used with OCR texts and has been previously applied to analyse text reuse in historical newspaper data and large internet text corpora.[8] Text reuse BLAST can process several billion characters worth of textual material in one run. The programme is quite demanding in terms of processing power, but is highly parallelisable and can be run on cluster computers.

The article is based on a corpus of 189 classical and medieval texts, mainly from open repositories of digitised texts, but also includes scans of editions printed in the twentieth century. In addition to medieval anti-heretical polemics, the corpus includes classical works, particularly Augustine's anti-heretical treatises, canon law, inquisition manuals, exempla collections and florilegia, sermons and theological commentaries. The lack of medieval texts after ca. 1200 in machine-readable format is the greatest hindrance to building a representative

318; Müller, 'Heresy', 1124; Bain, 'Aux sources du discours antihérétique? Exégèse et hérésie au xiie siècle'; Kras, *The System of the Inquisition in Medieval Europe*, 24; Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 38.

[4] Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 19.

[5] Frassetto, 'Pagans, Heretics, Saracens, and Jews in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes'.

[6] Goodwin, 'Jews and Judaism'.

[7] Altschul et al., 'Basic Local Alignment Search Tool'.

[8] Vesanto et al., 'A System for Identifying and Exploring Text Repetition in Large Historical Document Corpora'; Vesanto et al., 'Applying BLAST to Text Reuse Detection in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1910'; Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920'; Oiva and Ristilä, 'Mapping the Pseudohistorical Knowledge Space in the Russian World Wide Web'.

medieval corpus, and there is an overrepresentation of authors and works available in easily accessible repositories, such as *Corpus Corporum*.[9] Yet, even with these caveats, the corpus enables the study of text reuse in patristic and medieval texts on a far greater scale than any human reader is capable of.

As BLAST compares all texts with each other, the output of such a corpus could be approached from a number of perspectives. Our focus is on the reuse of patristic antiheretical polemics in medieval polemics against heresy, as well as inquisitors' manuals. We propose that although medieval polemicists saw Augustine and other Church fathers as models of Christian champions fighting heresy, the inspiration they drew from patristic sources was rather superficial. The same biblical verses were used to refute heresy in the middle ages as in the patristic era, but most were material readily available in florilegia, glossae and works such as Gratian's *Decretum* or Peter Lombard's sentence commentary, which formed the foundation of medieval studies in canon law and theology. Works that extensively circulated patristic arguments were mostly marginal in their transmission and medieval readership.

Why does it matter if medieval polemicists circulated patristic theology? It has a great deal to do with how we perceive the value of medieval polemical treatises as historical sources on the doctrine, organisation and rites of dissident groups they describe. A central argument of those scholars who view medieval dualist heresy, usually known as Cathars, as an invention by medieval Catholic clergymen is that when faced with challengers to the Church's and prelates' authority, they viewed them through the lens of patristic heresiology, in effect importing Augustine's, Jerome's and Isidore's sects into the high middle ages. For R.I. Moore, the exhaustive refutation of Cathar and Waldensian beliefs by the Dominican Moneta of Cremona (ca. 1240) is "a classroom exercise" and tells little of real heresy.[10] According to U. Brunn and endorsed by M. Barbezat, the Benedictine monk Eckbert of Schönau concocted his description of "Cathars" in Rhineland in 1163 from his clerical education—above all Augustine—and not from any real encounter with dissident theology.[11] Following Brunn and transferring the argument to thirteenth-century Italy, A. Trivellone has recently argued that the emergence of "Cathars" in Italian polemics was not due to the existence of real Cathars "mais au succès et à la transmission d'un discours né en Rhénanie,"[12] though the details of such a transmission remain unclear, especially given the limited medieval circulation of Eckbert's work.[13]

Our analysis suggests, however, that even though medieval theologians were inspired by the example of the Church's fathers in combatting heresy and imported the names of ancient sects into the middle ages, they engaged with the heretics' arguments mainly from

[9] *Corpus Corporum* (URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/, retrived 13/02/2024).
[10] Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 314.
[11] Brunn, *Des contestataires aux 'Cathares'*, 275–364; Barbezat, *Burning Bodies*, 7–8, 90–99.
[12] Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 40.
[13] Brunn lists two medieval manuscripts, only one of which is complete, see Brunn, *Des contestataires aux 'Cathares'*, 277–84.

their own medieval perspective rather than simply copying patristic polemics against heresy. Perhaps we should take seriously the words of Eckbert of Schönau in his prologue: "And thus I set as the goal of the work to describe their errors, and to comment on the authoritative passages of the scriptures, based on which they defend themselves, and to demonstrate how they should be properly understood."[14] He and many other polemicists looked at the heretics through their education, but that did not exclude the possibility that at least some of them tried to be as accurate as possible within their own intellectual framework.[15]

This article will first give a brief description of the text corpus and the principles of its collection. The full bibliographical information of the corpus texts can be found in Appendix A. Second, we explain research methods, focusing on BLAST and how its results can be interpreted. Third, a qualitative investigation into how some high medieval polemicists and canon lawyers resorted to Augustine and other patristic literature follows. Fourth, we overview text reuse in the corpus and finally zoom into the reused passages of patristic literature in medieval polemics.

Sources and corpus

This chapter provides a short overview of the corpus and the different types of texts it includes. It is impossible to describe in detail all 189 works in the corpus and the reader is advised to consult Appendix A for information about the editions used. From now on, when referring to the texts in the corpus, the edition used is the one mentioned in Appendix A.

The goal of corpus building was to compile a body of texts containing the most important classical or patristic antiheretical works, a large sample of high and late medieval antiheretical works and texts circulating far and wide in medieval Latin Christendom: the Bible, canon law, fundamental works of theology such as Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, miracle collections and florilegia. It is far from a complete picture of medieval Latin literature, but comprehensive enough to demonstrate whether reused passages were typical in antiheretical literature or learned medieval culture in general.

We followed the principles of open science and accessibility in corpus building: whenever a work was available in open repositories, we used that edition. This might raise criticism from philologically oriented readers due to the use of inferior editions, for example, *Patrologia Latina* for patristic works instead of superior but licensed *Corpus Christianorum* editions. We acknowledge that this is not an ideal solution but a necessary compromise to get the required mass of text needed for the analysis. We focused human resources on scanning and cleaning scanned texts to acquire high and late medieval treatises

[14] Ecbert of Schönau, *Sermones conta Catharos,* PL 195, 13: "Ego itaque operae pretium duxi errores eorum describere, et adnotare auctoritates Scripturarum, ex quibus se defendunt, ac demonstrare quomodo sane intelligi debeant".

[15] For a similar view on heresy and polemics, see Biller, 'The Anti-Waldensian Treatise'; Sackville, 'The Textbook Heretic: Moneta of Cremona's Cathars'; Rist, '"Lupi Rapaces in Ovium Vestimentis": Heretics and Heresy in Papal Correspondence'.

unavailable as digital texts. Furthermore, one must remember that BLAST is a blunt instrument that does not take into account the critical apparatus but churns texts into sequences of characters using only the 23 most common letters in a language.[16] For text reuse analysis, a large body of poor or mediocre editions is preferable to a limited curated corpus of the latest critical editions.

The earliest layer of texts in the corpus is the patristic antiheretical treatises. The great majority of these are by Augustine of Hippo—51 of his works or collections are included in the corpus. These include his writings against Manichees, Pelagians, Donatists, Arians and heretics in general, but also sermon collections and his epistles.[17] Other patristic authors in the corpus are Ambrosius, Boethius, Gregory I, Jerome, Irenaeus of Lyon, Isidore, Lucifer Calaritanus and Tertullian. All patristic works were acquired from the *Corpus Corporum* database and originated from public domain editions of *Patrologia Latina* and *Scriptores ecclesiastici*.

Medieval antiheretical literature is much more challenging to acquire in machine-readable format than patristic works, which are available in digital repositories. Many works until around 1200 are accessible through old editions in *Patrologia Latina*, but the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century treatises had to be scanned if they were not put into online repositories by their editors. Nineteenth-century and earlier editions were accessed through Archive.org and Google Books, but their textual quality is often poor. Some texts are unpublished transcripts from medieval manuscripts. The goal was to get a good representation of thirteenth-century treatises, above all French and Italian anti-dualist treatises, together with important inquisitorial texts, such as Bernard Gui's manual and the treatise of Anonymous of Passau. An important late medieval layer of anti-heretical polemics is Petrus Zwicker's anti-Waldensian treatises, which were included in the corpus. Thanks to a recent edition by D. Prudlo, we were able to add the important and extensive treatise by the Dominican Peter of Verona.[18] We were aware of the new critical edition of the so-called Pseudo-Jacobus de Capelli's treatise,[19] but as we already had the text scanned from an older edition under the name *Disputationes nonnullae,*[20] we ended up using this early twentieth-century edition. The greatest lacuna in any study of textual influences within medieval anti-heretical texts is the lack of an edition of Benedict of Alignan's *Tractatus fidei*, which was extremely popular across Europe and influenced other treatises.[21] Transcribing this long treatise was, however, far beyond the scope of this study and is left for future research.

Other texts in the corpus include sermons, exempla collections and florilegia, as well as pastoral theology. Some very poor-quality texts

[16] See the next subchapter.

[17] Daniela Müller's survey on Augustine's antiheretical works was consulted when building the corpus, see Müller, 'Heresy'.

[18] Prudlo, *Summa Contra Hereticos Ad Petrum Martyrum Attributa*.

[19] Romagnoli, *Pseudo-Jacobus de Cappellis, Summa Contra Hereticos*.

[20] Bazzocchi, *La eresia catara; saggio storico filosofico con in appendice*.

[21] Arnold, 'Benedict of Alignan's Tractatus Fidei Contra Diversos Errores'.

were accepted purposely to test the limits of BLAST's ability to deal with errors and noisy data—for example, the 1546 print of William Perault's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, an important unedited work on moral theology. BLAST not only passed the test but found a previously unknown reuse of Perault's *Summa* in an anti-heretical text.

The 189 texts yielded 129,492,634 characters that were inputted into BLAST. One work, the treatise by Anselm of Alessandria, was for unknown reasons corrupted in the input phase and had to be removed from the results. Four other texts yielded no text reuse and are not used in the following analysis.[22] From the rest of the 184 works, Appendix B contains information about authors, titles and approximate genre classification, as well as the name of the input file, with which one can find the work in question from BLAST output. As many of the input texts are under copyright protection, we are unable to share the full data set. BLAST outputs and network data used in the following analysis are available on GitHub.[23]

Research methods: interpreting BLAST's results

Text reuse is a field familiar to most academics and is nowadays widely used in plagiarism detection and copyright monitoring. Most of this article's readers have likely used some commercial software to check student essays or theses. The main difference between plagiarism detection software and this study—and many other academic studies of text reuse—is that the former typically compares a test text against a large corpora of texts—for example, has a student copied from previous studies or Wikipedia articles—whereas our analysis is based on an all-against-all comparison of the corpus to discover unexpected instances of quotations and relationships between works. The following is a non-technical description of BLAST from a historian's viewpoint. Those interested in technical details are advised to turn to the programme's documentation.

As stated in the introduction, text reuse BLAST is a modification of a programme originally created to find similarities in nucleotide or protein sequences. The text reuse version was developed to study historical newspaper data with many errors in optical character recognition (OCR).[24] For BLAST, the text data in natural languages is encoded into protein sequences, which the programme can read. As BLAST has been coded to identify 23 different types of amino acids, only the 23 most common letters in a natural language (in our case Latin) can be used. As such, BLAST usage can be categorised as a language-agnostic method, but similar sequences are only found within one language. In other words, BLAST can handle documents

[22] These were two versified works by Alain of Lille: *Anticlaudianus* and D*e planctu naturae*, as well as two very short anti-heretical tracts, the anonymous *Qualiter respondendum illis* and Ardisius Placentinus's description of the Poors of Lyon.
[23] https://github.com/ReimaValimaki/Polemic-reuse-data/. Retrieved 11/06/2024.
[24] See the references in n. 7 above. The version we used is available at https://github.com/avjves/textreuse-blast; more detailed documentation is available at https://github.com/maraho/textreuse-blast. Retrieved 14/02/2024.

written in several languages, but clusters are formed only of reuse cases within one language.

In the preprocessing stage, texts are turned into a JSON Lines file in which each document is presented on a separate line with pertaining metadata. It is important to note that a document is not equal to a text in the source corpus. BLAST does not cope well with drastically varying text lengths. For example, having documents with text lengths of 300 and 300,000 characters in the same dataset may result in increased processing time. For such cases, the programme has a built-in splitter that automatically splits the text of a document at a certain character count threshold while preserving the connection to the original metadata. In our study, the threshold was 20,000 characters. Splitting is done at some cost to recall: the programme does not recognise text reuse in text segments that have been forcibly split into different documents. This is a potential problem for datasets where the original division is by pages, as is the case with some newspaper corpora,[25] but with an automatic division of every 20,000 characters, the instances of text reuse lost due to splitting are very few in relation to the whole.

Running the actual BLAST on the input data to find pairs where parts of documents overlap is computationally the most demanding phase. It is preferably done with multiple cores on cluster computers in order to run it simultaneously on as many threads as possible and to have storage areas capable of dealing with intensive input-output operations. After the batch run phase, the document pairs are clustered based on their offset values so that overlapping passages are considered as part of the same cluster. We used the default value of 90% similarity for the pairs to be included in the same clusters. Finally, the clusters are converted back to natural text and reattached with their metadata—in our case, the author and title of the work.

BLAST clusters all matching pairs it finds, however short. In natural languages, very short passages consist of common and formulaic phrases, which is especially true with medieval Latin. Therefore, in the output stage, short clusters can be filtered out, which significantly affects the results. In our case, we ran the cluster filter with two different settings, filtering out all clusters shorter than 100 and 200 characters. With a filter value of 100, BLAST ended up with 41,260 clusters and with a filter value of 200, the count was 9,367 clusters.

Due to the document split, we undertook additional filtering in the post-processing stage: there were many clusters that demonstrated text reuse between different parts of the same work. While this could be interesting for some research questions, it added additional noise in our analysis. Therefore, we filtered out clusters that had only hits to different parts of the same work. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*'s different parts and Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* 1 and 2 received an additional treatment where they were combined into one work for post-processing. After filtering, there were 31,493 clusters with a minimum length of 100 characters and 7,107 clusters with 200

[25] cf. Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920'.

characters. Post-processing thus decreased the number of clusters by about 24% in both outputs. We used this filtered data for the rest of the analysis. The relatively high degree of text reuse within a single work is in part due to the repeated use of Bible verses. It is also a neat quantitative demonstration of a feature in medieval literary production, namely recirculating not only what others have written but also their own texts. The cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux even advised preachers to do so in his model sermon in 1269: "And in this we are instructed that we should not be embarrassed if we sometimes repeat things in our writings or sermons which we have written or preached elsewhere."[26]

More is not necessarily better in this case. The output data with a minimum cluster length of 100 characters contains more cases of genuine text reuse but also more noise, like common phrases and biblical verses that were the stock of medieval Christian Latin. Output data with a minimum length of 200 characters loses many instances of reuse but is easier to interpret, especially qualitatively. It has longer text snippets and reveals cases where one author copied a significant passage from another. In our analysis, we used both outputs. There is no gold standard for choosing a filter value, as it depends on research questions and data. However, lowering the filter value from 100 evidently produces extremely noisy output data and increases the number of clusters rapidly. With this dataset, our empirical observation is that if one is interested in exploring how a single or a limited number of texts reuse previous works, one might want to lower the filter value to 100 to maximise hits. If, however, the purpose is to systematically study dozens of works and their mutual influences, it might be advisable to use a filter value of 200 or 300 to reduce noise and focus on instances of genuinely recirculated text passages.

However, filtering out passages shorter than 100 characters means that many shorter quotations are lost. For example, the famous passage that argues against the validity of sacraments administered by heretics and schismatics and attributed to Augustine in the middle ages falls below this threshold: "Extra ecclesiam non est locus veri sacrificii, non est corpus Christi quod schismaticus conficit."[27] It can be found under Augustine's name, for example, in Gratian's

[26] Eudes de Châteauroux, *Sermo quando timetur terremotu:* "et in hoc instruimur quod non debemus erubescere repetere aliquando in scriptis nostris uel sermonibus que alibi scripsimus uel predicauimus." Cit. and transl. in Hanska, 'Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations: Eudes de Châteauroux and the Earthquake of 1269 in Viterbo', 124.

[27] Classen, 'Der Häresie-Begriff bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg und in seinem Umkreis', 33.

Decretum.[28] As expected for such a short sentence, BLAST discovers only one cluster with two hits:

> cluster_35854
> File: Anon_SynodusAtrebatensisActa.txt__0_200000
> Text: acrificarentur, elegit, id est in ecclesia sancta quae domus Dei specialiter appellatur, quia veri sacrificii extra catholicam Ecclesia
> File: Bonaventura_Sermones.txt__3600000_3800000
> Text: acriflcatur et vox eius auditur, est Ecclesia militans, quia, ut dicit Augustinus', « non est locus veri sacrificii extra calholicam Ecclesia

This example demonstrates that BLAST is not a silver bullet that finds all instances of text reuse. In fact, it is very difficult to give an estimate of its recall from a corpus of such diverse quality. In order to give an estimate of its accuracy, one would need to manually compile gold standard data where all instances of text reuse are listed from a limited number of works and run BLAST on this data. This would require an immense amount of manual labour beyond the scope of this study. As these results would only apply to data with similar text quality, the benefits of such a test are not comparable to the effort required.[29] Furthermore, the test would rest on the assumption that a human would recognise all instances of implicit quotations and paraphrases, which is not the case. Indeed, one of BLAST's strengths is finding precisely such unexpected implicit quotations that are so common in medieval literature.

An excellent example of BLAST's success in recognising text reuse is the similarity between the inquisitor Petrus Zwicker's treatise *Refutatio errorum* (early 1390s) and the Dominican William Perault's (d. 1271) bestseller *Summa de virtutibus.* Zwicker's treatment of purgatory is greatly indebted to Perault's *Summa*. Previous studies on the *Refutatio* have been blind to this connection.[30]

> cluster_13172 (cluster min length 100)
> File: GuillelmusPeraldus_SummaDeVirtutibus.txt__400000_600000
> Text: ccle- fiaenonprofint<lefundis. cap. xxvu. IR C A tcrtium crrorem qui po nit fuftragia Ecclefix non pro* deiTe mortuis > notandum qubd valde dcteftabilis eft cum in mor tuos feuiat. Quantum cnim in fc eft , fuccurfum Ecclefiae aufcrt mortuis qui igne pur ga
> File: Zwicker_RefutatioErrorum1.txt__0_200000
> Text: ncie et longanimitatis contempnis ; Contra tercium errorem qui ponit suffragia ecclesie pro mortuis non prodesse ; Nota quam sit detestabilis cum seuiat in

[28] *Decretum*, C. 1., q. 1, c. 71.
[29] See Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920' for a similar conclusion.
[30] See the latest and most exhaustive treatment in Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 39–64.

> mortuos [f. 199r] auferens ecclesie succursum his qui igne purgatorij cruciantur ; Con

The recognition of a parallel passage from a 1546 edition of Perault's *Summa* with very poor text quality demonstrates BLAST's power in treating a corpus of poor and mixed quality. This feature led us to choose BLAST over other text reuse recognition tools. In an earlier stage of this study, we ran the more popular tool Passim[31] on a previous version of our corpus. Like BLAST, Passim was developed for poor quality OCR and tolerates errors. From our data, BLAST returned a total of 17,115 clusters, while Passim yielded only 4,921. More importantly, Passim failed to recognise known text reuse from a poor quality text similar to Perault's summa, while BLAST succeeded.

To sum up the possibilities and dangers of investigating text reuse with BLAST, we do not claim to find every single patristic quote in medieval polemics with the programme. More importantly, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence when it comes to individual quotes. However, with BLAST, one can certainly find out if two or more works share significant amounts of similar textual material, be it an explicit quotation or a slightly altered paraphrase. With this in mind, we begin to explore patristic and medieval polemics. However, we shall first dwell on antiheretical polemics and medieval "Manichees" from a qualitative perspective.

Medieval polemicists and Augustine

There is no denying that medieval Catholic apologists resorted to Augustine's authority, especially in branding dualist heretics they encountered—or thought to encounter—as "Manichees." One of the first high-medieval clerics to do so, Guibert of Nogent, in describing heretics near Soissons in his autobiographical *Monodies* (1115), recounted a fantastical story of a heretical assembly where men and women had sex with whomever was nearest. If a baby was born out of this orgy, the child was murdered in another ritual, reduced to ashes and baked into a magical bread that transmitted heresy to those who ate it. Guibert asserted confidently: "If you read about the heresies examined by Augustine, you will find this one matches the Manicheans more than any other. This heresy was started long ago with rather learned men, and what abandoned to peasants who boast they maintain the apostolic life."[32] Although similar narratives of demon-worshipping heretics circulated in the following centuries and culminated in the witches' sabbath in the fifteenth century,[33] the transmission of this polemical image had probably nothing to do with Guibert's work, whose medieval readership was likely very

[31] *Passim* (URL: https://github.com/dasmiq/passim, retrieved on 13/02/2024). For an application of Passim, see Smith, Cordell, and Mullen, 'Computational Methods for Uncovering Reprinted Texts in Antebellum Newspapers'.
[32] Translated in Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies*, 169–70.
[33] A process documented in great detail in Utz Tremp, *Von der Häresie zur Hexerei*.

limited; only a single seventeenth-century copy of the work survives, indicating a rather modest and local medieval circulation.[34]

Of course, other medieval scholars were quite capable of finding Augustine independently. Eckbert of Schönau, in his thirteen sermons against Cathars, written after 1163, was explicit that he drew inspiration from the bishop of Hippo and even listed three of his anti-heretical works:

> "For what has been written about the Manichees by saint Augustine, I have summarily and briefly collected from his three books, namely from the one entitled *Contra Manichaeos*, and from the one with the title *De moribus Manichaeorum*, and from the book *De haeresibus*, and this collection I intend to attach to the end of this book, so that those who would read it, could better know this whole heresy, as from the foundation, and would understand how this heresy is the bilge-water of all heresies."[35]

As with Guibert's treatise, the scarcity of Eckbert's sermons' extant copies, two manuscripts—one of them incomplete[36]—implies a limited medieval audience instead of international popularity. An average survival rate for high and late medieval manuscripts has been estimated to be around 7%—i.e. there were fourteen lost medieval copies for every copy surviving to our day. However, the survival rate is higher for monastic texts, such as those by Guibert and Eckbert that have benefitted from monasteries' institutional stability.[37] It is thus questionable how far and wide Guibert's and Eckbert's engagement with Augustine's anti-Manichean treatises spread. They have possibly been much more influential in modern scholarship than to medieval readers. It is worth noting that the most widespread version of the burning of heretics in Cologne in 1163 in the *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach does not contain any references to "Manichees" or Augustine,[38] despite a recent attempt to interpret his accounts of heresy in Augustine's theological framework.[39]

From a canon-legal perspective, Augustine and Jerome significantly influenced medieval ideas about heresy. In *causa* 24 of his

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[34] Rubenstein, 'Introduction', vii.

[35] Ecbert of Schönau, *Sermones conta Catharos,* PL 195, 18B: "Nam quae de Manichaeis a beato Augustino conscripta sunt, summatim et breviter collegi ex tribus libris ejus, videlicet ex eo qui inscribitur contra Manichaeos, et eo qui intitulatur De moribus Manichaeorum, et ex libro De haeresibus; et eamdem collectionem in fine libri hujus adnectere dispono, ut qui legerint, possint quasi a fundamento totam hanc haeresim plenius agnoscere, et intelligant quoniam haec haeresis omnium haeresum sentina est." Translations by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

[36] See above n. 12.

[37] Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch,* 80–85; Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West*, 232; Kestemont et al., 'Forgotten Books'.

[38] Strange, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, 5.19, 289–99.

[39] Barbezat, *Burning Bodies*, 119–24.

Decretum, where Gratian discussed the nature of heresy, he built upon Augustine's, Jerome's and early medieval popes' ideas of a heretic as someone who follows false or new opinions and defends them even when admonished. Thus, obstinacy against correction became an essential part of the medieval concept of heresy.[40] Peter Lombard shared the same view using the same sources. According to L. Sackville, through Lombard's *Sententiae*, medieval theologians adopted a doctrinal approach to heresy, which in turn shaped the thirteenth-century polemical response against heretics.[41] In addition to the definition of heresy, Augustine's anti-Donatist treatises—likely transmitted through polemics of the eleventh-century Church reform—influenced Gratian's view on the legitimate punishments for heresy.[42] This doctrinal and legal definition of heresy, compiled and synthesised by Gratian and Peter Lombard, is the most lasting and widespread medieval legacy of the anti-heretical literature of late antiquity. These cornerstones of medieval canon law and theology gave access to Augustine's, Isidore's, Jerome's and others' ideas to those without access to—or time to read—the originals. This should be kept in mind when we analyse the reuse of patristic works in medieval polemics.

Overview of the text reuse in the corpus

The filtered data used in the analysis has 31,493 clusters with a minimum length of 100 characters and 7,107 clusters with 200 characters. The number of text reuse instances is thus too great to be analysed manually. Therefore, to give an overview of text reuse, we transformed the clustered data into network data wherein nodes (points in a graph) were formed of the works and edges (ties between nodes) equalling hits in the same cluster. In other words, every time two different works appeared in the same cluster, an edge was created between them. When we extracted the edge list from the BLAST output, we combined split works back into one work (corresponding to a node) and thus removed self-loops, which in our data meant text reuse within a work. The network data was analysed with the open-source programme Gephi (version 0.10.1).[43]

With a minimum cluster length of 100, this yielded 134,951 edges, and with a minimum length 200, the number of edges was 15,077. We merged the parallel edges and summed their weights, resulting in 10,429 and 3,905 edges, respectively. These numbers represent unique pairs of two works appearing in the same cluster, that is, sharing text. The weight of an edge between two nodes represents the number of clusters where these two works appear together. For example, edge

[40] Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l'Inquisition*, 67; Hageneder, 'Der Häresiebegriff bei den Juristen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts', 51–52; Walther, 'Häresie und päpstliche Politik: Ketzerbegriff und Ketzergesetzgebung in der Übergangsphase von der Dekretist zur Dekretalistik', 112; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 103–6.

[41] Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 190–91, 193.

[42] Walther, 'Häresie und päpstliche Politik: Ketzerbegriff und Ketzergesetzgebung in der Übergangsphase von der Dekretist zur Dekretalistik', 114–18; Müller, 'Heresy', 1123.

[43] *Gephi* (URL: https://gephi.org/, retrieved 14/02/2024).

weight 259 between Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* and Gratian's *Decretum* (in the cluster-length 200 data) means that there are 259 passages of text that are similar in these works.

Readers should note that our data does not form a network in the sense of a structure as commonly understood in social network analysis.[44] While text reuse is a form of information flow that can be analysed as a network, the edges in our network do not necessarily correspond to a direct influence between two literary texts. An edge between two works does not mean direct influence, but is an indication of sharing the same textual material, not of a direct quote. Most shared passages are biblical verses that, unsurprisingly, dominate the data. Furthermore, neither BLAST nor network analysis can point out the direction of text reuse, although one must assume that an older text is the source for a more recent one. For this reason, we do not analyse the network with metrics such as betweenness.

Nevertheless, a high edge weight (number of shared clusters) between the two works points towards similar argumentation, subject matter and style. The following tables list the top 10 works based on their weighted degree in both outputs and give an idea of the most prominent works and authors in the data.

[44] For an introduction to social network analysis, see Marin and Wellman, 'Social Network Analysis: An Introduction'; for applications of SNA on medieval dissident communities, see Nieto-Isabel and López-Arenillas, 'From Inquisition to Inquiry'; Nieto-Isabel, 'Communities of Dissent. Social Network Analysis of Religious Dissident Groups in Languedoc in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries'; Välimäki and Zbíral, 'Analisi delle reti sociali delle comunità valdesi germanofone'.

Table 1: Top 10 works, minimum cluster length 100, ordered according to the weighted degree

Author	Work	Degree (number of unique edges)	Weighted degree (total number of edges)
N.A.	Bible	172	23,556
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	170	11,598
Augustine	*Sermones de scripturis*	174	7,536
Bonaventura	*Sermones*	163	7,393
Augustine	*In Ioannis evangelium tractatus*	161	5,502
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	165	5,497
Albertus Magnus	*Sermones*	156	5,400
Gratian	*Decretum*	164	5,400
Jerome	*Epistolae*	160	5,200
Augustine	*Enarrationes in Psalmos 1*	156	5,164

Table 2: Top 10 works, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to the weighted degree

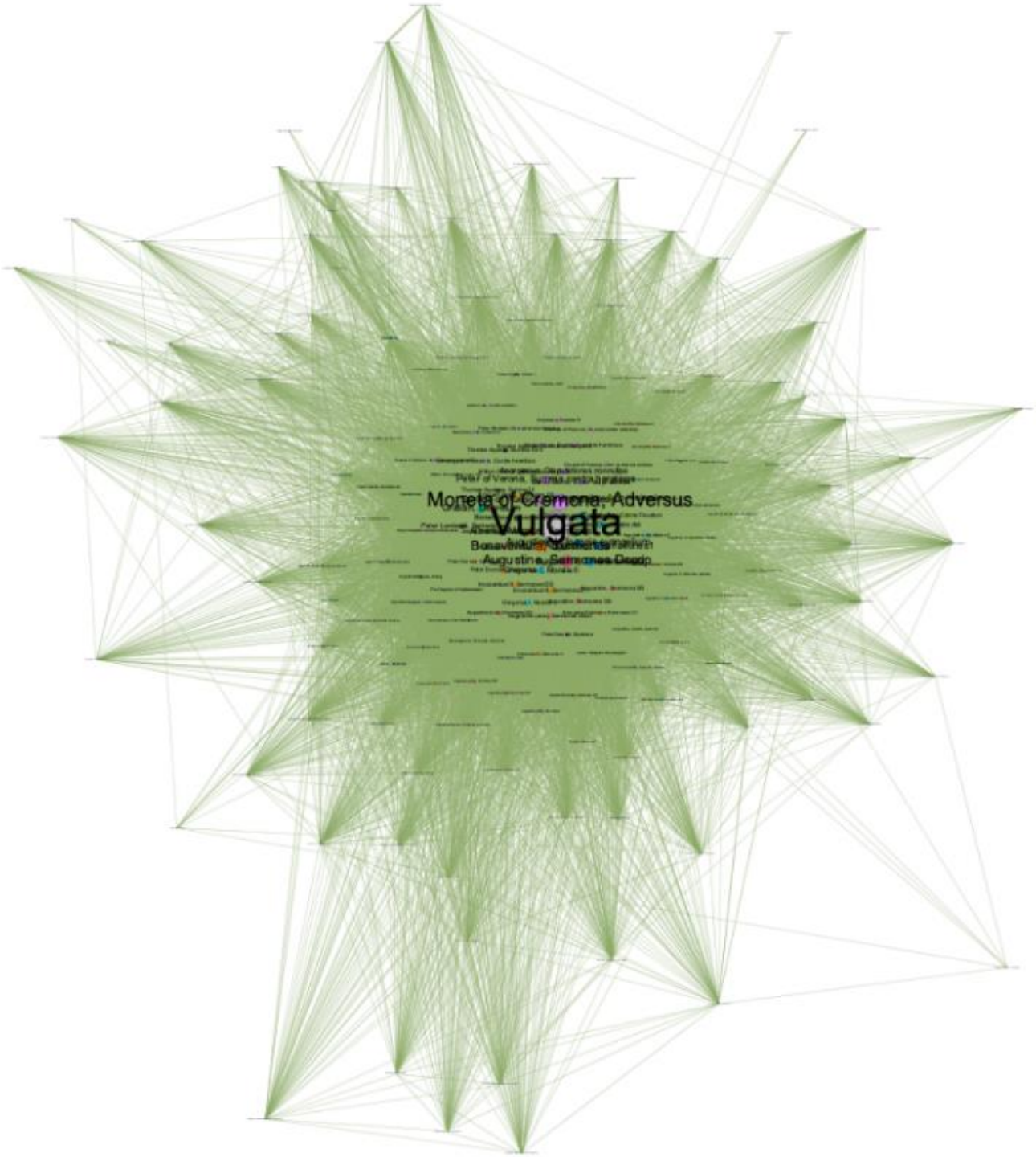
Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
N.A.	Bible	149	3,789
Gratian	*Decretum*	106	1,326
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	113	1,127
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	92	955
Jerome	*Epistolae*	93	715
Peter Lombard	*Sententiae*	110	708
Augustine	*Sermones de scripturis*	112	638
Augustine	*De civitate dei*	85	540
Anonymous	*Disputationes nonnullae*	61	472
Augustinus	*Epistolae* 2	55	417
Augustine	*In Ioannis evangelium tractatus*	76	393

While there are some differences between the dataset, the overall picture remains the same: the Bible and long works with numerous biblical quotations are the most connected ones. Two medieval anti-heretical polemics make it to the top 10: Moneta of Cremona's *Adversus catharos et valdenses* (1240s) and Duran of Huesca's *Liber antiheresis* (ca. 1191–92). Both are long treatises that make extensive use of biblical quotations. Durand especially quotes scriptures at length: among the longest passages of text reuse is an over-4,500-characters-long quote of Ex. 12:1–13 in Durand's *Liber antiheresis*.[45]

Image 1 is a visualisation of the whole network. The Bible and the long treatises, *Summae*, sermon collections and exegetical works dominate, but all texts are strongly interconnected, with the exception of some very short texts. The network view is a visualisation of the omnipresence of the Bible in medieval culture,[46] but little else. To it

[45] Cluster 3982, cluster minlength 200, see the data at https://github.com/ReimaValimaki/Polemic-reuse-data/. Retrieved 11/06/2024.
[46] Cf. van Liere, *Medieval Bible*, 208.

applies Zalc's and Lemercier's observation that a network structure where everything is interconnected is trivial and not worth analysing as a network.[47] In order to meaningfully observe connections between texts, further filtering of the data is required.



[47] Lemercier and Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities*, 102.

Patristic authors and medieval polemics

We filtered data further to isolate the text reuse of patristic authors in antiheretical polemics from the general circulation of biblical verses in medieval literature. First, we focused on BLAST output with a minimum cluster length of 200 characters. Shorter quotations were lost, but we can claim with higher confidence that the remaining reuse is genuine—in other words, not simply repeated biblical verses. Second, we filtered out output clusters with the conditions that a) a cluster contains at least one hit to a patristic author (Ambrosius, Boethius, Gregory I, Jerome, Irenaeus of Lyon, Isidore, Lucifer Calaritanus and Tertullian) and b) it contains at least one hit to a medieval polemic or inquisition text.[48] This resulted in 667 clusters. We further filtered out all clusters that have a hit to Vulgate, reducing the number of clusters to 400 and excluding most Bible reuse. In the following analysis, we use this latter output, which contains 89 works of the original 189 in the input data.[49]

We must remind the reader that we do not consider our results to represent the full number of patristic quotes in medieval polemics of the corpus—far from it. The limit of 200 characters leaves out short passages. However, a comparison between the different patristic works gives an idea of the scale to which these works were cited at length relative to each other. What BLAST's output loses in the recall of short quotes it gains in all-against-all comparison of dozens of works, which would not be a realistic endeavour based on the manual extraction of quotes.

This output still contains many other works than patristic texts and polemics. Therefore, we extracted network data from the output forming edges only between patristic texts and medieval polemics. Due to the filtering of BLAST's output with a focus on patristics and polemics, this network data is more likely to represent the actual flow of information between them than the general overview of the text reuse in the previous subchapter. Even these edges do not, however, automatically mean that the medieval author in question used a patristic original. There are a number of possible indirect sources, such as florilegia, canon law, glossae and exegetical works, but as the origin of an authoritative quotation mattered little to the medieval reader, it is of secondary importance for our analysis.

The extracted network data yielded 98 nodes (out of the 184 in the full network) and 447 edges (unique instances of text reuse),[50] which summed up to 210 edges upon merging. Even with this significantly reduced data, network graphs are not particularly informative, and

[48] Works with the genres "Medieval, polemic" and "Medieval, inquisitor's manual" and the Acts of the Synod of Arras (1025), cf. Appendix B.

[49] See https://github.com/ReimaValimaki/Polemic-reuse-data/ (retrieved 11/06/2024) for the output. In addition to automatic filtering, we manually removed cluster 1 that contained hits to *Corpus Corporum* metadata, which had remained as a relic in the BLAST analysis. While such noise is typical in BLAST's results, in the extracted network data, this large cluster yielded artificial edges that affected the results.

[50] Due to automatic extraction from the clusters, medieval texts are sometimes defined as "source" and patristic texts as "targets" in the edgelist. This is purely a technical feature of the dataset that should be read as undirected network data.

we focus on degree and weighted degree. The degree should again be read as representing the number of other works with which a work is connected via text reuse, and the weighted degree represents the total number of discovered instances of text reuse.[51] In Table 3, the first line means that Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* is reused in eight medieval polemics of the corpus a total of 95 times. The results were somewhat surprising, given the prevalence of Augustine's influence on medieval polemics in the scholarly literature.

Table 3: Top 10 patristic works reused in medieval polemics, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to the weighted degree

Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
Gregory the Great	*Dialogi*	8	95
Jerome	*Epistolae*	20	44
Augustine	*De civitate dei*	11	29
Isidore	*Sententiae*	3	23
Irenaeus of Lyon	*Contra hereticos II*	12	23
Gregory the Great	*Homiliae in Ez.*	12	21
Augustine	*Sermones de Scripturis*	11	19
Gregory the Great	*Homiliae in Evangelia*	9	18
Augustine	*In Ioannis Evangelium tract.*	10	17
Gregory the Great	*Moralia II*	5	14

The most widely reused work, Gregory's *Dialogi*, is a fundamental text of the medieval Christian culture, above all as monastic reading and as a model for later hagiography.[52] It is not, however, primarily an antiheretical work. *Dialogi* rises to the top of the list thanks above all to one medieval polemic: *De altera vita* by Lucas Tudensis, the

[51] Weighted degree includes some duplicates from the cases where BLAST has split the same quote into two or more clusters. Therefore, it should be interpreted with some caution.

[52] Gerwing, 'Gregor I. d. Gr.'

bishop of the Galician diocese of Tuy in 1239–49.[53] Lucas builds his refutation of heresy upon Gregory's writings, and out of 95 text passages reused from Gregory's dialogues in the corpus' medieval polemics, 86 are in Lucas' *De altera vita*.[54] The bishop of Tuy did not hide his indebtedness to Gregory, whom he quoted throughout his treatise. On the contrary, in the prologue, he describes how, unlike the shepherds who fail to guard their flock, the former Pope Gregory is

> in dignity and morals the vicar of the Son of God in the plenitude of power, who elevated and exalted upon the throne, presides over pastors as the highest one, casting from this throne of the Son of God inflaming beams of holy preaching to the heart of believers desiring heavens, and voices singing songs of salvation to the glory of God, and thunders that frighten souls with threats of God's severe judgement and with harsh punishments of heretics and all corrupt people.[55]

Lucas Tudensis was exceptional in elevating Gregory to the model of fighting heresy, but Gregory's prominence among the reuse of patristic works is not only because of Lucas' preference for him. Gregory's *Moralia* and *Homiliae* are also among the most quoted patristic authors and his homilies are used by a more diverse group of authors than *Dialogi.* All in all, only one clearly polemical work is among the top ten, Irenaeus of Lyon's *Contra hereticos*. From Augustine, *De civitate dei, Sermones de scripturis* and *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus* are the most quoted works and the only ones to make it to the top 10, although his anti-Manichean *Contra Faustum* is eleventh on the list (degree 8, weighted degree 13).

The patristic texts that medieval polemics quoted at length were works important to medieval theology and literature in general. Of the works mentioned in Table 3, Augustine's *De civitate dei*, *Sermones de scripturis* and *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus* and Jerome's *Epistulae* are also among the top 10 works in Table 2 above, describing the whole network of reuse in the data. Expectedly, antiheretical polemics dealt with the core issues of medieval theology. Gregory's famous passage on purgatory (*Dialogi*, cap. xxxix) circulates as a relatively long quote in antiheretical treatises,[56] but also in Gratian's *Decretum* and the

[53] Lucas wrote his treatise in the 1230s when he was still a deacon, probably between 1235 and 1237, see Falque Rey, 'Introducción', x.

[54] In addition, BLAST discovered in Lucas' treatise repeated text reuse from Isidore's *Sententiae* (20) and *Etymologiae* (2), Augustine's *De civitate dei* (10), Gregory's *Moralia* (7) and his *Homiliae in Evangelia* (5) and single quotes from Augustine's *De libero arbitrio, In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus* and *Sermones de scripturis.* Again, quotes shorter than 200 characters are not taken into account.

[55] "Beatissimus Papa Gregorius, apostolorum principis Petri successor, dignitate ac moribus Filii Dei in plenitudine potestatis uicarius super solium excelsum et eleuatum inter pastores praesidet summus, de ipso filii Dei throno uel solio emittens fulgura sanctae praedicationis corda fidelium desideriis caelestibus inflammantia et uoces laudis Deo cantantes cantica salutaria atque tonitrua comminationibus districti Dei iudicii et asperis sententiis haereticorum animos et prauorum omnium deterrentia." Lucas Tudensis, *De altera vita*, praefatio, 5.

[56] Durand of Huesca, *Liber antiheresis*; Lucas Tudensis, *De altera vita*, Anonymous; *Attendite a falsis prophetis.*

florilegium *De varietate librorum* that was transmitted under Haymo of Halberstadt's authority.[57] Turning the table, let us look at which medieval works are the most "patristic" according to this data.

Table 4: Top 10 medieval polemics reusing patristic texts, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to the weighted degree

Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
Lucas Tudensis	*De altera vita*	10	133
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	26	53
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	16	39
Thomas Aquinas	*Liber contra impugnantes dei cultum*	8	22
Salvo Burci	*Liber suprastella*	13	21
Durand of Huesca	*Liber contra manicheos*	12	16
Peter of Verona	*Summa contra hereticos*	12	16
Hermannus de Scildis	*Tractatus contra hereticos*	7	11
Peter Abelard	*Liber adversus hereses*	9	11
Thomas Aquinas	*Contra doctrinam retrahentium*	8	11

On this list, the treatise by Lucas Tudensis stands out from the rest, followed by Moneta of Cremona's 400,000 words-long display of his liberal arts education,[58] and Durand of Huesca's *Liber antiheresis*, an anti-dualist treatise Durand wrote in 1191–1192 when still a Waldensian—he converted to Catholicism in 1208. Also, the revision of the anti-dualist treatise, *Liber contra manicheos*, which he wrote in

[57] Clusters 662, 5276 and 5277 in cluster minimum-length 200 data.
[58] On Moneta, see Biller, 'Moneta's Confutation of Heresies and the Valdenses'; Sackville, 'The Textbook Heretic: Moneta of Cremona's Cathars'.

1222–23, makes the list.[59] Not surprisingly, the famous scholastic philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas uses extensive quotes from patristic works, as does Peter Abelard. Of the copious Italian thirteenth-century polemical engagement with heretics, Peter of Verona's *Summa contra hereticos* and Salvo Burci's *Liber suprastella* accompany Moneta on the list.[60] Hermannus de Scildis's treatise represents fourteenth-century Augustinian theology, and we will come back to him shortly.

When considering the effects of patristic theology on medieval antiheretical polemics, one should pay attention to the fact that most works listed in Table 4, important though they have been for modern scholarship, did not enjoy great popularity in the middle ages. Moneta, with twenty-one thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, is the only relatively popular polemical treatise among them. In addition, Moneta's treatise has a demonstrable influence on late medieval polemics against heresy, primarily through Petrus Zwicker's anti-Waldensian works, which themselves were very popular in the fifteenth century.[61] In comparison, Salvo Burci's treatise exists in one incomplete manuscript, and Peter of Verona's in two.[62] Durand of Huesca's *Liber contra Manicheos* has two manuscripts, one in Paris and another in Prague.[63] *De altera vita* by the Galician bishop Lucas Tudensis is an outlier among medieval anti-heretical polemics and likely had no impact on the rest of the genre. The work survives in one sixteenth-century manuscript and according to its editor, its transmission between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries "es un total misterio."[64]

While one cannot make a one-to-one comparison between the extant copies and medieval influence of a literary work, the number of surviving manuscripts provides an indication of the works' popularity. These treatises' modest number of manuscripts is in stark contrast with the really popular thirteenth-century works, such as the anonymous *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* and Raynerius Sacconi's *Summa*, surviving in dozens of copies.[65] These are absent from the top 10 list. They are far less ambitious in style and erudition than the works of Moneta, Durand of Huesca or Lucas Tudensis, but had a practical attitude in addressing the problem of heresy, which probably explains their popularity. The *Disputatio* is a

[59] Rouse and Rouse, 'The Schools and the Waldensians: A New Work by Durand of Huesca', 87.

[60] The Italian thirteenth-century anti-heretical polemics are best summarised in Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 13–40; Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes'.

[61] Biller, 'The Anti-Waldensian Treatise'; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 38–193.

[62] According to Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 39.

[63] Thouzellier, *Une somme anti-cathare: le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, 27–30.

[64] Falque Rey, 'Introducción', xliii, xlv.

[65] Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 39, lists 53 thirteenth-fourteenth-century copies for the treatise; also Raynerius Sacconi's works survives in over fifty manuscripts, see Sanjek, 'Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno (Raniero Sacconi)', 39–41; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 136–37.

theological refutation based mainly on the Bible,[66] and Sacconi describes in detail the different "sects" of Cathars.[67] They do not dwell on patristic theology, and there is no particular reason to think that they reflected the descriptions of ancient sects to their own century.

Finally, we narrow down the patristic works to Augustine to investigate which medieval polemics engaged with his ideas about heresy. We did this by filtering the network data down to edges between Augustine[68] and medieval works, resulting in only 70 nodes with 116 weighted edges. Here, we focus on degree, representing the number of Augustine's works cited. The top five citers are found in the previous table.

[66] Ed. Hoécker, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*.

[67] Ed. Sanjek, 'Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno (Raniero Sacconi)'.

[68] Including also sermons of dubious or contested authorship that circulated in Augustine's name in the Middle Ages.

Table 5: Top 10 medieval polemics reusing Augustine's texts, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to degree

Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	17	32
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	8	14
Durand of Huesca	*Liber contra manicheos*	8	12
Salvo Burci	*Liber Suprastella*	8	12
Peter of Verona	*Summa contra hereticos*	8	9
Hermannus de Scildis	*Tractatus contra hereticos*	7	11
Bonacursus	*Vita hereticorum*	5	8
Peter Abelard	*Liber adversus hereses*	5	7
Petrus Venerabilis	*Adversus Iudaeos*	5	5
Lucas Tudensis	*De altera vita*	4	13

Moneta is by far the most diverse reuser of Augustine's works, citing not only Augustine's homiletic and exegetical works but also polemics such as *Adversus Iudaeos, Contra partem Donati* and *Contra Faustum.* Of the other works, the Augustinian Eremite Hermannus de Scidlis merits special attention. He cites at length five of Augustine's works not found by BLAST in other antiheretical texts in the corpora: *De utilitate credendi, De natura boni*, *Contra epistulam Fundamenti* and *De moribus ecclesiae.* Hermannus, who wrote his treatise between 1330 and 1357, thus represents more of a late medieval Augustinian spiritual tradition than a continuum in medieval antiheretical polemics engagement with Augustine.[69] Outside the top 10 list, one should pay attention to Eckbert von Schönau: BLAST found only three quotes

[69] Ed. Zumkeller, *Hermanni de Scildis O.S.A.*

long enough to pass its filters, but they are related to Augustine's anti-heretical treatise: *De haeresibus, Contra Secundinum* and *Contra Faustum*.

Looking at Augustine's works with the highest degree of reuse, an overall picture emerges. The most reused works are his homiletic and exegetical works and *De civitate dei.* Of primarily polemical treatises, only *Contra Faustum* and *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* make it to the top 10. Like with patristic authors in general, the medieval authors and compilers of anti-heretical treatises quoted works of general theological significance, which were also more readily available in florilegia, glossae and canon law than specific polemical works.

Conclusions

Did medieval churchmen project the patristic view on heresy to their own age and invent the "medieval Manichee"? As the title of Peter Abelard's famous treatise, the answer is *sic et non*. There is no denying that some twelfth-century authors such as Guibert of Nogent and Eckbert of Schönau sought inspiration from Augustine's and other church fathers' descriptions of Manichees and thought that the same cult flourished in their own era. Equally undeniable is Augustine's effect on medieval canon law concerning heretics, schismatics and their coercion to faith.

The analysis of text reuse gives another perspective: medieval polemicists quoted patristic authors, and not primarily their polemical but homiletic and exegetical works. More importantly, intensive engagement with patristic works and their ideas with heresy occurred mostly in works of extremely limited circulation, the best example being Lucas of Tuy's *De altera vita.* One of the most "patristic" medieval authors was, in fact, a heretic himself when he wrote his first anti-dualist treatise: the Waldensian Durand of Huesca. An exception to this rule is Moneta of Cremona's massive treatise, which compiled together and through its popularity passed on an impressive array of primarily biblical but also patristic and classical arguments. However, neither quantitative analysis nor qualitative reading of popular works, such as Raynerius Sacconi's *Summa* or the anonymous *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, let alone many shorter tracts on heresy, support the interpretation that the medieval conception of heresy relied primarily on Augustine and other patristic authors. Augustine, Isidore, Gregory the Great and Jerome were present as models of doctors who debated and defeated heresy. Medieval authors adopted some names of ancient sects, as well as biblical references and exegetical arguments against them from patristic sources, often transmitted through florilegia, canon law and other compilations, but direct and intensive engagement with patristic polemics was not as common as it might appear.

A final conclusion is to be made about BLAST, which proved a promising but also challenging tool for analysing text reuse in patristic and medieval Latin literature. The omnipresence of the Bible makes it difficult to spot any other text reuse, and the BLAST output requires several steps of filtering to yield interpretable results. Lowering the

minimum cluster length to capture short quotes and allusions would produce increasingly noisy data. BLAST is, however, extremely tolerant of poor-quality textual data, capturing reuse even from a digitised sixteenth-century print. A recommendable future use of BLAST is the detection of the reuse of relatively long snippets of text (over 300 characters) in a corpus of mass-digitalised early modern and nineteenth-century prints and editions of medieval texts available on Google Books and Archive.org. The quality of OCR in printed sermon and exempla collections, pastoral manuals and early editions of chronicles and archival documents is usually so poor that they are beyond most applications of language technology, but not BLAST, with which one can build from "wood, hay and stubble" (1 Cor. 3:12) a corpus that stands the test of fire.

Appendix A

The works and editions used in the BLAST input.

The list is not in an alphabetical order.

author: Petrus Alfonsi
title: Dialogus contra Iudaeos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 157
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0535D-0672A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Abelard
title: Dialogus inter philosophum Iudaeum et Christianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 178
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1611-1684D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Abelard
title: Liber adversus haereses
edition title: Patrologia Latina 178
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1823A-1846D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Adversus Iudaeos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0507C-0650B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Adversus Petrobrusianos haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0719C-0850D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Adversus sectam Saracenorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0661-0720B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Ermengard of Béziers
title: Contra Haereticos
edition title: Patrologia latina 204
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1235A-72B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Pseudo-Ermengard of Béziers
title: Manifesto haeresis Albigensium et Lugdunensium
edition title: 'Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare'
edition year: 1959
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
pages: 268-271
URL: -

author: Alain of Lille
title: Contra haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: -
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0305A-0430A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Anonymous
title: Attendite a falsis prophetis
manuscript signum: St Florian MS XI 152
folios: 48v-50v

author: Anonymous
title: Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hereticum
edition title: Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum: die Auseinandersetzung der katholischen Kirche mit den italienischen Katharern im Spiegel einer kontroverstheologischen Streitschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts
edition year: 2001
editor: C. Hoécker
publisher: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo
journal: -
pages: 3-80
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Disputationes nonnullae adversus haereticos
edition title: La eresia catara; saggio storico filosofico con in appendice
edition year: 1920
editor: D. Bazzocchi
publisher: Licinio Cappelli
journal: -
pages: i-ccx
URL: -

author: Anonymous of Passau
title: Tractatus de erroribus hereticorum
edition title: A critical edition of the treatise on heresy ascribed to Pseudo-Reinerius, with an historical introduction
edition year: 1962
editor: M. A. E. Nickson
publisher: Queen Mary, University of London

journal: -
pages: 1-154
URL: -

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum
edition title: CSEL 60
edition year: 1913
editor: Karl F. Vrba
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra epistulam Fundamenti
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Faustum Manichaeum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0208-0518
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum Episcopum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 43
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0708-0752
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De Haeresibus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0022-0050
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: n.a.
title: Bible
edition title: Vulgata Clementina
edition year: 2006
editor: Vulsearch, The Clementine Text Project
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/

author: Durand of Huesca
title: Liber antiheresis
edition title: Die ersten Waldenser: mit Edition des Liber antiheresis des Durandus von Osca 2
edition year: 1967
editor: K.-V. Selge
publisher: De Gruyter
journal: -
pages: 3-257
URL: -

author: Durand of Huesca
title: Liber contra Manicheos
edition title: Une somme anti-cathare: le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca
edition year: 1964
editor: C. Thouzellier
publisher: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense
journal: -
pages: 67–336
URL: -

author: Hermannus de Scildis
title: Tractatus contra haereticos negantes immunitatem et iurisdictionem sanctae Ecclesiae
edition title: Hermanni de Scildis O.S.A.: tractatus contra haereticos negantes immunitatem et iurisdictionem sanctae Ecclesiae et Tractatus de conceptione gloriosae virginis Mariae
edition year: 1970
editor: A. Zumkeller
publisher: Augustinus-Verlag
journal: -
pages: 3-108
URL: -

author: Moneta of Cremona
title: Summa adversus Catharos et Valdenses
edition title: Monetae Adversus Catharos et Valdenses: libri quinque
edition year: 1743
editor: T. Ricchini
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Peter von Pillischdorf
title: Contra Pauperes de Ludguno
edition title: Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum 25
edition year: 1677
editor: J. Gretser
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 299E-302F
URL: -

author: Pseudo-David of Augsburg
title: Tractatus de inquisitione hereticorum
edition title: Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über die Waldesier
edition year: 1879
editor: W. Preger
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 203-235
URL: -

author: Salvo Burci
title: Liber Suprastella
edition title: Liber Suprastella
edition year: 2002
editor: C. Bruschi

publisher: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Wasmud von Homburg
title: Tractatus contra Hereticos Bekardos, Lulhardos et Swestriones
edition title: Tractatus contra hereticos Beckardos, Lulhardos et Swestriones des Wasmud von Homburg. Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte 14
edition year: 1962
editor: A. Schmidt
publisher: -
journal: Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte 14
pages: 336-386
URL: -

author: Petrus Zwicker
title: Cum dormirent homines
edition title: Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum 25
edition year: 1677
editor: J. Gretser
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 277F–299G
URL: -

author: Petrus Zwicker
title: Refutatio errorum, redaction 1
manuscript_signum: Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1588
folios: 191r-211v

author: Isidore of Sevilla
title: Etymologiae
edition title: Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX
edition year: 1911
editor: Wallace M. Lindsay
publisher: Typographeo Clarendoniano;
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Isidore of Sevilla
title: Sententiarum libri tres
edition title: Patrologia Latina 83
edition year: 1850
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 537D-738B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Anonymous
title: Liber scintillarum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 88
edition year: 1850
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 597D-718A
URL: -

author: Halitgarius Cameracensis
title: De vitiis et virtutibus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 105
edition year: 1831
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 652D-694B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Pseudo-Haymo Halberstatensis
title: De varietate librorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 118
edition year: 1852
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 875A-958D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Smaragdus of St Mihiel
title: Diadema monachorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 102
edition year: 1851
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 593C-690A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/8733

author: Paschasius Radbertus
title: De fide, spe et charitate
edition title: Patrologia Latina 120
edition year: 1852
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1387A-1490A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Othlonus Ratisponensis
title: Liber proverbiorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 146
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 299B-338A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Eckbert von Schönau
title: Sermones XIII adversus Catharos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 195
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 13-98
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Hugo Rothomagensis
title: Dialogorum libri VII
edition title: Patrologia Latina 192
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1137-1152
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Hugo Rothomagensis
title: Contra haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 192
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -

pages: 1255-1298
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Epistolae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 61D-472B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: De miraculis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 851A-954A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Adversus Jovinianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 23
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 207-338
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Paschasius Radbertus
title: Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini
edition title: Patrologia Latina 120
edition year: 1852
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1255C-1350D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Anonymous
title: Quaestio de sacramentis hereticorum
edition title: Monumenta Germaniae Historica
edition year: 1897
editor: Ernst Dümmler
publisher: Hahn
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Alger de Liège
title: De sacramentis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 180
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 739-854C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctores varii
title: Acta synodi Atrebatensis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 142
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1269-1312
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Bernard of Clairvaux
title: Sermones in Cantica canticorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 183
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 785A-1198A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Guitmundus Aversanus
title: De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate
edition title: Patrologia Latina 149
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1427A-1494D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/10305

author: Petrus Damianus
title: Epistolae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 144
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 205-497
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Raynerius Sacconi
title: Summa de Catharis
edition title: Raynerius Sacconi O.P., Summa de catharis.
edition year: 1974
editor: F. Šanjek
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 44
pages: 42-60
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Brevis summula contra errores notatos hereticorum
edition title: La somme des autorités à l'usage des prédicateurs méridionaux au XIIIe siècle
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: Picard
journal: -
pages: 114-143
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: De heresi catharorum in Lombardia
edition title: La hiérarchie cathare en Italie I
edition year: 1949
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 19
pages: 306-312
URL: -

author: Peter Lombard
title: Sententiae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 195
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne

publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 519-964
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Irenaeus of Lyon
title: Adversus haereses
edition title: Sancti Irenaei Libros quinque adversus haereses
edition year: 1857
editor: W. Wigan Harvey
publisher: Cantabrigae, Typis Academicis
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Gregorius I
title: Dialogi
edition title: Patrologia latina
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 149B-0430A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Caesarius of Heisterbach
title: Dialogus miraculorum
edition title: Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum
edition year: 1851
editor: Josephus Strange
publisher: J.M. Heberle
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Johannes Scottus Eriugena
title: Versio operum S. Dionysii
edition title: Patrologia Latina 122
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1025-1194
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Summa contra Gentiles
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/scg1001.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Contra doctrinam retrahentium a religione
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/ocr.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Contra errores Graecorum
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/oce.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Liber contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/oci0.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Liber de perfectione spiritualis vitae
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/oap.html

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De vera religione
edition title: Patrologia Latina 34
edition year: 1941
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 122-172
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De fide et symbolo
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zycha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De civitate Dei
edition title: CSEL 40
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zycha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: In Epistolam Ioannis tractatus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 35
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1977-2062
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De Baptismo
edition title: CSEL 51
edition year: 1908
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Epistolae 1
edition title: CSEL 34.1
edition year: 1895
editor: Alois Goldbacher
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Epistolae 2
edition title: CSEL 34.2
edition year: 1898
editor: Alois Goldbacher
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Enarrationes in Psalmos 2
edition title: Patrologia Latina 37
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1034-1966
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Enarrationes in Psalmos 1
edition title: Patrologia Latina 36
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 68-1027
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: In Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV
edition title: Patrologia Latina 35
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1380-1976
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De diversis queastionibus ad Simplicianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 40
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 102-148
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra sermonem Arianorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 684-708
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/7438

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Maximinum Arianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 743-814
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Julianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 44
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 642-874
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Psalmus contra Partem Donati
edition title: CSEL 51
edition year: 1908
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Epistulam Parmeniani
edition title: CSEL 51
edition year: 1908
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Litteras Petiliani
edition title: CSEL 52
edition year: 1909
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Epistula ad Catholicos de Secta Dontatistarum

edition title: CSEL 52
edition year: 1909
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Cresconium
edition title: CSEL 52
edition year: 1909
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Liber de Unico Baptismo
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/14803

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Partem Donati post Gesta
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermo ad Caesariensis Ecclesiae Plebem
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Gesta cum Emerito Donastistarum Episcopo
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/14985

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Confessiones
edition title: CSEL 33
edition year: 1896
editor: Pius Knoell
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De moribus Ecclesiae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 32
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1309-1378
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De duabus animabus
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De libero arbitrio
edition title: Patrologia Latina 32
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1221-1310
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Fortunatum
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Adimantum
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Secundinum
edition title: CSEL 25.2
edition year: 1892
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Felicem
edition title: CSEL 25.2
edition year: 1892
editor: Joseph Zicha

publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De Natura Boni
edition title: CSEL 25.2
edition year: 1892
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De utilitate credendi
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De agone Christiano
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De bodo viduitatis
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De cura pro mortuis gerenda
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum
edition title: Patrologia Latina
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 603-666
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Adversus Judaeos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 51-64
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De natura et gratia
edition title: CSEL 60
edition year: 1913
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De gratia Christi
edition title: CSEL 42
edition year: 1902
editor: Karl Vrba
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 670-678
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Tertullian
title: Adversus omnes haereses
edition title: CSEL 47
edition year: 1906
editor: Aemilius Kroymann
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Tertullian
title: De preascriptionibus adversus haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 2
edition year: 1844
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 9A-74A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Ambrose of Milan
title: De fide
edition title: Patrologia Latina 16
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 527A-698C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Ambrose of Milan
title: De officiis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 16
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 23A-184B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Boethius
title: De consolatione Philosophiae
edition title: CSEL 67
edition year: 1934
editor: Guilelmus Weinberger
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Bernard Gui
title: Practica Inquisitionis
edition title: Practica Inquisitionis heretice pravitatis
edition year: 1886
editor: C. Douais
publisher: A. Picard
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Qualiter respondendum illis
edition title: Les hérétiques du Midi au XIIIe siècle. Cinq pièces inédites
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: -
journal: Annales du Midi 3
pages: 369-370
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Detestandi sunt in heresi pertinaces
edition title: Les hérétiques du Midi au XIIIe siècle. Cinq pièces inédites
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: -
journal: Annales du Midi 3
pages: 370-375
URL: -

author: Jacobus de Voragine
title: Legenda Aurea
edition title: Legenda Aurea, vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta
edition year: 1890
editor: Th. Graesse
publisher: G. Koebner
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Stephen of Bourbon
title: Tractatus de diversiis materiis predicabilibus
edition title: Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues
edition year: 1877
editor: A. Lecoy de la Marche
publisher: Renouard
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Henry Harrer
title: Tractatus contra begardos
edition title: Henry Harrer's Tractatus contra begardos
edition year: 2015
editor: Tomasz Gałuszka
publisher: Dominikański Instytut Historyczny w Krakowie
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Gratian
title: Decretum
edition title: Corpus iuris canonici I
edition year: 1955
editor: E. Friedberg; E.L. Richter
publisher: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Bernard of Clairvaux
title: Sermones in diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 183
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 537A-748C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Berthold von Regensburg
title: Sermones
edition title: Predigt gegen Ketzer - Studien zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Regenburg
edition year: 2011
editor: Ariane Czerwon
publisher: Mohr Siebeck
journal: -
pages: 203-233
URL: -

author: Gregorius I
title: Homiliae in Evangelia
edition title: Patrologia latina 76
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1057A-1312C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gregorius I
title: Homiliae in Ezechielem
edition title: Patrologia latina 76
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 785A-1072C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gregorius I
title: Moralia I
edition title: Patrologia latina 75
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 509D-1162B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gregorius I
title: Moralia II
edition title: Patrologia latina 76
edition year: 1849

editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 9A-782A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Varia
title: Liber Sextus etc.
edition title: Corpus Iuris Canonici II
edition year: 1955
editor: E. Friedberg; E.L. Richter
publisher: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Alain of Lille
title: Anticlaudianus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 483-576
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Alain of Lille
title: De planctu naturae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 431-482
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Alain of Lille
title: Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 685-1011
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Epistolae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 22
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 325-1124
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: In Hieremiam Prophetam
edition title: CSEL 59
edition year: 1913
editor: Sigfried Reiter
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Dialogus contra Luciferianos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 23
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 153-182
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Dialogus contra Pelagianos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 23
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 493-590
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Bonacursus
title: Manifestatio haeresis Catharorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 204
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 775A-792D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Andreas Florentinus
title: Summa contra haereticos
edition title: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, QQ zur Geistesgesch. 23
edition year: 2008
editor: Gerhard Rottenwöhrer
publisher: Hansche Buchhandlung
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.dmgh.de/

author: Anonymous
title: Summa contra haereticos [Summa IV]
edition title: La somme des autorités à l'usage des prédicateurs méridionaux au XIIIe siècle
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: Picard
journal: -
pages: 67-112
URL: -

author: Peter of Verona
title: Summa contra haereticos
edition title: Medium aevum monographs
edition year: 2020
editor: Donald S. Prudlo
publisher: The Society for the Study of Modern Languages and Literature
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Jacques de Vitry
title: Exempla 1
edition title: The exempla or illustrative stories from the Sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry
edition year: 1890
editor: Thomas F. Crane
publisher: Folklore Society
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Jacques de Vitry
title: Exempla 2

edition title: Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry
edition year: 1914
editor: Joseph Greven
publisher: C. Winter
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Gerardus de Fracheto
title: Vitae fratrum
edition title: MOPH 1
edition year: 1896
editor: B.M. Reichert
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Summa Theologiae
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/sth0000.html

author: Varia
title: Liber Extra, Decretalium Gregorii papae IX compilationis libri V
edition title: Corpus Iuris Canonici II/Bibliotheca Augustana
edition year: 1888
editor: E. Friedberg; E.L. Richter; Angus Graham
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost13/GregoriusIX/gre_0000.html#1

author: Varia
title: Lateran III, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 205-226
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Lateran IV, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 227-272
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Lyons I, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 273-302
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Lyons II, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 303-332
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Vienne, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 333-402
URL: -

author: William of Auvergne
title: Opera Omnia I
edition title: Opera Omnia I
edition year: 1674
editor: -
publisher: ex tip. F. Hotot
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Humbertus de Romanis
title: Liber de predicatione sct. crucis
edition title: Humbertus de Romanis OP, Liber de predicatione sct. Crucis
edition year: 2007
editor: Kurt Villads Jensen
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.jggj.dk/saracenos.htm

author: Lucas Tudensis
title: De altera vita
edition title: Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
edition year: 2009
editor: Emma Falque Rey
publisher: Brepols
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: De confessione hereticorum et fide eorum
edition title: Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare
edition year: 1959
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 29

pages: 272-273
URL: -

author: Ardisius Placentinus
title: De pauperibus de Lugduno
edition title: Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare
edition year: 1959
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 29
pages: 273-274
URL: -

author: Vincent Ferrer
title: Sermones de sanctis
edition title: Beati Vincentii natione Hispani, ... Sermones de Sanctis
edition year: 1570
editor: Damianus Diaz Lusitanus
publisher: apud Philippum Nutium
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_ULczODnLGrsC

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones I
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1887
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/iohanniswyclifse0701wycl/

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones II
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1888
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/iohanniswyclifse02wycl/mode/2up

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones IV
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1890
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/iohanniswyclifse0704wycl/page/n3/mode/2up

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones III
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1889
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/iohanniswyclifse0703wycl/

author: Bonaventura
title: Sermones
edition title: Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia
edition year: 1901
editor: David Fleming
publisher: Collegium S. Bonaventurae
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/doctorisseraphic09bona/page/n7/mode/2up

author: Bonaventura
title: Opuscula varia
edition title: Doctoris seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia
edition year: 1891
editor: Aloysius a Parma
publisher: Collegium S. Bonaventurae
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/doctorisseraphic05bona/

author: Peter Abelard
title: Sermones
edition title: Patrologia Latina 178
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 379A-610D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Sermones
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 353B-1006A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Aelred of Rievaulx
title: Sermones de tempore
edition title: Patrologia Latina 195
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: A209A-360D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones communes
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 595D-650A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones de diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217

edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 649B-690D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones de sanctis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 451A-596C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones de tempore
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 313A-450D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Damianus
title: Sermones
edition title: Patrologia Latina 144
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 505C-924D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones 1
edition title: Patrologia Latina 46
edition year: 1842
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 946-1004
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones de Sanctis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 38
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1248-1483
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones de Scripturis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 38
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 24-994
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones de diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1494-1638
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de Sanctis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 2095-2172
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones dubii
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1639-1718
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de Scripturis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1735-1972
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 2174-2354
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de tempore
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1973-2096
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Lucifer Calaritanus
title: De non conveniendo cum haereticis
edition title: CSEL 14
edition year: 1886
editor: Wilhelm von Hartel
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1973-2096
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gebeno Eberbacensis
title: De eisdem hereticis ex Apocalipsi
edition title: De eisdem hereticis ex Apocalipsi et de septem temporibus a praedicatione Christi usque in finem seculi
edition year: 2004
editor: José Carlos Santos Paz
publisher: SISMEL.Edizioni del Galluzzo
journal: -

pages: 1973-2096
URL: -

author: Stephanus de Sancto Georgio
title: Reprobatio nefandi sermonis [--] de quodam Nemine heretico et dampnato
edition title: Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters
edition year: 1888
editor: Franz Ehrle
publisher: Herder'sche Buchhandlung
journal: -
pages: 340-348
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Hugo Eterianus
title: De haeresibus Graecorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 202
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 227-396D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Guillelmus Peraldus
title: Summa de virtutibus
edition title: Summae virtutum ac vitiorum I
edition year: 1546
editor: -
publisher: sub scuto Coloniensi
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/SummaVirtutumAcVitiorum15461/

author: Guillelmus Peraldus
title: Summa de vitiis
edition title: Summae virtutum ac vitiorum II
edition year: 1546
editor: -
publisher: sub scuto Coloniensi
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/SummaVirtutumAcVitiorum15462/

author: Albertus Magnus
title: Sermones
edition title: Beati Alberti Magni [-] Sermones
edition year: 1883
editor: Petrus Jammy
publisher: E. Privat
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/sermones00albe/

author: Anonymous
title: Summula contra hereticos
edition title: Summula contra hereticos. Un traite contre les cathares du xiiieme siecle
edition year: 1987
editor: Jean Duvernoy
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/summula.pdf

author: Hugo Eterianus
title: Contra Patarenos
edition title: Hugh Eteriano: Contra Patarenos
edition year: 2004
editor: SarahHamilton
publisher: Brill
journal: -
pages: 155-176
URL: -

Appendix B

Id	Label	Author	Genre
Zwicker_CumDormirentHomines.txt	Petrus Zwicker, CDH	Petrus Zwicker	Medieval, polemic
Zwicker_RefutatioErrorum1.txt	Petrus Zwicker, Refutatio	Petrus Zwicker	Medieval, polemic
WilliamOfAuvergne_OperaOmnia.txt	William of Auvergne, OO	William of Auvergne	Medieval, other
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeDiversis.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DD	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
Pseudo-HaymoHalberstatensis_DeVarietateLibrorum.txt	Ps-Haymo of Halberstadt, De varietate librorum	Ps-Haymo of Halberstadt	Medieval, florilegium
Augustinus_EnarrationesinPsalmos1.txt	Augustine, Enarrationes1	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_InEpistolamIoannisTractatus.txt	Augustine, In epistolam Ioannis	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_InIoannisevangeliumtractatus.txt	Augustine, In Ioannis evangelium	Augustine	Patristic, other
Bonaventura_Sermones.txt	Bonaventura, Sermones	Bonaventura	Medieval, sermon
InnocentiusIII_SermonesDeSanctis.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones DS	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
WasmudvonHomburg_TractatusContraHereticos.txt	Wasmud von Homburg, Tractatus	Wasmud von Homburg	Medieval, polemic
BibleVulgate.txt	Vulgata	n.a.	Bible
VincentFerrer_SermonesDeSanctis.txt	Vincent Ferrer, Sermones DS	Vincent Ferrer	Medieval, sermon
GregoriusI_Moralia.txt	Gregorius I, Moralia	Gregorius I	Patristic, other
AlbertusMagnus_Sermones.txt	Albertus Magnus, Sermones	Albertus Magnus	Medieval, sermon
Anon_LiberScintillarum.txt	Anonymous, Liber Scintillarum	Anonymous	Medieval, florilegium
Gratian_Decretum.txt	Gratian, Decretum	Gratian	Medieval,

			canon law
GregoriusI_HomiliaeInEvangelia.txt	Gregorius I, Homiliae	Gregorius I	Patristic, sermon
InnocentiusIII_SermonesDeDiversis.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones DD	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
MonetaCremonensis_AdversusCatharosEtValdenses.txt	Moneta of Cremona, Adversus	Moneta of Cremona	Medieval, polemic
Vienne_Canones_DEC.txt	Vienne, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
DurandOfHuesca_LiberAntiheresis.txt	Durand of Huesca, Liber antiheresis	Durand of Huesca	Medieval, polemic
PeterOfVerona_SummaContraHereticos.txt	Peter of Verona, Summa contra hereticos	Peter of Verona	Medieval, polemic
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaeTertia.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Summa III	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
Anon_DisputatioInterCatholicumEtPaterinum.txt	Anonymous, Disputationes	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Augustinus_ContraDuasEpistulasPelegianorum.txt	Augustine, Contra duas epistulas	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeCivitateDei.txt	Augustine, De civitate dei	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_EnarrationesinPsalmos2.txt	Augustine, Enarrationes2	Augustine	Patristic, other
PetrusCluniacensis_Sermones.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Sermones	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, sermon
ThomasAquinas_SummaContraGentiles.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Summa contra gent.	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
AelredusRievallensis_SermonesDeTempore.txt	Aelred of Rievaulx, Sermones DT	Aelred of Rievaulx	Medieval, sermon
AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDeSanctis.txt	Augustine, Sermones DS	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_ContraAdversariumLegisEtProphetarum.txt	Augustine, Contra adversarium	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
PaschasiusRadbertus_LiberDeCorporeEtSanguineDomini.txt	Paschasius Radbertus, Liber de corpore	Paschasius Radbertus	Medieval, other

PetrusCluniacensis_AdversusPetrobrusianosHaereticos.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Adversus Petrobrusianos	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, polemic
PetrusDamianus_Sermones.txt	Peter Damian, Sermones	Peter Damian	Medieval, sermon
AlanusDeInsulis_ContraHaereticos.txt	Alain of Lille, Contra hereticos	Alain of Lille	Medieval, polemic
AlgerusLeodiensis_DeSacramentis.txt	Alger of Liège, De sacramentis	Alger of Liège	Medieval, other
Ambrose_DeFide.txt	Ambrose, De fide	Ambrose	Patristic, other
AndreasFlorentinus_SummaContraHereticos.txt	Andreas of Florence, Summa contra hereticos	Andreas of Florence	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DisputationesNonnullae.txt	Anonymous, Disputationes nonnullae	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_SummaIV.txt	Anymous, Summa IV	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_SynodusAtrebatensisActa.txt	Synod of Arras	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
Anonymous_SummulaContraHereticos_ed.Duvernoy.txt	Anonymous, Summula contra hereticos	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeTempore.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DT	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDeScripturis.txt	Augustine, Sermones Dscrip	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_ContraFaustum.txt	Augustine, Contra Faustum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraJulianum.txt	Augustine, Contra Julianum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraSermonemArianorum.txt	Augustine, Contra serm. Arianorum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeNaturaEtGratia.txt	Augustine, De natura et gratia	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Bonacursus_VitaHaereticorum.txt	Bonacursus, Vita hereticorum	Bonacursus	Medieval, polemic

Bonaventura_OpusculaVaria.txt	Bonacursus, opuscula varia	Bonacursus	Medieval, other
DurandOfHuesca_LiberContraManicheos.txt	Durand of Huesca, Liber contra manicheos	Durand of Huesca	Medieval, polemic
EckbertusSchonaugiensis_SermonesContraCatharos.txt	Eckbert of Schönau, Sermones conta Catharos	Eckbert of Schönau	Medieval, polemic
ErmengardDeBeziers_ContraWaldenses.txt	Ermengard of Beziers, Contra hereticos	Ermengard of Beziers	Medieval, polemic
GregoriusI_MoraliaII.txt	Gregorius I, Moralia II	Gregorius I	Patristic, other
GuillelmusPeraldus_SummaDeVitiis.txt	William Perault, Summa de vitiis	William Perault	Medieval, other
GuitmundusAversanus_DeCorporisEtSanguinisChristi.txt	Guitmundus Aversanus, De corporis	Guitmundus Aversanus	Medieval, other
HalitgariusCameracensis_DeVitiisEtVirtutibus.txt	Halitgarius Cameracensis, De vitiis et virtutibus	Halitgarius Cameracensis	Medieval, florilegium
HugoEterianus_ContraPatarenos.txt	Hugo Etherianus, Contra patarenos	Hugo Etherianus	Medieval, polemic
HugoEterianus_DeHaeresibusGraecorum.txt	Hugo Etherianus, De heresibus grecorum	Hugo Etherianus	Medieval, polemic
HugoRothomagensis_Contra-haereticosSuiTemporis.txt	Hugo Rothomagensis, Contra hereticos	Hugo Rothomagensis	Medieval, polemic
HugoRothomagensis_Dialogi.txt	Hugo Rothomagensis, Dialogi	Hugo Rothomagensis	Medieval, other
InnocentiusIII_SermonesCommunes.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones C	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
InnocentiusIII_SermonesDeTempore.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones DT	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
Isidorus-Hispalensis_Etymologiae.txt	Isidore, Etymologiae	Isidore	Patristic, other
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_II.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones II	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_III.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones III	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_IV.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones IV	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon

PetrusAbaelardus_LiberAdversusHaereses.txt	Peter Abelard, Liber adversus hereses	Peter Abelard	Medieval, polemic
PetrusCluniacensis_Adversus-Judaeos.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Adversus iudaeos	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, polemic
PetrusDamianus_Epistolae.txt	Peter Damian, Epistolae	Peter Damian	Medieval, other
PetrusLombardus_Sententiae.txt	Peter Lombard, Sententiae	Peter Lombard	Medieval, other
SalvoBurci_LiberSuprastella.txt	Salvo Burci, Liber suprastella	Salvo Burci	Medieval, polemic
SmaragdusS.Michaelis_DiademaMonachorum.txt	Smaragdus S. Michaelis, Diadema	Smaragdus S. Michaelis	Medieval, florilegium
ThomasAquinas_ContraDoctrinamRetrahentium.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Contra doctrinam retrahentium	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
ThomasAquinas_LiberContraImpugnantesDeiCultum.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Liber contra impugnantes	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaePrima.txt	Thomas Aquinas Summa I	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaePrimaSecundae.txt	Thomas Aquinas Summa Ia II	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaeSecundaSecundae.txt	Thomas Aquinas Summa IIa II	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
Augustinus_Epistolae2.txt	Augustine, Epistolae 2	Augustine	Patristic, other
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeSanctis.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DS	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDeDiversis.txt	Augustine, Sermones DD	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_Confessiones.txt	Augustine, Confessiones	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeBaptismo.txt	Augustine, De baptismo	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeVeraReligione.txt	Augustine, De vera religione	Augustine	Patristic, other
BernardClaraevallensis_SermonesDeDiversis.txt	Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones DD	Bernard of Clairvaux	Medieval, sermon
BernardusClaraevallensis_SermonesInCanticaCanticorum.txt	Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones CC	Bernard of Clairvaux	Medieval, sermon

GregoriusI_HomiliaeInEzechielem.txt	Gregory I, Homiliae in Ez.	Gregorius I	Patristic, sermon
Hieronymus_DialogusContraPelagianos.txt	Jerome, Dialogus contra pelagianos	Jerome	Patristic, polemic
IsidorusHispalensis_Sententiae.txt	Isidore, Sententiae	Isidore	Patristic, other
ThomasAquinas_LiberDePerfectioneSpiritualisVitae.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Liber de perfectione SV	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DeSacramentisHaereticorum.txt	Anonymous, De sacramentis hereticorum	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDubii.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_ContraCresconium.txt	Augustine, Contra Cresconium	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeAgonechristiano.txt	Augustine, De agone christiano	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeDiversisQuaestionibus.txt	Augustine, De diversis quaestionibus	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeFideetSymbolo.txt	Augustine, De fide et symbolo	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeGratiaChristi.txt	Augustine, De gratia Christi	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeMoribusEcclesiae.txt	Augustine, De moribus ecclesiae	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_EpistulaAdCatholicosDeSectaDonatistarum.txt	Augustine, Epistula de secta Donatistarum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
GuillelmusPeraldus_SummaDeVirtutibus.txt	William Perault, Summa de virtutibus	William Perault	Medieval, other
Hieronymus_Epistolae.txt	Jerome, Epistolae	Jerome	Patristic, other
PaschasiusRadbertus_DeFideSpeEtCharitate.txt	Paschasius Radbertus, De fide, spe et charitate	Paschasius Radbertus	Medieval, florilegium
PetrusAbaelardus_Sermones.txt	Peter Abelard, Sermones	Peter Abelard	Medieval, sermon
PetrusCluniacensis_Epistolae.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Epistolae	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, other
ThomasAquinas_ContraErroresGraecorum.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Contra errores grecorum	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic

Anon_Attendite a Falsis prophetis.txt	Anonymous, Attendite a falsis prophetis	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_BrevisSummula.txt	Anonymous, Brevis summula	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DeConfessioneHereticorum.txt	Anonymous, De confessione hereticorum	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Augustinus_ContraLitterasPetiliani.txt	Augustine, Contra litteras Petiliani	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraMaximinumArianum.txt	Augustine, Contra Maximinum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
CaesariusOfHeisterbach_DialogusMiraculorum2.txt	Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus 2	Caesarius of Heisterbach	Medieval, exempla
LucasTudensis_DeAlteraVita.txt	Lucas Tudensis, De altera vita	Lucas Tudensis	Medieval, polemic
Augustinus_ContraSecundinum.txt	Augustine, Contra Secundinum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraFortunatum.txt	Augustine, Contra Fortunatum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_I.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones I	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon
BernardGui_PracticaInquisitionis.txt	Bernard Gui, Practica	Bernard Gui	Medieval, inquisitor's manual
LiberExtra.txt	Liber Extra	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
LiberSextusEtc.txt	Liber Sextus	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
LateranIV_Canones_DEC.txt	Lateran IV, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
Lyon2_Canones_DEC.txt	Lyon II, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
Lyon1_Canones_DEC.txt	Lyon I, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law

AnonPassau_Tractatus.txt	Anonymous of Passau, Tractatus	Anonymous of Passau	Medieval, polemic
OthlonusRatisponensis_Proverbia.txt	Otholonus of Regensburg, Proverbia	Otholonus of Regensburg	Medieval, florilegium
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeScripturis.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DScri	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_DeCuraGerendaProMortuis.txt	Augustine, De cura gerenda pro mortuis	Augustine	Patristic, other
Hieronymus_AdversusJovinianum.txt	Jerome, Adversus Jovinianum	Jerome	Patristic, polemic
LateranIII_Canones_DEC.txt	Lateran III, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
Tertullian_DePraescriptionibus.txt	Tertullian, De praescriptionibus	Tertullian	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraAdimantum.txt	Augustine, Contra Adimantum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_Epistolae1.txt	Augustine, Epistolae 1	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_ContraEpistulamParmeniani.txt	Augustine, Contra epistulam Parmeniani	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraGaudentiumDonatistarumEpiscopum.txt	Augustine, Contra Gaudentium	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
GregoriusI_Dialogi.txt	Gregorius I, Dialogi	Gregorius I	Patristic, other
CaesariusOfHeisterbach_DialogusMiraculorum1.txt	Caesarious of Heisterbach, Dialogus 1	Caesarius of Heisterbach	Medieval, exempla
IrenaeusOfLyon_ContraHaereticos2.txt	Iranaeus of Lyon, Contra Hereticos 2	Iranaeus of Lyon	Patristic, polemic
JacobusDeVoragine_LegendaAurea.txt	Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea	Jacobus de Voragine	Medieval, other
JoannesScotusEriugena_VersioOperumSDionysii.txt	Johannes Scotus Eriugena, Versio op. S. Dionysii	Johannes Scotus Eriugena	Medieval, other
Augustinus_ContraFelicem.txt	Augustine, Contra Felicem	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
AugustinusHipponensis_Sermones1.txt	Augustine, Sermones 1	Augustine	Patristic,

			serm on
Hieronymus_InHieremiamProphetamLibri Sex.txt	Jerome, In Hieremiam Prophetam	Jerome	Patris tic, other
AlanusDeInsulis_DistinctionesDictionumT heologicalium.txt	Alain of Lille, Distinctiones	Alain of Lille	Medi eval, other
PetrusPillichsdorf_ContraPauperesDeLudg uno.txt	Petrus Pillichsdorf, Contra Pauperes de Lug.	Petrus Pillichs dorf	Medi eval, pole mic
Ambrose_DeOfficiisMinistrorum.txt	Ambrose, De officiis minis.	Ambros e	Patris tic, other
PetrusAlphonsus_Dialogus.txt	Petrus Alphonsus, Dialogus	Petrus Alphon us	Medi eval, pole mic
JacquesDeVitry_Exempla1.txt	Jacques de Vitry, Exempla 1	Jacques de Vitry	Medi eval, exem pla
StephenOfBourbon_DeDiversisMateriisPre dicabilibus.txt	Stephen of Bourbon, De diversis materiis	Stephen of Bourbo n	Medi eval, exem pla
JacquesDeVitry_Exempla2.txt	Jacques de Vitry, Exempla 2	Jacques de Vitry	Medi eval, exem pla
Humbertus-de-Romanis_Liber-de-predicatione-sct-Crucis.txt	Humbert of Romans, Liber de predicatione St Crucis	Humbe rt of Romans	Medi eval, pole mic
VitaeFratrum.txt	Vitae fratrum	n.a.	Medi eval, other
PetrusAbaelardus_DialogusInter-PhilosophumJudaeumEtChristianum.txt	Peter Abelard, Dialogus	Peter Abelard	Medi eval, pole mic
Augustinus_DeUtilitateCredendi.txt	Augustine, De utilitate credendi	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_LiberDeUnicoBaptismo.txt	Augustine, Liber de unico baptismo	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_AdversusIudaeos.txt	Augustine, Adversus Iudaeos	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_DeNaturaBoni.txt	Augustine, De natura boni	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_ContraEpistulamFundamenti.t xt	Augustine, Contra epistulam Fundamenti	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
PetrusCluniacensis_AdversusSectam-Saracenorum.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Adversus sectam saracenorum	Petrus Venera bilis	Medi eval, pole mic
LuciferCalaritanus_DeNonConveniendoCu mHaereticis.txt	Lucifer Calaritanus, De	Lucifer Calarita nus	Patris tic,

	non conveniendo		polemic
Tertullian_AdversusOmnesHaereses.txt	Pseudo-Tertullian, Adversus omnes haereses	Pseudo-Tertullian	Patristic, polemic
IraneusOfLyon_ContraHaereticos1.txt	Iranaeus of Lyon, Contra Hereticos 1	Iranaeus of Lyon	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraPartemDonatiPostGesta.txt	Augustine, Contra partem Donati	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
HermannusDeScildis_Tractatus.txt	Hermannus de Scildis, Tractatus	Hermannus de Scildis	Mediaeval, polemic
PetrusCluniacensis_DeMiraculis.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, De Miraculis	Petrus Venerabilis	Mediaeval, other
BertholdVonRegensburg_Sermones.txt	Berthold of Regensburgh, Sermones	Berthold of Regensburg	Mediaeval, polemic
Augustinus_DeDuabusAnimabus.txt	Augustine, De duabus animabus	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeLiberoArbitrio.txt	Augustine, De libero arbitrio	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_GestaCumEmerito.txt	Augustine, Gesta cum Emerito	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_PsalmusContraPartemDonati.txt	Augustine, Psalmus contra partem Donati	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Boethius_DeConsolationePhilosophiae.txt	Boethius, De consolatione	Boethius	Patristic, other
StephanusDeSanctoGeorgio_ReprobatioNefandiSermonisEditiPerRadulphum.txt	Stephanus de Sancto Georgio, Reprobatio	Stephanus de Sancto Georgio	Mediaeval, polemic
Hieronymus_DialogusContraLuciferianos.txt	Jerome, Dialogus contra Luciferianos	Jerome	Patristic, polemic
HenryHarrer_TractatusContraBeghardos.txt	Henry Harrer, Tractatus contra beghardos	Henry Harrer	Mediaeval, polemic
Augustinus_ContraPriscillianistasEtOrigenistas.txt	Augustine, Contra Priscillianistas	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Pseudo-Ermengard_ManifestoHaeresis.txt	Pseudo-Ermengard of Beziers, Manifesto	Pseudo-Ermengard of Beziers	Mediaeval, polemic
GebenoEberbacensis_DeEisdemHereticis.txt	Gebeno of Eberbach, De eisdem hereticis	Gebeno of Eberbach	Mediaeval, polemic

PseudoDavidvonAugsburg_Tractatus.txt	Pseudo-David of Augsburg, De inquisitione	Pseudo-David of Augsburg	Medieval, inquisitor's manual
Augustinus_SermoAdCaesariensisEcclesiaePlebem.txt	Augustine, Sermo ad Caesarensis ecclesiae	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_DeBonoViduitatis.txt	Augustine, De bono viduitatis	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeHaeresibus.txt	Augustine, De haeresibus	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_BreviculusCollationisCumDonatistis.txt	Augustine, Breviculus coll. cum Donatistis	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Anon_DetestandiSuntInHeresiPertinaces.txt	Anonymous, Detestandi sunt	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DeHeresiCatharorum.txt	Anonymous, De heresi catharorum	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
RayneriusSacconi_SummaDeCatharis.txt	Raynerius Sacconi, Summa de Catharis	Raynerius Sacconi	Medieval, polemic

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Images and captions

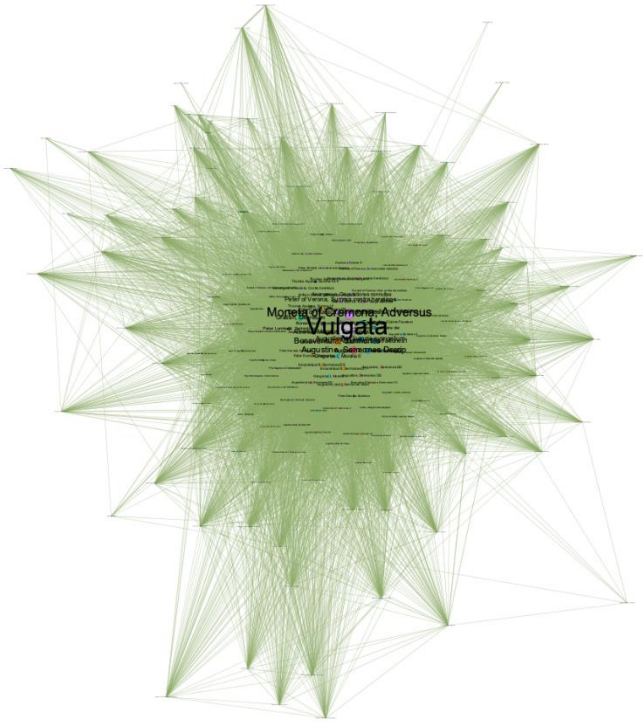

Image 1. The complete network of BLAST output with cluster minimum length of 100 characters. Gephi 0.10.1. ForceAtlas 2, scaling 50, gravity 1. Edge weights rescaled to 1–100.

Beyond Boundaries: Testing the Borders of Monastic Reform in the Twelfth Century Holy Roman Empire

Rachel Ernst

Abstract

In the unstable and politically charged atmosphere in the Holy Roman Empire during the twelfth century, there were multiple systemic changes that derived from secular and clerical institutions, which targeted the scope of authority and daily behavior of individuals who had taken monastic vows. This article questions the narrative that these systemic changes were boundaries that females were made to capitulate to overcome or subvert. By using Elisabeth and Eckbert of Schönau's involvement in verifying the sanctity of the remains of male individuals discovered amongst St. Ursula's entourage of 11,000 virgin martyrs in Cologne as a case study, I examine how these changes provided religious, male and female, with new opportunities to create opportunities to cultivate and voice their individual interests. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate how targeted case studies of individuals who are navigating the prescribed borders of their sociopolitical context can captivate the attention of nascent historians and inspire seasoned scholars.

Keywords: Gender Studies, Monasticism, Mysticism, Reform, Religious Life

The Narrative

The events and actions taken by the individuals surrounding Elisabeth of Schönau (1129-1164/65) and the cult of the 11,000 virgins provide all of the hallmark elements that an historian needs to illustrate the tension between ecclesiastical and monastic authorities, as well as those between male and female religious. These are, after all, the traditional opposing binaries inherent to religious institutions in the Holy Roman Empire during the twelfth century. Moreover, the story of how Elisabeth came to certify the authenticity of the relics of the virgin martyrs is demonstrative of systemic manipulation of monastic authorities by the clergy and of female religious by males, both monks and clerics. In constructing this narrative, the historian sets the scene by starting with the problem facing Gerlach of Deutz.

Gerlach (r. 1146-1159/60.) was the abbot of Deutz, a monastic house founded by archbishop Anno II of Cologne (r. 1056-1075) and had shared in the largesse enjoyed by its presiding cathedral as the epicenter of the cult of St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgin martyrs.[1] Here, the historian establishes that the abbot's authority is predicated on the good graces of a higher, ecclesiastical authority.

Awareness of the saint's legendary pilgrimage to Rome and martyrdom at the hands of the Huns increased due to the distribution of *Regnante Domino*, a *vita* of St. Ursula distributed in 1100. The extant

[1] Wittekind, "Two Saintly Archbishops, Their Cult, and Their Romanesque Shines," 27.

R. Ernst, Beyond Boundaries: Testing the Borders of Monastic Reform in the Twelfth Century Holy Roman Empire, *I quaderni del m.ae.s. 22 1s*, 2024, 123-140, doi: 10.6092/issn.2533-2325/19091

corpus of nearly 100 manuscripts of the *Regnante Domino* bears testament to its popularity.[2] Only six years after this new hagiography began to circulate, holy roman emperor Henry IV (r. 1084-1105) fortuitously stumbled on the remains of a Roman cemetery whilst overseeing the construction of new fortifications around Cologne. During the excavation, several of the workers experienced visions of St. Ursula. The remains were identified to be those of the saint's martyred retinue and were distributed as relics to churches throughout the Rhineland and beyond.[3]

Fifty years later, Gerlach of Deutz bore the brunt of his predecessors' overzealous generosity. The virgins' relics had become so prolific that Cologne had waned as a site of religious pilgrimage. Archbishop Arnold II of Cologne (r. 1151-1156) ordered a fresh excavation of the cemetery in 1155 to procure new relics for the cathedral. He placed Gerlach and his sacristan, Theoderich, in charge of the endeavor, which would continue until 1164.[4] Within the first year of excavations, Gerlach and Theoderich had unearthed countless graves, many of them bearing inscriptions with the names of interred. As the number of epitaphs grew, so did Gerlach's unease. The evidence was irrefutable—several of the names belonging to the individuals buried amongst the sacred virgins were male. This discovery threatened the authenticity of any relics uncovered at the site and could even call the sanctity of the blessed virgins into question. Cologne's reputation as the steward city of Ursula's cult hinged on securing a plausible, innocent explanation for the masculine presence in the cemetery.

Having impressed upon the reader the stakes in place and the pressure placed upon Gerlach by ecclesiastical, and, by extension, secular leadership, the historian is able to introduce the next historiographical binary when the abbot finds a solution to his problem less than seventy kilometers away in the Premonstratensian monastery of Schönau.

There, a monk named Eckbert (*c.* 1132-1184) was hard at work recording the dictations of his sister, Elisabeth. (Here, the historian holds their breath and hopes that the reader will not question the apparent inversion of power in a male acting as secretary for a female.) Tales of Elisabeth's prowess as a mystic who received divine visions though the intercession of an angel was well known by this point. Her prophetic message was received in Cologne with mixed wonder and derision late in the year 1154 when her abbot, Hildelin (d.1165/66,) preached of an impending apocalypse that she foretold.[5] However divisive the public's initial reception of Elisabeth's visions were, Eckbert must have seen the potential in his sister's gift. He had quit a promising career as a canon at St. Cassius and Florentius in Bonn to become Elisabeth's secretary, and by extension, intermediary between her and those who read her vision texts.[6] Even from Bonn, Eckbert had

[2] Montgomery, 35.
[3] Flynn, "Hildegard (1098-1179) and the Virgin Martyrs," 109-110.
[4] Flynn, 141.
[5] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Tercius*," 69-74. Elisabeth was mortified by the experience. She explained in a letter to Hildegard of Bingen that she did not wish to reveal this prophecy to her abbot but was compelled by the angel that spoke to her. "*Significavit etiam mihi per angelum suum frequenter, qualia ventura essent super populum suum in his diebus, nisi agerent penitentiam de iniquitatibus suis, atque, ut palam hec annutiarem, precepit. Ego autem, ut arrogantiam evitarem, et ne auctrix novitatum viderer, in quantum potui, omnia hec studui occultare.*"
[6] Harrison, "Eckbert of Schönau's '*Sermones Contra Katharos*,'" 385.

appealed to his sister to ask the angel questions regarding the fate of the souls of the deceased on behalf of himself and others. Once he made his home in Schönau, Eckbert recorded Elisabeth's responses to inquiries made from family members, abbots, and abbesses who sought her council through letters.[7]

Due to the lack of dates included in letters written by Eckbert after his arrival at Schönau, we cannot know if Gerlach knew Eckbert personally before seeking out his sister's help, though it is certainly possible. Eckbert and Elisabeth's family was well connected to multiple religious institutions throughout the empire. Their brother, Ruotger, was a prior of another Premonstratensian house at Pöholde, Ruotger's son, Simon was provost of St. Gereon in Cologne, and they had three kinswomen, Guta, Hadewig, and Regelindis, at the convent of St. Thomas in Andernach.[8] Moreover, their family had ties to the abbey of Deutz through their great-uncle, Eckbert's namesake, who was the bishop of Münster from 1127 through 1132. He was a friend and frequent correspondent of Rupert of Deutz.[9] Perhaps no one was better connected than Eckbert himself, having attended school in Paris from 1140-1145 with Rainald of Dassel, the future archbishop of Cologne (r. 1158-1167), and arguably the closest confidant of the holy roman emperor Frederick I, Barbarossa (r. 1152-1190).[10] While none of these connections directly link Gerlach and the siblings as Schönau, they demonstrate the breadth of their social network. Even if the abbot of Deutz did not know the two personally, finding an acquaintance who could make an introduction on his behalf would not have been a challenge. However they connected, later textual evidence demonstrates that Eckbert was more than amenable to help Gerlach solve his problem using Elisabeth's gift. Whatever questions the reader harbored regarding the peculiarity of Eckbert's apparent submission to his sister are answered here. Eckbert is using his position to harness the fame of his sister for his own purposes. The traditional hierarchy is restored.

Gerlach's coercion of Elisabeth included sending multiple relics and their corresponding inscriptions to the monastery at Schönau.[11] The significant logistical planning of transporting these items from Cologne and the commotion that the arrival of such precious artifacts would have created at Elisbeth's monastery must have engendered an inescapable sense of obligation to comply with the abbot's requests.[12] In June of 1156, Elisabeth experienced the first of a series of visions that would comprise the *Liber revelationum Elisabeth de sacro exercitu virginum Coloniensium.*[13] Eckbert transcribed and compiled the collection in which St. Verena, one of the first recently excavated individuals gifted to Schönau by Gerlach, appeared to Elisabeth and described the journey of Ursula and her companions to Rome and of

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[7] Elisabeth of Schönau, Eckbert of Schönau, and Emecho of Schönau, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die Schriften der Aebte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau*.
[8] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, fn 1; Harrison, 385.
[9] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau*: *Twelfth Century Visionary*, 11.
[10] Harrison, 385.
[11] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Liber revelationum Elisabeth de sacro exercitu virginum Coloniensium*."
[12] Elisabeth's reluctance to participate in the endeavor and the coercion to which she was subjugated is preserved in the introduction to her vision text on the sacred virgins. "*De his enim me silere non permittunt quidam bone opinionis viri, qui ad hec investiganda diutina me postulantione multum renitentem compulerunt,*" Elisabeth of Schonau, "*Liber revelationum Elisabeth de sacro exercitu virginum Coloniensium*," 123.
[13] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, 16-17.

their untimely end in Cologne.[14] These accounts expanded on extant traditions of the 11,000 virgin hagiographies by including the presence of bishops and other male prelates that were sent to accompany the retinue by Ursula's father, king Maurus.[15]

Due to Elisabeth's (reluctant) help, the cult of St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins persisted and expanded, gaining recognition throughout Europe. The remains of the excavated saints helped re-establish the cathedral of Cologne as a center of pilgrimage.[16] Her inclusion of the male figures in Ursula's retinue was accepted by her contemporaries, most notably Elisabeth's fellow visionary mystic, Hildegard of Bingen, who composed an antiphon specifically praising the male religious who accompanied the virgins on their journey.[17] By the end of the twelfth century, the *Liber revelationum* eclipsed the popularity of *Regnante Domino* as the preferred *vita* of the saint.[18]

The narrative is complete. The historian has successfully illustrated the how the bifurcated power dynamics functioned in the medieval Rhineland. Archbishop Arnold II of Cologne exercised his authority over the abbey of Deutz, compelling Gerlach to lead the excavation of relics for the sake of financial gain, and in doing so, managed to illustrate the systemic exploitation of monastic religious leaders by the bishopric, and of the laity, whose alms would contribute to aggrandizement of the seat of the archdiocese in order to curry imperial recognition.[19] Gerlach and Eckbert's manipulation of Elisabeth and her visions are perfectly demonstrative of traditional historiography that asserted that the result of monastic reform was increased subjugation of female religious under male authorities.[20]

Thus, this account of Elisabeth's coerced authentication of the Cologne relics suffers from the same shortcomings as all narratives. Salient facts that contradict the hierarchical boundaries between cleric and monk, male and female are not addressed or are omitted entirely. Complex motivations are simplified for the sake of making an historiographical argument, multi-faceted historical agents are made into archetypical villains and victims, and Elisabeth and Eckbert are deprived of their own agency.

Fortunately for Elisabeth, Eckbert, and their contemporaries, modern historians are casting a critical eye at the supposed intractability of the binaries of traditional historiography, as well as at the notion that coercion was unidirectional. This method of inquiry necessitates a

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[14] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Liber revelationum,*" 123-124.

[15] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Liber revelationum,*"126. "*Pater beate Ursule rex Brittannie Scottice, Maurus nominee, vir fidelis […] ut filia sua, quam tenerrime diligebat, viros, quorum solatio tam ipsa quam exercitus eius indigebat, in comitatu suo discedens haberet.*"

[16] Although this accomplishment was rivaled by the addition of reliquary of the three magi, plunder from Milan which Frederick I gifted to Rainald of Dassel leading a successful sack on the city in 1163. Geary, "The Magi and Milan," 244.

[17] Hildegard of Bingen, "Riesenkodex," 472r. "*De patria etiam earum et de aliis regionibus viri religiosi et sapientes ipsis adiuncti sunt qui eas in virginea custodia servabant et qui eis in omnibus ministrabant.*"

[18] Flynn, 143.

[19] This was a practice that started in the tenth century. Cologne's archbishops had proven to be very effective at using this custom to their advantage, as several were chosen to the position of chancellor to the holy roman emperor. Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform: The Latin Church at the Turn of the First Millennium*, 86-99; Wittekind, "Two Saintly Archbishops."

[20] Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform: Community and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Germany*, 75.

close examination of evidence that contradicts former suppositions and acts that were previously omitted or thought to be unimportant.

Testing the Borders

The boundaries that divided members of the clergy and those of religious houses, the clergy and the laity, and cloistered males and females have long since been called into question by scholars. Recent scholarship disputes the idea of "monastic reform" as a cohesive movement that was incited by the Gregorian Reforms, designed to gain autonomy from secular authorities.[21] As Steven Vanderputten points out, the idea that monasteries aspired to reform for the purpose of emancipating themselves from ecclesiastical oversight is undermined by the fact that reform of monastic liturgy, rule, and/or physical buildings were often instigated by archbishops.[22] Alison Beach's case study of the anonymous chronicle *Casus Monasterii Petrishusensis*, illustrates how the poor discipline and lack of devotion described in the written record prior to a monastery's reform may be exaggerated as a coping mechanism to the sudden, comprehensive changes that reform brought to the residents of Peterhausen.[23] Chronicles describing monastic reform, written decades after the fact, often fall into the pattern of depicting their pre-reformed monasteries as fallen from a golden age of spiritual devotion. Reform was the mechanism by which their institutions could return to their prelapsarian state. Both Beach and Vanderputten argue that these trends call the veracity of the primary sources' content into question.[24] Studies of orders and individuals that occupied the liminal space between laity and clergy have become innumerable in the last twenty years.[25] While not denying the prescribed delineation between religious authorities and lay Christians, these scholars demonstrate how porous the membrane that separated these groups could be in practice.

Perhaps no aspect of medieval monastic reform has been subject to more critique and redefinition than the idea of female subjugation due to enclosure in the twelfth century. Female monasticism experienced a marked increase during this period. Sarah Margaret Ritchey estimates that between 1100 and 1250, the number of monasteries that included women in the Holy Roman Empire the increased from 150 to 500, bringing the total number of women religious to somewhere between 25,000 and 30,000. Ritchey attributes this influx to the growth of popular Christianity and the religious fervor generated in the wake of the Gregorian Reforms.[26] Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchen posit that movements such as the Hirsau reform, which transformed extant religious houses into double monasteries, increased interest in

[21] Newman, "Reformed Monasticism and the Narrative of Cistercian Beginnings," 539-541.
[22] Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century," 605.
[23] Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform*, 11-22.
[24] Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform*; Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform," 599-600.
[25] For a recent collection that exemplifies this trend, see Deane and Lester, *Between Orders and Heresy*.
[26] Ritchey, *Holy Matter: Changing Perceptions of the Material World in Late Medieval Christianity*, 25-26.

monastic life for males and females who were lured by the idea of emulating the early Christian ascetics.[27]

The surge in female monasticism coincided with a growing preoccupation with the role of sex amongst the clergy following the dissolution of clerical marriages in the canons of the first two Lateran Councils. Theological treatises speak to a considerable amount of anxiety regarding sex in general, and the idea of men and women sharing the same roof with the intention of remaining chaste seemed impossible to some. Bernard of Clairvaux expresses his thoughts on the matter in no uncertain terms in the sixty-sixth sermon of his collection on the Song of Songs:

> As I have said, you must separate men from the women although they claim to be leading chaste lives, and require the women to live with others of their sex who are under similar vows, and similarly men with men of the same way of life. In this way, you will protect the vows and reputations of both, and they will have you as witnesses and guardians of their chastity. If they do not accept this, you will be completely justified in expelling them from the Church to which they have caused scandal by their blatant and illicit cohabitation.[28]

While many scholars would argue that this inclusion was designed to subjugate women to the authority of a male abbot, this single explanation dismisses the contributions of male religious who did not share Bernard of Clairvaux's view on the separation of genders. Instead, they extolled the virtues of men and women working together in the service of God. Peterhausen's anonymous chronicler included a defense of double-monasteries, citing Jesus' appearance to the disciples, including Mary Magdalene and Joanna in the Gospel of Luke, explaining:

> It should also be noted here that pious women soldiered for God equally with the holy disciples. And on account of this example, it is not blameworthy, but rather very laudable, when religious women are received in the monasteries of the servants of God so that each sex, kept separate from one another, is saved in one place.[29]

Julie Hotchin and Jirki Thibaut caution scholars not to fall into the trap of perceiving all male religious as a monolithic, oppressive force that sought to subjugate cloistered females to an equal degree. If we make this error, we can only react by boxing female religious into another fallacious binary, that of a proponent or opponent of this subjugation under the guise of "reform."[30] However, if we compare the extant sources of male religious' opinion on females like those of Bernard and the anonymous chronicler, we see how clearly this monolithic narrative breaks down, as the boundary between male and female would vary between monasteries according to the opinion of the abbot.

Having embraced the plasticity of these once impenetrable boundaries that defined the socioreligious landscape, historians have moved to the next, logical step: a revision of "[…] interpretations that

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[27] Griffiths and Hotchin, "Women and Men in the Medieval Religious Landscape, 8.
[28] Bernard of Clairvaux, "Sermon 66."
[29] Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform,* 75.
[30] Hotchin and Thibaut, "Debating Identities: Women and Monastic Reform in the Medieval West, c. 1000–1500," 10.

argue for a radically diverse picture of reform based upon regional and local studies."[31] Or, as Vanderputten has stated, most scholars have arrived at "an understanding that reform is at the same time highly diverse, highly contextualized, and highly reliant on the personal agency and intentions of the individuals involved."[32]

In other words, we have tested the borders that created the framework of the original narrative, discovered that borders that created the context, while extant, were too narrow to accommodate all of the idiosyncrasies and contradictions we encountered. Now, by turning to individual case studies that examine the "personal agency and intentions of the individuals involved," we are attempting to make the subjects of our research fully realized human beings. By doing so, we allow ourselves to pursue avenues of research that are not beholden to extant historiography, thus freeing the subjects of study from the confines of our own narratives.

In the remainder of this article, I intend to provide an analysis of the most apparent anomaly in the narrative presented above: Elisabeth of Schönau's relationship with her brother, Eckbert. I shall demonstrate how this connection reveals the porous nature of the traditional social and institutional boundaries that surrounded her. I will also argue that rather than being an unwilling pawn, Elisabeth used this relationship and the *Liber revelationum* to further her own interests. I hope that, in doing so, I am able to help erode the archetypes of the "subjugated female religious" and "manipulative male promoting a secular agenda" that Elisabeth and Eckbert respectively represent and reveal some of the idiosyncrasies that made them unique individuals.

Beyond Boundaries

If Elisabeth were male, the events surrounding the confirmation of Cologne's relics' sanctity would have played out very differently. Setting aside statistical unlikelihood of a male version of Elisabeth experiencing visions, as a female religious, Elisabeth was subject to rules which her male counterparts were not.[33] Several of these female-specific regulations allowed males within her social sphere to coerce her, using her visions to their personal advantage.

The most confining of these regulations was Elisabeth's enclosure. The Hirsau rule that governed the monastery at Schönau stipulated that men and women be segregated from one another within the confines of the monastery. The only male permitted to enter the women's enclosure was the priest in the rare case that he had to distribute the sacrament to a nun who was unable to leave her bed.[34] The reality of how strictly this practice was carried out likely varied from house to house.[35] In Elisabeth's case, enclosure of women seems

[31] Hotchin and Thibaut, 5.
[32] Vanderputten, "Monastic Reform, 615.
[33] Based on a statistical analysis of 864 "holy people" between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries, one-third of the individuals who experienced visions were female, compared with one-tenth who were male. Mooney, "Interdisciplinarity in Teaching Medieval Mysticism," 17.
[34] Ritchey, *Holy Matter*, 27.
[35] For example, textual evidence records that Jutta of Disibodenberg (d. 1136), the *magistra* at Hildegard's abbey, would work in the fields to help grow food for the cloister and receive visitors, even though she and the other female religious were said to have

to have confined them to the grounds of the monastery, at the very least. There is only one documented occasion when she left Schönau, in 1156 to visit Hildegard at Rupertsberg.[36] This presented a problem when Elisabeth was compelled by her angel to preach of the coming apocalypse to the people of Cologne in 1154. Unable to carry out the command personally, Elisabeth entrusted the task to her abbot, Hildelin. Although she does not accuse the abbot of any wrongdoing regarding the mixed reception of her message in her letter to Hildegard, she was clearly distraught by the damage to her reputation.[37] There is a gap in her vision texts between the 15th of August 1154 and the 14th of May 1155. Anne L. Clark surmises that her emotional turmoil stifled her visions (or at least, her interest in dictating them to anyone) during this time, since it also coincides to when she wrote the letter explaining the incident to Hildegard.[38]

Male relatives, siblings in particular, were a rare exclusion from the totality of female religious enclosure, making Eckbert an ideal candidate to be Elisabeth's secretary.[39] Before he arrived in Schönau, Elisabeth's visions had been transcribed by her fellow sisters and/or abbot Hildelin. However, the Cologne incident had weakened Elisabeth's trust in her abbot, making her more reluctant to disclose the content of her visions. After Eckbert's arrival early in 1156, Elisabeth experienced her most prolific period of visionary dictation.[40]

The reason for Eckbert's departure from the canonry at Bonn, a position he held for a decade, is a divisive question amongst scholars and one that holds special significance in the matter of Elisabeth's agency regarding the relics from Cologne. For almost four years, Eckbert was apprised consistently of the content of his sister's visions. When Elisabeth began dictating her visions in May of 1152, the texts appear to have been written with Eckbert as the intended audience. In her second recorded vision, she interrupts the narration with an abrupt address to her brother ("*Petis a me, frater […]*")[41] We can be certain that the "brother" is Eckbert, rather than another biological or spiritual brother, due to the content of other visions which included information that pertained to individuals at the cathedral of St. Cassius and Florentius.[42] If Eckbert was performing the role of censor to object in the event that Elisabeth dictated any content that could be construed as heretical, he seemed to have been effective from Bonn. So, why the abrupt career change?

As Clark suggests, abbot Hildelin may have requested his presence at the monastery when Elisabeth withdrew from him. However, Eckbert arrived nearly two years after Hildelin's disastrous preaching tour in Cologne. Elisabeth had dictated eighteen more visions, likely to Hildelin himself, in the meantime.[43] According to Eckbert himself,

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been enclosed behind a wall of solid stone. Felten, "What Do We Know About the Life of Jutta and Hildegard at Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg?", 15-20.

[36] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: Twelfth Century Visionary*, 21.

[37] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Tercius*," 69-74.

[38] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works,* 15.

[39] Griffiths, "Siblings and the Sexes within the Medieval Religious Life."

[40] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: Twelfth Century Visionary*, 32-33.

[41] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Primus*," 2.

[42] See Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Primus*," 16, 17, and 27.

[43] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works,* 15.

he retired from the canonry to Schönau for no other reason than the love of God. Emecho (d. 1197), Eckbert's successor as abbot of Schönau and biographer, records that Eckbert came to Schönau after Elisabeth wrote to him following his ordination in Rome in 1155. In the letter she describes a vision in which Eckbert defeated the devil, but only after receiving the monastic habit from St. Benedict.[44]

Shrewd scholars cannot help but note that within six months of Eckbert's arrival, Gerlach appealed to him to obtain Elisabeth's assistance in explaining the problematic relics in Cologne. In *The War on Heresy,* R. I. Moore hints at collusion on Eckbert's part, though he stops short of directly accusing him of moving to Schönau for the purpose of coercing Elisabeth for the benefit of Cologne:

> [Eckbert] stepped aside from this path to high office in the church to become a monk in Schönau in 1155, and in effect secretary and interpreter to the outside world of his sister Elizabeth [*sic*], a nun in that house, who had a growing reputation as a visionary. It was in this capacity that he described and circulated revelations of his sister's vindicating the authenticity of the newly discovered relics.[45]

Moore's implication that Eckbert's move from canon to glorified secretary was a suspicious career misstep is worth consideration. Eckbert's education in Paris under the same master as the future chancellor and archbishop, Rainald of Dassel, and career as a canon in Bonn represent an ambitious upward trajectory indicative of an individual who might have sought to find a place in the emperor's administration. If we are to consider that Eckbert dedicated his *Sermones contra Catharos* collection to Rainald in 1165, it would appear as though his ambition never receded. In which case, his election to stay at Schönau must have been driven by an underhand deal or perhaps even due to the fame he could acquire through the manipulation of Elisabeth's visions. Again, Moore very nearly asserts that this is the case, when, in the course of opposing Eckbert's claims regarding the beliefs of the Cathars, he states:

> Eckbert is not an ideal witness. We have already seen good reason for suspecting him on other occasions […] of being ready to manipulate or even create information in the interests of his patron Rainald of Dassel, whose record, personality and current activities must have appalled and scandalized Cologne's apostolic dissenters.[46]

Although Moore does not specify which information Eckbert was willing to "manipulate or even create," his only previous mention of Eckbert regards his work as Elisabeth's secretary.

The primary flaw in this argument is Eckbert's loyalty to Rainald as motive for playing the mediator in this relic authentication scheme. Rainald of Dassel was not archbishop of Cologne in 1155 when the cemetery containing the remains of the 11,000 virgins were unearthed. He was not appointed to lead the archdiocese until 1159 and retained the title *in absentia* due to his involvement with Frederick I's Italian

[44] Sadly, this letter does not survive. Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*, 37.
[45] Robert Ian Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 167.
[46] Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 168.

campaign. He would not return to Cologne until 1163.[47] As stated earlier, Arnold II was archbishop of Cologne in 1155 and it was he who ordered Gerlach of Deutz to disinter the saints' remains.[48] If Eckbert did take vows at Schönau for the sake of using his sister to authenticate the dubious remains at Cologne, he would have done so at the urging of Gerlach of Deutz. As previously established, we have no evidence regarding their acquaintanceship that predates Gerlach's appeal to Eckbert for help in 1156. One has to ask, if Eckbert did agree to such a duplicitous scheme, what did he gain from it? He lived out the rest of his life in the monastery of Schönau. If he reaped any material rewards from coercing Elisabeth into verifying relics that he knew to be unaffiliated with Ursula's entourage, they did not warrant enough attention to be noted in the extant record of works surrounding his life.

As unlikely as it seems, in this case, the once worldly, ambitious canon might have experienced a genuine change of heart, believing that his sister's visions were truly divinely inspired.[49] Interestingly enough, the most compelling evidence of this comes from a letter that Eckbert wrote to Rainald after his election to the archbishopric. After congratulating him on his election, Eckbert proceeds to plead with Rainald not to neglect his spiritual duties to his clerical subordinates for the sake of his secular obligations as chancellor to the emperor. Letters of admonition amongst religious peers had become a genre in its own right during the politically tumultuous twelfth century. However, this particular admonition was atypical in its length, covering the front and back of six folios. In it, Eckbert begs that Rainald emulate the archbishops of Cologne's past who were lauded for their commitment to the faith. He bemoans the fallen state of the Church of the present day which is mired in corruption due to the leadership of prelates who were fornicators and simoniacs, more concerned with worldly gains than the rewards they would store up in heaven.[50]

At the time of his election to the archbishopric in 1159, Rainald demonstrated no interest in a career in the service of the Church, save for the prestige that befitted the title of archbishop. He is credited with fomenting an uprising imperial uprising against pope Adrian IV (r. 1154-1159) in 1158 and refused to have his appointment to the archdiocese confirmed by pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181), who he viewed as an illegitimate pontiff, having supported Frederick I's installment of Victor IV (r. 1159-1164.)[51] He was the embodiment of all of the qualities that Eckbert condemned in his letter, a fact of which Eckbert was well aware. He could not have hoped to have been thanked or rewarded for his advice. If he believed that Rainald would have capitulated to some of his suggestions out of respect for their shared history, it was in vain. In the words of the anonymous Archpoet, Rainald had "little time for the scruples of the cloister and less patience for the meddling of monks."[52] Eckbert's appeal to his former schoolmate's non-existent conscience is indicative of a genuine

[47] Geary, "The Magi and Milan."
[48] See fn. 5.
[49] Anne L. Clark has a stronger opinion on this topic, "Only a naïve cynic would imagine that Eckbert himself created them: he would not have abandoned his promising ecclesiastical career and become a monk merely to engage in intellectual fraud." Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works,* vii.
[50] Eckbert of Schönau, "*Epistola Ecberti ad Reinoldum Coloniensem electrum*," 311-319.
[51] Freed, *Frederick Barbarossa*, 205. Newman, *Voice of Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, 21.
[52] Carty, *The Political Message of the Shrine of St. Heribert of Cologne: Church and Empire after the Investiture Contest*, 119.

desire to help reform the church, marking a distinct transition from his former life.

All of Eckbert's writings, whether in Elisabeth's voice or his own, indicate that the unexpected transition from canon to monk/secretary was motivated by his conviction that his sister's visions were genuine divine messages. This conviction did not prevent him from influencing the content of her visions, as we have seen in the case of Elisabeth's hesitant verification of the Cologne artifacts. Moreover, after his arrival at Schönau, the subject matter of Elisabeth's ecstasies shifts from visions of the saints appearing on their feast days, to answers to questions posed to Elisabeth's angel regarding matters of theological doctrine.[53] The content of these questions reflected the Eckbert's Parisian education, which carried with it all of the anxieties stirred up by scholasticism and the translation of texts previously only accessible to a Greek-speaking audience.[54]

On one of these occasions, we see an example of Elisabeth asserting her control over the content of her visions. During the course of identifying the Ursuline relics, Eckbert appears to test the veracity of her claims, asking if one of the martyrs, who she identified as a member of the high nobility, Potentinus of Gaul, was a contemporary of bishop Maximinus of Trier. Eckbert knew that the two did not live at the same time. In response, Elisabeth reported to Eckbert that her angel and St. Stephen appeared to her and were offended by his attempt to test their divine wisdom. The angel demanded that Eckbert atone for his audacity by holding a mass in his honor. Eckbert refrained from recording his response or whether or not he capitulated to the angel's request.[55] This incident illustrates that Elisabeth could and did control the narrative of her visions, even if she was not holding the quill herself.

For all of Eckbert's protestations that Elisabeth's grasp of Latin was weak and that he had to translate some of her dictations from German, we have no way of knowing if this was an accurate description of Elisabeth's linguistic skill or if this was a way of emphasizing the miraculous nature of her visions, which, when provided in the voice of her angel, were spoken in perfect Latin.[56] Since all of her letters and vision collections were dictated rather than written in her own hand, we can assume that she was not able to write. This does not preclude the possibility that she was able to read what Eckbert had written. Whether due to the nagging of his own conscience, or because Elisabeth was reading over her shoulder, Eckbert recorded Elisabeth's voiced hesitations when she was uncomfortable answering a question or when she expressed doubt regarding a subject.[57] He also indicated to his audience that Elisabeth was reluctant to answer a question by recording how many times he had to remind her when she "forgot" to relay his inquiry to her angel.

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[53] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Secundus*"; Elisabeth of Schonau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Tercius*."

[54] Such inquires included the orthodoxy of Origen of Alexandria's writings, the *filioque* clause, details of the angelic hierarchy, and the number of angels that fell with Lucifer. Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth: Liber Tercius*," 62-63, 65, 68-69.

[55] Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*, 38-39.

[56] Embach, "Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179): A History of Reception," 292; Heinzer, "Unequal Twins: Visionary Attitude and Monastic Culture in Elisabeth of Schönau and Hildegard of Bingen," 105.

[57] Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Liber revelationum,*" 159. "*Cum ergo essem mecum admirans super his, et cogitans omnio incredibile esse secudum tenorem hystorie, quod et sponsus sancta Ursule huic martirio interfuisset* […]; See also fn. 12.

As paradoxical as it may seem from the narrative of her involvement in the Cologne relic incident, Elisabeth wielded the most autonomy over the record of her visions during the latter part of 1156. Anne L. Clark states that this was the most prolific period visionary period of Elisabeth's life.[58] While dictating the *Liber revelationum*, Elisabeth also dictated two other works, the *Liber viarum dei* and *De resurrection beate virginis matris domini*.

The *Liber viarum dei* provides us with unparalleled insight into how Elisabeth perceived her role as a female religious and how vital the role of females were to monastic life. In doing so, she built on an extant literary tradition that was introduced c. 1140. in the book *Speculum virginum*, written by a monk from the monastery of Hirsau.[59] The *Speculum* was a handbook designed to assist priests in the pastoral care of cloistered nuns. Within the pages of this book, not only were the roles ascribed to both sexes in double monasteries delineated, but the ideal of a monastic reformation was actualized in a very real etymological sense. According to the *Speculum*, it was within the confines of the monastery that the world would be restored to its prelapsarian state. For the male religious, this re-making of the world was accomplished by manual labor. For women, the world was remade through their enclosure that allowed them to hone their virtue and maintain their virginity. Through virtue and virginity, the cloistered women emulated the virgin Mary, and paradoxically, the brides of Christ, This emulation and symbolic marriage gave them the power to symbolically give birth to the God of creation, essentially "re-forming" the world.[60]

Although we cannot be certain that Elisabeth was familiar with the *Speculum virginum's* thesis that virginal female religious were vessels by which the world would be remade, there is no doubt that she holds the role of females in enclosure in the highest esteem, especially when juxtaposed with the laity and the prelates. This is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in her *Liber viarum Dei* wherein she describes a vision in which three paths rise up to the summit of a mountain. She describes the paths as follows:

> The one appearing closer to the green path was pleasant, but was entirely surrounded and covered over by dense thorn bushes. Those walking on it would inevitably be pricked unless, cramped up and bent over, they proceeded very carefully. There also appeared a delightful path, narrow, and hardly worn. It had no thorns, but on both sides was abundantly surrounded by pleasant grass and flowers of various kinds. The middle one between these two was wider than the others and was smooth, as if it were paved with red tiles. While I was carefully looking over it, the angel of the Lord who was standing by me said, 'You gaze upon this path and it seems lovely and easy to walk on, but it is dangerous and those advancing on it easily slip.'[61]

The paths correspond to the ways of the married laity, the chaste, and the prelates, respectively.

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[58] Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau: The Complete Works*, 16-17.
[59] Rainini, "From Regensburg to Hirsau and Back: Paths in 11th-12th Century German Theology," 12.
[60] Ritchey, *Holy Matter*, 27-28, 58-59.
[61] Translation provided by Anne L. Clark. Elisabeth of Schönau, "The Book on the Ways of God," 162.; Elisabeth of Schönau, "*Liber viarum dei*." 88-89.

Elisabeth did not merely endure the cloistered life, she celebrated enclosure. It must have been a measure of relief to know that she could voice her anger with the prelates or instruct members of other monastic houses without having to leave the cloister at Schönau. Indeed, though she did not hold back in castigating the church leaders, they do not seem to be target audience of her works. All but two of the extant twenty-two letters that she dictated were written to monastic leaders and members of religious houses.[62] In these missals, she encouraged other enclosed religious to find fulfillment within the walls of their houses. When writing a letter to Abbot Burchard of Odenheim, she informs him that one of the brothers at his abbey had asked her advice concerning whether or not he should take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her reply was to the contrary, maintaining that pilgrimage was reserved as an act of penance for sinners. The monk would not find the Lord in Jerusalem if he could not find him in his own abbey.[63]

Her opinion on the superiority of life in the cloister brooked no exceptions, not even for her brother. On her deathbed, she elicited Eckbert's promise that he would remain at the monastery.[64] Though he would venture beyond its wall on occasion, he kept the spirit of his promise. Eckbert became abbot of Schönau shortly after Elisabeth's death in either 1165 or 1166. He died within its walls in 1184.[65]

Conclusion

The boundaries that we use to define the human experience, past or present, prove themselves to be elastic, flimsy, or even imaginary upon close examination. That is not to say that they do not exist or do not have utility as a didactic tool, especially when attempting to communicate complex information to novices in the field. In practice however, individuals rarely conform to the strict boundaries that support these narratives. Though I am not so naïve that I believe we can ever truly understand the psychology of historical actors who are removed from us in time by nearly a millennium, I am optimistic that modern historiographical methods are successful in point us in a direction that allows a more accurate understanding of historical actors. Moreover, by turning our attention to individuals like Elisabeth and Eckbert, who demonstrate that they were constantly negotiating between the borders of their contexts to eke out a space that accommodated their personal identities by acting unpredictable ways, we make the discipline of history itself a more welcoming, accessible environment to future historians.

[62] Elisabeth of Schönau, "Die Briefe," 139-158.
[63] Elisabeth of Schönau, "Die Briefe der hl. Elisabeth von Schönau," 142-143.
[64] Eckbert of Schönau, "Ekberts Trostschreiben über den Tod Elisabethsan die Nonnen von St. Thomas in Andernach," 277.
[65] Duvernoy, *La Religion des Cathares: Les Catharisme,* 14.

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Demon Possessed or Spirit-Filled? Religious Dissent and Feminine Religiosity in the Twelfth Century Rhineland

Andra Alexiu

Abstract

After several failed attempts to exorcise a young noble woman, called Sigewize, from the Lower Rhine region, she is brought to Rupertsberg where the ritual is successfully conducted according to the indications and in the presence of the famous visionary nun and *magistra*, Hildegard of Bingen. The narratives occasioned by this outstanding event also lend themselves useful for the study of the continuous negotiation of the boundaries of orthodoxy, a process in which the categories of heresy and demonic possession occupied a central role. As such, my article aims to analyse the points of intersection between discourses on demonic possession, charismatic inspiration, and heresy, as well as to show how and why they begin to diverge at some point. By focusing on this intersection, the present study aims to make use of "blurred boundaries" both as a metaphor and a necessary tool for bringing together related and yet disjointed areas or research.

Keywords**:** exorcism, demonic possession, heresy, feminine spirituality, Hildegard of Bingen.

Introduction

Around 1270, one of the famous Parisian Franciscan masters and soon to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, wrote his *Tractatus tres de paupertate*. Composed in the midst of what came to be known as the mendicant controversy,[1] the treatise constitutes an apologetic response to the works of William of Saint Amour and Matthew Paris. Both William and Matthew were fervent opponents of the Mendicants and both were equally well acquainted with Hildegard of Bingen's letter addressed to the pastors of the Church roughly one century earlier.[2] It thus comes as no surprise that John Peckham had no flattering words towards Hildegard and warned against the devilish inspiration of her visions (*ex diaboli astutia processisse*) through which heresy was being disseminated (*Hyldegardianis hereticis ipsius dyaboli procuratoribus*).[3] While his opinion on the source of Hildegard's visions stands out as unique

[1] Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*. See the entire book for the anti-mendicant controversy; Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*.

[2] Ep. 15r in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium I*, 34–47. On the reception of Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne, see Embach, "Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179): A History of Reception", 287–88.

[3] Peckham, *Fratris Johannis Pecham Tractatus tres de paupertate*, 76–77: "Volens igitur facere religiones istas hominibus odiosas, veritati, quam vel ex scripturis vel angelis revelantibus didicerat, plures immiscuit falsitates et nequitias, et per istam Hyldegardim quam et alios errores docuit, Hyldegardianis hereticis ipsius dyaboli procuratoribus, et sanctorum persecutoribus promulgavit."

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amongst a long tradition of reading the famous Benedictine nun's oeuvre, it makes the case that in certain circumstances not even highly revered charismatic figures and their writings were safe in the face of harsh criticism and serious allegations.

On an intellectual level, thinkers of the High Middle Ages[4] strived towards refining their definitions of notions and concepts, such as devil or God inspired, to better understand, describe, as well as to perfect their lived experience. However, these aspirations were not only accompanied by negotiations and debates of both behaviours and ideas that prompted new or reignited old controversies,[5] but the way these processes played out was to a much higher degree context dependent, messier, and fluid, rather than following the linear pathway that historians were inclined to imagine. Ideals and norms rarely translated neatly into concrete interactions between living people as, more often than not, political alliances, religious groups and their networks morphed, pushing individuals in various positions within their confines or, in extreme cases, outside of them, through excommunication or accusations of heresy. It is not surprising that in recent times medievalists from different areas of expertise have drawn attention to the fact that spaces, dynamics, or actors go understudied, misunderstood, or simply evade a uniform and clear cut picture of "the medieval Church".[6] As it turns out, ambiguous signs and situations were by no means rare occurrences throughout the Middle Ages, just as tolerance for them was not lacking.[7] How are medievalists supposed to reckon with them, in order to not only recover but also to reintegrate them in the historiographical discourse?

Precisely herein lies the crux of the present article, as my intention is to take a closer look at the fluidity of interaction between religious groups and the individuals aiming to live under the precepts of the *uita apostolica* which came with the spiritual renewal of the long twelfth century,[8] especially against the backdrop of an accelerated process of institutionalization or restructuring which dominated the second half of the century.[9] One of the pillars of the apostolic model was making God's words and intentions known to as many people as possible through preaching. While divine inspiration or charisma made it possible for religious women to actively take part in the

[4] Cotts, "Monks and Clerks in Search of the *Beata Schola*: Peter of Celle's Warning to John of Salisbury Reconsidered"; Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, 863–1196. Mews, "Rethinking Scholastic Communities in Latin Europe.", as well as the contributions in Giraud, *A companion to twelfth-century schools*.

[5] Monagle, Clare, *Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse. Peter Lombard's Sentences and the Development of Theology*.

[6] Macy, "Was there a 'the Church' in the Middle Ages?"; Deane and Lester, *Between orders and heresy*, 3–22.

[7] Auge et al., *Ambiguität im Mittelalter*; Scheller and Hoffarth, *Ambiguität und die Ordnungen des Sozialen im Mittelalter*.

[8] Noble and Van Engen, *European transformations*.

[9] *Institutionalisierung* or institutionalization is a key word of German historiography, as it ties into the older focal point of the *Verfassungsgeschichte* which favours the normative framework of society over other aspects. On how this process shaped the monastic orders of the twelfth and thirteenth century see Melville, "The Institutionalization of Religious Orders (12th-13th Centuries)." Likewise, the concept enjoyed a broad appeal amongst medievalists dealing with knowledge and education: Van Engen, *Learning institutionalized*. For more recent contributions, see the volume Cariboni, D'Acunto, and Filippini, *Presenza-assenza*.

preaching activities, this did not happen without raising suspicions or without facing rejection from society. These attitudes were at times channelled through accusations of demonic possession, through trials of heresy, or through both.

In a recent study which deals with demonic possession as lived religion in the Late Middle Ages, Sari Katajala-Peltomaa defines it as a "spiritual phenomenon which had visible and detectable physical and mental symptoms as well as social outcomes." Revealing the multi-layered and fluid attributes of the phenomenon, such an approach helped her placing it at the intersection of "personal experiences, social dynamics, and cultural expectations."[10] As studies looking to discern or prove the nature of spiritual manifestations show, this phenomenon – more widely spread in the aftermath of the Forth Lateran Council in 1215 – greatly influenced not only human interactions, but also served as a building block of orthodoxy.[11] Like heretics, demoniacs did not self-identify as such, but were labelled from the exterior, by figures of authority. In both cases the transgressive behaviour, perceived as the devil's interreference in the world, served as a criterion for categorizing individuals. However, the process was never straight forward, following a clear-cut line, and as it will be shown it was highly dependent on socio-economical constellations. While heresy might not have been "invented" as some historians have suggested in the case of the Cathars,[12] it was constructed in opposition with interpretations, precepts and rituals deemed to be orthodox [13]. While most studies conducted on demonic possession focus on the later centuries of the Middle Ages, the phenomenon constituted an important piece of negotiating the boundaries of orthodoxy during the second half of the twelfth century in the Archdioceses of Mainz and Cologne. Here, in 1169, the renowned visionary *magistra*, Hildegard of Bingen, orchestrated and closely supervised a ritual of exorcism of a younger lay noble woman, Sigewize. How did this episode tie into Hildegard's understanding of heresy and demonic possession? What were the circumstances under which boundaries between these categories were negotiated in the case of Sigewize's deliverance from her demonic possession and how did this process shape the narrative discourses surrounding the respective event?

It needs to be said from the beginning that the dramatic events surrounding the rituals of exorcism which took place around 1169 raised the interest of both Hildegard's contemporaries as well as that of the following generations. To better grasp the problem, the first part of this article will be a brief overview of the roles that demons played and how they have been dealt with in various contexts, before this episode took place. Since Hilgard of Bingen was a prolific author, whose work touched on both theology and medicine, it is worth looking into what she had to say on the topic of discerning the spirits;

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[10] Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe*, 1–2.
[11] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*; Elliott, *Proving Woman*.
[12] Brunn, *Des contestataires aux « Cathares »*; Pegg, *A Most Holy War*; cf. Sennis. *Cathars in question*.
[13] Arnold, "The Materiality of Unbelief in Late Medieval England"; Ames, "The Spiritual Foundations of Christian Heresy Inquisitions".

not only did she write at length about her visionary experiences, but she was also interested in understanding the work of maleficent spirits and their impact on both an individual and societal level. Following this thread, the article will turn to how the discourse about demons is integrated in the sources dealing with the unmasking of the heretics in Cologne in the summer of 1163. The last part will zoom in on the social and religious dynamic surrounding the exorcism performed under Hildegard's direct supervision, to argue that it should be interpreted as yet another response to religious dissent.

Similar to the way in which other studies consciously make the spaces and categories which overlap or are "neither/nor" or simply in-between the object of their research,[14] this paper aims to make use of "blurring boundaries" both as a metaphor – and useful reminder that structures and institutions are but a part of medieval society – and as a tool for bringing together related and yet disjointed areas or research.

Talking About Demons

Stories of demons and demonic possession are as old as Christian tradition (Luke 8:26-38; Matthew 15: 21-28, Mark 7:24-30). So it is unsurprising that they occupy an important place within monastic culture, permeating its written, visual and liturgical productions well before scholastics turned demons into a matter of "epistemological exactitude and taxonomies of knowledge,"[15] and long before the demonological turning point placed by Alan Boureau at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.[16] Prior to scholastic debates on the origin of demons, their characteristics, and their relation to God, most demon-stories were miraculous anecdotes inserted for their moral-didactic value into larger narratives, usually hagiographies or chronicles. Part of the narratives that emanated from the monastic environment reiterated the model of demons as tempters, following the synoptic Gospels of Matthew (4: 1-11) and Luke (4: 1-13), while others focused on miraculous exorcisms performed by saints on energumens. Be it in dreams or in a state of wakefulness, encounters with demons constituted leitmotivs in the narratives of spiritual advancement of both individuals and communities throughout the Early and High Middle Ages. In parallel to the endeavours towards dialectically solving various questions regarding demons, miraculous stories continued to be written, read, and largely disseminated, even amongst the monastic orders that started to emerge during the long twelfth century.[17] As such, narratives of fighting demonic or devilish temptations became a hallmark of the order's spiritual precedence over competing spiritual groups and thus a part of their identity-building discourse.[18]

Conversely, demon stories were linked with anti-heretical writings as well. However, much like how scholastic treatises and the

[14] Especially relevant for this study: Lutter, *Zwischen Hof und Kloster*; Deane and Lester, *Between orders and heresy*.
[15] Ruys, *Demons in the Middle Ages*, 57.
[16] Boureau, *Satan the Heretic*, 4.
[17] Noble and Van Engen, *European Transformations*.
[18] Ruys, *Demons in the Middle Ages*, 34–35.

encyclopaedic knowledge about fallen angels bloomed during the following century, demons also turned into a more complex rhetorical tool of religious polemics, as some heretics started being depicted as worshipers of Lucifer.[19]

Beginning with the biblical account of Gerasene's deliverance from demonic possession, exorcism[20] became one of the major religious events, impacting local communities in their entirety. As the accounts of demonic possession clearly illustrate, such occurrences were highly disruptive – given the erratic and uncanny behaviour of the energumens – not only for the persons directly afflicted and their close family, but also for the local community at large. Thus, a handful of measures needed to be taken for balance to be restored: fasts, imposed mainly on the affected person, but also on the performer of the ritual as well as on the entire community, and purification ceremonials, including chants and prayers, are recorded in both liturgical and narrative sources. Exorcism shared common roots and features with rituals of baptism, healing of the sick, as well as with maledictions.[21] Since miraculous healing was perceived as an essential attribute of sanctity, it does not come as a surprise that women who were revered as saints were also considered capable of performing exorcisms. Likely written in the first half of the sixth century, *Vita Genovefae* recounts, amongst other things, how in different instances the saint helped deliver possessed men and women through her prayers, either by making the sign of the cross over them or by anointing them with consecrated oil.[22]

As the schoolmen started to closely investigate the ontological existence of evil, like Anselm of Canterbury in his *De casu diaboli*, the mechanism of possession and questions of who and why had a predilection to become a demoniac also made their way into the various writings of the twelfth century. The Aristotelian theory concerning the weaker and more porous density of the female body, which permeated the medical discourse throughout the Middle Ages, made it so that women turned into ideal candidates for demonic infestation.[23] However, while sacraments could be imparted only by priests, sanctity and demonic possession enabled spiritual women of the High Middle Ages to play an active part in exorcism: both as performers and also at the receiving end of the ritual. Likewise, religious women enthusiastically embraced the forceful revival of *uita apostolica*,[24] as part of a spiritual awakening largely diffused to and embraced by all strata of a now more diverse society. Cloistered women not only copied, but also actively produced and sometimes delivered homiletic material, while lay women (Waldensians, for

[19] Moulinier-Brogi, "Le chat des cathares de Mayence, et autres « primeurs » d'un exorcisme du XIIe siècle." Brunn, *Des contestataires aux « Cathares »*, 479–96.
[20] For an overview, see Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity*; for an in-depth analysis of exorcism in the High and Late Middle Ages see Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme des possédés dans l'église d'Occident (Xe-XIVe siècle)*.
[21] Chave-Mahir, "Devil Possession in the Liturgy around the Tenth and Twelfth Centuries. Bringing Together the Body Like a Microcosm."
[22] See *The Life of Genovefa, Virgin of Paris in Gaul*, 29, 44-45, and 51, in McNamara, Halborg, and Whatley, *Sainted women of the Dark Ages*, 34–35.
[23] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 151–58.
[24] See Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*; Constable, *Reformation of the twelfth century*.

example) were perceived as heretics, amongst other things, for preaching.[25]

The manners in which the apostolic model should be followed and by whom were being intensely debated – that is to say they constituted a central point of dissent between different religious groups as well as within them; and demons and especially demonic possessions were also part of the debate.

The Malignant Spirits and the Prophetess

After being professed *oblata* to a religious vocation at the beginning of the twelfth century, Hildegard of Bingen lived as an *inclusa* at the double monastery of Disibodenberg in the Archdiocese of Mainz. Later in life, after moving to Rupertsberg, she turned to a monastic habit. Much like her superior, Jutta of Sponheim, and other spiritual women within the sphere of reform promoted by the Hirsau monastery in the Black Forest region, Hildegard experienced visions from a very early age. In comparison to them, however, she left a significant number of works directly inspired by what she called the Living Light.

Ranging from theological treatise, hagiographies, homilies, and epistles to liturgical compositions, medical writings, and words she firmly believed to be recovered from the prelapsarian language, Hildegardian works are, for the most part, prefaced by descriptions of her visionary inspiration.[26] Nevertheless, the most detailed account of her experience was included in a letter addressed later in her life to the much younger monk from Liège, Guibert of Gembloux (c. 1124-1214).[27] In it, she not only recalls when and how the visions started, but also differentiates between two main types: *visio*, those inspired by the shadow of the Living Light (*umbra uiuentis luminis mihi nominatur*) – pain and knowledge inducing, incessantly experienced – and those seen in the Living Light (*lux uiuens mihi nominata es*t) – almost impossible to convey in words and more rarely occurring.[28] Refusing

[25] Kienzle, "The Prostitute-Preacher. Patterns of Polemic against Medieval Waldensian Women Preachers."; Alexiu, "*Magistra magistrorum*".

[26] Newman, "Hildegard of Bingen: Visions and Validation"; Meier, "Legitimationsstufen des Prophetentums"; Meier, "Autorschaft".

[27] After an intense epistolary exchange, Guibert served during Hildegard's last years of life, as well as for a short time after her death as provost at Rupertsberg. During this period, he also served as the visionary's secretary and aquatinted himself with her works. See Coakley, *Women, men, and spiritual power*, 45–67.

[28] Ep, 103, in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium II*, 261–62: "Ab infantia autem mea, ossibus et neruis et uenis meis nondum confortatis, uisionis huius munere in anima mea usque ad presens tempus semper fruor, cum iam plus quam septuaginta annorum sim. Spiritus uero meus, prout Deus uult, in hac uisione sursum in altitudinem firmamenti et in uicissitudinem diuersi aeris ascendit, atque inter diuersos populos se dilatat, quamuis in longinquis regionibus et locis a me remoti sint. Et quoniam hec tali modo uideo, idcirco etiam secundum uicissitudinem nubium et aliarum creaturarum ea conspicio. Ista autem nec corporeis auribus audio nec cogitationibus cordis mei, nec ulla collatione sensuum meorum quinque percipio, sed tantum in anima mea, apertis exterioribus oculis, ita ut numquam in eis defectum extasis patiar; sed uigilanter die ac nocte illa uideo. Et assidue infirmitatibus constringor, et grauibus doloribus implicata sum, adeo ut mortem inferre minentur. Sed Deus usque adhuc me sustentauit. Lumen igitur quod uideo, locale non est, sed nube que solem portat multo lucidius, nec altitudinem nec longitudinem nec latitudinem in eo considerare ualeo, illud que umbra uiuentis luminis mihi nominatur, atque ut sol, luna et stelle in aqua apparent, ita scripture, sermones, uirtutes et quedam opera hominum formata in illo mihi resplendent. Quicquid autem in hac uisione uidero seu didicero, huius memoriam per

to categorize it as ecstasy, the visionary nun still describes an upward movement of her spirit, into the *uicissitudinem diuersi aeris*, for the most part accompanied by an almost death-inducing bodily affliction. While, in this instance, it is unclear how these disparaged elements were linked to bring together her visionary experience, another passage – included in the final edition of *Vita Hildegardis* – appears to shed light on this matter. Here Hildegard goes into more detail concerning her struggles with the airy spirits during one of her frequent episodes of ailments, which brought her face to face with a near-death experience. While being laid on the *cilicium* by her sisters,[29] Hildegard recalls having a vision of Archangel Michael's army of angels fighting the dragon, at the end of which she is revived and exhorted by the angelic choir to keep on fighting. During her gradual period of recovery, she ponders on the source of her illness:

> "It was the most evil spirits of the air that to whom are committed all the punishing tortures of human beings, who administered me this punishment, since God allowed them to bring it against me. […] These came hurrying to me, crying out in a loud voice: 'Let us seduce this woman, so that she has second thoughts about God, and rails at him for overwhelming her with such sufferings.' For just as it happened to Job when by God's permission Satan so struck his body that he crawled with vermin so, in my case, it was a fiery air that entered in and consumed my flesh.[30]"

What Hildegard describes is a demonic temptation which she managed to resist in her quest for spiritual betterment. Allusions to a fiery air entering the body illustrate how thin, almost unperceivable, the boundaries could be between demonic temptation and actual possession. In both referring to St. Michael's intervention and to the *pessimi aerii/aerius ignis* Hildegard seems to reflect scholastic convictions that demons inhibit the lower airs, which also contain the fiery elements of hell,[31] on the one hand, and that resisting temptation

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longum tempus habeo, ita quod, quoniam illud aliquando uiderim et audierim, recordor. Et simul uideo et audio ac scio, et quasi in momento hoc quod scio disco. Quod autem non uideo, illud nescio, quia indocta sum. Et ea que scribo, illa in uisione uideo et audio, nec alia uerba pono quam illa que audio, latinis que uerbis non limatis ea profero quemadmodum illa in uisione audio, quoniam sicut philosophi scribunt scribere in uisione hac non doceor. Atque uerba que in uisione ista uideo et audio, non sunt sicut uerba que ab ore hominis sonant, sed sicut flamma coruscans et ut nubes in aere puro mota. […] Et in eodem lumine aliam lucem, que lux uiuens mihi nominata est, interdum et non frequenter aspicio, quam nimirum quomodo uideam multo minus quam priorem proferre sufficio, atque interim dum illam intueor, omnis mihi tristitia omnis que dolor de memoria aufertur, ita ut tunc mores simplicis puelle, et non uetule mulieris habeam."

[29] For dying as process, see Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen, Norm & Praxis, Lesen & Schreiben*, 96–97.

[30] VSH II, 9 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 34: "Nam pessimi aerii spiritus, quibus penales cruciatus hominum iniuncti sunt, penam hanc, que michi ab eis ut Deus permisit inferebatur, subministrabant, sicut et tortores fecerunt, qui beato Laurentio et aliis martyribus prunas apponebant; qui et ad me festinantes uoce magna clamabant: 'Seducamus istam, ut de Deo dubitet et blasphemet, cur eam tantis penis implicet.' Sicut enim in Iob permissione Dei factum est, quod sathan corpus eius ita percussit, quod uermibus scateret, ita aerius ignis subintrans carnem meam consumpsit." (Engl. in Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 170.)

[31] Ruys, *Demons in the Middle Ages*, 74.

and expelling evil spirits could take on Apocalyptic overtones, on the other.[32]

Likewise, her theory of demonic possession placed her, as Nanci Caciola noted, within the dominant tradition of the twelfth century, which held "that unclean spirits may possess a person physically but could not affect the soul."[33] Upon finding out about a young woman assailed by demons, Hildegard starts to ponder how this demonic obsession came to happen. She defines it as a form of overshadowing (*obumbrare*) of the senses, which cuts the existing connection between the rational soul (*rationalis animus*) and God. Thus, as Peter Dronke observed many decades ago,[34] it would not be accurate to equate *obsessa* with possession, at least not when dealing with Hildegard's texts, as she goes on to point out that:

> "a devil does not actually enter a human being in its own form; rather with the shadow and the smoke of its blackness, he overshadows and covers him […] God does not allow him to enter a human being in his own form, but as we said above he envelops his victim and wraps him into insanity and unseemly ways, and snarls through him as through a window, and moves his limbs outwardly. […] the soul is in a stupefied sleep and does not know what the flesh of the body does.[35]"

This is, however, not the only time that Hildegard visited this question. She also touched upon the topic in a letter addressed to an unnamed priest,[36] where she insists on the bodily aspects responsible for the human predisposition towards sin and to being attacked by the demon, especially the imbalance in the blood, bile, and phlegm. According to her, excess in blood makes people vulnerable to a demonic obsession. If that happens, the people affected "speak of God deceitfully", "are always hard-hearted and cruel, and do not willingly follow other people's advice, but, rather, do whatever they wish." In contrast, those with an excess of bile "are assailed by many wicked thoughts in denial of God, and they think this state of mind as a great affliction and even as a sickness unto death."

The letter seems to be informed by Hildegard's medicinal knowledge as well as by her direct spiritual experience: both as a victim of the malignant spirit (and potentially obsession), as well as an eyewitness to and the one responsible for Sigewize's liberation from her demonic obsession.

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[32] Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity*, 67.
[33] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 191–92.
[34] Dronke, "Problemata Hildegardiana", 118–22 and Dronke, *Women writers of the Middle Ages*, 163: *obsidere* and not *possession*.
[35] VSH III, 20 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 56: "[…] diabolus in forma sua ut est hominem non intrat, sed eum umbra et fumo nigredinis sue obumbrat et obtegit. […] Quapropter Deus non permittit, quod hominem in forma sua intret, sed supradictis perfundens ad insaniam et inconuenientia euertit et per eum quasi per fenestram uociferatur et membra illius exterius mouet, cum tamen in eis in forma sua interius non sit, anima interim quasi sopita et ignorante, quid caro corporis faciat." (Engl in Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 194.)
[36] Ep. 289 in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium III*, 42–43. (Engl. in Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, 2004, 3 82–84.)

Demonic Possession and Heresy in the Rhinelands

Compared to other instances of demonic possessions, Sigewize's case stands out in more than a few ways. As highlighted by Florence Chave-Mahir, the abundance of details concerning this episode illustrates that Hildegard of Bingen not only played a part in Sigewize's deliverance from demonic possession, but also put her theological reflections on the matter to good use when designing a new liturgy of exorcism.[37] Moreover, given its precise chronological and geographical placement, it was likely tied to the broader manifestation of religious dissent.

Just a couple of years before Sigewize was delivered by her preaching demon, the Archdiocese of Cologne was shaken in 1163 by the "Cathar affair".[38] According to the earliest sources recounting these events, several men and women, after being unmasked and arrested as heretics, were excommunicated by the clergy, tried by secular authorities, and eventually ended up being burned. A remark stands out, as it is repeated by all narrative sources compiled in the 1160s: the most frantic believers threw themselves into the fire. Moreover, Dietrich of Deutz (a monk from an abbey situated in the proximity of Cologne) attributed their firm conviction to the devil's trickery: "When they were burned near the Jewish cemetery […] they showed themselves so obstinate in their belief that, inspired by the devil, some of them threw themselves into the fire."[39] Interestingly, in grappling to make sense of the actions of the heretics, Dietrich's account concludes that they could have only been inspired by the devil. In other words, he acknowledges demonic temptation as being at the source of their erratic behaviour. Thus, the category of heresy with which he operates shares many similarities with that of demonic possession as described in Hildegard's writings: basically, in their origins and the way they manifested, heresy and demonic possession were quasi-indistinguishable. However, the point where the two categories start becoming differentiated was, as Dietrich's short report illustrates, in their perceived societal impact. Not only were those branded as heretics clearly held accountable and blamed for the obstinacy of their convictions, but they were also subjected to a firm and more radical response from the community, as the heretics ended up dying in the flames which were lit up for their purification.

By the time these events were taking place, Hildegard appears to have had significant connections to the Archdiocese of Cologne. While the authenticity of the letter exchange with Archbishop Arnold of Cologne has been questioned by historians,[40] it is known that at least one of her nephews, also named Arnold (elected Archbishop of Trier

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[37] Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme des possédés dans l'église d'Occident (Xe-XIVe siècle)*, 141, 157–61. See also Gouguenheim, "La sainte et les miracles: Guérisons et miracles d'Hildegarde de Bingen", 170–76.

[38] As R. I Moore pointed out, the narrative adds details at the beginning of the thirteenth century: Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 2–3.

[39] Holder-Egger, "Theodericus Tuitiensis aedituus, Series archiepiscoporum Coloniensium", 286–87: "[…] iuxta Iudeorum sepulturas igni cremati sunt, tanta diaboli instinctu in suo proposito usi pertinatia, ut quidam ipsorum furentibus flammis se ipsos inicerent."

[40] Ep. 14 and 14r in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium I*, 31–32; Holbach, "Hildegard von Bingen und die kirchlichen Metropolen Mainz, Köln und Trier", 97–99.

in 1169) was serving as dean of the collegiate church dedicated to St. Andrew in Cologne.[41] Apart from the blood ties to Arnold, Hildegard also nurtured a friendship with Philip of Heinsberg who, after serving as dean of the cathedral chapter in Cologne for several years, was elected Archbishop in 1167. In fact, at Philip's request, Hildegard composed her most well-known sermon, preserved in letter form, which seems to have originated in the midst of a turbulent period of Church schism. Dated by Lieven Van Acker to 1163, the letter contains a biting invective addressed to the clergy of Cologne, whose neglect of their pastoral duties made the wave of heresy possible.

Some historians interpreted the sermon as a reflection of Hildegard's disapproval of the Church policy pursued by the Archbishop of Cologne, Rainald of Dassel, who actively encouraged and even participated in the military campaigns of Frederick Barbarossa in Italy against the supporters of Alexander III (1159–1181).[42] If that was indeed the case, Hildegard's dissenting voice was by no means singular, as the archbishop's actions elicited discontent on a local plane, and not only amongst his opponents. Even his former friend and staunch supporter, Ekbert of Schönau and his sister Elisabeth denounced the policy promoted by the Archbishop of Cologne as scandalous.[43] Likewise, the two siblings from Schönau were equally dedicated to restoring orthodoxy within the Church, so much so that they made efforts to recruit Hildegard in the fight against heresy.[44]

It is therefore unsurprising that, while the aim of Hildegard's sermon was to remind the pastors of the Church of their pastoral duties, the text came to be known less than half a century later as the sermon against the Cathars, and soon afterwards as a polemical text against the friars.[45] Indeed, in one of its earliest versions, the text only alluded to heretics, but these allusions are worth mentioning. By means of spirits of the air (*per aerios spiritus*) the devil takes control over people and clothes them in false sanctity (*uelut in omni sanctitate*) manifested in their open rejection of avarice and their public display of chastity. Here Hildegard refers to a radical form of abstinence which makes the people deceived by the devil to refrain from food (*pallida facie*) and to refuse the proximity of women (*unde mulieres non amant, sed eas fugiunt*). However, the false male saints end up imposing their pastoral duties on the women and luring them into error.[46] In the

[41] Heinzelmann, "Hildegard von Bingen und ihre Verwandtschaft. Genealogische Anmerkungen", 49–51.
[42] Kienzle, *Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel homilies*, 253.
[43] See Clark, *Elisabeth of Schönau*, 121–22.
[44] For an in-depth presentation of how Hildegard acted in conjunction with Ekbert and Elisabeth of Schönau, see Manselli, "Amicizia spirituale ed azione pastorale nella Germania del secolo XII: Ildegarde di Bingen, Elisabetta ed Ecberto di Schönau contro l'eresia catara", Brunn, Des contestataires aux « Cathares », 241–364; Kienzle, Hildegard of Bingen and her Gospel homilies, 245–88.
[45] Kerby-Fulton, "Hildegard of Bingen", Hayton, "Pierre d´Ailly´s *Tractatus de Falsis Prophetis* II and the *Collectiones* of William of Saint-Amour".
[46] Ep. 15r in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium I*, 40–42: "Nam diabolus per aerios spiritus hec operatur, qui propter praua opera hominum in sufflatu uenti et aeris ita innumerabiles circa quosdam discurrunt sicut musce et culices, qui in ardore caloris homines pre multitudine sua. Ipse enim homines istos hoc modo infundit, quod castitatem eis non aufert et quod eos castos esse permittit, cum castitatem habere uoluerint; unde mulieres non amant, sed eas fugiunt. Et ita quasi in omni sanctitate

revised versions of Hildegard's letter collection, prepared around the time of the visionary's nun death, the sermon presents further interesting additions regarding the measures which need to be taken against those deceived by the devil: "And so drive them out, lest your city and congregation perish, for long ago the banquet of the royal wedding was prepared in Cologne, and to this day its streets still resound."[47] In other words, subtle changes can be detected in the exhortatory sermon of the charismatic *magistra*: while in the first version, the pastors of the Church are urged to look inwards and exert self-reform, in the second edition these are encouraged to direct action outwards, against the heterodox groups. The ambiguous appeal to drive heretics out cannot categorically be interpreted as an encouragement to persecution, however it clearly describes an exclusionary dynamic, which aims to draw firm boundaries between a category acting under the devil's influence and the rest of Christianity.

Like Dietrich of Deutz, Hildegard of Bingen presents us with an image of heresy that shares a lot in common with demonic possession and demonic temptation: again, airy spirits are at work, and they manage to overshadow the rational capacity of the human soul. What is more, heretics are not mimicking sanctity, but in leading a quasi-monastic life, they are truly convinced to be "filled by the Holy Spirit." The difference, again, resides in how the devil's intervention in the world is being perceived from the outside: as heretics are held accountable and considered incurable at the same time. Still, much like demon possessed and divinely inspired people, heretics coinhabited, at least temporarily, a liminal space that ended up being invested with meaning only in context, through a process that involved it being deciphered by a figure of authority.

Sigewize – A Case Study

At a first glance it might seem that, after the events of the summer of 1163, the "orthodox party" had the situation under control, when, in 1169, Hildegard was approached by Abbot Gedolf of St. Nicholas in Brauweiler, for advice on how to exorcise a young noble woman from the Lower Rhein. The abbot revealed that the woman had already been struggling with demonic possession for seven years when she was brought to the Abbey St. Nicholas – located about 14 kilometres northwest of Cologne – and that several attempts at exorcism had been performed, without any luck. Closely following the ritual prescribed by Hildegard, while adjured, the demon hinted to the fact that the ritual could only be successful in the nun's presence. Finally, the girl

hominibus se ostendent ac illudentibus uerbis dicent: Ceteri homines qui ante uos castitatem habere uolebant, ut assum piscem se torrebant. Nulla autem pollutio carnis et concupiscentie nos tangere audet, quia sancti sumus et Spiritu Sancto infundimur. […]. Ipsi autem in inceptione seductionis erroris sui mulieribus dicent: Non licet uos nobis cum esse, sed quoniam rectos doctores non habetis, nobis obedite et quecumque uobis dicimus et precipimus, facite et salue eritis. – Et hoc modo feminas sibi contrahunt ac eas in errorem suum ducunt."

[47] Ep. 15r in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium I*, 47: "Quapropter ipsos a uobis proicite, ne congregatio et ciuitas uestra pereat, quoniam in Colonia pridem conuiuium regalium nuptiarum preparatum est, unde platee eius adhuc fulminant." (Engl. in Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, 1994, 1 61.)

got released from her demonic possession during a solemn ritual performed at Rupertsberg and joined the community of nuns afterwards. Minute details concerning various stages of the exorcism have been preserved and reflect the event's importance in solidifying Hildegard's image as a living saint, as well as for the restoration of the equilibrium within Sigewize's community.

Most of the details of the dramatic event are known from the third book of *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*. Finished around 1187 by Theodoric of Echternach, the hagiographical work was a peculiar endeavour. Neither an eye witness to the events, nor one of Hildegard's intimate collaborators, Theodoric tried to offer as much proof in support of the accounts as he could find in the library of the cloister of Rupertsberg. Instead of retelling the story with his own words, the hagiographer opted to present his audience with a compilation of all the available sources: a first-person account attributed to Hildegard herself, the epistolary exchange between Hildegard and Abbot Gedolf, as well as the written testimony of the nuns from Rupertsberg. Given the complex implications of the event, it could be that Theodoric felt more comfortable quoting the source material verbatim and *in extenso*. In addition to the detailed materials presented by the *Vita*, the *Liber Epistolarum* and *Acta inquisitionis* help shed light on Sigewize's story.

The so-called autobiographical passages[48] and the letter of petition addressed by Abbot Gedolf to Hildegard[49] indicate that Sigewize's demonic possession was not only an urgent matter at the level of her community, but that its proportions went beyond a mere local business and could, in fact, harm the Church in its entirety. Thus, both texts indicate that Sigewize was being possessed by a spirit who led many people astray and posed a threat to Ecclesia. Moreover, while there are no direct mentions of heretical groups, the fragments bare striking resemblances with Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne. Yet again, the phenomenon is linked with the devil's machinations, who stirs the airy spirits to sow confusion amongst people. Even more telling is the fact that, while performing the rituals of exorcism, Hildegard finds out that the demon obsessing Sigewize displayed characteristics of a preaching devil.[50] At this point, the previously upheld boundaries between demonic possession and heresy are becoming even blurrier, which would beg the questions of why Sigewize was treated like an energumen and not a heretic, when some hints towards heterodox activity still linger in the hagiographical text.

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[48] VSH III, 20 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 57: "Quoniam uero Deus populum per istos purgare uult, permissione et iussione eius stuporem in aere commouent ac per spumam aeris pestilentiam euomunt atque inundationes et pericula in aquis faciunt, bella excitant, aduersitates et mala producunt. […] Cum enim nequam spiritus Deo permittente plures per eam propter prauos mores et peccata que eis persuaserat palam confunderet, quibusdam exterritis et pro hoc penitentibus idem malignus spiritus confusus est."

[49] VSH III, 21, Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 59: "Nam quedam nobilis femina a maligno spiritu per aliquot annos obsessa per amicorum manus ad nos deducta peruenit, quatinus adiutorio beati Nycholai, sub cuius patrocinio sumus, ab hoste imminenti liberaretur. Sed uersutia et nequitia callidissimi et nequissimi hostis tot hominum fere milia duxit in errorem et dubium, quod ecclesie sancte maximum timemus detrimentum."

[50] Newman, "Three-Part Invention: The *Vita S. Hildegardis* and Mystical Hagiography", 207.

The *Vita* refers in rather vague terms to the demoniac woman, as *a certain noble woman of the lower Rhine*. Only when turning to Hildegard's *Epistolarium* are both her name as well as her exact place of origin revealed to those interested in looking deeper into the event. More precisely, an unnamed Dean of the Holy Apostles in Cologne alludes to her as "our sister – rather our beloved daughter – lady Sigewize"[51] and also adds that after hearing about Sigewize's miraculous healing, the entire city of Cologne felt "a love of spirituality by the love of God." Like the Archbishop Arnold of Trier,[52] the dean expresses his wish to find out more details about the ritual of exorcism. Moreover, at the end of the letter, he stresses once again that "Sigewize is a very good friend of ours" and thus wishes to send her his greetings. It is therefore clear that as a noble woman, Sigewize had a strong network of "familiares", at least in the Archdiocese of Cologne, willing to intervene on her behalf if she were to be in a dire situation. Of course, the response of the immediate community played an important part in all cases of demonic possession, but since Sigewize appears to have been involved in a form preaching and was quite mobile in her activity, it proved to be impossible to contain within the community. Hildegard and Elisabeth of Schönau, both noble women and both authors of sermons, were acutely aware of their liminal position within the Church, despite their formal profession and large support within their milieux.[53] Elisabeth experienced backlash and was accused of being a false prophet when a prediction of the imminent end of times, attributed to her, turned out to be wrong.[54] Similarly, Hildegard faced excommunication and a ban on singing during liturgy in response to her refuse to obey the command of the clergy of Mainz.[55]

Further hints regarding Sigewize's entanglement with some of the spiritual groups accused of heresy come from the life of Ekbert of Schönau, a scholastically educated canon turned monk, who dedicated a treatise to the fight against the Cathar heresy, known as *Sermones contra Catharos*. Quite interestingly, *Vita Eckeberti* was composed by Emecho of Schönau, Ekbert's direct successor at the helm of Schönau Abbey, around the same time when Theodoric of Echternach was labouring at the *Life of St. Hildegard*. Emecho's endeavour's main goal was to portray his predecessor as a champion of orthodoxy. In doing so he insisted on those instances when Ekbert acted as investigator of several heretical communities. Among others,

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[51] Ep. 158. *qua nobis innotuit quod sororem, immo filiam nostram specialem, dominam Sigewizen* in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium II*, 352. (Engl. in Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, 1998, 2 105.)

[52] Ep. 27, in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium I*, 77.

[53] McGinn, "To the Scandal of Men, Women are Prophesying."

[54] *Visionen* 3, XIX in Roth, *Die Visionen der Hl. Elisabeth von Schönau*, 71: "Sicut enim vobis de me revelatum fuisse dixistis, fateor vere quandam perturbationis nubem me nuper in animo concepisse propter ineptos sermones populi multa loquentis de me, que vera non sunt. Sed vulgi sermones facile sustinerem, si non et hi, qui in habitu religionis ambulant, spiritum meum acerbius contristarent. Nam et hi, nescio quibus stimulis agitati, gratiam domini in me irrident, et de his, que ignorant, temere iudicare non formidant. Audio, et quosdam litteras de suo spiritu scriptas sub nomine meo circumferre. De iudicii die me prophetasse diffamaverunt, quod certe nunquam facere presumpsi, cum omnium mortalium cognitionem effugiat eius adventus."

[55] Schmitt, "Charisma gegen Recht? Der Konflikt der Hildegard von Bingen mit dem Mainzer Domkapitel 1178/79 in kirchenrechtsgeschichtlicher Perspektive".

one examination is said to have taken place in Mainz, where Ekbert was called to closely investigate (*ad negotia ecclesiastica invitaretur*) forty heretics whose names and whereabouts were revealed during the exorcism of a "certain woman obsessed by a demon" brought to Bingen, a ritual performed by none other than Hildegard.[56] While the women remains unnamed, the description fits well with the other information recorded in both Hildegard's *Vita* as well as in the *Epistolarium* about Sigewize's deliverance from demonic possession. Emecho's narrative provides interesting additions to the story recounted in the *Vita*; namely, during the exorcism, a questioning is being carried out, during which the demon – and not the woman – according to God's will, makes known everything about the Cathars (name, house, and burial places) in Mainz. The narrative linking exorcism with heresy morphed at the beginning of the thirteenth century in a curious text which dealt with the 120 theological questions addressed by a priest to a demon (during an exorcism performed in the presence of Hildegard).[57] While only a Latin version of this text is known, several strongly abbreviated French translations have been preserved, in which Cathars were, for the first time, described as cat worshipers.[58] One might be tempted to think that the connection between heresy and demonic possession is but a mere narrative construction, yet a closer inspection of the sources reveals that the connection between them existed from the very beginning.

Given the wider context, it is clear that a direct accusation of widely spreading heterodox ideas might have exposed Sigewize to a similar fate to that of the Cathars of Cologne. In her case, instead of insisting on the active part she played in the spread of dissenting ideas, the narratives pushed her to the background and placed the devil at their core, insisting time and again on how "she suffered from an infirmity that, at that time, she was unaware of."[59] Moreover, while her exorcism was indeed a public matter, as its success would assure the restoration of the Church's unity, it mainly insisted on the personal dimension of the act, a mere quest to save the soul of a lost sheep.

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[56] *Vita Eckeberti* in Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die Schriften der Aebte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau*, 352: "Cum enim Pinguam obsessa quedam a demone femina adducta fuisset, ut ibi a Domino curaretur per preces domine Hildegardeis apud Sanctum Rupertum, demon non sua, sed Domini voluntate ductus Kataros quosdam numero circiter quadraginta Magoncie habitantes prodidit, et ubi habitarent et ubi mortuos suos sepelissent, occulte edixit. Cum igitur indicia omnia, que predixerat, vera fuissent inventa, et illi de fide sua interrogarentur, tam caute tergiversando responderunt, ut hereticos eos esse deprehendi non posset, quousque idem Eckbertus abbas advocatus ad subterfugia consueta eos declinare non passus, errorem eorum et heresim manifestavit."

[57] Brunn, *Des contestataires aux « Cathares »*, 479–96. While Brunn offers quite a solid internal analysis of the text and thus, compellingly argues for dating it around 1230, he seems to be unaware of Michael Embach's study which, following his palaeographical analysis of the Codex Dendermonde 9, attributes its composition to a Cistercian monk from Villers Abbey at the beginning of the thirteenth century. See Embach, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen*, 139.

[58] Moulinier, *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld*. The article also includes an edition of both the Latin and French versions of a dialogue between the priest and the devil.

[59] Ep. 27r in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium I*, 79: "Sed cognouimus quod diabolicus sufflatus de die in diem usque ad recessum suum defecit, et quod eadem mulier a fatigatione diaboli liberata est, et quod etiam tunc infirmitate, quam ante in se non cognouit, occupata est." (Engl. in Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, 1994, 1 91.)

Indeed, only the early texts, such as Hildegard's autobiographical passages and Gedolf's letter of petition, briefly touch upon the more public nature of the affair, while Theodoric tries to make his interpretation as uncontroversial as possible. Emecho's narrative is much bolder, in the sense that it tackles the problem of heresy head on, indicating how Ekbert and Hildegard collaborated in dealing with what he perceived as a very serious threat to the Church. The institutionally grounded clerical authority embodied by Ekbert, the protagonist of Emecho's work, surely offered his author the possibility to be more generous with the details he shared with his audience regarding the events. However, much like Theodoric, he was careful not to disclose the name of the demoniac woman, and to frame his narrative as a confession coming from the demon, not the woman.[60]

On the other hand, Sigewize's social status, as a noble woman, as well as her various clerical and lay connections within the city of Cologne, the eponymous Archdiocese and quite likely in that of Mainz should not be underestimated. These probably had a major influence on the manner the situation played out in the end and even more so on how her story got to be told: that is, rather than a heretical act, her preaching activity (to which the texts make only subtle allusions) was the result of demonic obsession.

While in the late 1160s Sigewize's exorcism was treated as a delicate matter for the local religious landscape, to which she was well connected, and an outstanding endeavour for Hildegard in particular, as time went by it turned into one of the numerous miracles performed by a living saint, and afterwards by her relics. Indicative for this slow, but clear, shift in perception is the third account dealing with the topic of exorcism included in *Vita sanctae Hildegardis*. In their testimonial, the nuns of Rupertsberg list several instances in which Hildegard cured women of demonic possession. According to them, a nun from Aschaffenburg was deluded by the devil to commit perjury during her confession and "confess crimes to which she has never succumbed." Moreover, even her pious acts were the result demonic obsession. Sadly, the nuns do not go into details concerning any of the cases mentioned in their testimonial. Be that as it may, it is quite clear that prescriptive texts of behaviours and sophisticated theological explanations cannot enforce insurmountable boundaries between categories which share too many similarities, such as heresy and demonic possession. Like Hildegard and Theodoric, the nuns seem to allude only to Sigewize when they briefly mention two other cases of women freed by demonic possession through Hildegard's mediation: "One of these was a poor little thing and blind, and, through pity, was received into the monastery, where she happily lived out her life in the habit of the spiritual."[61]

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[60] For more on this topic and its evolution in the thirteenth century, see also Newman, "Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the thirteenth century", 754–55.

[61] VSH III, 26 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 69: "Eadem uirtute alia duas mulieres obsessas a demonio liberauit, quarum una, cum esset paupercula et ceca, in elemosinam eius recepta in spirituali habitu uitam feliciter consummauit." (Engl. in Silvas, *Jutta and Hildegard*, 208.)

Likewise, in *Acta inquisitionis*, a dossier put forward at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the nuns of Rupertsberg for the purpose Hildegard's canonization, Sigewize's case was not singular, as she was one of the two "nobiles mulieres" cured by the demonic obsession, who then took the veil in their cloister during Hildegard's lifetime.[62]

Conclusions

While prominent in the sermon addressed to the pastors of the Church in Cologne (1163), as well as in the fragments recounting Sigewize's exorcism, discussions about malignant spirits are ubiquitous in Hildegard of Bingen's oeuvre. Demons are linked with heresy, schism[63] (terms which tend to be used interchangeably) in the Church, with scholasticism,[64] as well as with abuses committed by secular power.[65] Furthermore, they interfere with preaching and even with acts of piety and thus function as a double-edged sword against those exercising any form of religious authority, be it charismatic or institutional.

With regards to Hildegard's understanding of the malignant spirits' origins, she follows a long tradition going back to the first angel's act of disobedience towards God, for which it was cast down to Hell. Much like other monastic authors, she talks about her own recurring experience with demonic torments that happen on different planes: personal – bodily pains, which she shares in common with her younger contemporary and visionary fellow, Elisabeth of Schönau,[66] communal – as some of her sisters oppose the strict interpretation of the rule she was in favour of, and societal – when the nature of her visions is questioned by the population at large.[67] In many regards, Hildegard's experience as a living saint shares numerous similarities with the categories of heretics and energumens, so much so that the boundaries between them are at times almost impossible to perceive. In this blurry, ambiguous space, authority and institutional boundaries can be questioned and criticised; therefore, this is one of the spaces where religious dissent thrives.

The parallels between Hildegard and Sigewize, as these have been pointed out by Barbara Newman, are undeniable.[68] At a first glance, each of the two women seems to fit into a neatly differentiated category: the prophetess in the service of orthodoxy and the demoniac

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[62] *Acta inquisitionis* 4 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis. Canonizatio sanctae Hildegardis*, 248.
[63] See for example *Scivias*, II. 7 in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Scivias*, 43-43A 308–25; Ep. 296 and 296r. in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium III*, 54–57.
[64] Ep. 116 in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium II*, 288.
[65] Ep. 316 in Hildegardis Bingensis, *Epistolarium III*, 76–77.
[66] VSH II, 12 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 37: "Ad ueram uero uisionem aspiciebam magna sollicitudine, quomodo aerii spiritus contra nos pugnarent, uidi que, quod idem spiritus quasdam nobiles filias meas per diuersas uanitates quasi in rete perplexerant."
[67] VSH II, 5 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 28: "Tunc antiquus deceptor per multas irrisiones me excribrauit, ita quod multi dixerunt: 'Quid est hoc, quod huic stulte et indocte femine tot mysteria reuelantur, cum multi fortes ac sapientes uiri sint? In dispersionem itaque uertetur'."
[68] Newman, "Three-Part Invention: The *Vita S. Hildegardis* and Mystical Hagiography", 206: "But if we change angle of vision slightly, another view comes into focus: two women face to face, remarkably alike – both suffering, both 'spirit-filled', both preachers – the younger a funhouse mirror image of the elder."

spreading heretical ideas. However, a closer look at the source material reveals how both were moving in a space with blurred boundaries, constantly open to negotiation, where spiritual practices and theological ideas never existed in a vacuum, but depended on social dynamics as well as on lay and ecclesiastical hierarchies which they, in turn, could question. Not much is known about Sigewize, but the scarce information provided indicates she was of noble descent, with strong lay and ecclesiastical connections in Cologne as well as in Mainz; she might have been able to freely preach for a couple of years until being eventually subjected to various rituals of exorcism, one carried out at the monastery of Brauweiler (near Cologne) and the second at Rupertsberg under Hildegard's direct supervision – where she would eventually be professed as a nun. While there is no way to closely investigate the content of the sermons Sigewize preached, as none were recorded,[69] many points were clearly not controversial in nature[70] and thus, did not differ from the type of "allowed criticism" expressed by other prominent religious women, like that of Hildegard and Elisabeth of Schönau. While many high-ranking religious women could assume ministerial offices in one form or another, their access to preaching publicly was only possible by blurring the institutional boundaries and from the safe shelter of a strong network of support. Even so, the in-between space from which religious women drew their authority, when denouncing the moral decay of the pastors of the Church and actively promoting the spiritual awakening, was by no means a safe haven. On the other hand, by embracing a similar career as a charismatic figure, Sigewize came to be known as the possessed woman who was miraculously exorcised by her older and more successful peer, Hildegard.

[69] VSH III, 22 recounts how during the exorcism the demon was forced to recognize the validity of the baptism, of the Eucharist, as well as the mortal dangers to which excommunicated people and the Cathars would expose their souls, among other things.
[70] In fact, Hildegard frequently insists that, in order to confuse people, the malignant spirits would "not speak out against God totally, but, in fact, speak of him lovingly, and sigh to Him. But if with God's permission, a malignant spirit takes possession over someone's body, that person does not speak of God with faith, but sometimes, because of the devil's spells, speak of him deceitfully." In Ep. 287, 83 Cf. VSH III, 22 in Klaes, *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, 64: "Interim per Dei potentiam coactus immundus spiritus multa de salute baptismi, de sacramento corporis Christi, de periculo excommunicatorum, de perditione Catharorum et his similium ad confusionem sui, ad gloriam Christi coram populo quamuis inuitus protulit, unde multi fortiores ad fidem, multi promptiores effecti sunt ad peccatorum emendationem."

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The Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records: A Methodological Reconsideration

Saku Pihko

Abstract

A sophisticated epistemological approach is essential to the use of inquisitorial evidence. Historians have proposed various reading strategies based on the idea that it is possible to distinguish excess elements from inquisitorial sources that can be attributed to the deponents. This article uses examples from Languedocian inquisition records to challenge such interpretations. The construction of deposition records is framed in terms of information flow influenced by variables such as selection, interpretation, abstraction, and the reconstructive nature of human memory. Inquisitorial documents are approached as materially embedded amalgamations of abstracted information co-constructed by the deponents, the inquisitors, and the notaries. The argument is that this information originating from multiple sources became entangled and blends seamlessly in the extant documents, due to which the idea of sifting through inquisitorial evidence in search of a distinct excess or surplus is untenable as a methodological guideline. Instead, an holistic and stratified approach is proposed.

Keywords**:** epistemology; heresy; inquisition; Languedoc; source criticism

Introduction

The rapid increase and intensification in the production and use of written documents in the high Middle Ages coincided with the emergence of heresy inquisitions in the first half of the thirteenth century.[1] Heresy inquisitors and their notaries were pioneers of information management and text-based governance. Inquisitorial efforts to police the religious beliefs and practices of the laity and eradicate various forms of dissent relied heavily on the active use of written records, which were both the practical foundation and a symbol of inquisitorial power. Every stage of an inquisitorial investigation was recorded in writing and meticulously archived. The records of denunciations, confessions, abjurations, and sentences were instruments of bureaucratic coercion: tools of an efficient investigative technology used on the operative, day-to-day level of heresy inquests

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[1] Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 25—26, 50, 91. On the intensification of documentary culture in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Bertrand, *Les écritures ordinaires*; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*; Friedrich, *The Birth of the Archive*, 17—28. On heresy and inquisition in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*; Kras, *The System of the Inquisition*; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*.

to direct inquiries, review old cases, cross-check confessions, detect lies and contradictions, prove relapses, and sentence those deemed guilty.[2]

Most records related to medieval heresy inquisitions have been lost, but a fair amount of this material does survive.[3] Over the years, historians have made ample use of inquisition records as sources for religious and social history. One of the primary allures of inquisitorial evidence has been the access it seemingly grants to the daily life and religiosity of lay people otherwise invisible in the historical record.[4] While some have adopted an optimistic stance in relation to this material, there is also a long historiographical tradition of critical discussion concerning the epistemological possibilities and limitations of inquisitorial sources.[5]

This article builds on these methodological debates and strives to push the discussion forward. First, it presents a short historiographical overview of source critical approaches to medieval inquisition records, after which it uses two carefully selected case studies from early fourteenth-century inquisition records to explore the epistemological implications of the process through which inquisitorial sources were constructed. The central methodological question is framed in terms of information flow from the past into the extant documents. The goal is not to step into the past through the records but to understand how information about the past comes to be in them.[6] What kinds of epistemological affordances and constraints does the inherently constructed nature of inquisition records open to and impose upon the historian? This kind of methodological reconsideration seems necessary, as there remains a degree of ambiguity regarding how historians ought to tackle the epistemic predicament of attempting to know the past through the written traces produced by inquisitorial tribunals.

The empirical evidence used as a laboratory for this methodological investigation is drawn from the register of Geoffroy d'Ablis, the inquisitor of Carcassonne. The material extant in the register is a documentary fragment related to investigations into heresy in the county of Foix carried out by d'Ablis and his lieutenants in 1308—1309.[7] In early fourteenth-century Languedoc[8], heresy inquisitors were still primarily pursuing the so-called good men (*boni*

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[2] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 29, 37—38, 79—90; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 26—44, 50—51; Given, "The Inquisitors of Languedoc", 347—351; Kras, *The System of Inquisition*, 293—332; Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 3—4; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 114—115; Scharff, "Erfassen und Erschrecken"; Sherwood, "The Inquisitor as Archivist".

[3] Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 27—28; Nieto-Isabel, *Communities of Dissent*, 57; Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 5; Scharff, "Erfassen und Erschrecken", 263—264; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 5.

[4] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 1—7; Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse", 63; Camphuijsen and Page, "Introduction", 2, 9; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 2.

[5] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 5—7; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 2—9; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 1—12.

[6] Inquisitorial evidence constitutes a particularly advantageous context for developing these theoretical ideas, as it is possible to make well-reasoned assumptions about the actors, stages, and variables involved in the flow of information that brought these sources into being. For similar remarks, see Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 3; Zbíral, Shaw, Hampejs and Mertel, "Model the source first!", 4.

[7] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur* provides an edition and a French translation. On the d'Ablis register, see Molinier, *L'Inquisition*, 107—161; Pales-Gobilliard, "Introduction"; Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle*, 19—20.

[8] On medieval Languedoc, see e.g. Paterson, "The South"; Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours*.

homines). These good men, who were also known as good Christians and friends of God, and to whom historians have traditionally referred to as Cathars, were a group of ascetic ritual-working preachers, whose exemplary lifestyle of apostolic emulation, spiritual teachings with possible dualist connotations, vocal opposition to the Catholic church, and promises of salvation attracted considerable lay devotion and support. From the perspective of the church, they were dangerous heretics who could not be tolerated. Inquisitorial documents, including the d'Ablis register, usually refer to the good men simply as heretics (*heretici*). People who came under suspicion of involvement in the good men's dissident activities were interrogated by inquisitors, and those who were found guilty of transgressions were sentenced to various kinds of penances and punishments.[9] This article scrutinizes the deposition records of two such individuals, who were forced to face the d'Ablis tribunal in 1308 to answer for their contacts with the good men. Focus is on those sections of the records that deal with the deponents' exposure to allegedly heretical proselytizing, as this evidence provides an opportunity to discuss issues of methodological relevance.

A Short Historiography of Source Critical Approaches to Medieval Inquisition Records

Source critical issues related to the use of inquisitorial documents have been extensively discussed and debated.[10] A unifying theme for engagement with inquisitorial evidence has for long been a stance that calls the veracity and trustworthiness of this material into question by emphasizing the distortions imposed upon it by the dominating inquisitorial perspective. In fact, suspicions of this sort were already voiced in the Middle Ages, when contemporary critics accused inquisitors of fabricating accusations and proof.[11] In modern historiography, the work of Herbert Grundmann[12] on the topos of the heretic in medieval texts and the mechanisms underlying the production of inquisitorial legal records was seminal for instituting this critical approach. The combined efforts of subsequent historians who have built on Grundmann's initial insights have established a standard of critical, deconstructive scrutiny regarding the ways in which the inquisitorial process shaped the textual material it created. Consensus now exists on the fact that scholarly use of inquisitorial evidence requires great care and source critical sophistication due to its inherent constructedness.[13]

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[9] Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 17—18. On the alleged heresy of the Languedocian good men, see e.g. Barber, *Cathars*; Lambert, *Cathars*. See also Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question*.

[10] Cf. Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 18, who argue that the study of inquisition records "has served as a focal point for far-reaching reconsiderations of source criticism". On the historiography of premodern legal records in general, see Camphuijsen and Page, "Introduction", 6—16.

[11] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 5; Friedlander, *The Hammer of the Inquisitors*; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 42—44.

[12] Grundmann, "Heresy Interrogations"; Grundmann, "The Profile (*Typus*) of the Heretic". On Grundmann's influence, see Deane, "Introduction".

[13] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 5—7; Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse", 63—64; Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 11—14; Bruschi and Biller, "Texts and the Repression of Heresy", 6—9, 15—17; Kras, *The System of the Inquisition*, 40—43; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 2—9, 123, 154, 198; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 1—12. Cf. Bruschi and Biller, "Texts and the Repression of Heresy", 8—9, who note that texts produced in the context of persecuting alleged heresy "used to be only 'sources': glasses cleaned and polished and rendered distortion-free by source-criticism, *through* which

Whereas understanding the constructed and thus distorting nature of inquisitorial evidence has assumed centre stage in methodological exchanges, interpretations regarding the epistemological implications of this constructedness still vary among historians. In more recent scholarship, historians have invoked different versions of the idea that it is possible to find excess elements in inquisitorial documents. These approaches share some important foundations, and while their conclusions are not diametrically opposed, their methodological outlooks and epistemological stances differ to a significant degree.

At the more nuanced end of the spectrum on which these approaches have been situated, John H. Arnold has made an influential contribution by drawing on the ideas of Michel Foucault on discourse and power. He has suggested a shift of attention from questions of veracity to questions of power by emphasizing how inquisition records exist only as a result of the power mechanisms that demanded confession. He argues that inquisition records serve as elements within a highly specific inquisitorial discourse on heresy and transgression, which positions the inquisitor as a figure of authority and the deponents as textually constructed confessing subjects. According to Arnold, the historian cannot evade or strip away the discursive effects of inquisitorial language, nor gain epistemic access to the deponents as living and speaking individuals prior to the creation of the written records. He alleviates this bleak conclusion by borrowing literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of *heteroglossia*, which refers to the multiplicity of discourses at work within a given cultural context. Thus, Arnold argues that despite the dominance of inquisitorial discourse on heresy, inquisition records entail a necessary excess of language, which reproduces elements from other discourses that can be of interest to the historian.[14]

Compared to Arnold, Caterina Bruschi has been more straightforward in her approach. Instead of regarding deponents in inquisition records as confessing subjects constructed by inquisitorial discourse, she views them as real individuals and strives to identify with them through compassion and curiosity. Bruschi builds on the ideas of Carlo Ginzburg, who argued that historians engaging with inquisitorial documents can hear parts of the interrogation dialogue. Her methodological framework emphasizes the importance of understanding the sequential construction of inquisition records and the influence of various filters – for example, the number of people interrogated, the questions that were asked, selection and choices regarding what to say and what to record, the different linguistic and cultural translations that took place, and the agency and tactics of the historical actors involved – that affected the construction process. Her suggestion is that historians endeavour to strip away the layers of distortion imposed by these filters to uncover what she calls *surplus* – namely, the sections of the records which, "though filtered, appear to be genuine and authentic pieces of the original deposition".[15] Bruschi's

historians then peered at the past. There has been a seismic shift: the texts and the actions and mind-sets which produced them have slowly become *themselves* also elements of the past reality which historians need to describe".

[14] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 23—26; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 2—3, 7—13, 76—77, 79, 110, 121 & passim; Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse", 63—69, 80; Arnold, "Voicing Dissent", 8. See also Arnold, "Voices in Hostile Sources".

[15] Bruschi, "'Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem'", 83—104; Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 3—4, 11—44, 70. While Bruschi articulates her methodological outlook in clear detail, it is somewhat paradoxical that she also seems to contradict herself. Bruschi, "'Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem'", 83; Bruschi, *The*

practical and optimistic approach has been influential. Among others, Claire Taylor and Paweł Kras have adopted similar methodological outlooks.[16]

It is easy to acknowledge the enduring importance of the work done by Arnold and Bruschi, and by those from whom they have drawn insight and inspiration.[17] Yet the noticeable discrepancy between Arnold's and Bruschi's epistemological conclusions illustrated by this brief overview makes it clear that these issues remain far from settled. In fact, the contrast between their respective positions is quite revealing of the more general ambiguity and lack of consensus that haunts the methodological *status quaestionis* concerning the possibilities of knowledge afforded by medieval inquisition records. Recently, Antonio Sennis has summarized this situation eloquently by asking: "[c]an we […] retrieve at all the voices and experiences of the local individuals? Or, on the contrary, are those voices audible only through the amplifier of the inquisitor, an amplifier that distorts them to the point of rendering their sound unrecognizable and their meaning elusive?"[18]

The ideas developed in this article build on the long tradition of critical discussion concerning the extent to which biased sources like inquisition records relate to the historical reality that they purport to depict. In my estimation, historians have been correct in emphasizing the constructedness of inquisition records, and proposed methodologies based on the idea of attempting to distinguish excess elements from inquisitorial documents have certainly been used successfully to answer various research questions. That being said, the debates and lack of consensus regarding the epistemological implications of the inherent constructedness of inquisitorial documents that are embodied in Sennis's question motivate the continuation of methodological engagements with these sources. Could it even be that we are caught within a false paradigm if the epistemological problem is framed as an either-or question? Perhaps epistemic access to the past is not binary but is better thought of as coming in degrees?[19] This article pushes the discussion forward and argues against the idea of focusing on excess elements in inquisitorial sources. Instead, it advocates an holistic and stratified approach based on understanding inquisition records as abstracted information[20] originating from several sources and entangled in the material

Wandering Heretics, 13 state that the reading strategy she advocates for "does not involve us in striving to discover a 'truth' after stripping away all the 'filters' from the depositions". Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 190 also states that inquisition records "should not be seen as crumbs of reality."

[16] See e.g. Kras, "The hunt for the Heresy of the Free Spirit"; Taylor, "'Heresy' in Quercy".

[17] See Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 3—4, 11—12 for discussion on the differences and similarities of what they term as the classic (from Grundmann to Bruschi) and discursive (Arnold) source critical approaches, concluding that these "approaches probably need to coexist, since each of them has different possibilities and limitations, and each allows us to address a different set of questions." See Pihko, "The Construction of Information in the Records of Medieval Canonization and Heresy Inquests" for discussion on a similar division between source critical positions ranging from Ginzburgian optimism to postmodern pessimism that can be discerned among historians who study medieval canonization processes.

[18] Sennis, "Questions about the Cathars", 9—10. Cf. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 7; Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*, 108.

[19] Cf. Kosso, *Knowing the Past*, 28.

[20] On information, see e.g. Floridi, *Information*; Floridi (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Information*.

medium of the extant documents.[21] The underlying message is one of cautious epistemic optimism – despite the inherently problematic nature of inquisitorial sources, it is possible to make more, rather than less, of them.[22]

The Abstraction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records

In general, Languedocian inquisition records, such as the d'Ablis register, are written in a standardized manner using specialized inquisitorial terminology and a simple administrative Latin with occasional vernacular insertions. Despite the high degree of overall uniformity, the content of inquisitorial documentation varies, depending on the inquisitor in charge of the proceedings, the areas of investigative emphasis in a particular inquest, and the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the notary working for the tribunal. As a rule of thumb, the information content of inquisition records is thoroughly conditioned by the questions that inquisitors posed to the deponents during the interrogation, which reflect their legal prejudice and goal of finding and condemning those deemed guilty. Thus, inquisition records tend to emphasize transgressive actions at the expense of unorthodox beliefs and primarily document evidence about, for example, participation in illicit rituals and preaching, as well as material support provided by lay people to alleged heretics. Inquisitors also had a keen interest in legally relevant facts, such as the names of people involved in suspicious activities and the places where these activities took place, as this afforded an opportunity for wider investigations.[23]

One of the many individuals who found themselves before an inquisitorial tribunal answering for contacts with the allegedly heretical good men in the early fourteenth century was Guerau de Rodes[24]. In 1308, this Tarascon native residing in Pamiers at the time of his trial was interrogated by two Dominican friars, Guerau de Blomac and Johan du Faugoux, acting as lieutenants to Geoffroy d'Ablis, the inquisitor of Carcassonne. The record of his deposition, written by the notary Peire Raous, is quite representative of the material extant in the corpus of Languedocian inquisition records in general, as it lists an array of heavily standardized evidence about the suspect's involvement in dissident activities over the previous decade.[25]

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[21] Cf. Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past*, 261, who states that "[o]ur knowledge of history is limited by the information-preserving evidence that survived the obliterating ravages of time in the historical process that connects history with the writing of historiography."

[22] My stance of qualified and cautious epistemic optimism has been inspired by Currie, *Rock, Bone, and Ruin*.

[23] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 201—202; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 98—107; Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 14—19, 50, 190; Bueno, *Defining Heresy*, 88—118; Pegg, "Questions about Questions", 114—115; Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 45—46; Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 9—11; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 128—135, 142; Théry-Astruc, "The Heretical Dissidence of the 'Good Men'", 85—87.

[24] Instead of the Latin names extant in inquisition records, I have opted to use Occitan nomenclature for the Languedocian individuals mentioned in the article. The exception is the name of inquisitor Geoffroy d'Ablis, which is given in French, as he originated from the Île-de-France.

[25] For Guerau de Rodes's depositions, see Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 84—108. According to the evidence available, he was interrogated three times in May, July, and November of 1308, but the record of his third deposition is cut short due to reasons that

Among the body of written evidence based on information from Guerau's confession are several references to his alleged encounters with dissident proselytizing. For example, one of these references reads that the deponent had met the heretics Peire and Jacme Auter at a certain house in Tarascon. The record lists the names of seven other people who are claimed to have been present, including the deponent's sister-in-law. There, it is stated, they heard the words and preaching of the heretics and adored[26] them.[27] Several short, similarly worded entries can be found in the same deposition, all of which describe other occasions when the deponent, together with other named individuals, had been exposed to the words and preaching of the good men, or had heard them read from a book.[28] However, apart from one short reference to the deponent hearing the heretics read about saints Peter and Paul from a book written in the vernacular,[29] these concise entries imply nothing about the spiritual information that the deponent was exposed to during these interactions.

Spiritual ideas were heavily contested in medieval Languedoc, and heresy inquisitors were key players in the church's agenda of policing the religious behaviour and beliefs of the laity. Thus, they placed a high premium on documenting and disrupting the flow of illicit religious information in the Languedocian communities.[30] The *interrogatoria* used to structure inquisitorial questioning routinely entailed at least one generic question regarding the deponent's possible exposure to heretical preaching, and the notaries who produced the records of inquisitorial interrogations used a variety of means to document and describe phenomena related to dissident proselytizing. The initial impression upon reading Guerau's deposition is that the authorities reduced evidence of religious information transmission into standardized entries devoid of detail. This is typical for most of the evidence produced about phenomena that were of primary inquisitorial interest, such as heretical sermons.[31]

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remain unknown. It is also implied that he had already confessed to inquisitors around six years earlier, but no record of this prior confession survives.

[26] The *adoratio* (also known as the *melioramentum*) was a ritualized series of oral petitions and genuflecting gestures performed by lay sympathizers in the presence of the good men. On the *adoratio* in more detail, see e.g. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 130—133; Duvernoy, *Le catharisme*, 208—211.

[27] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 86—88: "Item dixit quod vidit alia vice predictum Petrum et Jacobum Auterii hereticos in domo dicti Arnaldi Piquerii apud Taraschonem et vidit ibi cum eis Petrum de Galhaco filium Petri de Galhaco de Tarascone et Blancam uxorem Guillelmi de Rodesio, fratris ipsius testis, et Gayam uxorem Ramundi Fabri, Na Lorda uxorem Guillelmi Bayardi et dictum Arnaldum Piquerii et uxorem eius de Tarascone et Esclarmundam, uxorem Ramundi Auterii de Ax et audiverunt verba et predicationes eorum omnes predicti et adoraverunt predictos hereticos secundum modum predictum, ipso teste vidente."

[28] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 84, 86, 88, 90, 94, 98.

[29] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 86: "P. de Luzenaco portavit eis quendam librum scriptum in romane sine postibus in quo libro erat scriptum de sanctis Petro et Paulo, sicut audivit ipse testis legere dictum Jacobum Auterii hereticum". On the use of written materials in the context religious dissent in medieval Languedoc, see Biller, "The Cathars of Languedoc".

[30] Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 129, 234. On the relational nature of inquisitorial documents, which makes evidence on dissident communication networks visible, see e.g. Nieto-Isabel, "Beguines", 2, 9—11; Nieto-Isabel, *Communities of Dissent*, 3, 18, 24, 27, 50—61, 87, 249; Nieto-Isabel and López-Arenillas, "From inquisition to inquiry", 195—197, 202—204, 207, 209; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 12, 15.

[31] Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse", 71; Arnold, "The Preaching of the Cathars", 185, 193; Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 131, 142; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 128—129; Théry-Astruc, "The Heretical Dissidence of the 'Good Men'", 91—92.

This tendency to standardize and compress information was probably opted for in the name of efficiency when the notaries worked to put the deponents' confessions into their official written form. From the perspective of the inquisitors, for whom these records were a tool of investigation and persecution, it sufficed to produce a simplified statement of guilt and transgression, and it was often superfluous to document further details.

Inquisition records do not grant direct or unmediated access to the deponents or to their talk during the interrogation.[32] An epistemologically important feature of the sequence through which these documents were constructed is that information was selectively replicated and discarded by all those involved.[33] In this regard, the most obvious selector of information was the inquisitor. During the interrogation, the inquisitor usually utilized a standardized questionnaire, asking about certain aspects of the suspect's past and ignoring others, thus shaping the information content of the interrogation dialogue and the subsequent record.[34] Alongside the inquisitor, the deponents selected information passively and actively, and the inquisitor's information gathering capabilities depended to a large extent on the ability of the deponents to divulge information to the tribunal. Moreover, the deponents were active agents in the interrogation and chose how they wanted to respond to questioning, depending on situational circumstances, survival tactics, and their will to resist the inquisitorial authorities.[35] In addition to the inquisitor and the deponent, an influential, yet often somewhat overlooked selector and processor of information was the notary in service of the tribunal. He made choices regarding what information was important enough to record in the minutes of the interrogation and imposed further selection and standardization on this information later when compiling the official record. He also transformed and translated the vernacular dialogue of the interrogation, processing it into a coherent, past-tense third-person narrative written in Latin and relying heavily on specialized inquisitorial terminology.[36]

In retrospect, it is often impossible to know at which stage or by whom a given piece of information was discarded, but the

[32] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 23; Arnold, "Voicing Dissent", 8.
[33] Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 14; Bueno, "*Dixit Quod Non Recordatur*", 370; Nieto-Isabel and López-Arenillas, "From inquisition to inquiry", 200—201; Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 44—46; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 4, 7—8.
[34] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 23; Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse", 69—71; Biller, "'Deep is the Heart of Man, and Inscrutable'", 267—269; Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 17—19; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 123; Théry-Astruc, "The Heretical Dissidence of the 'Good Men'", 85—86; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 5—8, 10. For discussion on inquisitorial questions and *interrogatoria* in general, see e.g. Biller, Bruschi and Sneddon, "Introduction", 65—76; Hill, *Inquisition in the Fourteenth Century*, 126—132; Kras, *The System of the Inquisition*, 233—251; Pegg, "Questions about Questions".
[35] Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 5—7, 15—17, 21—24, 46—47, 49, 145, 180, 191—192; Bruschi, "'Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem'", 107—108, 110; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 7.
[36] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 5, 75—76; Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse", 63; Biget, "I catari di fronte agli inquisitori", 236—237; Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 18—23; Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 5—6; Fois, "Interpretazione, trascrizione o traduzione?"; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 28; Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 57; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 4, 8—10. Cf. Lett, "La langue du témoin sous la plume du notaire". The production of summarized extracts of guilt (*culpae*) used during inquisitorial sentencing constitutes a further stage of notarial information processing. For methodological discussion on the use of inquisitorial sentences as sources, see Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 48, 95.

epistemological implications of this selective process of replication are all-encompassing, as it thoroughly conditioned all the information that is extant in inquisition records. Reading on in Guerau's deposition, however, it is revealed that in this case the reduction of detail was the result of choices made by the deponent during the interrogation, not the choices of the authorities indifferent to the content of heretical proselytizing. In a later section of the record, it is explicitly stated that the deponent was questioned about the preaching that he had mentioned several times earlier. More specifically, he was asked what the heretics preached and what they said. To this, the deponent replied that they had spoken about Peter, Paul, and the other apostles, and had said many words that he could not remember.[37]

The record also includes an itemized list consisting of the deponent's responses to further questioning about errors that the heretics proclaimed. On a general level, the themes of the errors that are recorded – that God had not created the material world, that the consecrated host and baptism were worthless, and that only the good men could grant absolution – are standard issue and can be found in variations throughout Languedocian inquisition records. However, in contrast to the common, thoroughly standardized lists of errors often repeated verbatim from one deposition to the next, each item in the list of errors in Guerau's deposition seems to be supplemented with further information that the deponent reported to the tribunal. For example, the section concerning penance and absolution claims that the deponent heard the heretics say that only they, not members of the Catholic clergy, could pardon and absolve sins. It also reads that they said that however gravely one had sinned, whether one was a usurer or murderer or in the state of any sin, they would immediately absolve them at no cost. Following standard inquisitorial practice, the deponent was also questioned about his own beliefs regarding the listed errors, and he admitted to having believed what the heretics said and preached.[38]

According to the evidence available, it seems that Guerau first only mentioned his exposure to the preaching and teachings of the good men in passing, due to which the notary opted to represent these references with concise and standardized formulations. The

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[37] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 104: "Interrogatus de predictis predicationibus de quibus supra pluries fecit mentionem ipse testis, quid predicabant dicti heretici et quid dicebant, dixit quod loquebantur de beato Petro et beato Paulo et aliis apostolis et dicebant multa verba de quibus ipse testis non recordatur."

[38] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 104: "Interrogatus de erroribus quos dicebant et asserebant dicti heretici, dixit quod audivit eos loquentes de creatione rerum visibilium et dicebant quod Deus non fecerat carnem humanam nec faciebat florere nec granare, ponentes instanciam dicti heretici et dicentes quod si homo poneret granum bladi super lapides, non nasceretur set istud provenit ex putritudine terre sicut dicti heretici asserebant. Item dixit quod audivit eos loquentes de hostia sacrata quod non est nisi purus panis et quod si dimitterentur ibi mures comederent, ergo dicebant dicti heretici comederent corpus Christi si illa ostia esset corpus Christi. Item audivit eos loquentes de babtismo quod nichil valebat, babtismus qui sit cum aqua, set ille babtismus quem ipsi heretici faciunt de Spiritu Sancto. Item audivit eos loquentes de penitencia, dicentes quod presibiteri nec prelati nec religiosi possunt absolvere peccata set solum ipsi heretici possunt indulgere peccata, dicebant enim quod quantumcumque homo sit in magnis peccatis, sive sit usurarius vel murtrerius vel in quibuscumque peccatis, incontinenti, absque quacumque pecunia et emenda, ipsi absolverunt eos. Interrogatus quid credebat ipse de predictis, dixit quod credebat ita esse sicut dicti heretici dicebant et predicabant." For discussion on lists of heretical errors in inquisition records, see e.g. Pihko, *Information and Lived Religion*, 135—141; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 131—132, 199.

inquisitors, however, were not satisfied and adapted their questioning to press the deponent to disclose additional details regarding what he had heard the heretics say, making some aspects of the information reported by the deponent visible to the historian. These details could have easily been left unknowable had it not been for the inquisitors' decision to circle back and delve deeper.

The process through which the information found in medieval inquisition records was constructed was a sequence of information-based interpretations. The deponents interpreted the environment in which they lived, and then later in the inquisitorial interrogation they were required to reinterpret their past from the perspective of their present legal predicament. Once the deponent had voiced an interpretation of something heard or witnessed, it was the prerogative of the inquisitorial tribunal to interpret the content of the oral confession from their own legal and religious perspective and to further process this information during multiple rounds of subsequent writing by the notary.[39] An epistemologically sophisticated reading of inquisitorial documentation acknowledges that it is often impossible to clearly differentiate what information in a given entry is from the deponent and what is from the authorities. The case at hand implies that Guerau was questioned about what he had heard the good men preach about, but the use of the standardized framework to represent information from his confession effectively obscures the details of both what he heard and how the issue was discussed and negotiated during the interrogation. This does not necessarily imply that the good men had not preached about these themes, only that there is no accountable way of knowing the extent to which the record corresponds with the information content of their sermons or the interrogation dialogue through which information about these sermons was reported to the tribunal. It is worth noting that the record does not make it transparent whether an itemized list of assumed heretical errors was used to question the deponent, or if this structure was imposed on the information that he reported in retrospect when the record was produced. This observation highlights the subtleties of the influence that ancillary texts and notarial formulae exerted on the creation of inquisitorial evidence.

Stepping back and looking at the references to dissident proselytizing in Guerau's deposition, it becomes clear that they are informational abstractions shaped and conditioned by the deponent's confession, the inquisitor's questions, and the notary's textual practices. Abstraction, simply put, refers to the decrease in the informational overlap between consecutive stages in the process through which inquisitorial documents came into existence. The superimposition of abstraction was the inevitable consequence of information moving through selective replication from the world of the past to the deponent, and from the deponent to the inquisitorial authorities – that is, from Guerau's encounters with dissident preaching to his memory, from his memory to talk in the interrogation, and from the interrogation dialogue to writing in the extant record.

[39] Cf. Scharff, "Auf der Suche nach der ‚Wahrheit'", 161, who argues that "[d]ie Wahrheit wird im Verhör gesucht, und ihretwegen, um sie zu finden, entwickeln die Inquisitoren komplizierte Methoden der Befragung. In jedem Fall aber wird sie auch gefunden, oder besser gesagt: konstruiert. Denn wahr im Sinne der Inquisitoren ist, was am Ende in den Akten steht".

While inquisitorial documentation can in no way be taken to be equal to the deponents' talk in the interrogation or to the described events, it is also clear that in terms of the information it contains, the documentation is not completely severed from what preceded it. Despite radical notarial intervention that imposed structural and terminological reformulations on the evidence, abstracted entries in deposition records arguably retain a degree of accountable and necessary informational overlap with the deponents' talk, as the information content of these entries was, at least in part, afforded and constrained by the deponents' confessions that were prompted by the questions posed by inquisitors. The information reported to the tribunals by the deponents was, in turn, afforded and constrained by information they were privy to based on their earlier experiences. Thus, even heavily abstracted entries arguably carry evidentiary value. At a very minimum, they serve as important quantitative and contextual evidence demonstrating the prevalence of certain types of historical phenomena – for example, dissident proselytizing – that can then be investigated in more qualitative detail through the reading of less abstracted entries, such as the itemized list in Guerau's deposition.[40] Understanding the epistemological implications of this fleeting but necessary informational overlap between the records and the stages through which they were created is foundational for the historian's epistemic engagement with the past.

A methodologically useful conceptualization that can be developed from the axiom that inquisition records are informational abstractions is that the information extant in them adheres to a spectrum of abstraction ranging from the extreme to the minimal. This means that all the information that these sources entail is subject to abstraction, but that the correlative degree, intensity, and extent of this abstraction varies from record to record and from entry to entry. This is a general feature of medieval inquisition records that becomes evident even from the individual example provided by Guerau's deposition, which fluctuates between concise, thoroughly standardized entries and more detailed sections. Taking this variety of abstraction into account facilitates the analysis of a given set of inquisitorial evidence and obviates the need to make value distinctions between its parts. Instead of only focusing on especially detailed cases, the argument developed in this article is that an exhaustive exploration of the evidence available on a given theme requires the historian to take the entire spectrum of abstraction into account and to calibrate knowledge claims accordingly.[41]

The Entanglement of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records

The deposition of Guerau's sister-in-law, Blanca de Rodes, also permits methodologically useful observations about the epistemological implications of the process through which inquisitorial evidence was constructed. In 1308, Blanca, the wife of

[40] Cf. Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 5, who note that even short and dry records carry "at least a faint echo" of the interaction between the deponent and the inquisitor.
[41] Cf. Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 19, who note that there is promise in working out new ways to treat dissimilar depositions "both in detail and as part of the same continuum, and to handle qualitative subtlety as well as quantitative bulk." Ibid., 12 also note that focus on excess elements in inquisition records that are deemed more authentic "leaves much of the material outside the scope of analysis." See also Smail, "Witness Programs", 230, 248.

Guilhem de Rodes, was arrested under suspicion of heresy. Held imprisoned at the Mur of Carcassonne, she was interrogated in the gaoler's chambers by lieutenant inquisitor Johan du Faugoux, who had previously questioned Guerau. The long record of her confession describes her various contacts with the allegedly heretical good men, who, for example, had visited her house on several occasions over the previous decade.[42]

As was the case with Guerau's deposition, the record concerning the first of Blanca's two interrogations, written by the notary Guilhem Raimon, makes several references to her encounters with heretical proselytizing. Interestingly enough, the first of these references describes the deponent's husband asking the good men Peire and Guilhem Auter whether they were heretics, and when they replied that they were of those who were called such and had been made perfected heretics in Lombardy, he asked them to convert to the Christian faith. They declined to do this, however, saying that they had chosen and held a better faith and way to salvation. They also said that they held fast to the way of God and the apostles and that no one but those of their faith and sect had the power of the saints Peter and Paul and the power to save souls and that no one could be saved but through them and in their faith.[43] The second reference describes the deponent going to meet the good men at a certain house together with her brother-in-law, Guerau. It is the same house in Tarascon where Guerau admitted having met the good men with Blanca, but it is unclear whether the records refer to the same occasion. The inquisitor pressed her for details about what the heretics said, and it is recorded that she admitted hearing from them that there was no other church but theirs, that the church of Rome was worthless, and that only those who were of the church of God had the power to save souls.[44]

Right away, Blanca's deposition stands in contrast to much of the evidence found in the previous case. It contains more details about the information content and interactive dynamics of dissident proselytizing, as it does not reduce these details under standardized blanket statements about, for example, someone simply hearing the heretics preach or expound their errors. This, again, highlights the variety of abstraction that defines inquisitorial evidence, which was alluded to in the previous section of this article.

After these more detailed entries, in a kind of reverse version of what was seen in Guerau's deposition, the level of abstraction in Blanca's deposition increases. The third reference describes the deponent and her daughter going to meet the good man Guilhem Auter at a house where they had been informed that he was residing.

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[42] For Blanca de Rodes's depositions, see Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 212—240. She was interrogated on two occasions, first in July of 1308 and subsequently in April of 1309.

[43] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 214: "Item dixit quod Guillelmus de Rodesio maritus suus predictus interrogavit, ipsa audiente, dictos P. et Guillelmum Auterii si erant heretici, qui dixerunt quod erant de illis qui sic vocantur et quod in partibus Lumbardie fuerant facti heretici perfecti seu tales qui sic appellantur. Tunc, dictus maritus suus dixit eis quod converterentur ad fidem nostram christianam. Et ipsi responderunt quod non facerent quia meliorem fidem et viam salvationis elegerant et tenebant et dicebant quod ipsi tenebant viam Dei et apostolorum et nullus alius nisi esset de fide et secta eorum et habebant potetstatem sanctorum Petri et Pauli et potestatem salvandi animas et quod nullus poterat salvari nisi per eos et in fide eorum."

[44] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 220: "Item dixit interrogata quod audivit a dictis hereticis quod dicebant quod non erat alia ecclesia nisi sua et quod ecclesia Romana nichil valebat et quod ipsi soli qui erant, ut dicebant, ecclesia Dei, habebant potestatem salvandi animas."

Asked if she had heard the admonitions or preaching of this heretic, the deponent answered in the affirmative, stating that he spoke much ill about the church of Rome and lauded his own as above.[45] It is unclear whether this kind of highly concise reference to what she had already confessed to earlier is the result of choices made by the deponent or the notary, but it is clear that the level of abstraction varies from entry to entry, and that evidence regarding the information content of dissident proselytizing that the deponent had purportedly encountered on various occasions begins to blend in the extant record.

Just as was the case in Guerau's deposition, the fourth reference to hearing the heretics in Blanca's deposition is reminiscent of memory as an influential variable affecting the construction of the evidence. Here, the record reads that the heretics Felip and Raimon de Talayran had been in her house and when the inquisitor asked her what she and those who visited them there had done with them, the deponent replied that they heard the preaching and admonitions of the heretics, who spoke of the apostles and the Gospels saying many words that she did not remember.[46]

The fifth and final section of Blanca's deposition dealing with her exposure to the religious ideas of the good men is longer and more detailed. She had met the Auter heretics at a certain house and the inquisitor inquired as to whether she had heard them speak against the Roman church or the Catholic faith. She was also asked whether they said anything against the sacraments, especially regarding baptism, matrimony, or the consecration of the host in the mass. According to the record, the deponent admitted to having heard many things from them that confirmed the inquisitor's suspicions. Her answers are represented in the record as a loosely itemized list similar to that found in Guerau's deposition, but in this case, it is more explicit that the list corresponds with the structure of the interrogation. Pertaining to the spectrum of abstraction, the list constitutes a fusion of standardized and more anecdotal information. For example, the item on the consecrated host not being the body of Christ but dough made by hand is quite standard,[47] whereas the next item is more colourful, stating that the heretics said that no one ought to cross themselves or have faith in the cross being of help to anyone, but should rather spit upon it and despise it because God had been crucified, spat on, and perished upon it.[48] Like Guerau, Blanca, too, was questioned about her beliefs regarding the aforesaid and she admitted to having believed what the heretics said but repented, asking the inquisitor for absolution and grace.[49]

On this occasion, the inquisitorial authorities chose to further process details of what Blanca reported to them and placed this

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[45] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 222: "Interrogata si audivit monitionem vel predicationem dicti heretici, dixit quod sic et loquebatur, dicendo omnem malum de ecclesia Romana et laudando suam ut supra."

[46] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 222: "Interrogata quid fecerunt cum dictis hereticis, dixit quod audiverunt predicationem et monitionem eorum, loquendo de apostolis et de Euvangeliis multa verba de quibus non recordatur".

[47] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 228: "ostia consecrata per capellanum, ut dicebant, non erat corpus Christi, ymmo erat pasta et nullus debebat credere quod illa pasta seu illa ostia esset corpus Christi quia opus manuum erat et non opus Dei."

[48] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 228: "Item dicebant, ut dixit, quod nullus debebat se signare nec habere fidem in cruce quod posset juvare hominem, ymo homo deberet spuere contra eam et facere omnem vilitatem quia Deus fuit ibi positus, clavellatus, sputus et mortuus."

[49] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 228—230.

information within a standardized framework concerning the assumed errors of the heretics. These differences in the level of abstraction that define the different sections of the deposition are a telling example of the potential effects of the different variables that influenced the construction of inquisition records. While the record arguably contains ample information on the way in which the deponent described what she had heard, it is still an inquisitorial representation of her confession. This is noticeable, for example, in the structure and vocabulary of the text, as well as in the way that the level of abstraction alternates fluidly between more and less standardized elements that highlight certain details and obscure others. This subtle fluctuation of the degree to which information in a given deposition or individual entry within a deposition is abstracted is something that the historian should remain alert to when formulating knowledge claims about the past based on inquisitorial evidence.

The record of Blanca's confession makes it clear that when questioned by the inquisitor, she was able to recall and report a great deal of religious information she had heard from the good men, and that some of this information is also visible to the historian. The level of detail varies from entry to entry, based on the fluctuating ability and willingness of the deponent to report information and the authorities' choices in what lines of inquiry to pursue and what information to record. The pervasive themes of dissident evangelism – for example, apostolic ideals, salvation, and a generally critical stance towards the Roman church and its sacraments – are familiar to those who have read extensively in Languedocian inquisition records, but the entries that go well past the usual readymade formulations make explicit the information the deponent contributed to the record. While the extent to which the recorded information corresponds with the ideas Blanca heard from the good men during her numerous interactions with them remains unknowable, a case such as this – just as Guerau's – arguably reveals something of the variety of religious information that the good men imparted to their lay supporters. This adds to the pool of available evidence concerning the content and dynamics of heterodox information transmission in medieval Languedoc, which so often elude the historian, hiding just beneath the surface of the laconic references to heretical preaching and errors that abound in inquisitorial documents.

While it is easy to see the process that created the information found in medieval inquisition records as an epistemological constraint, the evidence to which the historian is privy exists not despite its construction but as a direct result of it. Thus, the sequence of information flow from the past into the present simultaneously constrains and affords the historian's epistemic activities. Inquisitorial evidence was created through the combined efforts of the inquisitor, whose desire for information drove the questioning, the deponent, whose ability and will to divulge information constrained and afforded the evidence desired by the inquisitor, and the notary, who was responsible for recording a selection of the reported information during the interrogation and later processing this information into its official written form. The information that has come down to the historian is thus conditioned by each of the historical actors involved in the creation of the records. That we are ultimately dealing with a materially embedded amalgamation of information is especially clear in the last section of Blanca's deposition, which presents the errors that she heard in the form of an itemized list, as the record shifts back and

forth between standard inquisitorial language and more particular details. This results in a seamless blend of information originating from both the deponent and the authorities, and the boundaries between information sources become blurred due to their entanglement.

Memory and the Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records

An epistemologically important aspect of inquisition records warranting further discussion is that they are always retrospective. When people were confronted by inquisitors, they were prompted or even forced to remember and reinterpret their past from the perspective of the present. Thus, the inquisitors' investigative capacities depended to a significant degree on the memory of the deponents.[50]

One of the shortcomings of the long source critical tradition concerning medieval inquisition records is the lack of explicit consideration for the epistemological implications of memory formation. Perhaps because it is such an obvious variable affecting the construction of inquisitorial evidence, memory is often noted in passing but has been seldom taken into account systematically. An exception to this is an article by Irene Bueno, which discusses the topic of memory in the context of inquisition trials. Bueno focuses on the ways in which the principles, demands, and objectives of the inquisitorial legal process, and the tactical forgetfulness of the deponents all worked to impose selection on the reported and recorded memories. In doing so, she largely sidesteps the psychological dimension of memory.[51] Mnemonic processes, however, are a major contributor to the abstraction of information in trial records. Because of this, historians who use inquisitorial documents or other types of legal records as sources ought to incorporate the results of psychological research on memory into their epistemological toolbox.[52]

Memory is one of the most thoroughly researched areas of human psychology.[53] Empirical studies show that memory operates in a reconstructive manner, which makes it malleable and prone to distortions. Memories of past events and occurrences, such as those recalled when facing an inquisitorial tribunal, are always constructed anew at the moment of recollection from the perspective of the

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[50] Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 13; Bueno, "*Dixit Quod Non Recordatur*", 369—370, 372, 378, 381—382, 391—393; Pegg, "Questions about Questions", 124; Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 51; Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, 13—14; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices", 8. On medieval ideas concerning memory, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*.

[51] Bueno, "*Dixit Quod Non Recordatur*".

[52] Cf. Cubitt, "History, psychology and social memory", 19, who notes the significant memory-dependence of historical scholarship, as historians often rely on information that has travelled into source material via memory and states that "[a] critical awareness of memory's strengths and weaknesses is therefore an important part of historical method." Following Boddice, "The Cultural Brain as Historical Artifact", I fully acknowledge the human brain to be a highly plastic, historically situated biocultural entity subject to change over time. Even so, it seems implausible for a psychological phenomenon as central to human life as memory to have changed so drastically since the Middle Ages that historians could simply dismiss the findings of psychological research on memory. For discussion on potential avenues for interdisciplinarity between psychology and history, see Tileagă and Byford (eds), *Psychology and History*.

[53] Foster, *Memory*, 2.

present. Memory processes and subsequent reports are also extremely sensitive to cues and contextual influences, such as the inquisitor's questions and the pressures of the interrogation. Moreover, memories, such as those concerning encounters with dissident proselytizing recalled by Guerau and Blanca, are simplified syntheses that rely on schema-based generalization and selection. People are much better at combining information from many sources, rationalizing it, and abstracting the general structure of similar events than at remembering an individual event in exact detail. Memories of different events often merge, and this only increases when recalling recurring events. These observations apply especially strongly to memories of talk. Research indicates that the capability to reproduce verbatim recollections of talk one has heard in the past is weak, and that this even applies to words spoken by the person doing the remembering. Memories of past conversations – or, in this case, heretical sermonizing – are virtually never word for word, and their accuracy remains quite low even when evaluated at the level of general idea units. People tend to remember the gist of what was spoken rather than the details.[54]

Inquisition records usually cite memory explicitly only on those occasions when it imposed a hard limit on the information gathering capabilities of the inquisitor. This was evident in the depositions of Guerau and Blanca, both of which refer to their limited ability to recall what they had heard the good men say.[55] However, it is of fundamental importance to understand that the memory of the deponents was not only a negative filter that worked to selectively discard information from the records. Rather, memory functioned as an omnipresent variable in the process through which inquisition records were constructed. Through subtle transformations, memory worked to impose a varying degree of abstraction on all the information reported to the authorities by the deponents, thereby conditioning inquisitorial evidence at large. The effects of memory cannot be expunged from the records, nor is it possible to determine the veracity of a given recollection – an epistemic predicament only exacerbated by the surprising rarity of multiple deponents giving testimony about the same event. Nonetheless, drawing on psychological research that facilitates understanding the inner workings of human memory allows us to see memory as an important element in the process of information flow through which inquisition records as informational abstractions came into existence, thereby contributing to increasing the sophistication of our source critical capabilities.

That being said, it is worth noting that there is also a productive and epistemologically optimistic side to understanding how memory works. While a legal tribunal seeks facts about individual events as

[54] Blandón-Gitlin, Fenn and Paquette, "True and False Memories"; Brown and Craik, "Encoding and Retrieval of Information", 98, 100; Bueno, "*Dixit Quod Non Recordatur*", 370, 391—393; Conway, *Autobiographical Memory*, 60, 98, 101, 104, 141; Cubitt, "History, psychology and social memory", 21—22, 31—32, 37; Davis and Friedman, "Memory for Conversation"; Davis and Loftus, "Internal and External Sources of Misinformation", 196—207, 212—219, 223—224; Foster, *Memory*, 6—8, 13—14, 23—26, 17, 50—51, 63, 68—83; Gallo and Wheeler, "Episodic Memory"; Gisli Gudjonsson, *The Psychology of Interrogations*, 83—91, 99—100, 326; Koriat, "Control Processes in Remembering", 333—336; Laney, "The Sources of Memory Errors"; Mitchell and Johnson, "Source Monitoring", 179, 182—184; Neisser and Libby, "Remembering Life Experiences", 315—321; Rubin, "Introduction", 4.

[55] Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), *L'inquisiteur*, 104, 222.

they really happened in as much detail and accuracy as possible, historians might prefer to dispense with such aspirations and embrace the effects of reconstructive, schema-based generalization that influences the formation of witness testimony. This is because once the inevitability of these effects of memory processes are acknowledged, evidence extant in inquisitorial sources and other similar documents can be seen as revealing an abstraction of the general dynamics of the world of the past as they were perceived and remembered by those giving testimony. From this generalized perspective, we might, in fact, gain more knowledge of the past than from an accurate individual anecdote. In this sense, the generalizing tendency of memory can actually be seen as a blessing in disguise.

Conclusions

Analysing two carefully selected cases from the early fourteenth century, this article has suggested that medieval inquisition records can be understood as informational abstractions – that is, materially embedded information shaped and conditioned by a multi-stage sequence during which several historical actors acquired, processed, and transmitted information. This sequential flow of information from the past into the extant documents began prior to the interrogation, when people encountered and perceived events and occurrences in their environment and formed memories about them. Then, usually years or sometimes even decades later, people were interrogated by heresy inquisitors whose questions, threats, and pressures prompted deponents to reinterpret what they remembered about certain aspects of their past from the perspective of the emotionally loaded situation of the inquisitorial interrogation. During and after the interrogation, the authorities appropriated the information reported by the deponents. Notaries in the service of inquisitors drew on textual models derived from ancillary legal material and transformed selected elements from the deponents' vernacular talk into standardized written Latin evidence that served the juridical objectives of the tribunal. At each stage, available information was selectively replicated (and discarded), and moved from one material modality to another – the paradigmatic examples being the shifts from memory to talk and from talk to writing. While it was the inquisitor's investigative and persecutory agenda that drove this process, the deponent's (often involuntary) participation also exerted influence on the creation of the evidence. Thus, inquisitorial documents can be thought of as amalgamations of abstracted information afforded and constrained by the deponents' earlier experiences and reconstructive memory processes, talk during the interrogation, and the act of textual appropriation performed by the inquisitorial authorities. This information originating from multiple sources became entangled, and blends seamlessly in the material medium of the extant documents.

Acknowledging the epistemological implications of this inherent abstraction and entanglement, the impossibility of retrospectively unravelling the weave of information becomes apparent. These difficulties render problematic the idea of attempting to distinguish some kind of excess or surplus from inquisition records. Looking at the records analysed in this article, how might one decide whether their individual elements are surplus survivals from the deponents' confessions or mere inquisitorial impositions? Where might one draw such boundaries? Thus, relying on an excess approach when selecting

evidence for analysis seems untenable as a methodological principle, as it would inevitably lead to arbitrary value judgements that ultimately diminish the pool of potential evidence available to the historian.

Thinking in terms of a spectrum of abstraction is an effective antidote to implicit hierarchies of epistemic value, as it allows the historian to bypass the need to attempt to differentiate which elements in inquisitorial sources are worth analysing. Instead of attempting to distinguish between authentic and corrupted sections of a given record, or focusing solely on those sections of the records that have been subjected to the least amount of abstraction, recognizing the inherently abstracted nature of inquisitorial sources enables the historian to use the entire range of evidence available in an holistic fashion and to make carefully calibrated knowledge claims based on an understanding of its complex process of creation. While the intensity of the abstraction imposed by the construction of the records varies from case to case, all entries found in inquisitorial documentation are ultimately abstractions conditioned by the sequence of information flow through which they came into being. However much this information was transformed along the way, the information found in inquisition records was constrained and afforded by the information that the deponents were privy to and divulged to the tribunals.

This subtle informational layeredness of inquisitorial evidence calls for a stratified epistemic approach. The idea is not to peel away layers of inquisitorial distortion in the hope of revealing any kind of authentic kernel possibly concealed beneath them. Rather, the historian's task is to make stratified knowledge claims in relation to the three distinct but connected levels of the inquisition record, the interrogation, and the wider world of the past in which the deponents and inquisitors were situated. Working out the extent of accountable informational overlap between writing in the records, talk in the interrogation, and the historical phenomena that precede them is a, if not *the*, central methodological question, as it is this informational overlap that provides the historian with an avenue of epistemic access to the past. At the level of the extant record, we are privy to the inquisitor's interpretation and selective representation of information reported by the deponent. At the level of the interrogation, we can know at least something about information discussed during questioning. The extent of this knowledge depends on the amount of abstraction imposed by notarial processing. At the level of the world, it is not possible to know the extent to which the evidence corresponds with the individual events and occurrences depicted in the records. This may seem discouraging, but we can overcome these limitations by conducting an holistic reading of inquisitorial evidence on a given theme of interest through which it is possible to discern an abstraction of the general patterns and dynamics of historical phenomena.[56] While the degree of induction involved increases the further back we reach, the inferences made remain empirical because the extent of

[56] Cf. Smail, "Pattern in History", 156—159, 166—167, who argues that historians who read medieval legal records and other similar sources are not privy to knowledge about the individual events and occurrences depicted in them – rather, the historian gains knowledge of what he calls patterns (e.g. networks, processes, customs, and probabilities), which come to light not from any single documentary entry but through an inductive and cumulative reading of evidence.

accountable information delineates the space of warranted interpretations.

Mutatis mutandis, these epistemological insights drawn from the study of inquisitorial evidence can also be applied to other documentary contexts.[57] Any reading of trial records or other types of historical sources created through chains of testimony can benefit from understanding the nature of information, its transmission through sequences of selective replication, and the ways in which the actors, variables, and material modalities at play influenced the evidence ultimately available to the historian.

[57] For a comparative methodological analysis, see Pihko, "The Construction of Information in the Records of Medieval Canonization and Heresy Inquests".

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Olivi, the Beguins, and the Blurred Boundaries of Academic and Popular Heresy

Justine Trombley

Abstract

This article conducts an initial exploration of the ways in which academic and popular heresy blended into one another in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Often treated as separate spheres in historiography, both in terms of content and the ways in which they were dealt with by authorities, this article argues that contact between the two intensified in the early fourteenth century, creating a third category where elements of both spheres blended into one another. Books are identified as one of the main conduits through which this blending and intensification of contact occurred.

Keywords: academic heresy; heretical movements; heretical books; inquisition; Peter of John Olivi

Introduction

On 7 May 1318, the Franciscan Michel le Moine declared that the books of a certain Peter of John Olivi, a Franciscan teacher and theologian from the diocese of Béziers, had been "through the counsel of many masters in the sacred page rejected and condemned, and also condemned to the fire."[1] This condemnation had taken place at the Franciscan General Chapter in 1299. Likewise now, Michel continued, Pope John XXII had initiated a new examination of Olivi's works, particularly of one of his biblical commentaries, the *Postilla super apocalipsim*.[2] Allegedly, Olivi had written "against the catholic faith and ecclesiastical sacraments and the status, honour, and authority of the Roman church," and therefore his works demanded scrutiny and censure.[3]

A historian of heresy might assume from this that some kind of academic censure was taking place. Perhaps Michel was speaking at a disciplinary hearing, perhaps to a group of assembled scholars and teachers from the Franciscan school in Narbonne at which Olivi taught. Or maybe he was speaking at the papal court, where Olivi's works were currently being scrutinised for heresy. Perhaps Olivi

[1] Michel le Moine, "Inquisitoris sententia contra combustos in Massilia," 5. This article was first presented as a paper at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 2022. I am grateful to the session attendants for their comments and criticisms. I also thank the participants in the "Blurred Boundaries of Religious Dissent" Workshop that was held at Queen Mary University in June 2023, where this paper was workshopped, and where I received invaluable feedback. My thanks go also to my fellow medievalists in the History Department at Durham University in 2023, who kindly read a draft of this piece and helped to greatly improve it with their comments and suggestions. Thank you also to the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions.

[2] Michel le Moine, "Inquisitoris," 5.

[3] Michel le Moine, "Inquisitoris," 5.

himself was there, receiving censure for his work and waiting to then recant his teachings in front of his colleagues.

In reality, by this time Olivi had been dead for nineteen years. Michel was an inquisitor, and he was standing in the cemetery of Notre Dame des Accoules in Marseille publicly condemning four of his Franciscan brothers to death. Guilhem Santon, Johan Barrau, Deodat Miquel, and Pons Roca were all convicted of heresy, having refused to submit to the leaders of the order and papal authority which demanded that they abandon their views on poverty and take off their ragged and patched habits. Michel mentioned Olivi because, he said, the four friars' heresies came from the "poisoned fountain of doctrine" (*venenato fonte doctrine*) that was Olivi's *Postilla super apocalipsim*, "and other of his writings" (*in quibusdam eius opusculis*).[4]

But it was not just the four friars who were seen to be causing trouble by using Olivi's writings. Michel went on to say that some people were venerating Olivi as a holy man, and he warned that "one and all, of whichever sex, condition, status, or rank they may be" should stop such behaviour immediately. In fact, crowds had flocked to Olivi's tomb on his unofficial "feast day", 14 March, for years, crowds mostly comprised of lay citizens who were members of the Franciscan Third Order or had other kinds of close contacts with certain groups of friars in the region.[5] Olivi was to them an uncanonised saint, and then also the "angel with a face like the sun" from Revelations 10:1-3. Six months prior to Michel's final sentencing of the four friars in Marseilles, Pope John XXII had struck a blow to this group's semi-religious lifestyle in the bull *Sancta romana*, and had also condemned supposedly "rogue" Franciscans in another bull issued shortly afterwards, *Gloriosam ecclesiam*.[6] The events of 7 May were a marked escalation of this crackdown. Men and women—known to scholarship as "Beguins"—were arrested and questioned not just about their views on Franciscan poverty and the four burned friars, but also about Olivi's *Postilla super apocalipsim*.[7] And their inquisitorial depositions show that they had read it, and had quite a lot to say about it.[8]

I begin with Michel's sentence because it highlights a notable characteristic of the Spiritual Franciscan/Beguin movement: a distinct overlap between academic heresy and "popular" or non-academic heresy. Michel is declaring the erroneous nature of a scholar's writings and ideas, while standing in a cemetery sentencing four convicted heretics to be burned at the stake. At the time, this had not previously been a common combination.

Some definitions are in order here. Academic heresy—to state the obvious—played out in the scholarly and academic sphere, concentrated often, but not always, within the universities, and usually involved individual scholars and their writings and teachings.

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[4] Michel le Moine, "Inquisitoris," 5.
[5] See Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc*, 1-50.
[6] Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After St Francis*, 198-200.
[7] For the difficulties surrounding the term "Beguin", see Nieto Isabel, "Beguines, Free Spirits, and the Inquisitorial Network Conundrum".
[8] Burnham, *So Great a Light*, charts the years of persecution against the Beguins.

The process of academic censure was largely an internal affair amongst the intellectual elite, often carried out by their scholarly peers, and which, in later centuries, involved inquisition and inquisitors at the later appeal stages or in cases of contumacy.[9] It usually entailed the examination of a scholar's lectures or their writings which had fallen under suspicion. This process did not hinge upon accusations of adhering to a pre-defined heresy; instead, the heresy was identified and defined during the process itself, as a running conversation about what was and was not acceptable to teach and to write.[10] Crucially, when a scholar was found guilty of teaching or writing heresy, if they recanted they personally would escape serious punishment. Their writings or teachings would certainly be condemned, but their persons would not be, and they would not formally be labelled a "heretic". Only contumacy—the trait of the heretic *par excellence* in the medieval mind—would result in punishment, and even then this usually involved exile or excommunication, rather than execution.[11]

It is in moving to discuss "popular" heresy that we run into some terminological difficulties.[12] "Popular" is a somewhat inadequate term when it comes to describing heresies which were not academic in nature. It implies mass movements of people that were somehow connected to one another, whereas there were plenty of instances of heresy in the Middle Ages that involved individuals or groups of people who would not be considered part of a "movement".[13] But "non-academic" as an alternative seems, if anything, even less suitable, as it is defining something purely by what it is not, rather than what it is. Therefore, in the long-standing academic tradition of pointing out the failures of terminology but then making do with the least bad option, I have decided to use "popular", since it at least carries the connotation of involving various kinds of people and also implies a "non-elite" setting. Perhaps one area of future study could be deciding on a new and better term.

To turn, then, to outlining "popular" heresy. It frequently—although certainly not exclusively—involved lay people, and both men and women. The image that most often springs to mind in this category is that of movements like the Cathars or Waldensians, although individuals could also be considered in this category. It often carried the idea of shared doctrine, or at least some kind of commonality of belief between multiple individuals, and often disseminated by social contact and word-of-mouth. Popular heresy was also the classic target of inquisition, what it was essentially created to suppress, and it was something that, in the eyes of the church, required detection and had to be hunted down. Connected to

[9] See Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris 1200-1400*.
[10] Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy*, 4.
[11] This scholarly privilege would be shattered in the early fifteenth century, when Jan Hus was burned at the stake for heresy at the Council of Constance in 1415.
[12] I am grateful to both the participants in the 2023 Queen Mary workshop and my colleagues at Durham for discussion on this point. Herbert Grundmann briefly considers the difficulty of this term in "Learned and Popular Heresies of the Middle Ages", 217-218.
[13] For example the case of Marguerite Porete, or any of those persecuted as part of the hunt for the imaginary "heresy of the free spirit".

this is the fact that, unlike academic heresy, the doctrine in question was pre-defined, a pre-determined error that one could "fall" into. In other words, inquisitors knew (or thought they knew) what they were looking for ahead of time, rather than determining what the heresy was in the process.[14] In the popular sphere, conviction also came with greater peril, with formulaic punishments handed out by degree of offence, often involving social ostracization, confiscation of goods, or physical pain, but also with the threat of violent death at the stake hovering over all, should one prove contumacious or relapsed.

The distinctions here fall into various categories. There are social distinctions—the elite scholar versus the so-called "average" citizen. There are distinctions of *what* was targeted: the scrutiny of writings and theological propositions versus the probing of a person's beliefs, contacts, and behaviours. There are also distinctions in procedure: a panel of theologians assessing writings and lists of articles versus interrogation and deposition by an inquisitor using a pre-set list of doctrines and questions. Perhaps the most common way they are separated is by the different degrees of threat involved: those being interrogated about Catharism by an inquisitor in Toulouse were in far greater physical danger than the scholar called before a panel of his peers at the University of Paris.

In heresy studies, the popular and academic spheres are frequently treated separately—overviews of the various heresies of the Middle Ages almost universally focus on popular heretical movements, and studies of academic heresies/censures rarely touch upon broader movements.[15] It is mainly within studies of John Wyclif, and the influence which his writings and ideas had upon the Lollard movement that appeared after his death, where discussions of the scholarly sphere blending into a popular movement have mainly taken place.[16] In fact, Wyclif and the Lollards are often perceived as the first major instance in the central and late Middle Ages where the two come together so noticeably.[17] But, as my description of Michel le

[14] For the rigidity of heretical categories in the eyes of inquisitors, see Nieto Isabel, "Beguins, Free Spirits, and the Inquisitorial Network Conundrum".

[15] See for example Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*; Kolpacoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*; Christine Caldwell Ames does include some mention of the theological controversies over Aristotelian philosophy in her *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam*, but mostly focusses on heretical movements. On surveys of academic heresy see Thijssen, *Censure and Heresy*; Moule, *Corporate Jurisdiction, Academic Heresy, and Fraternal Correction at the University of Paris, 1200-1400*. Heinrich Fichtenau did consider the two spheres alongside one another in the context of the early schools and the rise of Catharism, but still maintained a line between intellectual and popular religiosity. See Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages 1000-1200*.

[16] For example see Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*; Ghosh and Soukup (eds.), *Wycliffism and Hussitism: Methods of Thinking, Writing, and Persuasion c. 1360-1460*. Outside of the Lollard context, Grundmann also briefly considered the two spheres together—although focussing more on "learned" rather than specifically "academic" heresy—in "Learned and Popular Heresies of the Middle Ages". Felice Tocco also considered the relationship between scholasticism and heresy in *L'eresia nel medio evo*.

[17] Kantik Ghosh has described Lollardy's "unprecedented" achievement in translating academic ideas into "popular vernacular currency". Ghosh, *Wycliffite Heresy*, pp. 2 and 210. See also pp. 19, 20-21. Ghosh and Soukup also comment on how a "notable characteristic" of 1360-1460 is the volume of ideas moving between university and "an extra-mural world". Ghosh and Soukup, "Philosophy, Politics, and *Perplexitas*: A Socio-Epistemic Approach to Late Medieval Religion", 13.

Moine's sentence above suggests, the two spheres were already coming together in important ways well before Wyclif, in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, while scholarship on the Beguins has frequently focussed on them as a popular movement in which the text of a scholar prominently features, few studies have paused to consider the wider elements of academic heresy and popular heresy, how they merge in their case, and how unusual some of these interactions are.[18] A main objective of this article is to analyse some of the defining characteristics of the Beguin movement more closely, in order to explicitly point out the ways in which the boundaries between the scholarly and popular spheres significantly overlapped with one another in this episode of the early fourteenth century. My concern here is not with the intellectual atmosphere in which this took place, nor am I concerned with hermeneutics. Rather, I have a nuts-and-bolts approach: I intend merely to point out and comment on certain features. What is more, I will show how this blurring of boundaries can be seen both in characteristics of the movement, *and* in the procedures and methods used to suppress it. The end of the article then raises larger questions prompted by this case that point to potential future areas of investigation.

At this point one might ask: Why focus on the Beguins? Were they the first to exhibit this academic-popular combination? The answer to that is both "yes" and "no".[19] A case one could point to earlier than the Beguins is that of the Amalricians, condemned for heresy in 1210, a group that got its name from the theologian Amalric of Béne, who was dead by the time the sect bearing his name came about.[20] Amalric, a scholar at the University of Paris, had been censured for his beliefs between 1205 and 1206, and died—purportedly from embarrassment—shortly thereafter. A few years later a group seemingly made up of some of Amalric's former students and colleagues were accused of heresy, and were said to have been preaching their doctrines to lay citizens in the villages around Paris. Those seen as the leaders of the group were arrested, charged with a list of errors, and then interrogated. On 20 November 1210, ten Amalricians were executed, and four sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Amalric himself was eventually exhumed and burned,

[18] Some discussions of Olivi's influence on the Beguins can be found in Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, at various places in chapters 8-12; Burr, "Did the Beguins Understand Olivi?"; Vian, "L"interpretazione della storia nella Lectura super Apocalipsim di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi e i contesti della sua ricezione"; Burr, "Na Prous Boneta and Olivi"; Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 15-50 and 61-64; Burnham, "The Angel with the Book".

[19] My focus here is on heresy as it was dealt with in the central and late Middle Ages, rather than the earlier medieval scholarly heresies (e.g. Pelagius and the Pelagians, Donatus and the Donatists), as the ways in which heresy was approached and dealt with were profoundly different between the two periods.

[20] The history of the Amalricians remains relatively understudied. See Dickson, "Joachism and the Amalricians"; Dickson, "The Burning of the Amalricians"; Thijssen, "Master Amalric and the Amalricians: Inquisitorial Procedure and the Suppression of Heresy at the University of Paris"; Capelle, *Autour du décret de 1210: Amaury de Bène: Étude sur son panthéisme formel*; Lucentini (ed.), *Contra Amaurianos*, D'Alverny, "Un fragment du procès des Amauriciens"; Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, 306-311, and Grundmann, *Religious Movements of the Middle Ages*, 153-159.

and was then officially condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

While the Amalricians seem to have attracted at least the attention of certain lay citizens—as some of these were arrested along with the leaders of the group—the scholarly-popular exchange here seems to have been brief and limited. The core followers of the group all seem to have been scholars and clergymen.[21] The lay followers who were initially arrested were let go without punishment because they had been "corrupted and deceived".[22] The main link between the scholarly and popular spheres were those students and clerics who were condemned, and who held and disseminated the ideas. They were the main targets of the inquisition which followed, and the lay members of the movement appear to have had very little involvement. So, while we can discern some kind of contact between academic heresy and popular heresy in the case of the Amalricians, it can be seen perhaps as more of a brief prelude, rather than an equal forerunner of, the kind of blending of scholarly and popular that we can see in the Beguins.[23] Let us now turn to their case.

Background: Spiritual Franciscans, Peter of John Olivi, and the Beguins

The Beguin movement was bound up with the decades-long controversy within the Franciscan Order over the issue of poverty. Almost from the Order's inception in the thirteenth century, the degree of poverty that ought to be adhered to by the brothers was a cause of intense debate and tension. Eventually, this tension devolved into a showdown between strict "Spirituals" who advocated absolute, radical poverty and "the Community" who felt that the rule of poverty could be subject to modification and relaxation.[24] Along the way, the Spirituals' zeal for poverty began to meld with apocalyptic ideas in the tradition of the twelfth-century abbot Joachim of Fiore, which had been popular within the Franciscan Order since the thirteenth century.[25] Among other things, these included the idea that a group of "spiritual men" would appear to renew the church and fight Antichrist in a coming Third and final Age that was imminent. From 1300-1317 tensions within the order became intense, and finally, after a series of rebellious acts on the part of Southern French Spiritual

[21] Of the fourteen who were condemned, nine are said to have "studied" theology, and of those one was said to have lectured in the arts at Paris. Caesarius of Heisterbach also described them as "certain learned men". Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus*, in Capelle, *Autour du décret*, 101.

[22] William the Breton, *Gesta Philippi*, published in Capelle, *Autour du décret*, 100.

[23] Fichtenau noted that "The Amalrician sect is also noteworthy for molding the new academic system into a vessel for an irrational viewpoint that might have developed into a popular heresy", but that potential was never fully realised in their case. See Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars*, 311.

[24] These were by no means neat categories, as a wide spectrum of opinion existed within both the Spirituals and the broader Franciscan Order, but I use these terms here for simplicity's sake. For a discussion of the term "spiritual" and its use see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 11-41; for discussion of the term "the Community", see Cusato, "Whence 'the Community'?", who notes that it appears to have been a self-referential term used by the Order's hierarchy in the early years of the fourteenth century.

[25] Potestà, "Il 'Super Hieremiam' e il gioachimismo della dirigenza minoritica della metà del Duecento"; Potestà, "Forme di una retorica profetica e apocalittica: i frati minori e il gioachimismo (secoli XIII-XIV)".

Franciscans, a group of them were summoned to Avignon by Pope John XXII in 1317. There they were imprisoned, and made to recant their views on poverty and submit to their superiors. As mentioned above, four of the imprisoned friars refused, and they were burned at the stake in Marseilles in 1318. This touched off decades of inquisitions aimed at crushing the intricate network of renegade Franciscans and their lay followers, the "Beguins", that stretched across Languedoc.[26]

Crucial to this story was the figure of the Franciscan theologian Peter of John Olivi, who was associated with the Spirituals' cause.[27] Olivi was educated at the University of Paris, and held various teaching positions in Italy and Southern France throughout his lifetime. Like Amalric of Béne, Olivi had been controversial in his lifetime—he was censured in 1283—but had never been personally condemned as a heretic. In 1297, Olivi completed a commentary on the book of the Apocalypse, the *Postilla super apocalipsim*. In it, Olivi drew heavily on Joachite apocalyptic ideas in his view of church history, and provocatively linked the issue of poverty with this apocalypticism in his commentary. Between Olivi's death in 1298 and the burning of the friars in 1318, his commentary circulated rapidly and widely amongst both Spiritual Franciscans and the lay Beguins.[28] It eventually became a crucial component of the Beguin movement and achieved a quasi-scriptural status amongst them, with copies of the *Postilla* circulating through the network in both Latin and vernacular versions. Olivi himself was revered as an uncanonised saint and his writings—and *Postilla* in particular—were seen as holy. Such reverence for Olivi and his writings came to be key identifiers of the Beguin heresy in the view of inquisitors.[29] When it became clear that Olivi's commentary was fuelling Franciscan dissidents, Pope John XXII initiated two condemnation processes against it: the first lasting from 1318-1319, and the second from 1322-1326, each one involving the consultation of a group of theologians on extracts taken from the commentary in order to assess its orthodoxy.[30] It was eventually condemned in a papal bull in 1326, the text of which does not survive.

The Cult of the Scholar

As we can see, in a way similar to the Lollards, a scholar stood (or was seen to stand) at the foundations of Beguin belief, in the figure of Olivi. While Olivi certainly had influence and associates during his lifetime, there is no indication that anything like a movement had sprung up around him while he was living. In death, however, Olivi

[26] For an overview of both the intra-Franciscan conflict and the persecution of the Beguins see respectively Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, and Burnham, *So Great a Light*. On the co-creation of Beguin beliefs through persecution see Nieto Isabel, "Beliefs in Progress: The Beguins of Languedoc and the Construction of a New Heretical Identity".

[27] Despite being closely associated with Spiritual circles, Olivi was by no means among the most radical proponents of poverty. See Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, and Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*.

[28] Early indicators of Olivi's influence can be seen in the condemnation of his works by the Franciscan general chapter in 1299 and Boniface VIII's request to Giles of Rome to examine Olivi's *Postilla* in 1303. See Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 198-199.

[29] See Nieto Isabel, "Beliefs in Progress".

[30] Both condemnation processes are outlined in Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 198-220 and 221-239. See also Piron, 'Censures et condemnation de Pierre de Jean Olieu: enquête dans les marges du Vatican'.

became a veritable celebrity: a saint, an angel of the apocalypse, a prophet. Long before persecution of the Beguins began, a cult following had sprung up around him, with crowds flocking to his tomb every year on his unofficial "feast day".[31] Starting out as an uncanonised saint, Olivi eventually became to the Beguins the "angel with a face like the sun" from Revelations 10:1-3, playing a cosmic role in the apocalyptic scenario they believed was playing out all around them.[32] Olivi's ideas penetrated deep within Beguin circles, and, importantly, were recognised as being his—that is, the ideas were not disembodied from the man.[33] A crucial factor in this circulation was the fact that Olivi's own writings—especially his *Postilla super apocalipsim*, but also other didactic and exhortative texts—were preserved, circulated, read and read aloud within the group, even smuggled along the Beguin network as heretical contraband.[34] Inquisitors repeatedly asked Beguins what they thought of Olivi, and what they thought of his writings—to which many Beguins replied that they thought his doctrine was good, and catholic, and contained no errors.[35] In his inquisitor's manual, Bernard Gui also singles out reverence of Olivi as a key signifier of Beguin belief, noting that they "found" some of their errors in his "books and booklets" and that they "in their depraved understanding apply [Olivi's writings] in support of themselves and against those whom they call their persecutors".[36]

At first glance, perhaps, such unofficial veneration is not particularly odd. After all, unofficial cults sprang up all the time, in both orthodox and heterodox contexts. One only needs to look to a group like the Guglielmites, persecuted in 1300 in Milan, and their veneration of the deceased holy woman Guglielma of Milan as the incarnation of the Holy Spirit, for a near-contemporary example of the unofficial saint-to-heresy pipeline.[37] But if we pause and think more carefully about Olivi the man, and exactly what he was venerated for, things start to look more unusual. Olivi is not typical saint material.[38] Whereas someone like Guglielma of Milan was known for living an exceptionally ascetic and typically "saintly" life, the defining characteristic of Olivi's saintly nature seems to have been his authorship of a book. Even later, when he had been firmly designated

[31] Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 21-24. A sect surrounding Olivi had also been perceived by leadership within the Order as early as 1299. See Burr, *The Persecution of Peter Olivi*, 74.
[32] Burnham, "The Angel with the Book," 384-390. A defining feature of the angel with a face like the sun is his having a book in his hand.
[33] Perhaps the most vivid illustration of Olivi's presence in Beguin belief is in the deposition of Na Prous Boneta. May, "The Confession of Prous Boneta, Heretic and Heresiarch".
[34] See Pales-Gobilliard, *Les livres des Sentences de l'Inquisiteur Bernard Gui, 1308-1323*, 1298-1416; Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 61-62.
[35] See for example the *culpe* of Beguins in Pales-Gobilliard, *Livres des Sentences*, 1298-1416.
[36] Gui, *Inquisitor's Guide: A Medieval Manual on Heretics*, 92-94. For the intensity of belief in Olivi's writings that some Beguins had, see not only Na Prous Boneta but also Burnham's example of one Guilhem Serralier who, just before being burned on 1 March 1327, cried out to the assembled crowd that Olivi was a saint and all his writings holy. Burnham, "The Angel with the Book", 366.
[37] Newman, "The Heretic Saint: Guglielma of Bohemia, Milan, and Brunate"; see also Larmon Peterson, *Suspect Saints and Holy Heretics: Disputed Sanctity and Communal Identity in Medieval Italy*.
[38] I am grateful to Dr Delfi Nieto Isabel for discussion on this point.

as a prophet and the "angel with a face like the sun", both of these designations hinged upon his writings, and not on any particular saintly conduct during his life.

We can see this in Beguin depositions and *culpe*, where the majority of mentions of Olivi occur in reference to his writings and doctrine; rarely was just his person mentioned alone.[39] He was never said to perform miracles while alive. He was not particularly known for asceticism, or visions. Even an account of his death, which was circulated amongst the Beguins as a little written story that they read to each other, emphasises his scholarship and intellect. Even though it was given the saintly-sounding title of *The Passing of the Holy Father*, the description of Olivi's death is distinctly un-saintly. He is referred to as 'the most holy father and *most excellent scholar*', and the remarkable event which occurs at his death is that he confesses that all his knowledge came from a sudden revelation he received in Paris. Nothing else is related.[40] Furthermore, unlike Guglielma, almost none of those who were to be persecuted for venerating Olivi could be considered his "disciples" or would have ever met him, as he had been dead for nearly twenty years by the time inquisitions against the Beguins began in earnest in 1318.[41] To paraphrase Louisa Burnham, it was Olivi's writings, and not his way of life or person, which made him a saint in their eyes.[42] This means that Olivi was venerated by a group of lay followers almost exclusively for his intellectual activity and scholarly output, and not for his way of life. His books, and not his person, connected those in the movement both to him and to one another.

Makeup of the Movement

The key avenues along which Olivi's writings, ideas, and image spread into the Beguin population were likely the deep ties that the Spiritual Franciscans of the Southern French convents had to the local communities there. They acted as the spiritual confessors of the townspeople, and lay citizens attended masses and heard sermons at the convents; Beguin confessions reveal that they had heard some of the articles they were confessing to in the sermons of some Franciscans.[43] But this was not simply a case in which Olivi's ideas were communicated verbally, where his writings became abstract "texts" existing in oral form, disembodied from their physical origins and existing purely as ideas that eventually coalesced into a "heresy".[44] The books and writings themselves were front and centre: circulated and read repeatedly, having an almost living presence in the movement. Those who could not read had the writings read aloud to them.[45] They also circulated a variety of writings, both Olivian and

[39] For examples see again Pales-Gobilliard, *Livres des Sentences*, 1326, 1334, 1364.
[40] Bernard Gui reproduces this text in his manual. *Inquisitor's Guide*, 136-137.
[41] Burnham, "The Angel with the Book", 367-368.
[42] Burnham, "Angel with the Book", 367-368.
[43] For example in Peire Tort's *culpa*, in Pales-Gobilliard, *Livres des Sentences*, 1396-1416. See also Burnham, "The Angel with the Book", 369.
[44] This function of texts within religious groups is most famously described in Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*.
[45] Bernard Gui also notes how "Earlier members have repeated his sayings to later ones, they recite them to each other, share them among themselves, and reverence them as if

non-Olivian.[46] But among these, one in particular stood out as being of paramount importance: Olivi's Apocalypse commentary, the *Postilla super apocalipsim*. The text itself was an object of veneration among the Beguins, and was also the text that most interested the inquisitors and those in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Olivi's *Postilla* can be seen as the lynchpin upon which a remarkable level of interpenetration between the academic and popular turned, and potentially marks a new way in which those two spheres could and did blend into one another. It is particularly striking when we consider the question of genre. Much like Olivi was not typical saint material, the *Postilla* was not a text one would usually expect to ignite lay enthusiasm. It was a Latin, scholastic biblical commentary, a genre of work which was very much the preserve of the scholarly elite.[47] It was not a sermon, or any other type of exhortative piece; in other words, it was very much *not* the kind of text that was frequently circulated to or read by the "average citizen", literate or otherwise, or the type of literature that often sparked a spiritual or devotional movement. And yet, the *Postilla* did just that, moving beyond scholarly circles and penetrating into the community surrounding Olivi and beyond. But it went far beyond just circulating: it became a foundational, deeply embedded element of the Beguin belief system which circulated widely amongst them. Again, it was not a case of the book's ideas becoming disembodied from the pages and organically taking on a life of their own separately from the book. While the Beguins certainly put their own spin on some of Olivi's ideas, the evidence makes it clear that the book itself, in physical form, remained firmly in place as a touchstone of their beliefs. Numerous Beguins confessed to having either heard the *Postilla* read, or that they had personally read it themselves.[48] It was preserved, hidden, and smuggled out of the area during periods of persecution, and circulated amongst the Beguins both in Latin and vernacular translations.[49] It was not just a sideshow, but a central element of their worldview, and was revered as good, holy, and sent by the Holy Spirit.[50] It was a sustaining text, read as a way of bolstering morale and making sense of the persecution that was unfolding around them. Inquisitors, too, saw it as foundational, asking about it specifically during

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they were genuine and authentic documents. His supporters have also passed on much information to the Beguin men and women of today." Gui, *Inquisitor's Guide*, 93.

[46] For a description of the variety of texts see Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 62; Burnham, "The Angel with the Book", 373-375; Montefusco, "Structure and Tradition of Pierre de Jean Olieu's Opuscula: Inner Experience and Devotional Writing"; Lerner, "Writing and Resistance Among the Beguins of Languedoc and Catalonia".

[47] See the analysis of the commentary in Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*. See also the edition and translation by Lewis, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.

[48] See for example the *culpe* in Pales-Gobilliard, *Livres des Sentences*, 1298-1310, 1310-1314, 1326, 1334, 1348, 1354, 1364, 1396-1416.

[49] See the efforts of Peire Trencavel, in Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 161-177. The vernacular version—probably the version which most Beguins encountered—was likely a Catalan version which was slightly more radical in its apocalyptic outlook and designated certain contemporary figures in certain apocalyptic roles. Burnham, "The Angel with the Book", 382. On the condemnation of the Catalan version see Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 206-213.

[50] See references in Nieto-Isabel, "Beliefs in Progress," 108, and, for example, the *culpe* of Guillem Ros and Pierre Tort, in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livres des sentences*, 1364 and 1410-1414, respectively.

interrogations, and in other contexts declared it to be the "poisoned fountain" of the Beguins' beliefs, as we saw in Michel le Moine's sentence. As noted above, Bernard Gui states that the Beguins found some of their "poisonous opinions" in the books of Olivi, which "they read, believe and respect them as if they were genuine Scripture", and from which they "suck poison".[51]

Procedures of Suppression

The blurred boundaries between the scholarly and the popular within the Beguin movement itself were then also reflected in the ways in which authorities attempted to suppress it. The interrogation and public punishment of members through the process of inquisition was certainly the dominant way in which ecclesiastical authorities dealt with the Beguins between 1318 – 1330.[52] But this particular series of inquisitions was undergirded by another procedure usually reserved for the scholarly sphere. Here again Olivi's *Postilla super apocalipsim* proves crucial. As mentioned earlier, when the influence of the *Postilla* within the Beguin movement became clear, John XXII initiated two condemnation processes: the first in 1318-1319 and the second in 1322-1326—in other words, concurrent with the beginning of inquisitions against the Beguins.

It was, of course, not unusual for a suspect work to be given to a panel for assessment. But the context and reasons for this assessment are notable. The *Postilla* was examined not as part of an accusation against a lone scholar, or to pronounce judgment on a work or set of teachings in order to prevent them from going further. John XXII set these condemnations in motion *as a consequence* of the role it was playing within not just the Spiritual faction of the Franciscan Order but within a *lay* dissenting movement. The first condemnation process is initiated in the same year as the burning of the four friars in Marseille and many of the initial inquisitions against the Beguins. The reactive nature of the condemnation processes is also made explicit in one of the assessments of the *Postilla* from the 1322-1326 process, found in a manuscript held by the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, where the author urges the pope to condemn the *Postilla* because the dangerous "Olivian" heresy is spreading across Europe.[53] We can see, then, that the condemnation of the Apocalypse commentary was a tool to further clamp down on the movement unfolding in Languedoc, by striking at what was seen to be one of its central components.

The usage of the condemnation as such is borne out by the evidence, which shows widespread knowledge and application of the judgments within the inquisitorial process. As noted above, deposition records show that questions about Olivi's works and his *Postilla* in particular routinely appeared within interrogations, and well before the final judgment of 1326. Bernard Gui, also writing before this final judgment and when discussing how some of the

[51] Gui, *Inquisitor's Guide*, 93-94.
[52] See Burnham, *So Great a Light.*
[53] Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 222-223. This kind of process was a hallmark of John XXII's papacy: he was particularly keen on commissioning assessments not just of books but also many other theological issues. See Sylvain Piron, 'Avignon sous Jean XXII: L'Eldorado des théologiens'.

Beguins found their errors in Olivi's writings, makes a point of noting that several articles of the *Postilla* were in 1319 "adjudged to be heretical" by masters of theology, using the condemnation to clearly assert the heretical foundations of Beguin belief, and he includes questions about the *Postilla* and whether the pope could legitimately condemn Olivi's writings in his Beguin interrogatory.[54] We can then see these questions put into practice, as for example in the *culpe* of Bernard de Na Jacma and Guillem Ros, both of whom say that the pope had no power to condemn Olivi's works.[55] The condemnation is also referenced directly in the deposition of Na Prous Boneta, a Beguin visionary of Montpellier, as she declared that the pope's condemnation of Olivi's writings is one of the reasons that the sacrament of the altar lost its efficacy.[56]

When it comes to the campaign against the Beguins, then, we see a more hybrid repressive response. It is not split between censuring a scholar and then separately pursuing a popular movement. A process usually reserved for academic censure was initiated in response to what was occurring within a largely lay movement. The results of that academic process were then communicated outward in order to strengthen the efforts of inquisitors in the persecution of that movement, efforts which they had already begun. It was not kept separate, but informed the inquisitors' treatment of those they interrogated. Furthermore, this is being done not after the fact, when the movement had been suppressed, but in the moment, while the movement is still very much alive and active. It was not symbolic, but an active part of the suppression of a wider movement. Therefore procedures for academic censure and procedures for the suppression of heretical movements were brought together in the case of the Beguins.

Conclusion

This article is meant as only a preliminary discussion: the case of Olivi and the Beguins raises some broader questions about the history of heresy and inquisition in the Middle Ages, which point to areas for further investigation. In recent years, there has been an attempt to identify what distinguishes "late" medieval heresy from "high" medieval heresy. The feeling has always been that something is different, but exactly what that difference is has yet to be fully articulated. One question to be asked then is: Do the Beguins represent a turning point? Is the blurring of boundaries between scholarly and popular heresy something which marks out late medieval heresy from its high medieval counterparts? In the introduction to a recent volume entitled *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives*, Sean Field and Michael Bailey gesture towards this possibility, pointing out how in many instances of late medieval heresy earlier intellectual and spiritual currents were reworked and changed as they came into contact with other currents.[57] Numerous other cases of the fourteenth century seem

[54] Gui, *Inquisitor's Guide*, 93, and 121.
[55] Pales-Gobilliard, *Livres des Sentences*, 1334 and 1364.
[56] May, 'Confession of Prous Boneta', 15.
[57] Bailey and Field, "Historiography, Methodology, and Manuscripts: Robert E. Lerner and the Study of Late Medieval Heresy", 8-9.

to carry similar crossovers between the academic and popular worlds, not just in the obvious case of Wyclif and the Lollards, and also Jan Hus and the Hussites, but also, it could be argued, in cases like that of Meister Eckhart, the heresy of the free spirit, and Marguerite Porete. The extent to which Olivi and the Beguins "broke the mold" and were the real turning point is debatable, but the question is worth pursuing.

Another avenue worth pursuing, which relates closely to this, is the role of books. In examining the case of the Beguins, the thing which perhaps jumps out the most is how much the overlap between academic heresy and popular heresy is facilitated by a book. Not only does does it demonstrate the movement of a text usually the preserve of the educated elite into wider popular circles, but the book also solidifies the link between scholarly and popular by its adoption into the movement as a central fixture of belief, and something which could transmit and sustain that belief *independently* of any specific person. The book is also what gives rise to the hybrid procedure of suppression, bringing in the process of academic censure to inquisitions against a popular movement.

This repressive crossover is, again, not just a feature of the Beguins. In several other cases of heresy in the early fourteenth century and beyond, books seem to play an increasingly prominent role, and also start to attract more directed inquisitorial attention.[58] Are books, then, another defining feature of late medieval heresy? Are they playing new roles, or are they merely being paid more attention? Again, these are questions which merit a future, larger-scale study.

For now, whatever their place within the history of heresy and inquisition, it is clear that the Beguins present a case of scholarly heresy melding into popular heresy in the early years of the fourteenth century. Their case shows that this occurred not only in the ideas and makeup of a popular movement, but also within the procedures of suppression used against it. Faced with a hybrid movement, authorities reacted with a hybrid method.

[58] Cases such as Marguerite Porete (d. 1310), Arnau of Vilanova (d. 1311), and, of course, the Lollards and the Hussites much later on, all spring to mind. On the inquisitorial side, see for example Nicholas Eymerich's *Directorium inquisitorum*, where he includes a whole section on heretical books in his catalogue of heresies.

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Franciscans in the Attic: The Strength of Material Ties Within Religious Dissident Networks

Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel

Abstract

This essay analyses the practices of material support among the actors of the dissident network known as the beguins of Languedoc, which was persecuted and nearly dismantled in the first half of the 14th century. The reasons why inquisitorial machinery focused on these actions, sometimes even to the detriment of seemingly more pressing doctrinal concerns will be discussed in the context of the social mapping and disruption that was central to inquisitorial efforts against heresy. The contribution of women will also be explored as a particular form of religious dissent, one that will be situated within the framework of religious experience, underlining the need to broaden our views on the nature of religious dissent itself.

Keywords: Beguins of Languedoc, networks, women, inquisitors, heretical movements

Introduction

Alaraxis Biasse hid Franciscans in her attic. She was the great-niece of the controversial Franciscan theologian Peter of John Olivi, whose commentary on the Apocalypse, first condemned in a general chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Lyon in 1299 —only a year after his death— was seen for the following five decades as a corruptive influence that tainted with heresy everything it touched.[1] From rebel Spiritual Franciscans to communities of beguins across the western Mediterranean, they were all allegedly led astray by Olivian "errors." On 1 March 1311, as part of the debates leading up to the Council of Vienne, another Franciscan, Bonagratia of Bergamo, presented an appeal before Pope Clement V warning against certain groups born from Olivian doctrine who gathered in conventicles posing a great

[1] Peter of John Olivi, born in Sérignan around 1247, joined the Order of St Francis at the age of twelve. His writings on the Virgin Mary were first censured in 1279, but it does not seem that his prestige as a theologian suffered much for it, as he was among the experts consulted during the preparation of Nicholas III's bull *Exiit qui seminat* that same year. Adding to his penchant for controversy, Olivi was one of the main theorists of the notion that Franciscan vows did not only include renouncing ownership but also committing to the *usus pauper* of worldly possessions. Moreover, his arguably most influential work, the *Lectura super Apocalipsim* or *Postilla super apocalypsim,* which he completed in 1297, was imbued with his take on the Joachite postulates that had become so popular among Franciscans over the thirteenth century. For a variety of approaches to the figure of Olivi, see the recently published Cusato and Park (eds.), *Poverty, Eschatology and the Medieval Church. Studies in Honor of David Burr*. Olivian apocalyptic views on the history of salvation pervade many of his writings; see, among others, Manselli, *La 'Lectura super Apocalypsim' di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi*; Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*; Burr, "Olivi, Prous, and the Separation of Apocalypse from Escathology"; and Boureau and Piron, eds. *Pierre de Jean Olivi (1248-1298). Pensée scolastique, dissidence spirituelle et société*.

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danger for the Church.[2] In May 1318, the first sentence to ever hand over Franciscan friars to the secular arm to be executed also blamed Olivi's writings for their deviance.[3] And as late as 1345, the bishop of Barcelona, Bernat Oliver, launched an inquisition to examine the, until then, seemingly orthodox community of beguin tertiaries of the nearby market town of Vilafranca del Penedès due to the suspicion that they were reading, and hiding, Olivi's dangerous works.[4] However, when Alaraxis Biasse was summoned before the inquisitorial court at some point between March 1325 and February 1327, the charges brought up during her interrogation had little to do with her support of the theological views of her great-uncle or the heretical beliefs for which apostate friars, beguins, beguines, and their supporters were being persectuted all over Languedoc and beyond.[5] The main theme of her questioning was actually the fact that she was hiding Franciscans in her attic.

The following pages will analyse practices of material support among the actors of the beguin network in fourteenth-century Languedoc. The reasons why inquisitorial machinery focused on these instances, sometimes even to the detriment of seemingly more pressing doctrinal concerns, as the case of Alaraxis Biasse shows, will be discussed in the context of the social mapping and disruption that was central to inquisitorial efforts against heresy. The contribution of women will also be explored by situating it within the framework of religious experience, which will underline the need to broaden our views on the nature of religious dissent itself.

[2] The appeal is edited in Ehrle, "Anklageschrift der Communität gegen die Spiritualen und im besondern gegen fr. Petrus Johannis Olivi (vom 1. März 1311)," 365–74.

[3] The text of the sentence, issued by Michel le Moine, the Franciscan inquisitor of Provence, is extant in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), ms. lat. 4350. For a commented edition, see Piron, "Michael Monachus. Inquisitoris sententia contra combustos in Massilia. Présentation"; and Piron, ed., "Inquisitoris sententia contra combustos in Massilia."

[4] Barcelona, Arxiu Diocesà (ADB), *Processos* 3, fol. 9r: "Demanat si lo dit frare Francesch li dix en especial quines heretgies tenien los dits frares, respos que hoc so és assaber, que tenien que papa Johan no era papa, e que l'esgleya de Déu vagava, e que no y auia pastor en l'esgleya de Déu, e que tota aquela nit, frare Ramon Punyera sobre una caxa que li mostra ligia l'escriptura de frare Pere Johan." [Asked whether the said brother Francesch told him which specific heresies the said brethren maintained, he answered that yes, that is, that they believed that Pope John was not the pope, that the Church of God was aimless and without a sheperd and that brother Ramon Punyera spent the night reading from the writings of Brother Peter of John on top of a box he showed him]. This quotation is extracted directly from the extant dossier. The inquisition is edited in Perarnau i Espelt, "Beguins de Vilafranca del Penedès davant el tribunal d'inquisició (1345–1346). De captaires a banquers?".

[5] The *culpa* of Alararaxis Biasse is recorded in Paris, BnF, Collection Doat, manuscript 28, fols. 216v–219v as part of the *sermo generalis* held in the market square of Carcassonne on 1 March 1327, which provides a terminus ad quem for her interrogation. As all the other individuals sentenced during that same event were interrogated at some point after the sermon of 24-25 February 1325, also held in Carcassonne, it seems reasonable to assume that Alaraxis was among them. Hereafter, all manuscripts in the Collection Doat will be referred to as Doat followed by their shelf number.

A Study in Blue: Alaraxis Biasse and the Fugitive Franciscans

One day, aroud Easter 1321, two friars arrived at a house in the village of Sauvian[6] where Alaraxis Biasse lived with her mother, who was probably Olivi's niece.[7] Alaraxis knew them from before and she welcomed them, even if they showed up in disguise, wearing blue tunics on top of their habits. They had been among the sixty insurrectionist friars of the convents of Narbonne and Béziers that John XXII summoned to Avignon on 27 April 1317.[8] Deprived of all means of appeal, the rebels had been entrusted to their superiors while awaiting a verdict that ultimately forced them to swallow the directives of *Quorundam exigit*, which submitted them to papal authority in matters concerning the Rule of St Francis under the premise that "poverty is good, and chastity is greater, but obedience is the greatest of all if preserved intact."[9] From then onwards, all Franciscans had to wear the same habit and maintain granaries and cellars for sustenance. Spiritual Franciscans, who had come to be known as the friars "who wore short and strict habits," were now to abide by the papal decision in terms of the standards for religious clothing.[10] These material stipulations were, of course, but a symbol of a much more complex disagreement between the original Franciscan ideal of humility and the new reality of a widespread and influential religious order and the demands it entailed. This disagreement was at

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[6] Doat 28, fol. 219v: "(…) prædicta commisit per quatuor annos et citra ante confessionem de præmissis in iudicio factam." The date of Alaraxis's confession is unknown, but as noted in the previous note, all confessions connected to the *sermo* of 1 March 1327 took place between March 1325 and October 1326. Thus, "four years before her confession" would place the episode recounted here in 1321 or 1322. Cross-checking the details of Alaraxis's story with those in other depositions results in Easter 1321 being the most likely date for the arrival of the friars. I will come back to this point later on.

[7] At the begining of her *culpa*, Alaraxis is described as Olivi's *neptis*, a term usually reserved for granddaughters or female descendants (Doat 28, fol. 216v: "Alaraxis Biasse de Salviano diocesis Bitterrensis neptis fratris Petri Iohannis Olivi quondam ordinis Minorum"). At the end of the same *culpa*, Olivi is referred to as Alaraxis's *avunculus*, which could well mean that he was her maternal uncle, however, given the use of the word *neptis* and the age difference of almost fifty years —Olivi was born around 1247— it is more likely that Alaraxis's mother was Olivi's niece and Alaraxis herself her great-niece (Doat 28, fol. 219v: "Interrogata de scriptura fratris Petri Iohannis quondam avunculi sui et de persona ipsius quid credit (…)."

[8] The papal summoning is edited in Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 118–20. For a full account of the struggles of these Franciscans and the circumstances that led to their rebellion against their superiors, see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis*, 168–77. For a more recent take on the issue of dissident trends within the Franciscan Order, see Montefusco, *Contestazione e pietà. Dissenso, memoria e devozione negli Spirituali francescani (XIII-XIV secolo)*.

[9] Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 130: "Magna quidem paupertas, sed maior integritas; bonum est obedientia maximum, si custodiatur illaesa." For the full text of *Quorundam exigit*, see ibid., 128–30.

[10] In December 1325, Andreu Berenguer, from Montagnac, described Spirituals as "fratres minores portantes habitus parvos et strictos qui dicebantur Spirituales" (Doat 27, fol. 11r), while his wife Agnès used similar terms (Doat 27, fol. 12r) "sciens fuisse de illis portantibus habitum curtum." Raimon de Johan, a renowned Franciscan apostate allegedly related to Olivi, is described in the inquisitorial record with the following words: "de societate illorum Fratrum qui portabant habitum curtum et strictum et qui nolebant habere granaria et cellaria et nuncupabantur Spirituales" (Doat 27, fol. 35r).

the root of the involvement of the laity in the conflicts surrounding the friars.

While five Franciscans refused to comply with *Quorundam exigit* and died for it, those who were willing to submit were sent to remote convents with sealed letters that indicated how they were to be punished for their rebellion.[11] Needless to say, most of these friars ripped open the letters and upon seeing the fate awaiting them decided to take off their habits and flee, thus instantly becoming apostates in the eyes of the Church.[12] Two of them ended up in Sauvian, where they stayed from Easter to late June —"when wheat was reaped"— while Alaraxis and her mother saw to their needs.[13] The friars explained to the women how the sealed letters included instructions to incarcerate them as soon as they reached the remote convents to which they had been sent.[14] During that time, other Franciscans dressed in blue came and went, staying at the house for a while, and giving Alaraxis more blue cloth so that she and her mother could make more tunics to help other friars escape inquisitorial notice. As unusual as this colour scheme was for Franciscans, whose habit was made of undyed wool, blue dye was rather common in the region, which made it easier for the fugitives to blend in. After all, already in the fourteenth century, Toulouse and the Lauragais were centres of a thriving industry that had developed around the cultivation of woad, *Isatis tinctoria L.*, the only source of blue dying indigenous to Languedoc.[15] Wearing the tunics Alaraxis and her mother sewed for them, the friars would only need to let their tonsures grow —thus relinquishing their claim on religious authority— to become anonymous travellers.[16]

Some time later, two strangers arrived at Alaraxis's door claiming to come from Sicily and asking about the fugitive friars. They offered to take them overseas, as they had allegedly done with others. Alaraxis, mistrusting their story, took on a day's travel by herself to get information about them and make sure that it was safe to reveal

[11] The friars Johan Barrau, Guilhem Santon, Pons Roca and Deodat Miquel were executed by fire in the graveyard of the church of Notre-Dame des Accoules, Marseille, on 7 May 1318. A fifth friar, Bernard Aspa, was condemned along with them but recanted before the general sermon. His sentence was commuted and he died in prison.

[12] The friars that Andreu and Agnès Berenguer sheltered in their home told Andreu that they had been given *litterae clausae* addressed to their superiors who would send them to remote convents where they would be imprisoned. Therefore, they took off their habits and escaped. Doat 27, fol. 11r–v: "sibi dixissent quod quia datae fuerant eis litterae clausae per suos superiores quibus mittebant eos conventus et remotos et mandabantur incarcerari, dimiserant habitum suae religonis et aufugerant."

[13] Doat 28, fol. 217r: "(…) steterunt et remanserunt in dicta domo ipsius loquentis in dicto habitu seculari a festis pascalibus usque ad mensem Iunii tunc sequentem quo metebantur blada."

[14] Doat 28, fols. 216v–217r: "(…) qui fratres dixerunt ipsi loquenti quod sic ibant in habitu seculari quia noluerant ire ad conventus remotos ad quos mittebantur per eorum ministros, pro eo videlicet quia in litteris clausis quas portabant inspexerant et viderant quod eorum ministri mandabant eos incarcerari in conventibus ipsis ad quos mittebantur."

[15] Cardon, "Le pastel en Languedoc, une histoire qui ne finit jamais"; Marandet, "Le pastel en Lauragais à la fin du Moyen Âge : un état des lieux." Both articles appeared in a special issue entitled *Retour au Pays de cocagne. Nouvelles perspectives sur l'histoire du pastel languedocien (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*.

[16] On the implications of letting the tonsure grow, see Mills, "The Signification of the Tonsure."

the presence of the friars in her attic. To do so, she sought out Peire Trencavel, one of the most wanted fugitives of the beguin network.[17] Originally from Béziers, about six miles to the north-west of Sauvian, Trencavel was then staying in Narbonne, but clearly Alaraxis was connected enough to know how to find him.[18] Once Trencavel reassured her, she went back to Sauvian, where she welcomed the strangers into her home, gave them drinks, and helped them organize the escape for the whole group. Fifteen days later, on a Saturday night, the same two men, the friars she had been hiding in her attic, and four more boarded a ship to Majorca. Alaraxis would later learn from two of them who later returned to Sauvian, presumably to keep engaging in similar clandestine activities, that the group had reached the island safely.

We do not even know the name of Alaraxis's mother, a crucial actor in the beguin support network who was probably dead by the time Alaraxis appeared before the inquisitors, for it seems she was never summoned. As for Alaraxis herself, in terms of heretical doctrines, she was only accused of believing that the men and women burned at the stake, the ones who earned the movement the name of the "heresy of the burned beguins" that we find in the sources, were martyrs who had been unjustly condemned.[19] Presenting herself as a gullible woman who would believe anything —"as women were bound to do"—[20] she admitted to what was in practice the most basic of allegiances to the beguin network.[21] It is doubtful that inquisitors took Alaraxis at her word and attributed her behavior to gullibility. After all, she was a woman who risked embarking on a forty-mile journey

[17] On the exploits of Peire Trencavel, see Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke. The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc*, 161–77.

[18] This is the detail that more clearly places the action in 1321. The whereabouts of the elusive Trencavel can only be traced by carefully piecing together the eighteen testimonies that mention him at some point, most of them vaguely dated. Among them we find the deposition of Raimunda Arrufat (Doat 28, fols. 210r–211r) who confessed that her husband Peire and herself had received Trencavel in their house of Narbonne. As, according to the edition of the beguin martyrology edited in Patschovsky, ed., *Ein kurialer Ketzerprozeß in Avignon (1354): die Verurteilung der Franziskanerspiritualen Giovanni di Castiglione und Francesco d'Arquata*, 68–69, Peire Arrufat died at the stake in Carcassonne after the *sermo* of 13 June 1322, it seems unlikely that he was safe and sound at home and receiving visitors around Easter that same year, for usually months went by between arrest, interrogation and sentence. It is thus not unreasonable to situate Trencavel's sojourn in Narbonne and therefore Alaraxis's journey in 1321. That said, the martyrology is far from unimpeachable as a source; among other things, it lists Raimunda Arrufat, who is documented deposing before the inquisitorial court in September 1325, as having died along her husband in 1322, probably mistaking her for another unnamed *soror*.

[19] On the naming of this dissident movement after the punishment its adherents suffered, see Nieto-Isabel, "Beguines, Free Spirits, and the Inquisitorial Network Conundrum."

[20] Doat 28, fol. 218v: "(…) respondit et dixit quod mulieres sunt talis conditionis quod quando audiunt aliquid tale novum dici, credunt illud de facili."

[21] For an operationalization of the beguin belief system, see Nieto-Isabel, "Communities of Dissent. Social Network Analysis of Religious Dissident Groups in Languedoc in the 13th and 14th Centuries," 175. This ranking is based on the classification of the beliefs documented in the ninety-five extant depositions connected to the beguins of Languedoc into individual tenets, what we could call the smallest units of belief, with the unjust condemnation of beguins ranking the highest and the belief that Francis and Olivi were Elijah and Enoch (the two witnesses in Rev. 11:1–4) being the least widespread within the network.

by herself to meet one of the most conspicuous targets of inquisitorial persecution before giving away the Franciscans in her attic to two strangers. But the issue remains that even a woman as potentially well positioned to respond to theological matters as Alaraxis was actually sentenced to life imprisonment for assisting fugitives.

The Ties that Bind: Supporting Dissent and Inquisitorial Mapping

The question list in the earliest inquisitor's manual known to date, the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, focused on the actions of suspects in relation to heretics and not so much on doctrinal issues.[22] Composed in the mid-thirteenth century, its main concern were Waldensians and the 'heretics' that have come to be known as *bons omes* and *bonas femnas* —commonly referred to as Cathars depite the problematic nature of the term.[23] Some of the actions in the *Ordo*'s questions were connected to devotional practices, such as seeking confession and different instances of worship, but an important part of the interrogation was devoted to uncover and ultimately uproot the material support that heretical groups received from the rest of the population. Inquisitors were particularly interested in knowing whether deponents had provided heretics with food, drinks or any other kind of assistance.[24]Although they would not have phrased it that way, mapping material exchanges gave them an access point into the social backdrop of heresy, for kinfolk, friends, and even mere acquaintances were the medium for the transmission of doctrinal contents and devotional practices alike. Moreover, thwarting these exchanges, which heavily relied upon pre-existing social connections, could potentially cripple the network, as it could not survive without material support in its many forms.

In contrast, in the specific case of the "burned beguins," the interrogation procedures included in Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, completed between 1323 and 1324, were

[22] Around 1880, the Dominican François Balme discovered in Madrid, Biblioteca Universitaria, manuscript 53 the only extant copy of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, a collection of inquisitorial materials commissioned by Pope Innocent IV and the archbishop of Narbonne. The Biblioteca Universitaria de Madrid was dismembered by Royal Order of 6 May 1897 into nine autonomous institutions, and its holdings were transferred to nine different venues, some of which merged over time. Although I am in the process of tracing the whereabouts of the former ms. 53, so far its location remains unknown. However, the different scholars that have dealt with the matter have simply passed on its previous location unaware that the aforementioned library no longer exists as such; see Torres Santo Domingo, *La Biblioteca de la Universidad de Madrid, 1898-1939*, Biblioteca Histórica, documento de trabajo 2000, no. 1.

[23] For some of the most recent contributions to this question, which goes far beyond a matter of terminological accuracy, see Biget, Caucanas, Fournié, and le Blévec, eds., *Le "catharisme" en questions*, as well as the volume to which this one provides a response of sorts, Sennis, ed., *Cathars in Question*. See also, Benedetti, "Frammenti di un discorso ereticale. Per una introduzione," and, in the same volume, Anne Brenon, "I catari di Linguadoca."

[24] Tardif, "Document pour l'histoire du processus per inquisitionem et de l'inquisitio heretice pravitatis," 672: "Deinde requiritur si vidit hereticum vel Valdensem et ubi et quando, et quoties et cum quibus, et de aliis circumstantiis diligenter (…) et eos hospitio recepit aut recepit fecit. Si de loco ad locum duxit seu aliter associavit, aut duci vel associari fecit. Si cum eis comedit aut bibit (…) Si dedit vel misit eis aliquid. Si fuit eorum questor aut nuntius, aut minister. Si eorum depositum vel quid aliud habuit."

fully centred on the matter of beliefs, to the point that most of the issues included in the extensive question list start with a variant of the formula "has [the accused] believed or does [the accused] still believe or has [the accused] heard."[25] The "burned beguins" were the only heresy in the *Practica* whose definition was still in progress at the time, which would explain why it was of paramount importance for Gui to clearly state what made them heretics and what singled them out from other well-established groups.[26] But the fact is that none of the various interrogation techniques featured in the *Practica* —specially designed to identify the members of a variety of 'sects'— contain the characteristic set of questions related to material support. Likely, by the early fourteenth century these questions were so commonplace among inquisitors that Gui, who was after all composing a highly specialised manual meant for his fellow inquisitors, didn't feel the need to insist on them.

The *culpae* included in Bernard Gui's book of sentences —which records the fieldwork experience that would enable him to write the *Practica*— show that, in fact, the actors of the beguin network he interrogated between 1321 and 1322 were not only asked about their beliefs, but also about their social interactions with other members of the community, as well as about the assistance they had provided for them.[27] Mirroring the questions in the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, most of the beguins interrogated by Gui were asked about their material involvement in the clandestine workings of the struggling community.[28] Thus, Guilhem Ros, a Franciscan tertiary from Cintegabelle, was asked whether he had shared meals with heretics, accompanied them from one place to another, and provided them

[25] Among countless examples of similar formulas, see *Practica tradita per fratrem B. Guidonis, de ordine Predicatorum, contra infectos labe heretice pravitatis*, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 388, fol. 82r: "Item, si credidit, aut credit vel audivit (…)""; cf. Doat 30, fol. 260v. Gui's manual was first edited in its entirety in Douais, ed., *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis, auctore Bernardo Guidonis ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum*; the formula above can be found in ibid., 278; cf. Mollat, ed., *Manuel de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui*, vol. 1, 158; cf. Wakefield and Evans, eds. and trans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 428: "Also [inquire] whether he believed or now believes, or has heard it taught (…)."

[26] On the process of definition of "the heresy of the burned beguins," see Nieto-Isabel, "Beliefs in Progress: The Beguins of Languedoc and the Construction of a New Heretical Identity."

[27] A copy of Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum* is extant in London, British Library, ms. Add. 4697, a rich parchment volume of 221 folios bound in red leather and written in fourteenth-century diplomatic script. In 2002, Annette Pales-Gobilliard published a revised edition in Pales-Gobilliard, ed. *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui (1308-1323)*.

[28] Inquisiton records are problematic sources whose trustworthiness has been repeatedly questioned. Much has been written about their constraints, the best way to approach them, and the opportunities they afford. To cite but a few of the most significant contributions, see Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist"; Bruschi, "'Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem': Precautions before Reading Doat 21–26"; and Arnold, *Inquisition and Power. Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*. The present article and the analysis that follows are predicated on the understanding that despite the limitations imposed by their format and the procedure that led to their production, inquisition records are rather unique in the wealth of relational information they provide. As a result they not only serve as a medium to understand inquisitorial views but also offer representative samples for the quantitative analysis of the social context on which they were based. See Nieto-Isabel and López-Arenillas, "From inquisition to inquiry: Inquisitorial records as a source for social network analysis"; see also, Pihko, "The Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records: A Methodological Reconsideration".

with food and drinks.[29] Maria de Serra, his neighbour and fellow tertiary who was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1322, confessed that she had shared meals with many beguins and beguines, and that she had provided them with bread, wine, eggs, and money.[30] Bernarda d'Antusan, yet another member of the same community, confessed in March 1322 that she had received fugitive apostates and beguins in her family house and that she gave them food and drinks. When they left in a hurry trying to avoid capture, Bernarda still gave them a big piece of flat cake and two pieces of *rosolas*, a sort of stuffed pastry.[31] One of those fugitives was Peire Tort, who after his capture declared that he had also received Franciscan apostates and convicted beguins in his own home in Montréal, providing for them and giving them shelter.[32] In turn, Bernarda's husband, Raimon, who also admitted to having received fugitives in the family house, added that he had provided them with supplies and a rather remarkable amount of money, a hundred silver *tournois* and fifty *sous* of Toulouse.[33] Meanwhile, in nearby Belpech, Bernard de Na Jacma also received fugitives in his home, supplied them with food and drinks, and sent ten *sous* of Toulouse and nine silver *tournois* to the beguins that remained imprisoned in the archiepiscopal gaol of Narbonne.[34] Likewise, his neighbour Raimon de Bosch admitted to having visited this same group of imprisoned beguins that ended up at the stake in February 1322, and he confessed that he had received apostates in his home and accompanied them from place to place in disguise.[35]

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[29] Indeed, Guilhem ate and drank with seven fugitive apostates, with whom he travelled, and he also drank wine, which he paid for, with two convicted beguins, Peire Arrufat and Peire Tort; see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1366: "(…) et semel scivit esse VII fugitivos apostatas (…) cum eis comedit et bibit et participavit et aliquos ex ipsis multociens associavit de loco ad locum"; ibid., 1594: "Item ipse misit pro vino et bibit cum eis in dicta domo."

[30] Ibid., 1374: "Item multos alios Beguinos et Beguinas de erroribus predictis et aliis loquentes et suspectos et suspectas existentes et fugitivos pro heresi vidit, associavit et cum eis comedit, et panem et vinum et ova et peccuniam dedit eis."

[31] Ibid., 1354: "Item plures et pluries recepit et receptavit in domo sua et viri sui aliquos quos in confessione sua nominat discurrentes, et aliquos apostatas fugitivos (…) et talibus dedit ad comedendum et bibendum de bonis domus sue"; ibid., 1356: "Item dictis duobus hominibus existentibus tunc in domo ejus venit Guillelmus Ros et dixit sibi quod diceret illis hominibus qui erant intus quod cito exirent de dicta domo pro utilitate sua (…) et tunc recesserunt inde, et in recessu ipsa dedit dicto Petro Tort unum magnum cautellum de placenta et duo frusta de *rosolas*." I thank Dr Maria Soler for her help in identifying these as the 'resoles' described in the earliest surviving Catalan culinary text, the *Llibre de Sent Soví*. The recipe for the 'resoles' appears in Chapter CL of Grewe, ed., *Llibre de Sent Soví*, 168 under the title "Qui parla con se ffan resoles de paste e d'ous e de fformatge."

[32] Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1414: "Predictus autem P. Tort multos apostatas ordinis fratrum Minorum quos sciebat fugitivos pro facto heresis, etiam quosdam etiam Beguinos fugitivos qui propria temeritate cruces dimiserant (…) receptavit in domo sua et alibi, de suo etiam dedit eis, quos non revelavit, nec cepit, nec capi fecit, set eos celavit ac celari fecit."

[33] Ibid., 1346: "(…) et de bonis suis dedit et expendidit semel centum turonenses albos argenteos, et semel quinquaginta solidos Tholosanorum."

[34] Ibid., 1330–32: "(…) receptavit diversos apostatas ordinis fratrum Minorum de fratribus vocatis Spiritualibus et diversos Beguinos (…) et dedit eis comedere et bibere, et misit semel X solidos Tholosanos Beguinis captis in Narbona, et alia vicem novem turonenses argenteos."

[35] Ibid., 1308: "Item scivit plures alios esse credentes et consencientes in facto predictorum condempnatorum et ivit cum eis de loco ad locum in habitu dissimulato et

Despite the absence of such questions in the section of the *Practica* devoted to the *interrogatoria propria ad Bequinos moderni temporis*, these cases evince that this was still a matter of utmost concern for inquisitors. Therefore, it is likely that having deponents confess on material exchanges was widespread enough that Gui did not feel the need to specify it in his manual, and instead chose to leave it to what he called "the experience, cunning, and ingenuity" with which inquisitors had to conduct interrogations.[36] The purpose of monitoring the exchanges of food and drinks among deponents and suspects was twofold. On the one hand, these supplies provided essential sustenance for the survival of the persecuted network. In tune with their Franciscan backbone, living on alms was deemed as praiseworthy among beguins, but furthermore, once many of them became fugitives, the material support of their co-religionists was sometimes their only chance to stay away from inquisitorial reach. On the other hand, food and drinks usually involved sitting around a table and eating together, which was far more dangerous regarding the spread of beliefs. Therefore, since the time of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, questions about commensality —*si cum eis comedit aut bibit*— were prominently featured in inquisitorial question lists, right next to those about sustenance.

Food for Thought: From Socially Constructed Peformance to Playing a Central Role

Of the ninety-five actors of the beguin network whose depositions are extant, only a third, thirty-two, were women.[37] Interestingly, the percentage of women among deponents who confessed to having provided other members of their religious community with supplies almost doubles that ratio. Indeed, out of the thirty-five people who admitted to engaging in these practices, as many as twenty-one —roughly 60%— were women, which would suggest that they were remarkably more involved in this activity than men. This is further confirmed by analysing the participation of men and women separately, which shows that over 65% of all female deponents gave or sent food and drinks to other actors, while only a fifth of male deponents were charged on these grounds (Fig. 1).

The types of food and drinks that were at the centre of this system of clandestine material support can only say so much about the daily diet of the members of the network, which included not only beguins

visitavit illos Beguinos qui detinebantur in carcere Narbone et fuerunt postmodum tanquam heretici condempnati."

[36] Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 8: "Curet igitur sapiens inquisitor occasionem accipere sive ex deponentium responsis sive ex attestationibus accusantium sive ex hiis que experientia docuit sive ex proprii acumine ingenii sive ex sequentibus questionibus seu interrogatoriis."

[37] Taken at face value, this unbalance between male and female deponents, quite consistent across different heretical groups, could easily lead to the conclusion than women were on average less involved than men in non-mainstream Christianities. Although this article is not the place to expound on this issue, with which I have dealt elsewhere, this lack of proportion stems in fact from a bias in the inquisitorial mindset that results in a systematic under-representation of women; see Nieto-Isabel, "Communities of Dissent," 359. I discuss this topic at length in my forthcoming book, Nieto-Isabel, *Networks of Defiance*.

and their lay supporters but also fugitive Franciscans. The victuals exchanged had to be easy to transport and consume. However, this information also confirms the lack of dietary restrictions among beguins. Unlike other dissident groups, the religious elite of the beguin movement —those who specifically identified themselves or were identified by others as *beguini*, *beguinae*, or Franciscan tertiaries— could not be singled out by the food they ate, or more accurately, by the food they chose not to eat. Not even the men and women who alleged to have been professed as Franciscan tertiaries were bound to any specific dietary restrictions. Chapter V of *Supra Montem*, which regulated the periods of abstinence and fasting that the members of the Third Order of Saint Francis had to observe, merely forbid them from eating meat on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, bar in case of special circumstances, such as illness, being on a journey, or solemn festivities.[38] In general, the bull advised moderation and allowed Brothers and Sisters to eat from whatever was offered to them when they were visiting other religious.[39] Thus, these regulations aimed for austerity but not for segregation: Franciscan tertiaries were not meant to live separately from their fellow villagers but to join them in festivities and other communal events. This inclusive nature of the dietary usages of the elite of the movement was even more apparent in the case of those beguins and beguines who defined themselves as such but made no claims as to having taken any vows. There is not even a single mention of any specific observance of abstinence or fasting periods that were different from those that the rest of the Christians had to comply with.[40] Therefore, inquisitors were interested in the exchange itself and not so much in what kind of products were being exchanged.[41]

Only ten of the depositions mention specific types of food and drinks, while most of them include rather generic expressions, with deponents simply confessing to having provided others either "with food and drinks" or "from their own goods." While wine is the only

[38] Rossi da Pusaro, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 4, 95: "Ab usu autem carnium secunda, quarta, et sexta feria, dieque Sabbati abstineant universi, nisi aliud infirmitatis vel debilitatis instantia suaderet: Minutis vero per triduum carnes dentur, nec subtrahantur in itinere constitutis. Sit quoque ipsarum comestio licita singulis, cum solemnitatem præcipuam intervenire contigerit, in qua ceteri Christiani ab antiquo epulis carneis vesci solent."

[39] Ibid.: "(…) sed et cum Religiosis ceteris in eorum Conventualibus domibus licite sumere valeant de appositis ab eisdem (…) Sit sanis cibus moderatus et potus."

[40] In fact, in her confession of 1325, the visionary beguine Na Prous Boneta took matters one step further by claiming that there was no need to carry out penances like fasting, because contrition made all other penances unnecessary once one believed in the works of the Holy Spirit; see Doat 27, fol. 77r-v: "Item dixit se credere quod ille qui peccat mortaliter et de peccato ille contentur in corde salvari potest absque oris confessione solum quod credat in opere Spiritus Sancti dicens quod tali non est necessaria aliqua impositio pœnitentiœ in hoc mundo, scilicet ieiuniorum aut alia quia in hoc quod homo contentur in hoc est pœnitentia et ideo sibi non est alia pœnitentia imponenda."

[41] On the presence of references to food in inquisition records, see Biller, "Why no Food? Waldensian Followers in Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis* and *culpe*." For a thorough analysis of its meaning in terms of religious experience, see Pihko, "A Taste of Dissent: Experiences of Blessed Bread as a Dimension of Lived Religion in Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century Languedoc."

drink explicitly mentioned by the suspects,[42] the variety of food products is much wider. As could be expected, bread and the grain needed to make it were the main objects of these exchanges, appearing in half of the cases that document details in this regard.[43] It should be noted, however, that unlike in the case of other dissident communities for which the circulation of blessed bread was loaded with religious meaning,[44] a counterpart to this devotional practice is not documented among the "burned beguins." The aforementioned religious elite of the group —beguins, beguines and tertiaries— were not involved in any kind of sacramental performance, and even the Franciscans in disgrace who were connected to the network were only seen administering confession and occasionally Eucharist, but with no reference to blessing bread or wine.

Fruits and vegetables followed in order of importance,[45] while animal products were more sparsely mentioned.[46] Finally, the four documented examples of more elaborate foods were, again, easy to transport and consume while on the run. As mentioned above, Bernarda d'Antusan gave Peire Tort a flat cake and two *rosolas* just

[42] Guilhem Ros paid for the wine he shared with Peire Tort and Peire Arrufat in the Antusan household in Cintegabelle (Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1594); Maria de Serra, also in Cintegabelle, provided many beguins and beguines with wine, among other things (ibid., 1374); and the draper Johan Orlach gave wine to the beguins imprisoned in Maguelone (Doat 27, fol. 24v: "(…) quosdam Beguinos habitatores tunc Montepessulano visitavit et ex tunc eorum noticiam et familiaritatem habuit qui Beguini fuerant postmodum in Lunello combusti eosdem Beguinos in carcere primo detentos vidit et vinum eis dedit").

[43] Among many other examples, Jacma Sobirana, a widow from Carcassonne, sent bread to the fugitive friar Raimon de Johan (Doat 28, fol. 212v: "ipsa loquens visitavit cum ibi et panem misit."); Miracla Esteve, from Montréal, also provided for the same Raimon, sending him one *quartera* of grain (Doat 28, fol. 191v: "et alias unum quarteriam frumenti."); in Lodève, the widow Berengaria Estorg was given grain and had it ground to send the flour to another fugitive, Guilhem Serralher, in Montpellier (Doat 28, fol. 196r: "et pro eo bladum sibi datum moli fecit, et farinam sibi misit); while Jacma Lauret, also from Lodève, sent Serralher one *sester* of wheat (Doat 28, fol. 233v–234r: "misit eidem Guillermo amore Dei unum sextarum bladi per ipsam personam.")

[44] Pihko, "A Taste of Dissent", 68–79.

[45] Berengaria Estorg carried fruit all the way to Montpellier where Serralher was hiding (Doat 28, fol. 195r: "et fructus tradidit apud Montempessulano"); the harness-maker Peire Massot delivered fruit to the beguins imprisoned in the episcopal gaol of Béziers (Doat 27, fol. 12v); the aforementioned Miracla sent peas and fruit to Raimon de Johan (Doat 28, fol. 191v: "et alias de pisis, et alias de fructibus"); and Jacma Lauret even specified that on one occasion she sent Serralher a basket with dried figs, grapes, and pears (Doat 28, fol. 234r: "idcirco misit eidem Guillermo unum cabassium de fructibus, scilicet de ficubus, et racemis, et piris siccis").

[46] Pons Elies confessed to having brought hens to the beguins imprisoned in Carcassonne, an impractical gift for fugitives but not for prisoners who were no longer leading a clandestine life (Doat 28, fol. 119r: "Item Begguinis in muro Carcassonæ detentis gallinas, panem, et argentum multotiens apportavit et misit ad comendendum et bibendum"). Jacma Lauret admitted to having given sausages to Guilhem Serralher when she allegedly met him by chance in Aniane (Doat 28, fol. 234r: "ipsa loquens dum esset apud locum de Anhana tempore indulgentiæ invenit ibi dictum Guillermum Serrallerii et ibi loquta fuit ei et dedit de salsiciis quas ipsa portabat"), and Maria de Serra listed eggs among the things she had provided for fugitive beguins. Peire Esperendiu describes the confiscation by royal officers of a cartload of cheese that the fugitive Guilhem Verrier had sent to Narbonne to be sold —presumably— to help support other fellow beguins. When Verrier rode back into the city asking about the cheese, Peire informed him of what had happened and advised him to leave or risk capture, a passage that appears recorded in the vernacular (Doat 28, fol. 251v: "Vrayement li froumages vostres ne son pas vendus, mais les a pris le Roy et vendus").

before he fled her house. Miracla Esteve, in Montréal, sent Raimon de Johan one *fogassa*, a sort of flat bread, and one *flaó*, a pastry that could be filled with cottage cheese or eggs.[47]

The interest of inquisitors in discovering the involvement of suspects in the exchange of victuals also encompassed those instances in which food and drinks were not only given or sent away but also shared around the same table. The social importance of commensality has been extensively discussed among social scientists;[48] well beyond biological need, the act of sharing food is deeply intertwined with social structure and practices. Eating together creates and reinforces social ties, but it also establishes a symbolic communal space where opinions, and therefore, beliefs flow freely.[49] Sharing food is also one of the most basic rituals that build up family bonds, for it sparks a sort of intimacy that can be made extensive to friends, which in turn strengthens pre-existing social ties.[50] Inquisitors were conscious of the implications that seating at the same table had in terms of community bonding.[51] Sitting at a table with suspects of heresy to share a meal implied not only being acquainted and even having a close relationship with them, but also, and more importantly, being exposed to heretical doctrines.[52] Thus, sharing meals was both a consequence and a sign that two people were acquainted enough as to exchange dangerous opinions, especially in a climate of religious turmoil, and inquisitors treated it as such.[53] The beguine Na Prous Boneta, while

[47] Doat 28, fol. 191v: "sibique postea misit unum fogassetum et unum flatonem."

[48] See, for instance, Fishler, "Commensality, Society, and Culture." For a more recent overview of this field, see Jönsson, Michaud, and Neuman, "What Is Commensality? A Critical Discussion of an Expanding Research Field."

[49] On the symbology of commensality as religious communion, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, esp. 49; and Méndez-Montoya, *Theology of Food: Eating and the Eucharist*, 113–60.

[50] See the enlightening analysis in Douglas, "Deciphering a meal," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 41: "Drinks are for strangers, acquaintances, workmen, and family. Meals are for family, close friends, honoured guests. The grand operator of the system is the line between intimacy and distance."

[51] See the analysis of the complexity of ritual meals in early Christianity in McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals*; see also a study on communal monastic meals in Sagne, *La Symbolique du Repas dans les Communautés*.

[52] A particularly significant example of this inquisitorial concern is the case of the priest Bernard Mauri, who confessed to having shared meals with many different people and was specifically asked about who had sat at the table on each of those occasions (Doat 35, fols. 29v–30r: "et simul in eadem mensa comendentibus dictis Andrea et Cicilia ac Marino et Domino Hugone Robaudi presbitero"). Bernard had already admitted to the close friendship he and the fugitive Peire Trencavel maintained. He described the warm welcome he gave his old friend, and even had to clarify that they had not shared a bed when they both spent the night at the same hospice; however, he was still required to answer to whether they sat at the same table when they shared meals; Doat 35, fol. 27v: "(…) dictus Petrus Trencavelli tunc supervenit (…) cum ipse qui loquitur vidisset fuit admiratus et recollegerunt se mutuo et se salutaverunt tactis manibus et cum amplexibus sed non recordatur si se osculati fuerunt vel non est, (…) et aliquotiens scilicet vis comedit et bibit idem Petrus in eadem mensa cum ipso loquente (…) et semel iacuit dictus Petrus un dicta domo hospitalis cum ipso loquente, videlicet uno iacente in uno lento et alia in altero."

[53] The aforementioned harness-maker Peire Massot met Guilhem Verrier and his wife in Montpellier, where they shared a meal. Given that Peire was from Béziers, that the Verriers lived in Narbonne, and that they were all involved in the beguin movement before said meeting took place, it is not unlikely that a similar religious motivation was behind the presence of these three people in Montpellier. Whatever the case, they seem to have struck up a friendship, for Peire saw the couple many more times and shared

recounting the different stages of her own mystical experience, casually described in her deposition how she, her sister Alisseta, and their companion Alaraxis Bedoc discussed the sermon they had just listened to during the service of Good Friday while eating together at the same table.[54] But this was not the only kind of conversation that took place at the Boneta household, for both Alisseta and Alaraxis confirmed in their respective depositions that many actors of the network visited the house, shared meals, and conversed with them while they were there.[55] Likewise, the tailor Johan Peire, one of the many members of the group who lived in Montpellier and undoubtedly knew the Boneta sisters and Alaraxis Bedoc, also confessed to having frequently shared meals with followers of the "beliefs of the burned beguins" both in his house and elsewhere.[56]

Sharing meals was not incidental, it was a practice in which people engaged voluntarily and purposefully, and that is precisely what made it an aggravating circumstance in the eyes of the inquisitors. However clear and incriminating the connection between two individuals was, eating together consolidated their bond, and therefore needed to be explicitly recorded. When the fugitive priest Bernard Mauri, who had changed his name to Blas Martí to try and remain undetected, was interrogated about the people with whom he maintained a close relationship, he gave the names of three female members of the beguin community, Elis Castres, Raimunda Esquirol, and a certain Guilhema. To prove their friendship, Bernard recounted how they had looked after him when he fell ill and on many other occasions, but as if that was not confirmation enough, he added that they had frequently shared meals and conversed both in Brignoles, where he was staying, and in Manosque, were they lived.[57] Commensality was therefore a source of social connections and became one of the features that defined whether someone belonged to the community or not. Thus, when trying to establish the involvement

meals with them both in Narbonne and in Béziers; see Doat 27, fol. 13r: "(…) semel comedit in Montepessulano quod tunc non cognoscebat Guillelmum Verrerii de Narbonensi et eius uxorem, in domo sua et alibi vidit et cum eis comedit et bibit tam in Narbona quam in Bitterris ."

[54] Doat 27, fol. 53r: "(…) et cum fuit in domo et esset in mensa cum sociabus suis et loqueretur de sermone facto, radii prædicti iterato circumfulserunt eam et ideo fuit in tango fervour et amore access ad Deus quod non pituitary comedere sed surrexit de mensa."

[55] Doat 27, fol. 26v: "(…) et multos alios homines et mulieres de credentia Beguinorum combustorum in domo dictæ Na Prous cum qua morabatur multociens et diversis temporibus vidit (…) et cum eis comedit et bibit et de bonis suis dedit nesciens a principio sed tamen postea satis cito sciens eos esse tales et nihilominus cum eis postmodum sicut et antea extitit conversata"; Doat 27, fol. 30r–v: "(…) in dicta domo Na Prous et sua vidit receptavit et eis dedit ad manducandum et bibendum et cum eis inibi comedit et bibit eosdemque alibi visitavit etiam (…) et sciebat eos esse tales et tenere opiniones Beguinorum combustorum.

[56] Doat 27, fol. 22v: "(…) multosque alios fugitivos et alios de credentia Beguinorum combustorum etiam in dicta domo sua et alibi vidit et associavit et cum eis comedit et bibit frequenter."

[57] Doat 35, fols. 33r–34v: "Interrogatus cum quibus personis conversatus est specialiter postquam venit ad partes istas et quibus adhesit et fuit magis familiaritatis dixit quod cum Elis Castras de Biterri, et Raimunda de Squirola et Guillelma mulieribus supradictis quæ se dicte tempore infirmitatis et alias sibi servierunt cum quibus frequenter et pluries comedit bibit et stetit et conversatus est Manoscha et Brinonia."

of the already deceased priest Peire de Tornamira, the record states how several witnesses attested to the fact that he belonged to their group, conversed with them, shared meals with them, and lived in their houses of poverty —a sort of communal dwelling— with them.[58]

From a gender perspective, both men and women participated in commensality practices within the beguin network. Interestingly, despite the fact that the majority of the thirty deponents who confessed to having shared meals with other members of the group — seventeen, that is, 57% — were men, the thirteen women who did the same represent a 43%, which is significantly higher than one third, the ratio that could be expected on the basis of the gender distribution of the extant depositions. Moreover, whereas those seventeen men involved in this kind of practices were only 27% of all male deponents, as many as 40% of the women were charged on these grounds (Fig. 2). Beyond socially constructed roles that charged women with preparing and serving food, commensality data prove that women in the beguin network were not passive helpers, but fully active members of the group who sat at the table and participated in the conversation. In sum, the analysis of these instances of material support seems to indicate that the part women played in these practices was especially significant, which in turn highlights their vital role not only for the survival of the persecuted members of the community, but also for the establishment and reinforcement of social ties within the religious network.

'Material Girls?': Gendered Practices of Assistance and Support

Food and drinks were not the only form of material support exchanged among the members of the beguin community. The formulaic question *si dedit vel misit aliquid* inquired about virtually anything that the deponents had ever given to convicted heretics or to any other suspect. In the answers they provided to this question, victuals were closely followed by money as the main means of support in circulation through the network. However, given the Franciscan spiritual basis of this particular group, the donation and acceptance of money was not without issue, for poverty was central to the belief system of the "burned beguins." Furthermore, the controversy on the poverty of Christ and the apostles had specifically brought to the table the matter of money, and the stance of the religious elite of the movement on this point was rather clear, at least in theory. Peire de l'Hospital, an inhabitant from Montpellier who was among the first group prosecuted in 1319 and was finally burned as a relapser in Toulouse in September 1322, declared before Bernard Gui that the pope could not allow Franciscans and Franciscan tertiaries who took

[58] Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale au XIVe siècle," 333: "qui omnes communiter asserunt et affirmant dictum Petrum presbiterum fuisse de societate Beguinorum supradictorum, et cum eis conversatum fuisse, comedisse et bibisse, et cum eisdem Beguinis hereticis in domibus Paupertatis et aliis locis moratum fuisse et cohabitasse."

a vow of poverty to handle money, nor make them wear rich habits for this was against the precepts of the evangelical Rule of St Francis.[59]

In fact, deponents sometimes singled out Judas as the only apostle who carried money, which had rather straightforward implications. Some of the testimonies were actually quite detailed in this regard. For instance, in May 1322, the cutler Peire Tort confessed to have heard some Franciscans in Narbonne preach that Christ and the apostles owned nothing; they had also said that Christ had advised the apostles not to carry gold or silver in their belts, and not to carry a pouch or a satchel, for anyone who refused to renounce their possessions could not be his disciple.[60] Peire further added that Christ had no money for him or his apostles and that he didn't use money unless under extreme necessity, but instead appointed Judas to manage and distribute it to the poor.[61] As the deposition of the Franciscan tertiary Peire Calvet shows, Tort was not the only one under this assumption. According to Calvet, Christ and the apostles owned nothing; however, he also admitted to doubt on this point for he had heard that Judas carried a money pouch.[62] This rejection of money is also confirmed by the confession of the Franciscan friar Raimon de Johan, who admitted to having money despite the fact that according to their Rule he should not possess anything, neither privately nor in common, which, furthermore, he identified as the main reason for the division within his Order.[63] For the members of the beguin network, this was not a matter of opinion: money and vows were not to be mixed. For instance, the shoemaker Johan Dalmau heard the well-connected Peire Trencavel say that those who took evangelical vows could not carry money, and that the pope could not dispense from said evangelical vows.[64]

In practice, however, money was the most convenient means of support for the actors of the network who lived on the run once the persecution started. Money allowed them to buy whatever they needed the most, and the social extraction of many members of the

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[59] Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1616: "Item quod papa non potest secundum Deum dispensare quod fratres Minores aut fratres de tercia regula sancti Francisci qui voverunt paupertatem tenere possint per se ipsos peccuniam contrectare, aut quod portent habitus magnos, latos et preciosos, qui faciendo predicta aut dispensando in predictis faceret contra regulam evangelicam, quam dicit esse regulam sancti Francisci."

[60] Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1396–98: "(…) credidit quod Dominus Jhesus Christus et apostoli ejus, quamdiu in hoc mundo vixerunt, non habuerunt aliquid in proprio vel conmuni, quia, ut dixit, audivit predicari in Narbona per fratres Minores quod Christus precepit apostolis quod non possiderent aurum nec argentum nec es in zonis et quod non portarent sacculum neque peram et quod 'Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus que possidet non potest esse meus discipulus'."

[61] Ibid., 1398: "(…) dicentes quod Christus pro se vel pro apostolis suis non habuit loculos set distributorem peccuniarum missarum Christo constituit Judam ut distribueret pauperibus, et quod dicta peccunia Christus non fuit usus nisi pro presenti necessitate."

[62] Ibid., 1370: "Item quod Christus et apostoli non habuerunt aliquid in proprio vel conmuni, et de hoc ipse dubitabat, quia audiverat dici quod Judas portabat loculos."

[63] Doat 27, fol. 36v: "(…) et pecuniam tenuit et tractavit licet dicant et confessus fuerit quod secundum eorum regulam nihil debent habere nec in proprio nec in comuni asserens quod finaliter et principalis causa quare suum ordinem divisi fuit."

[64] Doat 28, fol. 209r: "Item a dicto Petro Trancavelli audivit quod quicumque fecisset votum Eavngelicum non poterat portare denarios nec pecuniam aliquam et quod dominus Papa non posset dispensare in votes Evangelicis."

community certainly made it a viable option. Although the information provided by the extant depositions is most of the time quite unspecific in regard to the amount and currency of money donations, it does reveal a certain variety on both counts. As befits the period, the presence of gold coins in the testimonies of the deponents is scarce. Nevertheless, the mention of gold *agnels* and florins is especially significant given that French mints only issued a limited amount of gold coins in this period, which proves the privileged economic position of some donors.[65] The rest of the depositions providing specific information about money donations record the use of different silver coinages: *diners*, *sous tournois* and *grossos tournois*, *julhats*, and *sous* of Toulouse. The sums range from the modest 20 *diners* that Amada Orlach paid for the meal she shared with Guilhem Serraller in Aniane, to the forty *grossos tournois* that the priest Peire de Tornamira gave to the beguins with whom he had fled overseas before he made his way back home.[66]

Money donations were carried out by both men and women. Most money donors were men, as follows from the higher number of male deponents, but there is no evidence to support that women were less inclined than men to procure money for the members of the community that needed it (Fig. 3). The few instances where large amounts are mentioned are connected to male donors, but the data is too scarce as to establish whether they had access to more money because of their sex, and not because of their particular status. It thus cannot be securely concluded that women were only capable of making smaller donations on account of their sex. In contrast, and despite this relative vagueness of the records, it should be noted that over 25% of the overall sample of money donors were widows, which confirms the importance of their involvement in the movement or, at the very least, highlights their visibility. As it often happens when it comes to widows, it is not always that they were only capable of acting once their husbands were gone, but rather that the actions of married women were usually subsumed under those of their husbands and only became visible once they were on their own.

As the case of Alaraxis exemplifies, the most widespread form of material support among beguins, even if somewhat less tangible than the actual exchange of goods and money, was sheltering other members of the network. These practices included not only providing

[65] Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, 183. As noted above, the wealthy tertiary from Cintegabelle, Raimon d'Antusan, provided fugitive beguins with a remarkable sum: 100 silver *tournois* and fifty *sous* of Toulouse. But furthermore, two years before his deposition, that is, around 1320, Raimon had entrusted Peire Trencavel with 350 gold *diners* in *agnels* and florins, which he had paid in two instalments. The purpose of this deposit was to grant Raimon —and presumably his wife Bernarda— safe passage to Greece or Jerusalem in order to avoid the impending tribulations that would destroy the carnal Church according to the Olivian interpretation of the Apocalypse. Raimon also claimed that many other people had also put their money into Trencavel's care for that same reason (Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1350).

[66] Doat 28, fol. 193v–194r: "Item Guillermum Serrallerii de Lodova de quo audiverat dici quod aufugerat de Lodova et quod non audebat illud reverti propter captionem Begguinorum (…) vidit in loco de Anhana et cum eo bibit et comedit vigintique denarios pro expensis solvit"; Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 335: "(…) et dictus presbiter retrocessit et dimisit eum; sed in recessu dedit sibi viginti vel quadraginta grossos turonenses albos."

a temporary safe haven for fugitives who were trying to avoid capture, but also procuring permanent dwellings for them. Several instances involved the explicit handling of money, such as settling the rent, or purchasing a house, but it was far more frequent to look for solutions that were based on the personal resources and social ties of the benefactors. Welcoming fugitives into one's home was not only a reactive measure that tried to counter the actions of inquisitors, but also a new source of social and spiritual connections that strengthened the network. Thus, men and women sheltered Franciscans and beguins with whom they were acquainted, as Alaraxis did, but these often brought along companions that were immediately accepted despite the great risk involved in doing so. Thus, for instance, the tertiary Bernard de Na Jacma received in his house a certain beguin whom he knew very well, but the man did not come alone. Travelling with him were one Franciscan apostate and one "important beguin," which put Bernard in serious danger, for he had already been captured once, had abjured all heresy, and had sworn to refrain from any further contact with the group. Be that as it may, Bernard took them in all the same.[67] In Lodève, Amada Orlach used to visit a group of beguins who were staying at the house of Guilhem Serraller. She believed them to be good men and frequently went there to listen to their words, thus establishing a connection that led her to admit before the inquisitor that had she dared to defy her husband, she would have gladly invited them to her own house.[68]

It is precisely the absence of a male figure in the house that Alaraxis Biasse shared with her mother that makes their case so revealing in terms of female agency. By all accounts, Alaraxis was unmarried and her mother was most probably a widow, as any whiff of illegitimacy would have been recorded. Therefore, the decision to shelter fugitive Franciscans was theirs alone, and so were the responsibilities that came along with that decision, given that sheltering fugitives, especially for a long time, also involved providing for them, hiding their presence, and helping them escape if the situation demanded it. Moreover, Alaraxis and her mother are not the only women who displayed such a degree of resourcefulness and ability to act on their own. As a result of the interest of inquisitors in discovering the lengths to which the suspects had gone to help the members of the group, the extant depositions provide a colourful set of examples of this clandestine aspect of the movement. Berengaria Donas, the wife of a Narbonnese merchant, not only travelled to different towns delivering supplies for some of the fugitives herself, but also hid some of them in her home. When the inquisitorial officers in search of fugitives put guards at the gates of Narbonne, she came up with a plan to facilitate their escape. She led them to an enclosed vineyard of hers whose wall

[67] Ibid., 1340: "Item postquam abjuraverat quendam Beguinum quem frequenter viderat venientem ad domum ipsius cum quodam apostata et quodam Beguino qui sunt de principalibus secte Beguinorum." Although Bernard de Na Jacma was sentenced to life imprisonment during the general sermon held in Pamiers on 5 July 1322, he is also listed in the Beguin martyrology as having been burned in Toulouse on a non-specified date.
[68] Doat 28, fol. 193r–v: "(…) et in domo Guillermo Serrallerii de Lodova ubi erant eos visitavit eorumque verba frequenter audivit ipsosque bonos homines esse tunc credidit ipsosque libenter ad domum suam duxisset si propter maritum suum ausa esset."

bordered the fields outside the suburbs of Narbonne, where they remained for a whole day until they were able to climb the wall and flee under the cover of darkness.[69] Berengaria is not documented as a widow, but her husband is not mentioned at all during the proceedings, and the record refers to both the house and the vineyard as hers, in contrast to other cases in which we find expressions such as "in her and her husband's house" —*in domo sua et dicti mariti sui*.[70] Also in Narbonne, the Rundaria sisters, Astruga and Maria, who had moved to the city and lived by themselves, sheltered the fugitive Franciscan Jacme de Riu in their house for one night.[71] In Montpellier, it was in the house of a beguine, Na Bodina, that a group gathered to discuss how better to escape overseas. This group, including, among others, the aforementioned priest Peire de Tornamira and the Franciscan apostate Raimon de Johan, one of the most wanted individuals in the inquisitorial wishlist, left first for Agde, whence they travelled by boat to Barcelona, Sardinia, Trapani in Sicily, and finally Zaragoza, in Aragon.[72]

The case of Raimon de Johan is remarkable in this regard, given that at least nine different actors of the network sheltered him in their houses for quite some time.[73] Indeed, according to his own testimony, Raimon spent about nine years on the run, moving from place to place over a vast area. Through this whole ordeal, he always found refuge among members of the beguin network, mostly women.[74] Thanks to the deposition of his nephew, we know that Raimon spent some time in Sauvian, where he stayed at a house that remains unnamed in the record; a house where he arrived dressed in full Franciscan garb but which he left already in disguise.[75] Everything we know about the activities of Alaraxis and her mother suggests that it would not be too much of a deductive leap to imagine that it was they who sheltered

[69] Doat 28, fols. 220v–221r: "(…) eosdem apostatas et fugitivos in domo propria receptavit et etiam occultavit sciens eos esse tales (…) Item cum quadam die servientes inquisitionis eosdem fugitivos seu eorum aliquos perquirerent et capere vellent in Narbona posuissentque insidias et excubias in singulis exitibus villæ Narbonensis iidemque apostatæ et fugitivi timentes capi nescirent per quem locum evadere possent, ipsa que loquitur hoc percepto invenit cautelam per quam eos liberavit, nam duxit eos ad quandam vineam suam clausam muris qui attingebant campos extra omnes barras villæ Narbonensis, ubi per diem latuerunt, et etiam per aliquam partem noctis, et postmodum ascendentes supra muros prout eos docuit aufugerunt."

[70] Deposition of Raimunda Arrufat, Doat 28, fol. 210v.

[71] Ibid., fol. 226r: "Item fratrem Jacobum de Rivo apostatam ab ordine minorum qui postea fuit combustus, in domo propria una nocte receptavit."

[72] Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 334–35: "Finaliter dictus Petrus presbiter et ipse testis convenerunt in domo alterius beguine, vocate Na Bodina, ubi dictus Petrus portavit capellam suam et alia que portare volebat, et fuit condictum, quod ipsi duo simul recederent versus Agaten, et alias eum rebus suis incederent per stagnum; et sequenti die recesserunt insimul, et arripuerunt viam ad eundum ultra mare; et associaverunt eos multi alii beguini; et venerunt Agaten, deinde Barchinonam, deinde in Sardiniam; deinde venerunt ad civitatem de Trapena; inde venerunt ad civitatem Seragusta."

[73] Raimon de Johan is listed with the rebel friars of Narbonne in Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 119.

[74] Deposition of Raimon de Johan, Doat 27, fols. 35r–42r.

[75] Deposition of Raimon's nephew, also named Raimon de Johan, Doat 28, fol. 197v: "(…) mandatus per dictum avunculum suum ivit apud Salvianum ubi ipsum invenit in quadam domo quam nominat portantem habitum sui ordinis, et postmodum dimmisso dicto habitu et indutis vestibus secularibus."

the infamous friar and helped him conceal his identity. From there Raimon went to Narbonne, via Ginestas, and back to Montréal, where he stayed at the house of the Baró family. In fact, several deponents testified as to their frequent visits to the Baró household to see the friar, to be confessed by him, and to hear him speak. All the while, it was Flors Baró, the eldest daughter of the house who spread the news that Raimon was staying with them and encouraged people to go see him.[76] He also spent some time in Carcassonne and Cintegabelle, and after that, he made his way to Montpellier where he stayed at the house of the Boneta sisters and in several other places, establishing a close relationship with many members of the beguin community of the city.[77]

It is important to note that the activation of these kinds of reactive mechanisms aimed at protecting the members of the community relied upon a pre-existing social and religious network grounded in solidarities established in the decades preceding this period of persecution. That is the only explanation that can account for the massive participation of men and women in this practice. Indeed, around 60% of the deponents were charged with having sheltered and hidden fugitives in their homes or elsewhere; among these a little over 40% were women. Moreover, whereas 50% of men sheltered fugitive beguins, Franciscans, and other suspects, as many as 75% of female deponents did the same (Fig. 4).

To sum up the results of the gender analysis of the different types of material support recorded in the extant depositions, the engagement of the female actors of the beguin network in this activity was, in relative terms, higher on all accounts. Although the women interrogated regarding the "heresy of the burned Beguins' were but a third of the total number of people brought before the inquisitors for that same reason, their actions were essential for the survival of the network, especially once the network itself was forced into clandestinity. Thus, on average, the charges brought against women usually included several instances of material support, the provision of shelter (75% of female deponents) and victuals (65%) being especially significant (Fig. 5). However, the fact that the depositions of men were less likely to include material support and generally leaned towards doctrinal and cultic aspects, should not be read as women being confined to logistic matters, but rather to the fact that they added assistance to the variety of their religious commitments.

Given the general content of the depositions, which showed that female deponents actively engaged in doctrinal exchanges, this prominence of women as far as material support goes was but an

[76] Doat 28, fol. 231r: "(…) in domo patris sui vidit fratrem Raymundum Johannis apostatam olim de ordine minorum qui erat de spiritualibus (…) diversasque personas quæsitum ivit et ad dictum fratrem Raymundum adduxit."

[77] The deposition of Jacma Sobirana documents his presence in Carcassonne (Doat 28, fol. 212r–v), and the confession of Raimon d'Antusan places him in Cintegabelle at some point before 1322 (Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1346). As for his presence in the Boneta household, see, among others, the deposition of Alaraxis Bedoc, Doat 27, fol. 30r: "(…) Gillelmum Serrallerii fugitivum pro facto hæresis et Beguinorum combustorum et fratrem Raimundum Joannis apostatam ab ordine minorum qui tenebat ordinem illorum qui dicebantur spirituales in dicta domo Na Prous et sua vidit, receptavit, et eis dedit ad manducandum et bibendum, et cum eis inibi comedit et bibit."

aspect of their involvement, and should not be understood as their main and only role. Both men an women took part in communal readings of vernacular translations of the writings of Peter of John Olivi, especially the *Lectura super Apocalipsim*, first censured in 1299 and officially condemned as heretical in 1326, and formed their own opinions on the matter. Just to cite but a few examples, in Cintegabelle, the married tertiary Bernarda d'Antusan had learned from the *Lectura* that Babylon, the great prostitute who rode a many-headed beast and was the mother of fornication, was to be identified with the carnal Church, and she had also attended readings of other Olivian works such as *De paupertate*.[78] Her neighbour, the widow Maria de Serra, testified at length before Bernard Gui about the mystical Antichrist and the advent of the Age of the Spirit, including her take on papal bulls and papal authority.[79] In Montpellier, as noted above, the house of the Boneta sisters was a safe space for doctrinal discussion were Na Prous, the eldest, shared her visions and many visited to talk and listen to her. In Lodève, the widow Manenta Rosa Maur kept a book that had originally belonged to a woman who was executed in Lunel in 1321 as one of the "burned beguins."[80] Finally, in Narbonne, Amoda Sepian was well acquainted with a group of beguines, later executed, all of whom openly discussed the Rule of St Francis and read Olivian books, and the aforementioned Berengaria Donas also kept an Olivian book entrusted to her by a beguine and frequently had it read to her, for presumably she could not read herself.[81] Thus, although the pages above show that women were central in sustaining the beguin network, this function was neither exclusive to them nor certainly their sole purpose.

By Way of Conclusion

For inquisitors, disrupting material exchanges was a way of starving religious dissent into submission while at the same time mapping it. In tune with the old tropes of the devil aping God and heretics mimicking the attitudes of the pious and imitating the mores of true Christians, inquisitors did not regard the practices of material support in which the actors of dissident networks engaged as

[78] Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1354: "Item aliquando audivit legi sibi et aliis Beguinis de libris fratris P. Johannis in vulgari, et specialiter de postilla ejus super Apocalipsim in qua inter cetera audivit legi de Babilone quam vocat meretricem magnam sedentem super bestiam, matrem fornicacionum, habentem ciphum aureum in manu sua plenum abhominacionibus, et inde potabat alios, et habebat multa capita et X cornua, et exponebat predictam mulierem esse ecclesiam carnalem."

[79] Ibid., 1374: "(…) dominus papa qui nunc est non debuit concedere fratribus Minoribus granaria vel cellaria, nec poterat in hoc dispensare, quia, ut dicebant, sanctus Franciscus non concessit eis."

[80] Doat 28, fol. 14r: "(…) dixit etiam si habuisse et habere unum volumen a quodam quem nominat quod fuit cuiusdam mulieris cognata sua combusta in Lunello."

[81] For Amoda Sepian, see Doat 28, fol. 238r: "Item quarundam Begguinarum quas nominat combustarum et aliarum familiaritatem habuit ab eis audivit loqui de Regula fratrum minorum et legi libros aliquos in quibus Ecclesia Romana vocabatur Babilon meretrix magna." For Berengaria Donas, see Doat 28, fol. 221r: "Item a quadam Begguina unum librum de doctrina fratris Petri Johannis habuit quem frequenter legi audivit."

devotional expressions.[82] In July 1233, during the canonization process of St Dominic that took place in Bologna, Bonaventure of Verona, the friar who acted as the last of Dominic's confessors, reported the pleasant aroma that Dominic's tomb gave off and how "men and women came to the sepulcher with candles, images, and votive offerings, saying that God had performed miracles for them or their relatives through the merits of the holy Dominic."[83] Almost a century later, in 1318 Narbonne, Olivi's sepulchre, in the centre of the choir of the Franciscan church of the city, was desecrated, and his remains were removed along with "everything else, from the wax figures to the cloths brought to his tomb by the hands of the simple."[84] Up to that moment, the tomb attracted crowds from all over Languedoc and beyond, who travelled to Narbonne to pay their respects.[85] Olivi, who had died in 1298, was credited with miracles, such as healing the sick, and his body was even said to give off the characteristic sweet odour emitted by the remains of saints. Both Sibil·la Cazelle, a widow from Gignac, and Johan Orlach, a draper from Montpellier, confessed in

[82] For a relevant example included in Bernard Gui's *Practica*, see Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 388, fol. 71v: "(…) et confingunt tanquam symie quædam alia loco ipsorum quæ quasi similia videantur" [In ape-like fashion, they have fabricated other sacraments in their stead (that of the sacraments of the Roman Church) that appear similar to these]; Doat 30, fol. 192r. For a recent and thorough analysis of the evolution of the old trope of the *species pietatis*, see Steckel, "Hypocrites! Critiques of Religious Movements and Criticism of the Church, 1050-1300."

[83] Lehner, ed., *Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents*; see also, David Haseldine, "Early Dominican Hagiography."

[84] Eimeric and Peña, ed., *Directorium inquisitorum*, vol. 2, 77: "Idem dominus Papa Ioannes fecit exhumari ossa dicti fratris Petri Ioannis et omnia, tam cereos imagines quam pannos, per manus simplicium ad eius tumulum deducta, Narbonae fecit publice concremari." This account is taken from the popular inquisitor's manual compiled by Nicolau Eimeric around 1376, half a century after the desecration of the tomb. However, the same episode is also reported in two contemporary works, Bernard Gui's *Practica* and Angelo Clareno's *Liber chronicarum sive tribulationum ordinis minorum*, with their authors reaching remarkably different conclusions as to the perpetrators. For the *Practica*, see Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 388, fol. 84v: "Fuit autem corpus eius inde extractum et alibi portatum et absconditum sub anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo octavo sed ubi sit a pluribus dubitatur et diversi diversa circa hoc loquuntur et dicunt"; cf. Doat 30, fol. 277r. For Clareno's chronicle, see Ehrle, "Die *historia septem tribulationum ordinis minorum* des fr. Angelus de Clarino," vol. 2, 108–155, and 249–327. On the destruction of Olivi's tomb, see ibid., 129: "animose dampnaverunt doctrinam viri sancti Petri Johannis et ossibus et reliquiis eius in tenebris violato sepulcro ipsius ut tenebrarum ministri occultam iniuriam intulerunt"; and ibid., 293: "exhumaverunt ossa eius et contumeliose et furibunde exterminaverunt sepulcrum et sanctitatis eius et devocionis fidelium ad ipsum oblata signa." For a more recent edition see Boccali, ed., *Liber chronicarum sive tribulationum ordinis minorum*.

[85] Analysing the same sources, Jean-Louis Biget and Louisa Burnham reach very different conclusions about the popular veneration of Olivi. Whereas Biget plays down its dissemination, Burnham emphasises its popularity among Languedocian laity. Cf. Biget, "Culte et rayonnement de Pierre Déjean Olieu en Languedoc au début du XIVe siècle," and Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 20–24. I concur with Burnham's opinion that there is "extensive evidence" supporting a widespread cult of Olivi, especially adding to the Doat sources, which both authors use, the proceedings against the Beguins of Vilafranca. In 1346, Geraldona Fuster explained how her father had gone on pilgrimage to St Peter of Montmajour, in Arles, and upon his return he described the great feast that was held in Narbonne around Olivi's tomb; see Barcelona, ADB, *Processos* 3, fol. 14v: "[…] dicendo quod a Narbona fiebat festum magnum de dicto fratre Petro Iohannis et quod gentes in magna multitudine veniebant ad eius sepulcrum, vbi eciam aportabant multas ymagines de cera magnas, in testimonium miraculorum que faciebat"; Perarnau i Espelt, "Beguins de Vilafranca del Penedès," 68.

1325 that the saint had saved their sick children, and Na Prous Boneta, recounting her visit to the tomb, claimed to have smelled the most pleasant fragrance.[86] Neither Dominic's nor Olivi's cults had been officially sanctioned when their resting places started drawing multitudes. Eventually, canonization legitimised Dominic's devotees ex post facto, but Olivi's would forever remain the followers of an "uncanonized saint". Whereas those men and women who had first visited Dominic's sepulchre in Bologna would be seen as pious Christians, those who prayed to Olivi's remains in Narbonne would be suspected, at the very least, of facilitating heresy. Thus, in a sort of Foucauldian turn, the line between charitable Christian devotion and illicit support was not a matter of religious experience, but an issue to be decided by those with the power to sanction; certainly not by 'gullible women' who easily mistook the two.

When it comes to mainstream expressions of medieval Christianity, it is quite normal to understand donations, foundations, and bequests to specific religious houses or churches in terms of what can be called an "economy of salvation," which was shaped not only by economy, but also by religious expectations.[87] We track the changes in devotional and religious trends through the dedication of churches, the acquisition of relics and the endowment of religious establishments by royal families, aristocracy, and other wealthy groups.[88] Likewise, the works of mercy were yet another widespread means to articulate charitable efforts. They had become a popular artistic motif and a common theme in sermons and catechisms in early

[86] Sibil·la brought her daughter who suffered from scrofula to Olivi's tomb and the girl healed; see Doat 27, fol. 18r: "et quandam filiam suam quae patiebatur infirmitatem in gutture, scilicet scroellas ad sepulcrum suum duxit et curata fuerit." Johan did the same with his son; see Doat 27, fol. 25r: "quondam filium suum infirmum dicto fratri Petro sicut sancto devovit et ad eius sepulcrum portavit, credens ipsum filium fuisse sanatum per dicti fratris Petri merita quem reputabat sanctum." For Na Prous's testimony on Olivi's odour of sanctity, see Doat 27, fol. 56r–v: "quod ipsa die eadem qua ipsa fuit in Narbona supra sepulcrum dicti fratris Petri Joannis (…) maiorem fragantiam vel odorem quam unquam ipsa sensisset."

[87] The literature on this topic, which could easily take us back to the seminal Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, is too vast to properly reference here. Among recent contributions to it, see the survey of historical interpretations of charity in the Middle Ages in Davis, "The Social and Religious Meanings of Charity in Medieval Europe"; see also the more elaborate study on the connections between charity and piety that ultimately resulted in the spread of medieval hospitals in Davis, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, and the Rise of the Hospital*.

[88] Again, there is an abundance of literature on this topic. To cite but a few works, including some classics: Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*; for the connection between bequests funding the celebration of anniversary masses and the hopes of intercession with the divine, see the most recent edition of Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320 – vers 1480)*; for a variety of studies focusing on the interplay between the materiality of the cult of saints and political, religious, and economic power, see Fournié, Le Blévec, and Vincent, eds., *Corps saints et reliques dans le Midi*; for a collection of essays focusing on the role of the cult of saints in commerce across medieval western Europe, see Kelley and Turner Camp, eds., *Saints as Intercessors Between the Wealthy and the Divine: Art and Hagiography Among the Medieval Merchant Classes*.

fourteenth-century Languedoc.[89] Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, sheltering the homeless, visiting the sick and the imprisoned were the subject of lavish illuminations in manuscripts such as the popular *Breviari d'amor* of the Franciscan friar Matfré Ermengau,[90] and also central to Franciscan lay spirituality. However, despite all this evidence, when we turn to dissident networks, our whole perspective seems to shift and the many forms of material support among their actors end up completely dettached from religious expressions, being instead perceived and understood solely through the lense of survival and contestation.

This shift is even more abrupt in the case of women, whose material contributions have been noted before, but usually as an extension of roles women adopted within the wider social framework. Women were carers, and as such it stands to reason that they would cook for, care for, dress and shelter members of their group.[91] Thus, the actions of women like Alaraxis and her mother who sheltered fugitives, caring and cooking for them and even providing the clothes on their backs are rarely seen as an indication of devotion. But the fact is that they were doing far more than fulfilling neighbourly duties; like Berengaria Estorg, from Lodève, who made on her own the two-day journey to Montpellier and stayed there for a month looking after the fugitive Guilhem Serraller during his illness and serving him and another fugitive, Raimunda Rigaud;[92] or Isabel de Bourges, who acted as a sort of assistance broker in Carcassonne, receiving money with which she bought food for the beguins imprisoned in the inquisitorial gaol.[93]

Since the days of the seminal article by Richard Abels and Ellen Harrison on 'Cathar women', quantitative and qualitative arguments have been wielded to establish and nuance female participation in heretical movements, but always with a strong focus on their sacerdotal performance and intellectual contributions.[94] It is now necessary to look into the material role of women and to consider it not as mere logistics —vital as that was— but as an integral part of their devotional experience. Indeed, by practicing the works of mercy on those they deemed true Christians, they were actually committing to their particular brand of religious dissent and, in doing so, they were being just as subversive and challenging to Church authority as

[89] See an analysis of these practices in the region along with an edition of a thirteenth-century catechism in Limousin Occitan in Vicaire, "La place des œuvres de miséricorde dans la pastorale en Pays d'oc," 40–42.

[90] See, for instance, London, British Library, ms. Yates-Thompson 31, fol. 110v.

[91] For a recent analysis of the evolution of views on women related to care from the medieval to the early modern period, see Cersovsky, "Ubi non est mulier, ingemiscit egens?: Gendered Perceptions of Care from the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries".

[92] Doat 28, fol. 195r: "(…) apud Montempessulanum ivit ad visitandum Guillermum Serrallerii de Lodova, qui dicebatur inibi egrotare (…) et cum eo et Raymunda Rigauda stetit de Lodova eis serviendo quasi per unum mensem."

[93] Doat 28, fol. 117r: "(…) quia sic audiverat dici ab illis duobus hominibus qui apportabant ipsi loquenti et aliis duabus sociis suis pecuniam unde dictis Begguinis in muri detentis necessaria cibaria ministrabant."

[94] Abels and Harrison, "The participation of Women in Languedocian Catharism"; Brenon, *Les femmes cathares*; Hancke, *Les Belles Hérétiques. Être femme, noble et cathare*; McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy. Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420-1530*; Shahar, *Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect. Agnes and Huguette the Waldensians*; Biller, "Women and dissent" Arnold, "Heresy and Gender in the Middle Ages."

those who read the dangerous works of Alaraxis's great-uncle; which, incidentally, many of these same women also did. The depositions of women in the inquisition records concerning the beguins of Languedoc are more likely to include instances of assistance and support than those of men, and that is not a collateral effect of inquisitorial methods, but rather a result of women's positions within the network. Evidence shows how men and women were asked similar questions, which covered everything from doctrinal content and unsanctioned cultic practices to material support.[95] Moreover, the documented depositions reveal that the breadth and depth of interrogations were certainly not gendered variables. It is then reasonable to conclude that Alaraxis, her mother, and other women like them were never seen as the masterminds behind heretical deviance, but rather as followers and enablers, and yet, as this article proves, they were central to keeping their religious network from being dismantled.

[95] For a detailed analysis of the themes that came up during the interrogation of the actors of the beguin network, see Nieto-Isabel, "Following the Heart: Relics, Martyrdom and the Relational Space among the Beguins of Languedoc," 402–08.

Figure 1. Number of goods suppliers by gender

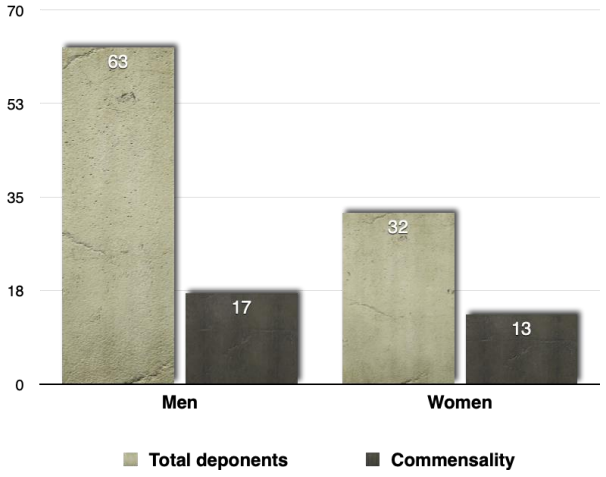

Figure 2. Commensality practices by gender

Figure 3. Number of money donors by gender

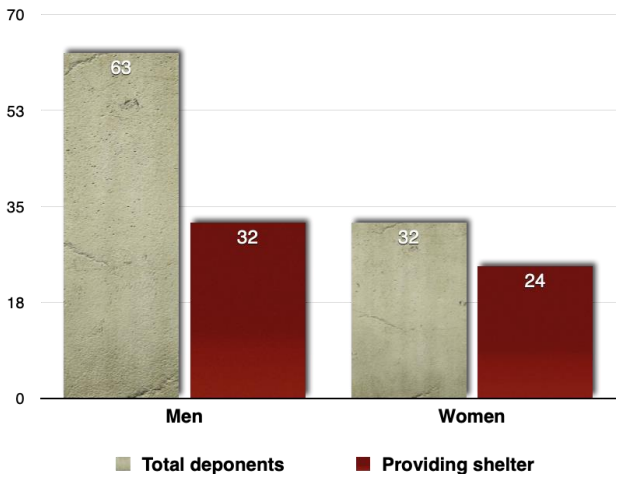

Figure 4. Sheltering practices by gender

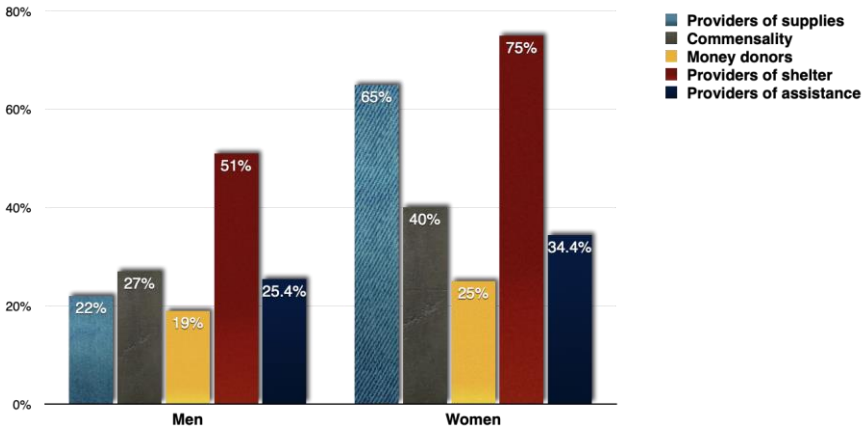

Figure 5. Percentage of depositions containing material support by type and gender

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Conflicting Interpretations of Holiness and Heterodoxy in Late Medieval Italy

Janine Larmon Peterson

Abstract

In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, there are a number of examples of people that local communities perceived as holy, but who ran afoul of inquisitors. Two of the more lesser-known, but extremely polarizing local saints — and accused heretics— were Meco del Sacco and Tomassuccio of Nocera. In both cases, the impetus for the accusations seemed to be jealousy from other members of the clerical elite. In addition, local politics played an enormous part in the championing, or defaming, of their sanctity. In both cases, the accused successfully challenged the charges of heresy. The histories of Meco del Sacco and Tomassuccio of Nocera demonstrate how accused individuals could contest inquisitorial authority, and exemplify how the thin line between sanctity and heresy could give rise to separate realities, creating a liminal space within which a single individual could co-exist.

Keywords**:** heresy, inquisition, saint's cults, Papal States, antifraternalism

Introduction

In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy, there were a number of people that local communities perceived as holy, but who ran afoul of inquisitors. Two of the lesser-known, but extremely polarizing local saints — and accused heretics — were Meco del Sacco and Tomassuccio of Nocera. Meco was a holy man in Ascoli who had obtained, through his charitable and spiritual endeavors, the backing of the bishop, Rainaldo IV, the support of the Augustinian convent, and the veneration of a large segment of the local population. Yet between 1334 and 1344 Meco was condemned as a heretic three times by the Franciscan inquisitors of the March of Ancona. Inquisitors similarly accused Tomassuccio of Nocera, a friar, three times, imprisoning him even though his superiors and citizens believed he was a holy man and a prophet. In both cases, the impetus for the accusations seemed to be jealousy from other members of the clerical elite. In addition, local church politics played an enormous part in the championing, or defaming, of these men's sanctity. In both cases, the accused successfully challenged the heresy charges. Their ability to do so suggests that there were multiple understandings of orthodoxy in the late Middle Ages, bringing up for debate the accepted dichotomy of "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy," and the usefulness of those terms. The histories of Meco del Sacco and Tomassuccio of Nocera also exemplify how the blurred line between sanctity and heresy can be added to other examples of blurring, such as literary and political figures, which led to two separate but simultaneous identities. These

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realities created a liminal space within which a single individual could exist.

Meco's life has to be pieced together somewhat more than usual for late medieval saints, dubious or otherwise. There is no canonization inquiry, no *vita* or list of miracles, and even his inquisitorial sentences are no longer extant. What we do have are papal documents regarding his appeals to his condemnations, which provide an unusual perspective but rather limited information about the events in his life. It seems that Meco went through a conversion experience similar to that of Valdes or St. Francis. He had two sons, Angelo and Peter, and was married to a woman named Clarella.[1] In 1344 his son Angelo became the rector of a church and a hospital he had built, so the assumption is he was born circa 1300, but where, and into what type of household, is unknown. Sometime before 1334 he became a *converso*, a layperson dedicated to a penitential life yet not affiliated with a particular institutional order or bound by formal vows.[2] Apparently Meco began to disseminate treatises that, according to the inquisitor who charged him with heresy in 1334, contained radical concepts.[3] Meco abjured heresy, was absolved, and his treatises burned.

The bishop of Ascoli seemingly did not consider this inquiry a grave matter, since on August 1 of the same year he granted Meco permission to build an oratory, called Santissima Ascensione, on nearby Monte Polesio.[4] It is possible that the bishop favored Meco because of a potentially wealthy or aristocratic background. The fact that Meco wrote treatises, one supposedly in French and one in the local dialect (or could at least read or retain someone to transcribe his thoughts), is suggestive of a somewhat privileged upbringing.[5] Regardless of the reasons for the bishop's support, between 1334 and 1337 other *conversi* joined Meco on Monte Polesio. His renown for holiness grew after he embarked on charitable endeavors, for instance, building a hospital around 1337 in town that catered to pilgrims. The Augustinians, whose convent was located near to the hospital, became closely involved with Meco, to the extent of becoming the overseers of that establishment during Meco's absences.[6]

Meco's burgeoning following did not allow him to remain under the inquisitorial radar for long. In 1337 inquisitors questioned him a second time, condemned him as a heretic, and imprisoned him. He

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[1] A. DeSantis, *Meco del Sacco, inquisizione e processi per eresia. Ascoli-Avignone 1320-1346* (Ascoli Piceno: A. DeSantis, 1982 [1980]), 187. All the extant documents are transcribed in his appendices, except for one, which is edited by Sara Benedini ("Un processo ascolano tra sospetti d'eresia ed abusi inquisitoriali," Picenum Seraphicum n.s., anno XIX (2000): 171-207). Lea incorrectly identifies 1337 as the year of his conversion. This date is impossible, as inquisitors already had questioned him in 1334 (H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, III [New York: Cosimo, 2005 (1888)], 124).

[2] A. Vauchez, "Pénitents au Moyen Âge," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, 17 vols. (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1984), XII, cols. 1010-23.

[3] The early modern historian F.A. Marcucci claimed that Meco's books were "uno in francese spori i Salmi, e due in volgare intorno al Vangelo e all'Apocalisse" (*Saggio di Cose Ascolane e de' vescovi di Ascoli nel Piceno* (Bologna: A. Forni, 1984 [1766]), cited in DeSantis, *Meco*, 162).

[4] DeSantis, *Meco*, appendix X.

[5] Ibid., 162.

[6] Meco's oratory also became the property of the Augustinians after his death until its Napoleonic suppression (ibid., 36).

was let out on bail, a surprising event in itself. Since he had already abjured heresy once, this charge branded him as a relapsed heretic, a title that often resulted in capital punishment for contumacy. After leaving prison, Meco fled to Avignon to appeal his sentence to the pope. The fact that he obtained his release, and secured the funds for travel and a procurator, strongly suggests that the Augustinians and the bishop pressured the Franciscan inquisitor, and helped arrange his defence strategy. The foundation of his appeal was that the Franciscans, who were in charge of the inquisitorial office in the region, had falsely accused him. Meco claimed

> The superior and brothers of the Order of Friars Minor in Ascoli were moved by jealousy and hatred against him, and because his said hospital and church were more frequented by the faithful of Christ and His mother than their [own] place.
>
> "Guardianus et Fratri loci Ordin. Minorum Esculanensium odio et invidia moti pro e quod dictum hospitale e Ecclesia erat magis quam ipsorum locus per fideles Christi et Matris ejus frequentata."[7]

Pope Benedict XII consequently absolved him of all charges. This result is another startling element to the story. Ascoli was under interdict during the time of these events for rebelling against their terrestrial lord — the pope, as part of the Papal States — and one would assume the pope would not be particularly sympathetic to the appeals of a previously-condemned heretic from a disobedient town exiled from the Church. The success of Meco's appeal suggests that the charges were in fact specious.

While Meco was at the papal residence, however, armed clergy and parishioners from the parish church of St. Mary Among the Vineyards invaded Meco's buildings, confiscated the valuables, destroyed what they couldn't take, like the church's altar, and profaned the Eucharist.[8] The Augustinians, acting on Meco's behalf, successfully sued the clerics and won reparations. Meco's success at drawing pilgrims and spiritual penitents to his establishments clearly did engender jealousy and greed in rival institutions. The bishop granted Meco license to rebuild his church and hospital, and named him and his heirs patrons of the hospital for perpetuity, at which point Meco's son Angelo took over as rector.[9] Meco's orthodoxy was re-established, yet was soon to be challenged for a third time.

A bull of Pope Clement VI dated August 1344 indicates that a new inquisitor, Pietro da Penno S. Giovanni, condemned Meco for heresy once again. The inquisitor sentenced him to a fine of sixty gold florins and two years of exile in Rome. Again, this sentence is unusual, considering his first condemnation still stood, making him a contumacious heretic. It suggests that the inquisitor had concerns regarding making the charges stick, procedural issues, or ruffling the feathers of other members of the clerical elite, or his superior, the pope.

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[7] Ibid., appendix IV.
[8] Ibid., 193-4.
[9] Ibid., appendix V.

In response, Meco again appealed this sentence, on the same grounds as before. Pope Clement VI ordered the bishop of Ascoli to examine the sentence. The bishop ordered the inquisitor to take no further action while the case was being examined. Friar Pietro ignored this order, and excommunicated Meco. He then led an armed following to confiscate Meco's goods as a relapsed heretic. These actions prompted the pope to convene a special investigatory commission, which in 1345 ordered that Meco be given restitution for his property.[10] In 1346 the commission absolved Meco of all charges and reinstated him in the church, although he seems to have been deceased by that point as he disappeared from all records. Some historians have suggested he was burned as a relapsed heretic in 1344 or 1345, before the council handed down their final decree absolving him of all charges; others, like A. Pastori, have argued vociferously against this conclusion. [11] It is possible that he died of natural causes before the council acquitted him in 1346. A near-contemporary chronicle of Ascoli provides a list of all the people burned for heresy in the region at the time, but Meco is not mentioned in that list.[12]

The dramatic events of Meco del Sacco's history brings into sharp relief the enormous part that jealousy and vying for popular patronage could play in constructing a perceived saint into a simultaneous heretic.[13] Meco's success at drawing recruits to his penitential lifestyle meant that he had become a powerful figure, and his foundations wealthy establishments. The bishop and the Augustinians supported Meco's endeavors due to admiration for his piety, but perhaps also to monetarily benefit from an association with this popular holy man. In contrast, the Franciscans and at least one local parish church used the charges of heresy to justify the confiscation of his property. The accusations neutralized a rival who's popularity affected their prestige, and hence their financial standing. His popularity and the greed it engendered was a catalyst for the raids on his buildings, and perhaps also for the condemnations by the Franciscan inquisitors. In the same year that Meco ultimately was vindicated, the inquisitor of the March of Ancona who last condemned Meco del Sacco and led the last raid on his establishments, was charged with extortion, and sentenced to a fine of 500 florins.[14]

Local politics also played a part in the makeup of clerical factions in Ascoli. The Augustinians and the Franciscans were in a long-standing feud, one that could be traced back to 1259. In that year Pope Alexander IV prohibited the Augustinians from building their church and convent in the same place where the Franciscans were intending

[10] Ibid., appendix XI.
[11] Ibid., 52-3 and appendices XII and XIII.
[12] Ascoli Piceno, Biblioteca comunale do Ascoli Piceno, ms. 99, cc. 9-10.
[13] Janine Larmon Peterson, *Suspect Saints and Holy Heretics: Disputed Sanctity and Communal Identity in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 119-168.
[14] Città del Vaticano, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Collectoriae, 384, f. 1r-12r; a transcription and discussion is in M. d'Alatri, "Un processo dell'inverno 1346-1347 contro gli inquisitori delle Marche," in d'Alatri, *Eretici e inquisitori in Italia: Studi e documenti*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto storico del Cappuccini, 1987), 77-107; DeSantis, *Meco*, 138.

to settle.[15] The Augustinians, losing out to the Franciscans, had to move the site of their foundation. The continuing hostility between the orders became manifest in the dispute over the orthodoxy of Meco del Sacco. The battle lines that divided the clerical authorities in town, and branded Meco simultaneously as both a saint and a heretic, paralleled this partisan division.

Meco was somewhat of a pawn, trapped between the concerns of local clerical internecine rivalry, and caught in the snare of conflicting interpretations. How Meco lived and what actually he believed is shrouded in mystery. The only surviving evidence is found in the documents dealing with his third condemnation, which outline what heterodox ideas inquisitors previously had ascribed to him. They are a very eclectic mix, including stock accusations as well as ones specific to a variety of particular heretical sects. One charge, for instance, was that Meco believed usury was not a sin, which was a standard identifier of heresy. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century inquisitorial manuals routinely advised inquisitors to question deponents on just this point.[16] Other accusations were more unique although still based on common premises, such as improper sexual relations between men and women. Inquisitors claimed that Meco taught that wives were only required to have sex with their husbands once a year, and sexual contact up until the point of orgasm was not a sin. The first charge limited the concept of the conjugal debt, while the second overturned the premise of sex solely for procreation. Under the prevalent Galenic medical theory, procreation occurred only when both partners reached orgasm.[17] Teaching that sexual contact without completion was okay effectively justified sex for solely physical pleasure.

Other charges were specific to particular heresies. Meco and his followers supposedly thought that babies who died without baptism would still be saved through the faith of their parents, and that laypeople could absolve others of sin. There is a marked Donatist strain in the suggestion that worthy laypersons were as valid receivers of God's sacramental grace and powers to dispense it as clerics. In addition, an accusation that Meco believed that women could be publicly naked if flagellating themselves associated him with the flagellant movement, which would soon be condemned in 1349.[18] The specific reference to female participation — and their lack of dress — during the performance of the discipline assured its heretical nature even in 1344, before the movement's official suppression. The

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[15] Bull of Alexander IV, 26 Aug. 1259, Archivio di Stato di Ascoli Piceno, perg. 34, noted in DeSantis, *Meco*, 12, n. 31. He had granted the Friars Minor permission to build a church in Ascoli only two years prior (Bull of Alexander IV, 13 Dec. 1257, in *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*, II, ed. G. Giacinto Sbaraglia [Santa Maria degli Angeli: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1983 (1759)], 269).

[16] For instance, Bernard Gui's manual suggests that inquisitors should inquire into usury for suspected Cathars (Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. C. Douais [Paris: Picard, 1886]).

[17] According to the Galenic model, which was prevalent throughout the Middle Ages, conception was achieved only through the orgasm of both participants (T. Laqueur, "Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology," *Representations* 14 [1986], esp. 1-12). On the lack of Aristotle in the medieval medical arts, see I. MacLean, "The Notion of Woman in Medicine, Anatomy, and Physiology," in *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Lorna Hutson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 129.

[18] M. D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 243.

identification of Meco with the flagellants perhaps holds a germ of truth, as both his emphasis on penitence and his name suggests. Meco's given name was Domenico Savi but his popular pseudonym, "del Sacco," or "of the bag," also referred in Italy to the white tunics that flagellants would wear during their public processions of ritual discipline.[19] Meco's followers also came to be known as the "Sacconi." The most inflammatory accusation was the charge that Meco maintained that he was the son of God (*filium Dei se nominat*), suffered as Christ through his death and resurrection, possessed the stigmata, and could expel demons and produce miracles.[20] Similar to St. Francis of Assisi, Meco possessed an identity as *alter Christus*; unlike Francis, Meco was charged with believing himself to be the incarnation of Christ, which in fact is quite unusual. There are few similar cases, and interestingly it was women who were most often accused of such beliefs, such as Na Prous Boneta (d. 1328) and Guglielma of Milan (d. 1279).[21] The result was that Meco became labeled a heresiarch, or a heterodox leader who was guilty of "deceiving and seducing the people in various ways."[22]

There is no way to ascertain if most of these accusations were true. The treatises he wrote were burned after his first condemnation when Meco admitted and abjured heresy, but unlike Marguerite of Porete's (d. 1310) treatise, the *Mirror of Simple Souls*, no copies seem to have survived to determine the legitimacy of the charges.[23] Leaving aside the charge that Meco believed he was Jesus, there is a loose unifying theme to the accusations: all Christians can achieve salvation without the sacraments or clerical intercession, whether through strength of faith, embrace of penance, or God's divine grace. There is also an anti-sacerdotal element. If Meco had in fact espoused such an ideology as portrayed, it is not surprising that it resonated with the citizens of Ascoli. Although the bishop apparently maintained administrative duties, the interdict under which all the citizens suffered during Meco's lifetime meant that they were deprived of the sacraments, and excluded from the spiritual consolation that priests could provide.

For many people of Ascoli, including both ecclesiastical and monastic authorities, Meco was an exemplar of comportment and a model of piety and charity in a city that, according to the Church, was denied God's favor. In 1889 the town of Ascoli renamed the Via Lucio Manlio Torquato after him in honor of his role as "a writer and reformer of the fourteenth century" (*Letterato e riformatore del XIV*

[19] A. Thompson, O.P., *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 99.
[20] DeSantis, Meco, 105-8.
[21] L. A. Burnham, "The Visionary Authority of Na Prous Boneta," in *Pierre de Jean Olivi (1248-1298)*, eds. Alain Boureau and Sylvain Piron (Paris: Vrin, 1999), 319-339; J. Larmon Peterson, "Social Roles, Gender Inversion, and the Heretical Sect: The Case of the Guglielmites," *Viator: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 35 (2004): 203-19.
[22] "Populum decepit multipliciter & seduxit" (DeSantis, *Meco*, appendix XI).
[23] Marguerite Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. E. Colledge, J.C. Marler, and J. Grant (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); for discussion see S. L. Field, *The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor: The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

secolo).[24] The street was in a section of the city known as "Cecco d'Ascoli." The reference is to another local citizen, a famous astrologer, who was burned as a relapsed heretic in Florence in 1327 for continuing to ccirculate his treatises that inqusitors deemed to verge on sorcery. Nineteenth-century city officials clearly were making a statement regarding local prestige and power, by linking and championing these two men. In addition, the tiny town of Furore in Campania, perched high in the mountains overlooking the Amalfi coast, maintains its own link and claim to fame through Meco. Websites mentioning the history of Furore claim that it was the refuge for Meco's followers, the "Sacconi," who supposedly fled there in 1348 after they became subjects of inquisitorial scrutiny.[25]

Yet it is easy to lose sight of Meco's history as a saint in the midst of the drama of his interaction with inquisitors. Unfortunately, many scholars of medieval sanctity have surrendered his story to their colleagues working on medieval heresy. Not even André Vauchez's exhaustive discussion of sainthood — in which he discussed a number of contested saints — noted Meco del Sacco.[26] Thus his legacy in academic scholarship has not fared as well as it has on the ground, so to speak. Although Meco functioned as a "living saint" even within the orthodox and clerical circles of Ascoli, historically he is firmly placed in the category of obdurate heretic instead of holy reformer.[27]

The inability to firmly situate Meco within the confines of "a" heresy has meant that even discussions of him within studies of heterodoxy or the inquisition is scarce. The nineteenth-century historians H.C. Lea and Cesare Cantù gave him thorough treatment, but their characterizations of him, as a member of the Free Spirit and as a Spiritual Franciscan, respectively, are erroneous. Lea claimed Meco was a member of the Free Spirit, a group who supposedly believed in a mystical union with Christ that would result in the annihilation of one's soul. It is possible that the accusations that Meco believed he was Christ led Lea to interpret this as a misunderstanding of Free Spirit ideas of the mystical union with God.[28] The existence of the Free Spirit as a cohesive sect with a distinct ideology has been called into question, most notably by Robert Lerner.[29] The bull Ad nostrum, from the Council of Vienne (1311-12) condemns beguines and beghards, who have been associated with the Free Spirit movement, as was Marguerite Porete. Lerner claims that there is no

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[24] DeSantis, *Meco*, 30. The naming was done under the direction of the "commission in charge of the affairs of the syndic of Ascoli Piceno" (*Commissione incaricata dal Sindaco di Ascoli Piceno*) (ibid., 29).

[25] E.g., "Furore," *La MescoLanza*, 8 July 2019 (https://www.lamescolanza.com/2019/07/08/furore/), accessed 4 June 2023.

[26] A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[27] Gabriella Zarri, "Living Saints: A Typology of Female Sanctity in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 219-303.

[28] Lea, *Inquisition*, III, 125; Lea described his beliefs based on a late medieval text purporting to describe the tenets of the sect, not on Meco's surviving documents. The text that Lea summarizes survives in Roma, Bibl. Casanatense, A. IV, 49 (Lea, *Inquisition*, III, p. 124). This document decribes the supposed beliefs of the Italian Free Spirits, but has no connection with Meco himself.

[29] R. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

evidence for this association. His study is focused on northern Europe, however, which has little similarity to the situation in the Italian peninsula. There is some evidence that perhaps there was a more unified group operating under that name in Italy, a region that Lerner did not examine in his study. Whether such a group as the "Free Spirit" actually existed in fourteenth-century Italy is unclear, although several contemporary chroniclers mention those who call themselves *spiritus libertatis*.[30] Cantù, in contrast, described Meco as a Spiritual Franciscan, a group condemned by John XXII in 1323 because they refused to accept that Christ and his apostles ever owned any property. [31] The evidence supports this identification even less, even though the region was known as a hideout for Spiritual Franciscans.[32]

Since the nineteenth century, only two scholars have examined Meco. Mariano D'Alatri mentions him briefly in his investigation of fourteenth-century inquisitorial corruption. Antonio DeSantis wrote a monograph on Meco, the only modern scholar to do so, and his text is accompanied by an edition of the extant documents.[33] DeSantis was solely concerned with "redeeming" Meco by trying to prove that he died of natural causes, and was not burned by inquisitors. Moreover, much of his argument derives from the thesis of an eighteenth-century scholar and Augustinian monk, Luigi Pastori. Pastori, writing before the Napoleonic wars, was a member of the very convent in Ascoli that had been the patrons and heirs of Meco's oratory and hospital, and thus was not a disinterested party.

Altogether, there is not a lot of secondary literature on an individual whose story is so complex and bristles with interesting angles. Perhaps the different and confusing names by which he is referred, either Meco del Sacco or Domenico Savi (or, in one case in the extant records, Marco di Ascoli Piceno), has contributed to the lack of modern scholarship about his case. Essentially, though, the problem seems to be that no one knows what to "do" with Meco. He is not a compelling example of a late medieval lay saint, since there is little evidence of a surviving public cult. His expressions of piety do not conform to the model of many other saintly contemporaries, like mystics, whose extraordinary behavior marked them out as holy. Conversely, he does not instruct us about the growth of local heretical movements. Since Meco was absolved of all heresy by the pope himself — twice — he cannot be lumped into the category of heresiarch, as the fourteenth-century inquisitors tried to do. He existed in two realities for separate constituencies for years during his life, and even after death, occupying a liminal space. It is a space above and beyond the normal bounds of social roles and expectations, a space that he progressed to through a rite of passage — his conversion experience —

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[30] R. Guarnieri, "Il Movimenti del Libero Spirito: Testi e Documenti," in *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 4 (1954), 353-708.

[31] C. Cantù, *Gli eretici d'Italia: discorsi storici* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1886), 133. There is some suggestion of a connection between the Free Spirits and the Spiritual Franciscans; for instance pope Clement V inquired into this matter in 1310 (Burr, D. *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2001, 113-16).

[32] Lea, *Inquisition*, III, 165.

[33] D'Alatri, "Un processo dell'inverno." 78-80; DeSantis, *Meco*.

and in which he existed outside of the normal social structure.[34] His story is one of contrasts: considered both saint and heretic, holy and damned, he simultaneously inhabited the dichotomous spheres of "true" and "false" saint.

Tomassuccio of Nocera, the Suspect *Alter Christus*

Meco was not alone. Tomassuccio of Nocera (d. 1377) provides a similar example of the blurred boundaries between saint and heretic. Tomassuccio was a thorn in the side of many local clerical authorities who suspected him of heresy, yet who could not secure a conviction.[35] Although Tomassuccio was questioned and/or imprisoned three times for being a suspected heretic, none of the charges stuck. His subsequent cult nevertheless flourished in the towns of Nocera where he was born, and Foligno where he died. According to a fourteenth-century hagiography by Giusta della Rosa, a disciple of Tomassuccio, Tomassuccio was the fifth child of a poor farmer and a pious mother from the countryside of Valmacinaia outside Nocera.[36] An angel announced to his mother, named Madonna Bona, that she was pregnant with a son who would become a close friend of God. The angel dictated that upon his birth the child be named "Tomassuccio." Tomassuccio fulfilled his birthright, taking a vow of chastity at the age of twelve, and leaving his family at twenty-four to reside with a poor hermit named Brother Piero on nearby Monte Gualdo.[37]

After three years of living as an anchorite, God purportedly called on Tomassuccio to go to Tuscany and preach. Recluses based their spirituality on solo prayer, so this aspect of Tomassuccio's *Life* justifies all that he does after, as it is at the behest of God, and not his own will.[38] Since he did not want to leave his hermitage, God gave him a nudge: through the "permission and commandment of God," an anonymous friar who was close to Tomassuccio impugned his friend,

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[34] Miri Rubin, "Introduction," in Nicola F. McDonald and W.M. Ormrod, eds., *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), 10-12; Victor Turner, "Pilgrimages as Social Processes," in Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 202.

[35]His name is variably spelled Tommasuccio, and occasionally secondary literature refers to him as Tomasuccio of Foligno. In H.C. Lea's work he is called Tommasino di Foligno. His birthname may have been Tommaso Unzio, although M. Faloci Pulignani, who edited his *vita* and a collection of prophecies atrributed to him, claimed this was merely a misreading of his given name (M. Faloci Pulignani, ed., *La leggenda del beato Tomasuccio da Nocera* [Gubbio: Scuola Tipografia "Oderisi," 1932], 7).

[36] The vita exists in Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. I.115 and is edited by Pulignani (*La leggenda*). For discussion see Lea, *Inquisition*, II, 281; M. D'Alatri, "Movimenti religiosi popolari umbri il Beato Tomasuccio e l'inquisizione," in d'Alatri, *Eretici e inquisitori in Italia. Studi e documenti*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico del Cappuccini, 1987) II, 219-32; the essays in *Il B. Tomasuccio da Foligno terziario francescano ed i movimenti religiosi popolari umbri nel Trecento*, ed. R. Pazzelli (Rome: Edizioni Commissione Storica, 1979); and Antonio Montefusco, "Indagine su un fraticello al di sopra di ogni sospetto: il caso di Muzio da Perugia (con osservazioni su Tomasuccio, frate Stoppa e i fraticelli di Firenze)," in *Pueden alzarse les gentiles palabras*, ed. Emma Scoles et. al, 259-280 (Rome: Bagatto Libri, 2013).

[37] The hermit is termed a "fraticello" in the manuscript, the Italian term for Spiritual Franciscans (G. Tognetti, *I fraticelli, il principio di povertà e i secolari*, Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano 90 [1982-1983]: 77-145).

[38] Frances Andrews and Eleonora Rava, "Introduction: Approaches to Voluntary Reclusion in Medieval Europe (13-16th Centuries)," in *Quaderni di storia religiosa medievale*, 24/1 (2021): 7-30.

and informed the bishop of Nocera that Tomassuccio had not confessed for three years.[39] The result was the first investigation into Tomassuccio's behavior. His lifestyle was the focus of the investigation for displaying a "contempt for Christian morals and observance" by deviating from the injunction of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 that all Christians must confess at least once a year.[40] The bishop released Tomassuccio after his mentor and spiritual advisor, Brother Piero, attested that Tomassuccio confessed to him every month. The experience was enough for Tomassuccio to leave the area. Within the context of the *vita* this episode introduces a number of themes that concide with Meco's story: the implicit jealousy by members of the mendicant orders; attempts to ruin reputations by attacking their orthodoxy on the basis of anti-sacerdotal Christian behaviors; and the intervention of God's will by respected members of the clerical elite that results in the restoration of their reputations.

Following his first questioning, Tomassuccio spoke to God. Like St. Francis before him, he expressed his desire to go overseas to preach to the Saracens and, if he was lucky, to be martyred there. God rejected his request, responding,

> I will have you well martyred in Tuscany; believe in me, return towards Tuscany to preach, as I have told you, and you shall foretell their tribulations and trials, and [be the] judge that they will reform their sins, [because] if they do not I will send them war, famine, and tribulation for their horrible sins that they continue to do and think without fear of me.
>
> "Io ti farò bene martirizare in Toscana; credi a me, torna in Toscana a predicare, come io t'ò detto, e annunziarai le tribolazioni e dolori, e giudizi che li verranno se non si emenderanno delli loro peccati, altrimente io le mandarò le guerre, fame e tribolazione per li loro orribili peccati, che di continuo fanno e pensano seza mio timore."[41]

Tomassuccio capitulated to God's will, and traveled the Tuscan countryside preaching and dispensing prophecies. His rhetorical skills garnered him a following, which included his hagiographer Giusto della Rosa. According to Giusto's text, in Arezzo Tomassuccio was even able to persuade a Jew to convert to Christianity. His renown increased as he forecasted the wrath of God, predicted destruction, and harangued specific clerics who he believed were corrupt. In Perugia he expounded on the sins of Gerald, abbot of Marmoutiers, and the papal vicar of the Papal States.[42] In the *Profezie*,

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[39] "Per permissione e comandamento di Dio" (*La leggenda*, ch. VII, 23).

[40] A. Murray, "Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy," *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972): 84; Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, canon 21, in Tanner, S.J., ed., *Disciplinary Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Volume 1: Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 259-60.

[41] *La leggenda*, ch. X, 26. There are obvious parallels between this scene and that of St Francis, who desired martyrdom and travelled to the Holy Land to preach amongst the Saracens, but also was thwarted by God (Thomas of Celano, "The First Life of St Francis," in *St Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies*, 4th rev. edn, ed. Marion A. Habig [Chicago: Franciscan Press, 1983], 277).

[42] *La leggenda*, ch. XV, 32. For the identification of the unnamed abbot with Gerald of Marmoutiers, see Luigi Bonazzi, *Storia di Perugia*, I, (Perugia, 1876), 485.

a collection of prophecies that Tomassuccio supposedly wrote (or dictated), he claimed to be God's messenger for divine justice. His mission was to purge the world of iniquity, and persuade the institutional Church to focus again on the pastoral care of souls.[43]

Unsurprisingly, his orations and prophetizing did not endear him to everyone. His successful predictions engendered reverence in some, but also a justification for eventual incarceration for others. In Siena, Tomassuccio preached God would punish unrepentant sinners by sending a devastating frost. When a terrible frost soon occurred, "malignant men" went to the Franciscan inquisitor and accused him of sorcery. He was imprisoned and tortured but ultimately released. It is unclear why he secured his freedom. It could simply have been that civic prisons in the late Middle Ages were for short stays only, since they were still costly to guard although prisoners were in charge of their own food source, etc.[44] His *vita*, however, claimed that an angel visited him in prison and promised that he would be released from physical suffering. Henry Charles Lea interpreted this passage as implying that inquisitors tortured Tomassuccio, but his wounds "miraculously" healed, which convinced inquisitors of his innocence.[45]

Afterwards, Tomassuccio moved to Florence, where he again attracted the attention of inquisitorial authorities. He was imprisoned for three days, and denied even bread and water. Once again, enigmatically, he survived. The surviving earliest Milanese manuscript copy of his *vita* claimed that the inquisitor pardoned him, without expounding on why. The 1510 incunabula edition from Vicenza, and Lodovico Iacobilli's 1626 edition of the text, both stated that some soldiers pressured the inquisitor to release him because he was just a "barefoot crazy person" (*pazzo scalzo*).[46] Persons deemed insane were not held responsible for their words or actions; thus, inquisitorial manuals often discussed how heretics would fake insanity in order to avoid condemnation.[47] It is possible that this explanation was added to the *vita* in order to place Tomassuccio within the "holy fool" tradition, and further emphasize the similarities between him and St. Francis.[48]

Like Meco del Sacco, Tomassuccio survived three interrogations, including two incarcerations, on suspicion of heterodoxy. Notwithstanding these serious challenges to his reputation as a prophet, his hagiographer and acolyte Giusto reiterated in his *vita* that Tomassuccio was a saint who God chose to be a martyr for dealing with people who were obstructive to his pious mission. Giusto claimed that in one of Tomassuccio's last visions an angel declared,

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[43] *La profezie del Beato Tommasuccio di Foligno*, ed. M. Faloci Pulignani (Foligno: Feliciano Campitelli, 1887), ch. 13.

[44] Guy Geltner, *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[45] Lea, *Inquisition*, II, 282.

[46] *La leggenda*, ch. 40, 59-60.

[47] For example, see Nicholas Eymerich, *Directorium inquisitorum* [Venice: Apud Marcum Antonium Zalterium, 1595].

[48] Consider the description of St. Francis as the "new fool" (*novellus pazzus*) (L. Lemmens, ed., *Documenta Antiqua. Franciscana*, I [Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1901], 104).

"Take yourself to Foligno and remain there until your death. Therefore, God wishes that your relics, that is your bones, ought to remain there."[49] While a hagiographer's panegyric is not unusual, there is solid evidence that Tomassuccio was venerated outside his inner circle of followers. The communities of Nocera and Foligno publicly venerated him as a saint. Nocera adopted Tomassuccio as their "advocate" (*avvocato*), or patron and intercessor. There was even an unsuccessful attempt at opening a canonization inquiry.[50] In addition, in Siena's Biblioteca Comunale, there survives an anonymous letter from circa 1400 that expressed a concern that the text of Tomassuccio's prophecies, the *Profezie*, had been corrupted in its transmission.[51] The letter demonstrates continued reverance for Tomassuccio, and belief in his prophetic powers, a quarter century after his death.

Conclusions

Local authorities accepted the enduring adulation, and even veneration, of both Meco and Tomassuccio, both thrice-suspected heretics, because of the inquisitors' inability to secure condemnations. Meco del Sacco and Tomassuccio of Nocera had been anchorites who purportedly became the targets of jealous mendicants: the Franciscans. The pope assigned the Papal States to Franciscan inquisitors in 1254, when he divided the duties between them and the Dominicans.[52] Since the Franciscans began in, and retained their home base in Assisi, also part of the area that the pope ruled as a terrestrial lord, this decision was logical. It also could have heightened Franciscan inquisitorial zeal to anyone who challenged their popularity and influence in this region. Meco's popularity in Ascoli clearly threatened that of the Franciscans. Similarly, a "friar" first brought Tomassuccio to the attention of inquisitors. He existed within a prophetic tradition associated with the Franciscans rather than the Dominicans, thanks to the legacy of writers such as Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) and Gerardo Borgo san Donnino (d. 1276) who influenced the more mystical wing of the Spiritual Franciscans, or the *fraticelli* as they were known in the Italian peninsula.[53] The Spirituals had been condemned decades before Tomassuccio. There were many who adhered to their beliefs well after, however, gaining both respect from

[49] "Vattene a Foligno, e lì statene in fine a la tua morte. Imperciòche Dio vuole che le tue reliquie, cioè le tue ossa, debbano restare lì" (*La leggenda*, ch. 41).
[50] According to Lodovico Iacobilli's late seventeenth-century description of his cult, "santo Tommasuccio beatissimo vostro cittadino, et avvocato singolare della vostra città da Nocera" (transcribed in *Profezie*, 23).
[51] Ibid., 25-6.
[52] M. D'Alatri, *L'inquisizione francescana nell'Italia Centrale del Duecento: con il testo del "Liber inquisitionis" di Orvieto trascritto da Egidio Bonanno* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1996), 17-18.
[53] M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, rev. edn. (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, includes a discussion of Pope John XXII's condemnation, 196–9.

some quarters and prosecution from others, such as Angelo Clareno (d. 1337) and the condemned heretic Michele Berti da Calci (d. 1389).[54]

Meco del Sacco and Tomassuccio of Nocera became simultaneous saints and heretics due to the diverging views of many local inhabitants (lay and clerical) and Franciscan inquisitors. They were men who disdained the current manifestation and vision of the Franciscans, and opted to lead a solitary life in what might be seen as the original Franciscan tradition. They gained prestige, notoriety, and wealth because of it. The connecting theme is that Franciscans became jealous of their popularity in the region that "belonged" to them and their order, and used their role as inquisitors to target them. Both Meco and Tomassuccio were stained with the taint of heresy, making them a target for papal agents, at least for a time. The very fact that there were two opposing opinions of these men produced overt contestation over their identity: were they saints or heretics? Inquisitorial expectations were such that where heresy was alleged, heresy existed, and it would be proven so through their procedure. In Meco's case, the *inquisitio* "failed," largely on procedural grounds due to the overstepping of authority of the inquisitors involved. Both a pope and a separate papal commission absolved Meco of all charges of heterodoxy, while specifically upholding his claim that envy and greed was the Franciscan inquisitors' motivations. Individual inquisitors were censured. In Tomassuccio's case, his inquisitors could not ascertain from their questioning that he held any heterodox ideas, and his behavior was assumed to be in accordance with Fourth Lateran Council's decrees. Even the possible use of torture did not produce persuasive enough evidence to justify a condemnation. The inability of authorities to force their views of spiritual merit and institutional conformity resulted in amorphous, rather than rigid, binary categories between saints and heretics.

[54] For Clareno, see his history of the Franciscans, Angelo Clareno, *Liber chronicarum, sive, tribulationum ordinis minorum*, ed. and trans. Giovanni M. Boccali, [Perugia: Porziuncola, 1998]. For Calci, see Andrea Piazza, "La passione di frate Michele: Un testo in volgare di fine Trecento," *Revue Mabillon* n.s. 10, 71 (1999): 231-56; his sentence and process is transcribed by A. D'Ancona, *Varietà storiche e letterarie*, I (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1883), 345-55.

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