



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

EDWARD D. ENGLISH



*Encyclopedia of*  
THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

Edward D. English



Facts On File, Inc.

**Encyclopedia of the Medieval World**

Copyright © 2005 Edward D. English

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval systems, without permission in writing from the publisher. For information contact:

Facts On File, Inc.  
132 West 31st Street  
New York NY 10001

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

English, Edward D.  
Encyclopedia of the medieval world / Edward D. English.  
p. cm.  
Includes bibliographical references and index.  
ISBN 0-8160-4690-5 (set) (alk. paper)  
ISBN 0-8160-4688-3 (vol. 1)—ISBN 0-8160-4689-1 (vol. 2)  
1. Middle ages—History—Encyclopedias. 2. Civilization, Medieval—Encyclopedias.  
I. Title.  
D114.E55 2004  
940.1'03—dc22 2003027825

Facts On File books are available at special discounts when purchased in bulk quantities for businesses, associations, institutions, or sales promotions. Please call our Special Sales Department in New York at (212) 967-8800 or (800) 322-8755.

You can find Facts On File on the World Wide Web at <http://www.factsonfile.com>

Text design by Joan Toro  
Cover design by Cathy Rincon  
Line art by Richard Garratt and Facts On File

Printed in the United States of America

VB FOF 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

# CONTENTS

List of Illustrations  
iv

List of Maps  
vii

List of Genealogies  
viii

List of Entries  
ix

Preface  
xix

Entries A to Z  
1

Appendix I: Monarchs and Rulers of the Medieval World  
763

Appendix II: Genealogies  
793

Bibliography  
813

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Carolingian palace chapel	3
<i>The Agricultural Labors of the Twelve Months</i>	19
Sant'Andrea, Mantua	22
Albertus Magnus	23
The Alhambra palace	32
A view of hell from the <i>Inferno</i>	33
The choir of Amiens Cathedral	38
Fra Angelico	46
<i>The Church Militant and Triumphant</i>	53
Heavenly ladder	64
Courtyard of the Alhambra palace	65
<i>Ascension of Christ into Heaven</i>	68
View of Assisi	71
The Papal Palace in Avignon	80
Bayeux Tapestry	97
<i>Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry</i>	107
Boethius	114
The papal palace built for Boniface VIII	120
Adam and Eve from the Warburg Book of Hours	121
<i>Primavera</i> , or Spring (detail), by Sandro Botticelli	124
Santo Spirito	129
The burial of plague victims	136
Heads of early Capetian rulers	148
Buonconsiglio in Trent	159
William Caxton	162
Charlemagne	167
Christ inside his mother	176
Cimabue, <i>The Crucifixion</i>	179
Interior of Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay	180
Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay	183
Clovis, king of the Franks	184
Abbey of Cluny	185
Great Mosque of Córdoba	198

Danse macabre	211
Satan and the lost souls of hell	216
Dome of the Rock	220
Dominic de Guzmán	222
Donatello di Niccolò	223
Edward II	233
Eleanor of Aquitaine	238
Jan van Eyck	249
King Ferdinand II of Aragon	256
Marsilio Ficino	260
View of Florence in 1490	265
Facade of the Cistercian abbey of Fontenay	266
King Charles VII by Jean Fouquet	270
Coronation of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa	275
Castel del Monte	277
A couple playing chess	285
Giotto di Bondone	297
The Gokstad ship	303
Interior of Hagia Sophia	326
The Harrowing of Hell	329
John Hawkwood	331
Hell and the Last Judgment	334
Church of the Holy Sepulcher	349
Hospital of Beaune	352
A medieval house	353
A young man hawking	361
Solomon and Sheba	373
Empress Irene	383
Leo I the Thracian	386
The execution of de Molay and de Charnay	395
The Execution of Joan of Arc	406
Emperor Julian the Apostate	415
The Emperor Justinian	417
View of Mecca	420
Portrait of Christ	422
Tympanum sculpture	437
Saint Mark the Evangelist	447
Ambrogio Lorenzetti	454
Moses Maimonides	466
Marco Polo and Kublai Khan	473
A marriage celebration	476
Saint Martin of Tours	478
Simone Martini's <i>Annunciation</i>	479
Masaccio's <i>Trinity</i>	480
Masons at work	481
Mehmed II the Conqueror	485

vi List of Illustrations

A bellows for metalworking	487
Milan Cathedral	490
The remains of a Muslim watermill	492
The minaret of the Holy Mosque of Medina	493
Benedictine abbey of Sant'Antimo	497
Jenghiz Khan and his sons	499
"Door of Paradise" by Bonanno Pisano	500
Mosque of Sultan Darkhour, Cairo, 1860–90	506
Muhammad on his camel	508
Fifteenth-century view of Naples	513
The Guild of the notaries	527
Notre-Dame in Paris	528
Christ enthroned	540
Adam and Eve leaving Paradise	556
Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino	577
Piccolomini Palace	582
Architectural remains of Siena	583
Saint Columba of Sens	599
Bathhouse romance	601
<i>The Canterbury Psalter</i>	604
<i>Christ in Purgatory and Descent into Hell</i>	607
Richard II at the death of Wat Tyler	622
A medieval road	624
Coronation of King Roger II of Sicily	627
Eve	630
Rose window	632
The Gothic exterior of Sainte-Chapelle	640
A baptismal font	661
Siena, Piazza del Campo, town hall	666
Madonna and Child	675
Synagogue El Tránsito	681
The surrender of Tarsus to Tancred of Hauteville	685
A 13th-century Templar chapel	689
The court of Empress Theodora	690
Council of Clermont	711
Usurers suffer in hell	712
Venice, Italy, Saint Mark's Square	719
Vlad Tepes	732
The baptism of Vladimir I, prince of Kiev	732
Choir at Westminster Abbey	744
The Wheel of Fortune	745
Gathering grapes and pressing them for wine	752

# LIST OF MAPS

Barbarian Migrations and Settlements	91
Duchy of Burgundy in the 15th Century	134
Byzantine Empire in the Late 11th Century	138
Carolingian Empire in the Early Ninth Century	152
Roman Empire in the Mid-Fourth Century	194
Kingdom of France, 1314	271
Holy Roman Empire, 1215–1250	348
Battles and Campaigns of the Hundred Years' War	358
Islamic Conquest Until 840	388
Italy in the 14th and 15th Centuries	389
Crusader States in the 12th and 13th Centuries	400
Byzantine Empire under Justinian	416
Mongol Invasions, 13th Century	499
Ottoman Empire to 1520	542
Pilgrimage Routes and Places	579
Progress of the Plague (Black Death) in Europe, 1347–1352	584
Poland and Lithuania, 1386–1470	588
Christian Reconquest of Iberia	617
Viking Trade, Settlements, and Movements	723
England During the Wars of the Roses, 1455–1485	741

# LIST OF GENEALOGIES

Counts of Anjou (Original Dynasty)	45
Kings of Aragon	55
Árpád Dynasty of Hungary and Premyslid Kings of Bohemia	62
Dukes of Burgundy	135
France: Capetian Kings	149
Carolingian Family and Dynasty	153
Kings of Castile	158
House of Anjou (Angerius)	169
House of Luxembourg	171
Este Family Dynasty of Ferrara and Modena	244
House of Habsburg	323
Welf and Hohenstaufen Families	345
Jagiellonian Dynasty: Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania	393
Successors of Jenghiz Khan	397
Kings and Queens of Jerusalem and Cyprus	401
Latin Emperors of Constantinople and Claimants	438
Merovingian Kings	488
House of Tancred	525
House of Pépin	568
Polish Rulers: Piast Dynasty	576
Portugal: Burgundian House	593
Saxon and Salian Emperors	642
House of Savoy	649
Kings of Scotland	653–654
Seljuk Sultans	658
Valois Dynasty	717
Visconti and Sforza Families	729

## Appendix II: Genealogies

Dynasties and Rulers of England	793
Roman and Byzantine Dynasties	796
Ruling Dynasties of Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania	808
Ruling Dynasties of the Christian Iberian Kingdoms	809
Rulers and Dynasties of Kievan Ruś, Moscow, and Russia	810
Rulers and Dynasties of Scandinavia in the Later Middle Ages	812

# LIST OF ENTRIES

- Aachen  
al-Abbas ibn Abd al Muttalib  
Abbasid, dynasty  
Abbo of Fleury, Saint  
Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan  
Abd al-Rahman I ibn Muawiya  
Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir li dini llah  
Abélard, Peter  
Abu Bakr, Caliph  
Abu Hanifah  
Abyssinia  
Acre  
Adam of Bremen  
adoptionism  
Adrian IV  
Adrianople  
adultery  
Advent  
Aegean Sea  
Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham  
Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians  
Æthelred II the Unready  
Africa  
Aghlabid, dynasty  
Agincourt, Battle of  
aging  
agriculture  
Ailly, Pierre d'  
Aistulf  
alabaster  
Alan of Lille  
Alans  
Alaric I  
Albania and the Albanians  
Alberti, Leon Battista  
Albertus Magnus, Saint  
Albigensians and Albigensian  
movement  
Alboin  
Albornoz, Gil, Cardinal  
Alcántara, Order of  
alchemy  
Alcuin of York  
Aleppo  
Alexander III, Pope  
Alexander VI  
Alexander romances  
Alexandria  
Alexios I Komnenos  
Alfonso V the Magnanimous  
Alfonso X, the Learned  
Alfred the Great  
Alhambra  
Alighieri, Dante  
Ali ibn Abi Talib, Caliph  
Almohads  
Almoravids  
Alp Arslan  
altars and altarpieces  
Amalfi  
Ambrose, Saint  
Amiens Cathedral  
Anatolia  
anatomy  
anchorites and anchoresses  
Ancrene Riwe  
al-Andalus  
Angela of Foligno, Blessed  
Angelico, Fra  
angels and angelology  
Anglo-Latin poetry  
Anglo-Norman language and  
literature  
Anglo-Saxon Chronicles  
Anglo-Saxons  
animals and animal husbandry  
Anjou  
Annunciation  
Anselm of Canterbury, Saint  
Anselm of Laon  
Anthony of Padua, Saint  
Antichrist  
anticlericalism  
anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism  
Antioch  
antiphon  
antipodes  
Antoninus, Saint  
Apocalypse and apocalyptic  
literature  
Apocrypha and the apocryphal  
New Testament  
apostolic succession  
Apulia  
Aquinas, Thomas, Saint  
Aquitaine  
Arabs  
Aragon  
archives and archival Institutions  
Arianism  
Aristotle and Aristotelianism in  
the Middle Ages  
Armagnac  
Armenia  
army and military organization  
Árpáds  
*ars antiqua* and *ars nova*  
*ars moriendi*  
*ars poetica* and *artes poeticae*  
*ars praedicandi*  
art and architecture, Byzantine  
art and architecture, Islamic  
art and architecture, Jewish  
Artevelde, Jacob van  
Arthur, King, and Arthurian  
literature  
Ascension

**x List of Entries**

- asceticism  
al-Ashari, Abu l-Hasan Ali ibn Isma il  
Asher ben Jechiel  
Ashkenaz and Ashkenazim  
Assassins  
Assisi  
assize  
Assizes of Jerusalem  
Assumption of the Virgin Mary  
astrolabe  
astrology  
Asturias-León, kingdom of  
Athanasius of Alexandria, Saint  
Athens, city and duchy of  
Athos, Mount  
Atlas Mountains  
Attila, the Hun  
Augustine of Canterbury, Saint  
Augustine of Hippo, Saint  
Augustinian Canons  
Augustinian Friars or Hermits  
Avars  
Avignon and the Avignonese papacy  
Axum  
Ayn-Jalut, Battle of  
Ayyubids of Egypt and Syria  
Azores  
Bacon, Roger  
Badr, Battle of  
Baghdad  
bailiff  
Baldo degli Ubaldi de Perugia  
Baldwin I (ca. 840-879)  
Baldwin I (ca. 1058-1118)  
Baldwin IV the Leper  
Balearic Islands  
Ball, John  
ballads and balladry  
Balts  
ban  
banks and banking  
Bannockburn, Battle of  
barbarians and barbarian migrations  
Barcelona  
Bari  
Bartolo da Sassoferrato  
Basel, Council of  
Basil I the Macedonian  
Basil II the Bulgar Slayer  
Basil of Caesarea, the Great, Saint  
Basques  
al-Basra  
Bavaria and Bavarians  
Bayazid I  
Baybars I  
Bayeux Tapestry  
beast epics and fables  
beatific vision  
Becket, Thomas, Saint  
Bede the Venerable, Saint  
Beguines and Beghards  
Beirut  
Belgium  
Belisarius  
Bellini family  
Benedictine order  
Benedict of Nursia or Norcia, Saint  
benefice  
Benjamin ben Jonah of Tudela  
Bentivoglio family  
Beowulf  
Berbers  
Berengar of Tours  
Bernardino of Siena, Saint  
Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint  
Berry, John, duke of  
Berthold of Regensburg or Ratisbon  
Bertran de Born  
Bessarion, John Cardinal  
bestiaries  
Bible  
Biel, Gabriel  
Birgitta of Sweden, Saint  
al-Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad  
Bisticci, Vespasiano da  
blacks and Africans in the Middle Ages  
Black Sea  
Blanche of Castile  
blasphemy  
Blood Libel  
Boccaccio, Giovanni  
Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus  
Bogomils  
Bohemia-Moravia  
Bohemian Brethren  
Bohemond I of Taranto  
Bojador, Cape  
Boleslav I the Great  
Bologna and the University of Bologna  
Bonaventure, Saint  
Boniface, Saint  
Boniface VIII, Pope  
Books of Hours  
books or codices, history of  
Boris I  
borough  
Bosnia  
Bosworth Field, Battle of  
botany  
Botticelli, Sandro  
Bouvines, Battle of  
boyar  
Brabant, duchy of  
Bracciolini, Poggio  
Bracton, Henry of  
Brazil  
Brendan, Saint  
Brethren of the Common Life  
breviary  
Bridget of Kildare or Cell-dara, Saint  
Brittany and Bretons  
Bruges  
Brunelleschi, Filippo  
Brunetto Latini  
Bruni, Leonardo  
Bruno, Saint  
Bruno the Carthusian, Saint  
Brut  
Buda and Pest  
Bukhara, Uzbekistan  
Bulgaria and Bulgars  
bulls, imperial and papal  
Burchard of Worms, Bishop  
Burgundians  
Burgundy  
burial rules and practices  
Buridan, John  
Burley, Walter  
Buyids  
Byzantine Empire and Byzantium  
Cabot, John  
Cabral, Pedro Álvares  
Cade, Jack, and Cade's or Kentish Rebellion  
Caedmon, Saint  
Cairo  
Calatrava, Order of  
calendars and the reckoning of dates  
caliphate and caliph  
calligraphy, Islamic  
Cambridge and the University of Cambridge  
camels  
Canary Islands  
Canossa  
Canterbury, city, cathedral, and Episcopal see  
Canute II the Great, king of Denmark, Norway, and England  
Capetian dynasty  
capitulary

- cardinal or natural virtues  
 Cardinals, College of  
 Carmelites  
 Carmina Burana  
 Carolingian family and dynasty  
 Carolingian Renaissance  
 Carthusian order  
 cartulary  
 Casimir III the Great  
 Cassian, John, Saint  
 Cassiodorus, Senator  
 Castile, kingdom of  
 castles and fortifications  
 catacombs  
 Catalonia  
 Cathars  
 cathedrals  
 Catherine of Siena, Saint  
 cavalry  
 Caxton, William  
 Celestine V, Pope, Saint  
 celibacy, clerical  
 Celtis, Conrad  
 cemeteries and graveyards  
 Cereta, Laura  
 Chalcedon, Council of  
 chansons de geste  
 charity and poverty  
 Charlemagne  
 Charles I of Anjou  
 Charles I (II) the Bald  
 Charles IV of Luxembourg  
 Charles V the Wise  
 Charles VII  
 Charles Martel  
 Charles the Bold or Rash  
 charms  
 charters  
 Chartres, Cathedral of  
 chastity  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey  
 children and childhood  
 chivalry  
 Chrétien de Troyes  
 Christendom  
 Christina of Markyate  
 Christology and christological  
     controversy  
 chronicles and annals, Christian  
 Chrysoloras, Manuel  
 Chrysostom, John, Saint  
 Church, Eastern Orthodox  
 Cimabue, Giovanni  
 Ciompi revolt  
 Circumcision, and the Christian  
     feast of the Circumcision  
 Cistercian order  
 Clarendon, Constitutions of  
 Clare of Assisi, Saint  
 Clement V  
 Clement VI  
 clergy and clerical orders  
 Clericis laicos  
 Clermont, Council of  
 clocks and time measurement  
 cloister or claustration  
 clothing and costume  
 Clovis I  
 Cluny and Cluniacs  
 codicology and the book  
 Coeur, Jacques  
 coinage and currency  
 Cologne  
 Columba of Iona, Saint  
 Columban, Saint  
 Columbus, Christopher  
 commune  
 Commynes, Philippe de  
 compass, magnetic  
 computus  
 conciliarism and conciliar theory  
 concupiscence  
 condottieri, companies and  
     mercenaries  
 confraternities  
 Conrad of Marburg  
 Constance, Council of  
 Constance of Hauteville  
 Constantine I the Great  
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos  
 Constantine the African  
 Constantinople  
 contraception and abortion  
 cooking and cookery  
 Copts and Coptic language  
 Córdoba  
 Corpus iuris civilis  
 Corsica  
 Cortes  
 Corvinus, Matthias  
 cosmetics and beauty aids  
 councils, general and ecumenical  
 Courson, Robert of  
 courtesy books and literature  
 courtly love  
 Courtrai, Battle of  
 Cracow  
 Crécy, Battle of  
 Crete  
 crime, punishment, and the courts  
 Crimea, khanate of  
 Croatia  
 crucifix and Crucifixion  
 Crusades  
 crypt  
 Cumans  
 Cyprus, island and kingdom of  
 Cyril, Saint, and Methodios, Saint  
     and apostles of the Slavs  
 Cyril of Alexandria, Saint  
 Cyrillic  
 Dafydd an Gwilym  
 Dalmatia  
 Damascus  
 Damian, Peter  
 dance and dance regulation  
 dance of death  
 Dandolo, Enrico  
 Danegeld  
 Danelaw  
 Daniel  
 Datini, Francesco di Marco  
 David I  
 David II the Bruce  
 David of Wales, Saint  
 death and the dead  
 Denmark  
 Desiderius of Montecassino  
 devil  
 Devotio Moderna  
*dhimmi*  
 Dhuoda  
 Diaz, Bartholomew  
 Dictatus papae  
 Dimitri of the Don  
 dioceses  
 Diocletian  
 Dionysius the Areopagite  
 Divine Office  
 Dome of the Rock  
 Domesday Book  
 Dominican order  
 Dominic de Guzmán, Saint  
 Donatello di Niccolò  
 Donation of Constantine  
 Donatism  
 Drama  
 Druzes  
 dualism  
 Dublin  
 Dubrovnik  
 Duccio di Buoninsegna  
 Duma  
 Duns Scotus, John, Blessed  
 Dunstan, Saint

## xii List of Entries

- Durazzo  
Easter and its cycle  
Eckhart, Meister  
economic thought and justice  
Edessa  
Edinburgh  
Edmund, Saint  
Edward I  
Edward II  
Edward III  
Edward IV  
Edward the Black Prince  
Edward the Confessor, Saint  
Egypt  
Einhard  
Eleanor of Aquitaine  
Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus  
    of Worms  
elections, church  
Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint  
ember days  
embroidery  
enamels  
England  
Ephesus, Ecumenical Council of  
epic literature  
epigraphy  
Epiphany, feast of  
Epiros and the despotate of Epiros  
eschatology  
Este family  
eternity of the world and of the soul  
eucharistic controversies  
Eugenius IV, Pope  
eunuchs  
Eusebios of Caesarea  
Everyman  
Exchequer and Court of Exchequer  
excommunication  
*exemplum*  
exorcism  
exultet rolls  
Eyck, Hubert van  
fable  
*fabliaux* or comic tales  
fairs and markets  
faith  
False Decretals  
family and kinship  
famine  
al-Farabi  
fasts, fasting, and abstinence  
fathers of the church  
Fatimids, caliphate of  
fatwa  
feasts and festivals  
Federico da Montefeltro  
Ferdinand II  
Ferrara, city of  
Ferrara-Florence, Council of  
Ferrer, Vincent, Saint  
feudalism and the feudal system  
feuds  
Fez  
Fibonacci, Leonardo  
Ficino, Marsilio  
fief  
Filelfo, Francesco  
*Filioque* clause, dispute over  
Finland  
firearms  
flagellants  
Flanders and the Low Countries  
Florence  
Fontenay, Abbey of  
Fontenay, Battle of  
food, drink, and nutrition  
forests and forest law  
forgery  
fornication  
Fortescue, Sir John  
Foscari, Francesco  
Fouquet, Jean  
France  
Franciscan order  
Francis of Assisi, Saint  
Franconia  
Franks  
Fratlicelli  
Frau Ava  
Frederick I Barbarossa  
Frederick II  
Free Spirit, heresy of  
fresco painting  
Friday prayer  
Frisia  
Froissart, Jean  
Fulbert, Saint, bishop of Chartres  
Fulcher of Chartres  
Fulda, Abbey of  
Fulk V  
furniture  
furs and fur trade  
al-Fustat  
Gaiseric  
Galahad  
Galicia in the Iberian Peninsula  
Galicia in Ukraine and Poland  
Galla Placidia  
games, toys, pastimes, and  
    gambling  
gardens  
Gawain and the Gawain romances  
Gaza, Theodore  
Genoa  
Gentile da Fabriano  
Geoffrey of Monmouth  
geography and cartography  
George of Trebizond  
Gerald of Wales  
Gerard of Cremona  
Germanus of Auxerre, Saint  
Germany  
Gershom ben Judah, Rabbi  
Gerson, John  
Gersonides, Levi ben Gershom  
Ghana  
Ghassanids  
al-Ghazali  
Ghaznawids  
Ghent  
Ghent Altarpiece  
Ghiberti, Lorenzo  
Ghirlandaio, Domenico  
ghosts  
Giano della Bella  
Gilbert of Poitiers  
Gildas, Saint  
Giotto di Bondone  
Glagolitic alphabet and rite  
glassware  
Glastonbury Abbey  
Glossa Ordinaria  
glossaries  
Glyn Dwr, Owian  
Gnomic literature  
Gnosticism  
God, history of concept of  
Godfrey of Bouillon  
Gog and Magog  
Gokstad ship  
Golden Bulls  
Golden Legend  
gold trade and gold working  
Goliardic poets  
Gospels  
Gothic art and architecture  
Goths  
Gotland  
Gottfried of Strassburg  
Gower, John  
grace  
Grail, legend of and Grail romances  
Granada

- Gratian  
 Greece and the Greeks  
 Greek fire  
 Greenland  
 Gregorian chant  
 Gregorian reform  
 Gregory I the Great, Saint  
 Gregory VII, Saint  
 Gregory IX, Pope  
 Gregory of Nazianzos, Saint  
 Gregory of Nyssa, Saint  
 Gregory of Tours, Saint  
 Groote, Gerard  
 Grosseteste, Robert  
 Guarino da Verona  
 Guelfs and Ghibellines  
 Guibert of Nogent  
 guilds  
 Guillaume d'Orange cycle  
 Guillaume le Maréchal  
 Guinevere  
 Guiscard, Robert  
 Gutenberg, Johann  
 Haakon I the Good  
 Habsburg dynasty  
 Hadewijch of Antwerp, Blessed  
 hadith  
 Hafiz  
 Hafsids, caliphate  
 Haggadah  
 Hagia Sophia in Constantinople  
 hagiography  
 hajj  
 al-Hakim Bi-Amr Allah  
 Halakah  
 Hamdanids  
 Hanseatic League  
 Hapsburg dynasty  
 Harold II Godwineson of Wessex  
 Harrowing of Hell  
 Hartmann von Aue  
 Harun al-Rashid  
 al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib  
 Hastings, Battle of  
 Hattin, Battle of Horns of  
 Havelock the Dane  
 Hawkwood, John  
 heaven  
 Hedeby  
 Heimskringla  
 Heinrich Seuse  
 hell  
 Héloïse  
 Henry I  
 Henry II Plantagenet  
 Henry III  
 Henry III the Salian  
 Henry V, king of England  
 Henry VI, King  
 Henry of Ghent  
 Henry Suso  
 Henry the Lion  
 Henry "the Navigator"  
 Heraclios I  
 heraldry and heralds  
 heresy and heresies  
 hermetism and hermetic literature  
 hermits and eremitism  
 al-Hijr  
 Hildegard of Bingen, Saint  
 Hilton, Walter  
 Hincmar of Rheims  
 hippodromes  
 Hohenstaufen dynasty  
 Hohenzollern dynasty  
 Holland  
 Holy Lance  
 Holy Roman Empire  
 Holy Sepulcher  
 Holy Spirit  
 Holy Week  
 Holy Year  
 homosexuality  
 hope  
 horses  
 Hospitallers  
 hospitals  
 host desecration libel  
 Hostiensis, Cardinal  
 houses and housing  
 Hrabanus Maurus  
 Hrotswitha or Gandersheim  
 Hugh Capet  
 Hugh of Saint Victor  
 Huguccio  
 Hulegu  
 humanism  
 Humbert of Silva Candida  
 Humiliati  
 humility  
 Hundred Years' War  
 Hungary  
 Huns  
 hunting and fowling  
 Hunyadi, John Corvinus  
 Hus, John  
 al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib  
 hymns, hymnals, and hymnology  
 Ibelin family  
 Ibn al-Athir, Izz al-Din  
 Ibn al-Haytham, Abu Ali al-Hasan  
 ibn al-Hasan, al-Basra  
 Ibn Battuta, Abu Abdallah  
 Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad ibn Muhammad  
 Ibn Khaldun, Wali al-Din Abd  
 al-Rahman ibn Muhammad  
 Ibn Rushd, Abu l-Walid Muhammad  
 Ibn Sina, Abu Ali al-Husayn  
 Ibn Tumart  
 Iceland and Icelandic literature  
 Iconoclasm and Iconoclastic  
 controversy  
 icons, history and theology of  
 al-Idrisi  
 Idrisid dynasty  
 Igor  
 Il-Khanids  
 illumination  
 Illyricum and the Illyrians  
 imam and *imamah*  
 impeachment and attainder  
 incest  
 Indiction  
 Indo-European languages  
 indulgences  
 Innocent III, Pope  
 Innocent IV, Pope  
 inns and taverns  
 Inns of Court  
 Inquisition  
 insanity, treatment of  
 interdict  
 investiture controversy or disputes  
 Iran  
 Iraq  
 Ireland  
 Irene  
 Irnerius  
 irrigation  
 Isaac I Komnenos  
 Isaac II Angelos  
 Isaac of Stella  
 Isabel I  
 Isaurians and the Isaurian dynasty  
 Isidore of Seville, Saint  
 Islam  
 Islamic conquests and early empire  
 Ismailis  
 Italy  
 Ivan III the Great of Moscovy  
 Ivo of Chartres, Saint  
 ivory and ivories  
 Jacopone da Todi  
 Jacquérie  
 Jagiellonian dynasty

xiv List of Entries

- al-Jahiz, Abu Uthman Amr ibn Bahr  
al-Fukaymi al-Basra  
James I the Conqueror  
James of Molay  
James of Vitry  
James of Voragine  
Janissaries and the Janissary Corps  
Jaufré Rudel  
Jean de France, duke of Berry  
Jenghiz Khan  
Jerome, Saint  
Jerusalem  
Jerusalem, Latin Kingdom of  
Jews and Judaism  
Jews and Judaism: relations with  
Christians and Muslims  
jihad  
Joachim, abbot of Fiore  
Joan, Pope, legend of  
Joan of Arc, Saint  
Johannes Andreae  
John II Komnenos  
John VIII Palaiologos  
John XXII, Pope  
John Balliol  
John Lackland  
John of Capistrano, Saint  
John of Gaunt  
John of Paris  
John of Plano Carpini  
John of Salisbury  
John Scottus Eriugena  
John Tauler  
Joinville, Jean de  
Joseph of Arimathea, Saint  
Judah ben Samuel Halevi  
Julian of Norwich  
Julian the Apostate  
jury trial  
justice  
Justinian I  
just war  
Kaba  
Kabbala  
*kalam*  
Kalevala  
Kalonymus family  
Karbala, Battle of  
Kells, Book of  
Kempe, Margery  
Khalid ibn al-Walid  
Kharijites  
Khazars  
al-Khwarizmi, Muhammad ibn Musa  
Khwarizmshahs  
Kiev and the Kievan Rus'  
al-Kindi, Abu Yusuf Yaqub ibn Ishaq  
al-Sabbah  
kings and kingship, rituals of  
knights and knighthood  
Komnene, Anna  
Komnenos dynasty  
Kosovo, Battles of  
Krak des Chevaliers  
kremlins  
Krum, khan of the Bulgars  
Kublai Khan  
Kufic script and *al-Kufa*  
Kurds and Kurdistan  
labor  
Ladislas II Jagiello  
laity  
Lakhmid dynasty  
Lancelot  
Lanfranc of Bec  
Langland, William  
Languedoc  
Laon  
Last Judgment  
Latin Empire of Constantinople  
Latin language and literature  
Latin states in Greece  
Latin states in the East  
law, canon and ecclesiastical  
Lebanon  
Lechfeld, Battle of  
legate, papal  
Legnano, Battle of  
lenses and eyeglasses  
Lent  
Leo I the Great, Saint  
Leo III, Saint  
León  
leprosy  
Lewes, Battle of, and *Song of Lewes*  
Liber pontificalis  
libraries  
Libri Carolini  
lighting and lighting devices  
limbo  
Limbourg brothers  
Lindisfarne Gospels  
Lippi, Fra Filippo  
Lisbon  
litany  
Lithuania  
liturgical books  
Liutprand of Cremona  
Livonia  
Llull, Ramón  
Llywelyn II Fawr ab Iorwerth the  
Great  
Llywelyn III ap Gruffydd the Last  
logic  
Lollards  
Lombard League  
Lombards  
Lombardy and the kingdom of the  
Lombards  
London  
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio and Pietro  
Louis IX, Saint  
Louis XI  
love  
Lübeck  
Lucca  
Lull, Ramón, and Lullism  
Lupus Servatus of Ferrières  
Lusignans  
Lydgate, John  
Lyon  
Mabinogi  
MacAlpin, Kenneth I  
Macbeth  
Macedonia  
Macedonian dynasty  
Machaut, Guillaume de  
al-Madina al-Zahira  
*madrassa*  
al-Maghrib  
magic and folklore  
Magna Carta  
Maimonides, Moses  
Majorca  
Maldon, Battle of  
Mali  
Malory, Thomas  
Malta  
Mamluks  
al-Mamun, Abu l-Abbas Abd Allah  
bin Harun al Rasd  
Mandeville, John  
Manfred of Hohenstaufen  
Manichaeism and Mani  
manors and manorial lordship  
al-Mansur, Muhammad ibn Abu  
Amr  
Mantegna, Andrea  
Manzikert, Battle of  
maps  
Marco Polo  
Margaret of Denmark, Norway, and  
Sweden  
Margery Kempe  
Marie de Champagne

- Marie de France  
 Marie of Oignies  
 Marrakech  
 Marranos  
 marriage  
 Marsilius of Padua  
 Martianus Capella  
 Martin of Tours, Saint  
 Martini, Simone  
 Mary, cult of  
 Masaccio, Tomasso di Giovanni di  
     Simone Cassai  
 masons and masonry  
 Mass, liturgy of  
 al-Masudi, Abul-Hasan Ali  
 Matthew Paris  
 Mecca  
 Mechthild von Magdeburg  
 Medici family  
 medicine  
 Medina  
 Mehmed II  
 Memling, Hans  
 mendicant orders  
 menorah  
 merchants  
 Merinids  
 Merovingian dynasty  
 metalsmiths and metal work,  
     metallurgy  
 Michael Scot  
 Middle Ages, concept of  
 Milan  
 military orders  
 millenarianism, Christian  
 mills, wind, and water  
 minaret  
 minbar  
 ministerials  
 miracles and collections of miracles  
 Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della  
 Mirror of Princes  
 missal  
*missi dominici*  
 missions and missionaries,  
     Christian  
 Mistra  
 Moldavia  
 monasticism  
 money and mints  
 Mongols and the Mongol Empire  
 Monophysitism  
 Monreale  
 Monte Cassino, Monastery of  
 Montpellier  
 Mont Saint-Michel  
 morality plays  
 Moravia  
*Morea, Chronicle of*, and despot of  
 Morocco  
 mortmain  
 mosaic  
 Moscow  
 mosque  
 Mosul  
 motet  
 Mozarabs  
 Mudejar  
 Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Abd  
     al-Muttalib  
 Murad I  
 Murad II  
 music  
 mystery and miracle plays  
 mysticism, Christian  
 Nachmanides, Moses  
 Naples and Kingdom of Naples  
 narthex  
 Nasrids  
 nature, idea of  
 Navarre, kingdom of  
 nave  
 navigation  
 Neoplatonism and Platonism in the  
     Middle Ages  
 Nestorianism  
 Netherlands  
 Neustria  
 Nevsky, Alexander, Saint  
 Nibelungenlied  
 Nicaea, Councils of  
 Nicaea, Empire of  
 Nicholas II, Pope  
 Nicholas of Autrécourt  
 Nicholas of Cusa  
 Nicholas of Myra, Bishop  
 Nicolaitism  
 Nicopolis, Crusade and Battle of  
 Nithard  
 nobility and nobles  
 nominalism  
 Norbert of Xanten, Saint  
 Normandy and the Normans  
 Normans in Italy  
 Norway  
 notaries and the notariate  
 Notker the Stammerer, Saint  
 Notre-Dame of Paris, Cathedral of  
 Novgorod  
 novice and novitiate  
 Nubia  
 nuns and nunneries  
 Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Zangi  
 Nuremberg  
 oath  
 oblates  
 Ochrida  
 Odilo of Cluny, Saint  
 Odo  
 Odoacer  
 offices, monastic and canonical  
 Olaf I Trygvesson  
 Oleg  
 Olivi, Peter John  
 Omar Khayyam  
 optics  
 Orcagna, Andrea di Cione  
     Arcagnolo  
 ordeals  
 Orderic Vitalis  
 Oresme, Nicholas  
 Orientalism  
 Origen  
 Orosius, Paulus  
 Oseberg find or ship  
 Osman I  
 Ostrogoths  
 Otto I the Great  
 Otto III  
 Ottoman Turks and Empire  
 Ottonian art  
 Otto of Freising  
 outlawry  
 Oxford and Oxford University  
 Pachomius  
 Padua  
 paganism and Christianization  
 painting  
 Palaiologos, imperial dynasty  
 Palamas, Gregory, Saint  
 paleography  
 Palermo  
 Palestine  
 pallium  
 Palm Sunday  
 Palmyra  
 Pannonia  
 papacy  
 Papal States  
 paper, introduction of  
 papyrus and papyrology  
 Paradise  
 parasites  
 parchment  
 Paris and the University of Paris

xvi List of Entries

- parish  
Parlement of Paris or France  
Parliament, English  
Paschal II, Pope  
Passover  
Patrick, Saint  
patronage  
Paul the Deacon  
Peace and Truce of God  
peasant rebellions  
peasantry  
Peć  
pecia  
Pelagianism  
Pelagius  
Penitentials  
Pentateuch  
Pentecost  
Pépin III the Short  
Perceval  
person  
Peter I  
Peter Lombard  
Peter the Hermit  
Peter the Venerable  
Petra  
Petrarch, Francesco  
Philip II Augustus  
Philip IV the Fair  
Philip the Good  
philosophy and theology  
Photios I the Great, Saint  
Piaſt dynasty  
Picts  
Piero della Francesca  
Piers Plowman  
pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites  
pipe rolls  
Pisa  
Pisan, Christine de  
Pisanello  
Pisano, Andrea  
Pisano, Giovanni  
Pisano, Niccolò  
Pius II, Pope  
plague  
Plantagenets  
Plato and Platonism  
Plotinus in the Middle Ages  
*podestà*  
Poitiers, Battles of  
Poland  
political theory and treatises  
polyphony  
polyptych  
popular art and religion  
Porette, Margaret  
portolan charts  
Portugal  
poverty, voluntary  
Praemunire  
Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges  
Prague  
prayer and prayers  
preaching and preachers  
predestination  
Premonstratensians  
Premyslid dynasty  
Prester John  
priests and priesthood  
printing, origins of  
prisons  
processions, liturgical  
Procopius of Caesarea  
prophecy  
prostitution  
Provence  
provisions, ecclesiastical  
Prudentius  
Prussia  
Psalter  
Psellos, Michael  
Ptolemy of Lucca  
Pucelle, Jean  
punctuation  
purgatory  
pyx and pyxis  
*qadi*  
al-Qayrawan  
quodlibet  
Quran  
Quraysh  
Rabat  
Radegund, Saint  
Ramadan  
Ranulf de Glanville  
Raoul Glaber  
Rashi  
Ravenna  
Raymond IV of Saint Giles of  
Toulouse  
Raymond of Peñafort, Saint  
al-Razi, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn  
Zakariyya  
realism  
Recared I  
Reconquest  
Redemption  
reform, idea of  
relics  
reliquary  
renaissance and revivals in art and  
culture  
representative assemblies and  
institutions  
resurrection, Islamic  
Rheims and Rheims Cathedral  
rhetoric  
Rhodes  
Richard I Lionheart  
Richard II  
Richard III  
Richard Rolle of Hampole  
ritual murder  
roads and bridges  
Robert I the Bruce  
Robert of Arbrissel, Saint  
Robin Hood  
Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar  
Roger I  
Roger II  
Rollo  
Romagna  
romances  
Roman de la Rose  
Romanesque art and architecture  
Rome  
Roncevaux, Battle of  
rosary  
rose window  
*rota*  
Rouen  
Round Table  
Rudolf of Habsburg  
Ruiz, Juan  
Rumi  
runes, runic script and inscriptions  
Rupert of Deutz  
Rurik  
Russia and Ruś  
Ruysbroeck, Jan van, Blessed  
sabbath and witches' sabbath  
Sachsenspiegel  
sacramentary  
sacristy  
Saffarids  
saffron  
sagas  
Saint-Denis, abbey and church of  
Sainte-Chapelle of Paris  
Saint Patrick's Purgatory  
Saladin  
Salian dynasty  
Salimbene de Adam  
Salisbury, cathedral of

- salt and salt trade  
 Salutati, Coluccio  
 Samanids  
 Samarkand  
 Samuel, czar of Bulgaria  
 Santiago de Compostela  
 Saracens  
 Sardinia  
 Sassanians  
 Sassetta  
 Sava Nemanja of Serbia, Saint  
 Savonarola, Girolamo  
 Savoy, county and duchy of  
 Saxo Grammaticus  
 Saxons and Saxony  
 Schism, Great (1054)  
 Schism, Great (1378-1417)  
 Scholasticism and Scholastic  
     method  
 science  
 Scone, Stone of  
 Scotland  
 scriptorium  
 scripts  
 Scutage  
 Scythia and Scythians  
 seals and sigillography  
 Seljuk Turks of Rum  
 sentences  
 Sephardim  
 Serbia and Serbs  
 serfs and serfdom  
 sermons and homilies  
 seven deadly or capital sins  
 seven liberal arts  
 seven sacraments  
 Seville, city and kingdom of  
 sexuality and sexual attitudes  
 Sforza family  
 Shia, Shiism and Shiites  
 ships and shipbuilding  
 Sicilian Vespers  
 Sicily  
 sickness and disease  
 Siena  
 Siger of Brabant  
 Sigismund of Luxembourg  
 silk and silk roads  
 Simeon I  
 Simon IV de Montfort, the Elder  
 Simon de Montfort, the Younger  
 simony  
 sin  
 Sinai  
 Skanderbeg  
 slave trade and slavery  
 Slavs  
 Snorri Sturluson  
 social status and structure  
 Sofia  
 Songhai  
 Song of Songs  
 soul  
 Spain  
 spices and spice trade  
 Spiritual Franciscans  
 Split  
*spolia* and right of spoil  
 stained glass  
 statutes  
 Stephen I of Hungary, Saint  
 Stephen Dušan  
 Stephen Langton  
 Stilicho  
 Sufism  
 Suger of Saint Denis, Abbot  
 suicide  
 summa  
 Sunna, Sunnis, Sunnites, and  
     Sunnism  
 Sutton Hoo  
 Swabia  
 Sweden  
 Switzerland  
 Sylvester II, Pope  
 synagogue  
 Syria  
 al-Tabari, Abu Jafar Muhammad  
     ibn Jarir  
 Taborites  
 Talmud  
 Tam, Jacob ben Meir  
 Tamerlane  
 Tancred of Hauteville  
 tapestry  
 taxation, taxes and tribute  
 technology  
 Templars  
 Teutonic Knights, Order of  
 textiles  
 theater  
 Theodora I  
 Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoth  
 Theodosian Code  
 Theodulf of Orléans  
 theology, schools of  
 Theophano  
 Thessaloniki  
 Thierry of Chartres  
 Thomas à Kempis  
 Thousand and One Nights  
 Timbuktu  
 time and its practical application  
 Timurids  
 tithes  
 Toledo  
 Tomislav,  
 tonsure  
 Torquemada, Tomás de  
 torture  
 Totila  
 Toulouse  
 tournament  
 trade and commerce  
 Transfiguration  
 Transylvania  
 Traversari, Ambrogio  
 Trebizond Empire  
 Tribonian  
 Trinitarian doctrine  
 Tripoli, western  
 Tripoli, eastern  
 Tristan and Iseult  
 Trota  
 troubadours  
 Tudor, house of  
 Tughrul Beg  
 Tulunids  
 Tunis  
 Turks and Turkomans  
 Tuscany  
 Tyler, Wat  
 Tyre  
 Ubertino da Casale  
 Uccello, Paolo  
*ulama*  
 Ulphilas  
 Umar I ibn al-Khattab, Caliph  
 Umayyads  
 umma  
 unicorn  
 universals  
 universities and schools  
 Urban II, Blessed  
 Urban VI  
 Ursula, Saint, and her companions,  
     legend of  
 usury  
 Uthman ibn Affan  
 utraquists and utraquism  
 Valencia  
 Valhalla  
 Valkyrie  
 Valla, Lorenzo  
 Valladolid

**xviii List of Entries**

- Vallombrosa  
Valois, dynasty  
Vandals  
Varangians and Varangian Guard  
Vasco da Gama  
Venice  
Verdun, Treaty of  
vernacular  
Verona  
vespers  
vestments, liturgical  
Vézelay, Church of La Madeleine  
vicar  
Vienna  
Vikings  
village communities and settlements  
Villani, Giovanni and Matteo  
Villehardouin, Geoffroi de  
villein and villeinage  
Villon, François  
Vincent of Beauvais  
vines and vineyards  
Vinland and Vinland sagas  
virginity  
virtues and vices  
Visconti family  
Visigoths  
visions and dreams  
Vittorino da Feltre  
Vivarium  
Vlachs  
Vlad III the Impaler  
Vladimir I the Great, Saint  
Vulgate  
Wace  
Walahfrid Strabo  
Waldemar I the Great  
Waldemar II the Conqueror  
Waldensians  
Wales  
al-Walid, Abd al-Malik  
Wallace, William, Sir  
Wallachia  
Walsingham, Thomas  
Walter of Châtillon  
Walter of Henley  
Walter Sansavoir of Poissy the Penniless  
Walther von der Vogelweide  
Wandering Jew, legend of  
*waqf*  
warfare  
Wars of the Roses  
weapons and weaponry  
Wenceslas, Saint  
Wends  
wergild  
Wessex  
Westminster Abbey  
Weyden, Rogier van der  
wheel of fortune  
Whitby, Abbey and Monastery and Synod of  
widows and widowhood  
Widukind  
Wilfrid, Saint  
William I the Bad  
William I the Conqueror  
William I the Lion  
William II Rufus  
William II the Good  
William IX  
William of Auvergne  
William of Auxerre  
William of Malmesbury  
William of Moerbeke  
William of Ockham  
William of Rubruck  
William of Tyre  
William of Wyckham  
William Tell  
William the Marshal  
wills and testaments  
wine and winemaking  
witchcraft  
Wittelsbach family  
Wolfram von Eschenbach  
women, status of  
works of mercy  
Wulfstan of Worcester, Saint  
Wycliffe, John  
Yaroslav the Wise  
Yazid I bin Muawiya  
year 1000  
Yiddish  
Yolanda of Brienne  
York  
York Plays  
youth, concept of  
Zabarella, Francesco  
Zirids  
Žižka, Jan  
Zoroastrianism

# PREFACE

This encyclopedia of the many and varied worlds of the Middle Ages covers the period from the late antique world to about 1500 C.E., the formative era for many aspects of modern secular and religious cultures. It integrates regions and civilizations from Scandinavia in the north to North Africa in the south, from the Maghrib to Egypt. From west to east it treats topics from Iceland to Moscow and the Mongols; across the Mediterranean Sea it includes Byzantium and Seljuk and early Ottoman Anatolia, and farther east to the Levant or eastern shore, to Syria, Palestine, the Kurds, and Persia. The entries emphasize the interaction among all these varied and changing civilizations and religious groups, in addition to covering the traditional topics of monarchy, warfare, and chivalry. They enrich their subjects with attention to issues such as gender and popular culture. They reflect the changes in scholarly and pedagogical interests and approaches that have occurred in the last two decades, with their broadened cultural and geographic coverage. Whatever might have been Europe during this long period was much more influenced by the many peoples and cultures surrounding and inside it than was appreciated a few decades ago.

The *Encyclopedia of the Medieval World* is intended to be of use to students and scholars in a wide range of topics of a historical and wider cultural nature. For example, it includes material on literary figures and concepts. There are entries for authors, such as Dante, and characters, such as King Arthur. Philosophical and theological scholars and ideas are treated. Individual artists and styles in art and architecture are included.

## EXAMPLES OF TOPICS

1. Significant individuals (Charlemagne, Gregory VII, Saladin)
2. Archaeological artifacts of particular importance (Sutton Hoo)
3. Economic and agricultural practices, ideas, and commodities (agriculture, gold, banks, usury)
4. Institutions of church and state (papacy, parliament, commune)
5. Scientific and technological knowledge and inventions (Roger Bacon, the compass)
6. Items and practices in daily life (games, food, cooking)
7. Landmark documents (Magna Carta)
8. Artistic production, styles, techniques, themes, producers, and patrons for painting, sculpture, architecture, and the minor arts (Romanesque, Gothic, manuscript illumination, Chartres Cathedral)
9. Social ideas and practice (marriage, death and burial, children and childhood) of all levels of society
10. Warfare (technology, battles, and wars) and kingship (dynasties and practices)
11. National literary and cultural authors (Dante), monuments (*Decameron*), subjects (Gawain), and styles
12. Religious ideas and practices (simony, reform movements, heresies, saints)
13. Cultural interchange among peoples (peaceful and violent)
14. Theological and philosophical ideas, individuals, and movements (Scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas)
15. Travel and expansion (eastern Europe, the Levant, geographical knowledge, ships)

## FURTHER READING AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Those beginning research and reading will be able to start on a particular topic or entry, have the basic ideas and interpretations presented to them, and then be pointed to possible sources for additional exploration in primary and secondary sources written in English. With rare exceptions, the reader is directed to books or monographic studies. If there are primary sources of particular importance for the entry that are translated into English, they are cited first in the further reading section to distinguish

## xx Preface

them from the secondary studies. The reader is encouraged to follow the references internal to entries and marked by small capitals. Both those and the citations in the further reading lists greatly enrich and contextualize the subject of the entry.

There is little overlap with the comprehensive lists in the bibliography. The only abbreviation used frequently in the further reading sections is that of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed. 9 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill

1960– ), which is cited by volume and page numbers. There are a few additional abbreviated references in the further reading lists to the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, and André Vauchez's *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. These are noted and suggested because of the lack of other material in English. The bibliography contains the latest work in English on the medieval worlds and is grouped into 10 general and topical sections.

ENTRIES  
A TO Z



# A

**Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)** Famous as the capital of CHARLEMAGNE and for its church, Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, is situated to the north of the Eifel Massif in western Germany. The Romans had built baths there in the first century C.E. but abandoned its hot springs in about 375. The place was mentioned again by Carolingian chroniclers in 765 as PÉPIN III THE SHORT took up temporary residence there. In the ninth century Charlemagne chose it as his favorite residence; hence it became the premier royal dwelling of the Carolingian Empire. The king added a group of further buildings needed for this new capital, the wooden constructions of which have since disappeared. Among the stone buildings, only traces remain of a large reception room and a monumental gate that opened to the principal road, which was probably surmounted by a court-room. Only the palatine chapel still exists. Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and containing Charlemagne's tomb, it thus survived at the end of the ninth century when the rest of the royal palace slipped into decline. The chapel was built between 796 and 805 under the supervision of Eudes of Metz. It is centered on an octagon surrounded by side aisles and is surmounted by tribunes within a 16-sided polygon. On the western side, a square room is flanked by two towers with staircases that give access to the tribunes. On the tribunes or surrounding balconies, the emperor sat on a throne modeled on King Solomon's, filled with relics. From there, he could see the two altars in the sanctuary in the eastern and main body of the chapel. The emperor faced a mosaic covering the cupola, depicting Christ's acclamation by the 24 elders of the Apocalypse. At the time of his coronation OTTO I established the tradition that the

ruler of Germany must be crowned in the chapel of Aachen. In 1165 FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA purportedly opened Charlemagne's tomb, rediscovered by the emperor OTTO III in 1000, and had Charlemagne canonized. He then made the town of Aachen a free town, deeming it the capital of the empire. This privilege affirmed, alongside the chapel and royal palace, Aachen's new identity as an important urban center of population. Aachen was given a new wall in 1175 and a



The Carolingian palace chapel in Aachen, Germany  
(Courtesy Library of Congress)

town hall in 1267 on the site of Charlemagne's old audience hall. The economy of the town was based mainly on cloth production and metalwork, such as work with copper and brass. It was also a pilgrimage center for the relics of Charlemagne.

**Further reading:** Jeffrey H. Schaffer, "Aachen," in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 1–3; Richard A. Sullivan, *Aix-la-Chapelle in the Age of Charlemagne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

**al-Abbas ibn Abd al Muttalib** (ca. 564–ca. 653) *companion of the prophet Muhammad*

Al-Abbas was born about 564 and became a wealthy merchant in MECCA. He was a member of the tribe of the Quraysh and an influential member of the clan of the Hashim. He was the paternal uncle and brother-in-law of MUHAMMAD. His early life and his relationship with Muhammad have had to be reconstructed from sources written long after his life and produced as part of the claims of legitimacy of the ABBASID caliphs who claimed descent from him. Not an early adherent of the Prophet, he even fought against him at the Battle of BADR in 624, when he was captured. But eventually al-Abbas joined Islam after its early successes against the city of Mecca, eventually even assisting in the capture of the city. After the death of Muhammad in 632, al-Abbas continued to be held in high regard and was an adviser to the first caliphs, but he did not participate militarily or administratively in the conquests. His son, Abd-Allah or Ibn Abbas (ca. 619–ca. 686), was also a companion of the Prophet and an important earlier interpreter of the Quran. He was claimed as the source of the line that led to the Abbasid dynasty. Al-Abbas died an old man about 653, probably in MEDINA.

**Further reading:** Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); W. Montgomery Watt, "al-'Abbās ibn Abd al Muttalib," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.8–9.

**Abbasid dynasty** After working for decades in clandestine efforts to overthrow the Umayyads as caliphs, the Abbasids seized control from them in 750. They massacred all the members of that dynasty whom they could catch and exercised political power as caliphs until 945, when they progressively began to lose control of their government to their military officials. They became religious figureheads. The last Abbasid to reign in any capacity from BAGHDAD was killed by the MONGOLS in 1258. A few years after the end of the dynasty in Baghdad in 1258, members of the family were restored as symbolic religious caliphs to give the new Mamluk rulers of Egypt more credibility. This line lasted until the Ottoman takeover of Egypt in 1517.

## RISE TO POWER AND CULTURAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

They were later to claim descent from AL-ABBAS IBN ABD AL MUTTALIB, the uncle of Muhammad, though in the mid-eighth century they were circumspect about their qualifications for the office of caliph and even who was the leader of their movement. Even though the Shiites brought them to power, they were Sunni in orientation; soon after 750 they proclaimed themselves the family elected to rule by God. Their first caliph, ABU L-ABBAS AL-SAFFAH (called "The Blood Thirsty"), gained power by killing every member of the Umayyad and then turned on his Shia followers. They initially lost control over the western section of the empire, AL-ANDALUS and the AL-MAGHRIB, but maintained and strengthened their control over the eastern areas, especially IRAQ and IRAN. They based their seizure of power on including more non-Arabs in their regime. They also played upon resentment against the Umayyads' employment of family members in almost every high position of government. The Abbasids became more reliant for their administration and army on Arabs and Iranians, unlike the earlier Umayyads, who had been primarily served by Syrians.

The dynasty's second caliph, AL-MANSUR, established the recently formed city of Baghdad as his capital. It was during his reign (754–775) that there began a great cultural flowering usually called the Golden Age of Islam and associated with the Abbasid dynasty. Though very successful until the early 10th century, the Abbasids gradually grew more isolated within a court setting. When they abandoned a Mediterranean orientation for a more western Asian outlook in their culture and government, Arabic and Persian ideas flowed into Islamic theology, art, and literature. Under the Abbasids Islam was receptive to all kinds of influences during the early part of their rule. Scholars consulted Greek philosophy and mystical thought from Persia and India, greatly enriching religious culture. In political and religious terms, they were, however, intolerant of the Shiites, who believed that only the descendants of ALI IBN ABU TALIB should rule over Islam. It was under the Abbasids that a comprehensive Islamic law code, the Sharia, was compiled and put into force.

## DECLINE

In the 10th century the Abbasids lost the tenuous control they had exercised over EGYPT and PALESTINE to the FATIMIDS. This change was soon followed by the effective takeover of government by generals and administrators from the eastern provinces. The caliphs AL-MAMUN and al-Mutasim (r. 813–833) promoted the heterodox ideas of a group called the Mutazilites and began to persecute those holding what were now deemed to be heretical religious ideas. As part of their efforts to maintain control, these caliphs moved themselves and their government from Baghdad to a new nearby city called Samarra

some 60 miles away. At the same time their religious authority over what was becoming Sunni Islam grew. After the military takeovers of 945 the Abbasid caliphates were kept as figureheads for the regimes of the BUYIDS, and later of the SELJUK Turks, who had initially entered the caliphate as soldiers. In 1258 the Mongols ended this system and sacked Baghdad, killing the Abbasid caliph in the process. A few years later the new Mamluk sultan in Egypt, BAYBARS I, appointed a similar puppet Abbasid caliph in Cairo.

See also ABD AL-RAHMAN I; AGHLABIDS; ASSASSINS; HARUN AL-RASHID; HULEGU; IDRISIDS; IMAM; MAMLUKS; SALADIN; SAMANIDS; SUFISM.

**Further reading:** Michael David Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1996); Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Jacob Lassner, *The Shaping of 'Abbasid Rule* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Bernard Lewis, "Abbāsids," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.15–23; Roy Mottahedeh, "The 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4, *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuks*, ed. R. N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 57–89; Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the 'Abbasid State, Incubation of a Revolt* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983).

**Abbo of Fleury, Saint (Abbon, Floriacensis)** (ca. 945–1004) *scholar; political theologian*

Abbo was born in the Orléanais, in north central France, in about 945. As a boy Abbo was offered by his parents to the monastery of Fleury, where he was educated. After studying at Paris and Rheims, Abbo returned in about 965 to Fleury as a teacher. Between 985 and 987 he lived at the monastery of Ramsey in England, where he became associated with Saint Dunstan (ca. 909–988), archbishop of Canterbury, at whose request he wrote the *Passion of Saint Edmund*, an account of the martyrdom of Saint Edmund of East Anglia by the Danes in 869. In 988, as a supporter of the reforms of CLUNY, Abbo became abbot of Fleury, but he was murdered in 1004 at La Réole, a dependency of Fleury. His disciple Aimoin wrote the *Life of Abbo*, which launched his cult as a model reforming abbot and martyr.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

Abbo produced a collection of grammatical questions, two treatises on syllogisms, a short history of the papacy, and a series of scientific treatises on astronomy and the calculation of dates. His political ideas addressed the clash between the monks and bishops of central France over the question of whether the papacy should prevail in conciliar or governing matters and determine the status of monks within the church. Abbo was a champion of

monastic freedom and of the primacy of papal power. He wrote letters, compiled a canonical collection, and created a synthesis of various ideas on political theology, especially in his *Apologia to Kings Hugh and Robert*. Abbo advocated a hierarchical society of monastic authority in which monks, since they were pure and detached from the world, should guide the laity. In his *Apologeticus* and other writings, he attacked SIMONY, or the purchase of ecclesiastical office; his works had immense influence on the 11th-century GREGORIAN REFORM. Abbo espoused the concept of one spiritual and material church. With regard to ecclesiastical property, all material goods and spiritual goods were just as inseparable as the body and the spirit. This meant that any possession of ecclesiastical property by the laity was a form of heresy and an attack on the unity of the temporal and spiritual body of Christ in his human and divine natures.

**Further reading:** Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987).

**abbreviations** See PALEOGRAPHY.

**Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan** (646/647–705) *fifth Umayyad caliph*

Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was born about 646 in MEDINA, the son of the Marwan I ibn al-Hakam, who was caliph for a short period in 684–685. Abd al-Malik grew up in Medina, where he received a religious education and served in minor administrative posts for the Umayyad caliphs who were making DAMASCUS the center of their power rather than the more purely Arabic cities of MECCA and Medina.

#### ISLAMIC CIVIL WAR

A civil war started when Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr, based in Mecca and the surrounding Hejaz, refused to give allegiance to the new Umayyad caliph, YAZID I BIN MUAWIYA, in 680. In addition there was a serious rebellion in al-Kufa, and the KHARIJITES were already in charge of an unrecognized separate state centered in AL-BASRA between Iraq and Iran. With his father, Marwan I, Abd al-Malik was driven out of Medina in 683 and forced to flee to Damascus. The caliph Yazid made considerable progress in restoring Umayyad rule against the Kharijites and the SHITES but had little success against the rebellion in Mecca. In 683 the overwhelmingly Syrian Umayyad army retook Medina and was laying siege to Mecca when Yazid I died. His son, Muawiya II, an infant, succeeded him but soon died. Abd al-Malik's father, cousin to an earlier caliph, Muawiya I (r. 661–680), was proclaimed the fourth Umayyad caliph in 684. Marwan I launched a campaign against Mecca but failed to take the city. Unfortunately during the attack, a stray arrow burned down

## 6 Abd al-Rahman I ibn Muawiya

the KABA. Marwan died in Damascus in 684, and his son, Abd al-Malik, was proclaimed caliph in 685.

### HIS CALIPHATE

With great effort Abd al-Malik defeated all the forces opposing him over the next few years. He restored Umayyad rule by 692 with the help of his great general and administrator al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf. He then continued the reforms started at the very beginning of his reign, putting more non-Arab Muslims into positions of power and decreasing the number of non-Muslims in administrative posts. He made Arabic the language of his bureaucracy. He struck the first Arab-Islamic coins in 693, replacing the Persian and Byzantine coins in use until then. He managed further territorial expansion and consolidated caliphate control into Khurasan, the al-Maghrib, Transoxiana, and southern Pakistan or Sind, but he failed to make any headway against the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. There were further rebellions against heavy taxation throughout the caliphate, but especially among the COPTS in EGYPT. The people of al-Kufa were still reluctant to accept Umayyad rule. Abd al-Malik successfully overcame all of them.

### RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Abd al-Malik built the DOME OF THE ROCK in JERUSALEM, demonstrating the permanent presence of Islam in that most religious of cities. Damascus and Jerusalem were connected with roads, and garrison towns were established in the newly pacified regions. Abd al-Malik's regime took on more courtly practices and monarchical qualities, distancing it from the society. He promoted more professional administration and institutions centered on himself, the caliph; some Muslims perceived the trend as unacceptable secularization. Abd al-Malik gained some acceptance among religious dissidents because of his personal devotion to the practice of Islam. He sponsored the collection and standardization of the large number of ideas and quotations circulating about the opinions of the Prophet on religious questions, leading to more acceptable versions of the Hadith. Over time he became more autocratic and placed more of his relatives in positions of power; immediately before his death the succession became problematic once again. He tried to simplify the succession by removing his brothers and naming his three sons to succeed him in order: AL-WALID, Sulayman, and Yazid. With his realm essentially at peace, expanding its borders, and prosperous, Abd al-Malik died in Damascus in October 705. The peaceful succession of his eldest son, al-Walid, suggests a growing acceptance of dynastic succession.

**Further reading:** *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Board of Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, 1992); H. A. R. Gibb,

“Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.76–77; Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); A. L. Siddiqi, *The Builder of Umayyad Empire* (Allahabad: Senate House, 1951).

**Abd al-Rahman I ibn Muawiya (al-Dakkil [the Immigrant], the Hawk of Kuraysh) (731–788) emir of Córdoba, founder of an Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus**

Abd al-Rahman was born about 731, perhaps to a Berber mother. As a teenager, he barely and dramatically escaped being killed when the ABBASIDS overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 750. Another tradition suggested that he was a collaborator with the new Abbasid dynasty. Abd al-Rahman fled westward through PALESTINE, EGYPT, and Ifriqiya. He eventually reached the Iberian Peninsula, on August 14, 755. He had laid the groundwork for his acceptance there by exploiting resentment against taxes, manipulating differences among the Arab factions in AL-ANDALUS, and defeating the governor of al-Andalus, Yusuf al-Fihri. He captured SEVILLE in March of 756 and entered CÓRDOBA, the capital, proclaiming himself emir. From 757 onward he did not include the name of the Abbasid ruler in Baghdad in his Friday prayers, to declare his independence of the caliphate. Over the next few years he had to defeat several rebel armies, including rebels given assistance by CHARLEMAGNE and the Abbasids. After establishing a new and somewhat stable administration and winning enough military confrontations for his new dynasty to continue in power, Abd al-Rahman died in Córdoba on September 30, 788.

**Further reading:** Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1983); Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Longman, 1996); Évariste Lévi-Provençal, “Abd al-Rahmān,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.81–82.

**Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir li-dini llah (891–961) first caliph, most successful Umayyad dynasty ruler in al-Andalus**

Born in 891 and named heir because of his excellent promise, Abd al-Rahman reigned as prince of CÓRDOBA from October 912. Snubbing both the FATIMIDS in Africa and the ABBASIDS in BAGHDAD, he became caliph in 929, choosing the title *al-Nasir li-dini llah* (He Who Fights Victoriously in the Name of God). He spent the first part of his long reign establishing order and suppressing rebellion all over southern Iberia. He ended resistance to his rule by taking the last center of resistance in TOLEDO in 933 and fought and resisted successfully the ambitions on his realm of the Fatimids in AL-MAGHRIB. His Christian neighbors were periodically aggressive, so he had to campaign against them in person on many occasions.

Though Abd al-Rahman won some great victories, he suffered a serious defeat in 939 at the Battle of Siminicas to the king of León, Ramiro II (d. 951). During the battle, he was almost captured, and he lost his copy of the Quran, a loss that prompted him to vow never to fight again. By the end of his reign, al-Andalus was pacified, prosperous, and very much under his control. Córdoba was among the great cities of the world with 3,000 mosques and more than 100,000 shops and houses. Besides adding to the Great Mosque there, Abd al-Rahman built a luxurious palace city near Córdoba at *AL-MADINA al-Zahir*. Christian and Jewish communities throughout al-Andalus flourished during his tolerant reign. Still wary of rebellions, in 949 he executed his own son for conspiring against him. He died at Córdoba on October 15, 961, after a long and successful reign.

**Further reading:** Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1983); Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Longman, 1996); Évariste Lévi-Provençal, “Abd al-Rahmān,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.83–84.

**Abélard, Peter** (1079–1142) *scholar, teacher, one of the most important and radical thinkers of the Middle Ages*

Abélard was born at Le Pallet in BRITANNY, France, near Nantes in 1079. His father, Berengar, was a knight and lord of Pallet. Since Abélard was the eldest son, he was expected to be knighted and succeed his father. But he rejected arms and sought an ecclesiastical career as a teacher in one of the cathedral schools then flourishing in northern France. Leaving home at the age of 15, he studied logic and dialectic. Eventually, he went to PARIS to study under William of Champeaux (ca. 1070–ca. 1121), the head of the cathedral school and an archdeacon of Notre-Dame. Abélard was a difficult and intelligent student. He frequently questioned the method and conclusions of the popular William, raising points in class that embarrassed the scholar in front of his students. In 1102 Abélard set up his own rival school at Melun, quickly attracting students. About 1106 poor health forced him to visit his home in Brittany. He returned to Paris in 1107 and taught at the cathedral school, even succeeding William as its head in 1108, until the entrance of his parents into monastic life about 1111 forced him to return to Brittany to help reorganize family affairs. He soon returned to scholarship and teaching. Journeying to the cathedral school at Laon, northeast of Paris, Abélard studied under the most renowned master of this time, the elderly ANSELM of Laon. He soon grew disillusioned with Anselm’s teaching, causing a serious breach between Anselm and his students. After his expulsion from Laon, he returned in 1113 to the cathedral school in Paris, where he taught theology for a number of years in relative peace.

## HÉLOÏSE

In Paris Fulbert, a canon of the cathedral, hired Abélard as a tutor to his cultured and beautiful 18-year-old niece, HÉLOÏSE. Abélard and Héloïse fell in love. After some months Fulbert discovered their affair and forced Abélard to leave his house. Héloïse, however, soon found that she was pregnant. She and Abélard left Paris to have their child in the more secluded and secure surroundings of Le Pallet, where his relatives lived. She gave birth to a son, Astrolabe. Soon afterward, at the request of Fulbert and over her objections, the couple married in Paris. The marriage initially was to remain a secret to protect Abélard’s reputation as a committed philosopher and also to allow his unimpeded advancement as a cleric. The denial of the marriage by Abélard and Héloïse angered Fulbert. For her protection, Abélard sent her to the convent at Argenteuil. Fulbert assumed Abélard was trying to annul the marriage by forcing Héloïse into the religious life. He hired men to seize Abélard while he slept and to castrate him. This attack resulted in the disgrace of Fulbert and the death of those who had attacked Abélard and also temporarily ended Abélard’s teaching career. He and Héloïse retreated to monastic life, she at Argenteuil and he at Saint Denis, the famous Benedictine monastery north of Paris. Abélard’s life at Saint Denis was difficult not only because he was publicly disgraced, but also because separation from academic life and subjection to the authority of an abbot were foreign to him. Despite these tensions, the abbot allowed him to set up a school and Abélard’s reputation attracted students.

### TEACHING AMID CONFLICT; INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The return to teaching drew criticism from Abélard’s rivals, who maintained that monks should not teach philosophy and moreover that his training in theology was insufficient. They specifically attacked his work on the Trinity. A council at Soissons in 1121 condemned his ideas and placed him under confinement. Additional friction with his fellow monks forced Abélard to flee to a priory in Provins, located in the territory of the count of Chartres, who was well disposed toward him.

In spite of and in the midst of these reversals, Abélard found time to write. His most famous work, *Sic et non* (Yes and no), was probably written then. It was intended to provide a dialectic methodology for scholars to debate theological questions. Conflicting quotations from earlier Christian authorities were to be placed side by side, and an introduction indicated procedures for resolving dilemmas. The work explicitly attacked traditional authorities. Abélard suggested that reliance on authority must be combined with a critical examination of the theological issues and arguments, as well as a careful examination of the intentions and merits of the authorities and quotations involved.

In 1122 Abélard's abbot permitted him to establish a primitive hermitage on land between Provins and Troyes southeast of Paris. There he built a school and a church, which he dedicated to the Paraclete, or Holy Spirit. This period of quiet teaching away from the centers of civilization was interrupted in 1125 when an important exponent of a new type of piety, the Cistercian BERNARD of Clairvaux, attacked Abélard. Seeking the safety of his homeland, Abélard returned to Brittany to accept the abbacy of the unruly monastery of Saint Gildas, on the coast near Vannes. Risking his life for a decade, Abélard struggled to introduce order to the monastery. He was able to help Héloïse and her fellow nuns who were expelled from Argenteuil by the abbot of Saint Denis, giving them the hermitage of the Paraclete.

In 1136 Abélard returned to Paris to teach. For the next four years he attracted numerous students as well as strong opposition from Bernard and others. During this period Abélard wrote a work on ethics that stressed the importance of intention in evaluating the moral or immoral character of an action.

The opposition of Bernard provoked a second trial of Abélard's orthodoxy. A council convened at Sens in 1140 resulted in a second condemnation. Abélard decided to take his case before the pope and began a journey to Italy, but illness forced him to terminate his journey in Burgundy near Chalon-sur-Saône. Under the protection of his former pupil PETER the Venerable, the abbot of CLUNY, he died on April 21, 1142.

Despite writing before most of the works of ARISTOTLE had been recovered, Abélard made an important contribution to philosophy and logic with his solution to the problem of UNIVERSALS. His theological writings also had great influence, especially his work on Christian ethics and intention, and his development of the SCHOLASTIC METHOD was a significant contribution to the history of logic.

See also NOMINALISM.

**Further reading:** Betty Radice, trans. *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (New York: Penguin Books, 1974); Christopher N. L. Brooke, "The Correspondence of Heloise and Abelard" and "The Marriage of Heloise and Abelard," in *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 103–118; Michael T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

**Abu Bakr, Caliph** (Abd Allah, al-Siddi [the Veracious, Faithful], Father of the Maiden) (ca. 570–634) *father-in-law and close companion and adviser to Muhammad, first of the "rightly guided" caliphs*

As the son of Abu Uthman ibn Amir of the clan of Taym of the tribe of the Quraysh, Abu Allah (his first name) was born about 570. He has probably been named the

first male convert outside Muhammad's family to Islam in error; however, he was clearly an important companion of MUHAMMAD, as demonstrated by the Prophet's marriage to his daughter, Aishah (614–678), after the death of his first wife, Khadija, in about 618. Muhammad also chose Abu Bakr as his only companion in his 622 flight to Medina, where he stayed until 632. Abu Bakr was an important negotiator and adviser to the Prophet because of his knowledge of the tribal groups and customs in western Arabia. He participated in several of the early battles, even carrying battle standards and leading attacks. Asked by Muhammad himself, he led the public prayers during Muhammad's last illness. On Muhammad's death on June 8, 632, the Muslims of Medina, not clear about what to do, accepted Abu Bakr as the first "deputy or successor of the Prophet of God," or caliph. Not everyone immediately accepted this choice, especially ALI IBN ABU TALIB.

### CALIPHATE

In his short but crucial rule as caliph between 632 and 634, he suppressed the tribally based uprisings known as the *riddah* or "apostasy" and secured central Arabia for Muslim control, even suppressing other prophetic figures aspiring to succeed Muhammad as the head of Islam. Those who would not cooperate were called apostates and were put to death. He also claimed that Muhammad was the last prophet, discrediting any new claimants, and demanded that Muslims pay their taxes. These policies became staple practices in Islam. Trying to divert energies from the center of Islam, he pointed Arabs outward into attacks and eventual conquests in the north against the Byzantine and Persian Empires. He had four wives and at least five children. Known for his simplicity, disdain for wealth, and lack of pretension, Abu Bakr died on August 23, 634, after designating UMAR I IBN AL-KHATTAB as his successor as caliph. He was buried beside Muhammad.

**Further reading:** Wilferd Madelung, "Abū Bakr: The Successor of the Messenger of God and the Caliphate of Quraysh" in *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1–27; W. Montgomery Watt, "Abu Bakr," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.109–111.

**Abu Hanifah** (Abu Hanifah al-Numan ibn Thabit ibn Zuta) (ca. 699–767) *leading jurist, Sunni theologian, founder of the Hanafa school of law*

Abu Hanifah, born in al-Kufa in Iraq, was a non-Arab Muslim, a Persian. Following in his father's footsteps Abu Hanifah became a traveling silk merchant, a profession that allowed him to see much of the central Islamic world. Disenchanted, he turned to the nascent study of Islamic law and for about 18 years worked with an important legal scholar, Hammad ibn Abi Sulayman

(d. 738). After Hammad's death, Abu Hanifah became his successor and gathered numerous disciples.

#### LEGAL THOUGHT

Islamic society had become more complex and there was clearly a need for a more systematic collection of legal doctrine and theory, even a code of law. Abu Hanifah and his students scrutinized current ideas and doctrines in collaboration, discussing problems before offering solutions. They took a strict view on what could be considered traditional thought, looking for opportunities for refinement and systematization and rationalization by the use of technical or even theological arguments. Abu Hanifah favored scriptural arguments over both rational proofs and individual legal opinion. This was the foundation of his school, the Hanafa or Hanafiyyah, pieced together after his death by two of his students and sometimes called "the People of Opinion." It was to become an important stream of thought for the Sharia, or Islamic law, especially for the SUNNI. Abu Hanifah formulated influential ideas about legal contracts and prices, often relying on his own experience in business within the context of Islam.

#### DEATH AND POLITICS

Abu Hanifah avoided court politics and dynastic struggles, favoring neither of the ruling dynasties of his time, the Umayyads and Abbasids. His sympathies lay with the Alids, the successors of Ali, later revered by Shiites, and Abu Hanifah declined a judgeship or any kind of service to the state. Later caught supporting subversion with words and money, he suffered imprisonment in Baghdad under both the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties, dying in prison in 767.

**Further reading:** Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981 [1910]); Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964); Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967); Joseph Schacht, "Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.123–124.

**Abu l-Abbas al-Saffah (the Bloodthirsty or the Generous)** (d. 754) *first caliph of the Abbasid dynasty*  
After the death of his brother, Ibrahim al-Abbas, in 749, Abu l-Abbas became the secret leader of the Abbasid movement against the unpopular Umayyads. When Abu l-Abbas assumed the caliphate on November 28, 749, in the mosque at al-Kufa, he linked himself with the family of Muhammad. In their long campaign to replace them, the Abbasids exploited the great dislike of numerous religious and political factions of the Umayyads. Abu l-Abbas won a great victory over the Umayyad caliph in the Battle of the Zab in January 750 and eventually

pursued and killed the last Umayyad pretender in Egypt in August. He soon moved against the Alids and other Abbasid factional leaders who had become too popular, including those of the still not quite coalesced Shia faction. These were in fact the leaders and military chiefs of the groups that had put him and the Abbasids into power. Some of these men he literally threw to ravenous dogs, naming himself al-Saffah, "the blood shedder." Although some say he laid the basis for many of the divisions in Islam that last to this day, he did establish a firm legal and dynastic base for the Abbasids that lasted hundreds of years, from a shadowy revolution creating an institutional and consolidated regime. He grew to rely on Persian rather than Syrian troops and moved his headquarters to al-Kufa. He died in al-Anbar in June 754.

**Further reading:** Michael David Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1996); Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Jacob Lassner, *The Shaping of 'Abbasid Rule* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); S. Moscati, "Abu 'l-Abbās al-Saffāh," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.103.

**Abu Nuwas al-Hasan ibn Hani al-Hakami** (ca. 747–ca. 814) *innovative and fashionable lyric poet, libertine*

Abu Nuwas was born at al-Ahwaz about 747 of an Arab father and a Persian mother; little is known of his early life. He studied the QURAN, the HADITH, and Arabic grammar at schools in the cities of al-Basra and al-Kufa. He later claimed that he followed the traditional literary education and lived with Bedouin in the desert to perfect his spoken Arabic. However, in his poetry, he parodied such camp life. He became popular at the Abbasid court for his poetry in praise of the caliphs and for poems in favor of wine, hunting, women, and pederasty. He not only described subjects prohibited by religious law but praised them with carefree joy. It was cynical and amusing and probably meant for the hard-drinking contemporary Abbasid court, demonstrating the motto "Accumulate as many sins as you can." Solely avoiding the sin of polytheism, he made fun of most Islamic traditions and practices. Abu Nuwas had a reputation for an excellent command of language and became in the eyes of many one of the greatest Arabic poets of all time. Nonetheless, orthodox Muslims often decried the sinful nature of his work. Sometimes presenting himself as a clown, he appears as a jester in *The Arabian Nights*. He died in Baghdad sometime between 813 and 815.

**Further reading:** Robert Irwin, ed., *Night and Horses and the Desert: An Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature* (New York: Anchor Books, 1999); Philip F. Kennedy, *The*

*Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abu Nuwas and the Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Ewald Wagner, "Abu Nuwās," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.143–144.

**Abyssinia (Ethiopia)** The political state of ancient Abyssinia, which became an empire at the dawn of the Middle Ages, stretched westward to the valley of the Nile and southward to the Somali coast in what is today northern Ethiopia, from about the fifth century B.C.E. until the early Christian period. During the first millennium B.C.E., a centralized government with its capital at AXUM evolved in the north.

The early state expanded, moving west far into the interior highlands, and eventually became the kingdom that came to be known as Abyssinia in early Christian times. Under the influence of Egyptian monks, Abyssinia adopted Christianity as the state religion during the reign of Emperor Ezana (ca. 325–ca. 360), with Axum still at the height of its political, military, and economic power. This Africanized Christianity produced the culture of Abyssinia, including its literature, art, music, law, and architecture.

An important ally of the Byzantine Empire in its wars against the Persians in the early seventh century, Abyssinia became isolated from the centers of Christianity by the Islamic expansion and developed independently. This ancient African kingdom reached the zenith of its power at the dawn of the Middle Ages in Europe, by which time it had grown into an empire extending from the island of Meroe to the heart of the Arabian Peninsula, a territory nearly twice the size of western Europe. From the port of Adulis, it controlled the important international maritime trade moving through the Red Sea and maintained cultural contact with the East and the Mediterranean world. It was probably through Adulis that early Christian missionaries who accompanied the Red Sea traders and travelers began their evangelizing activities.

#### RELIGIONS IN ABYSSINIA

Christianity entered Abyssinia directly from Syria and Palestine. The fourth-century monk Frumentius, who played an important role in the creation of the Christian state, studied with ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA and upon returning to Abyssinia became its first bishop. During the Arian controversy, Emperor Constantius II considered it important to seek the support of Abyssinian Christians when he wrote to Abyssinian rulers. Calling them his "esteemed brothers," he asked them to expel Athanasius, who was rumored to have fled to Abyssinia, and to accept an Arian bishop. Abyssinian Christian leaders were not ready to be drawn into theological controversies and, after settlement of the Monophysite controversy at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, tried to remain on good terms with all parties.

Islam was introduced to Abyssinia through JIHAD as well as migration and nomadic movements. Christianity remained the official religion during the period of the European Middle Ages, but the newly Muslim states were given recognition and were part of an Abyssinian Empire. Though there was conflict between these Christian and Muslim states, at times joined by a Falasha Jewish state, the relative tolerance given by the Abyssinian rulers permitted recognition of their authority as the protectors of Christians in Muslim lands elsewhere in Islam.

#### HISTORY TO THE MIDDLE AGES

In the middle of the seventh century, with the rise of Islam as a world power, Abyssinia had lost control over the trade of the Red Sea, a major source of economic and international wealth and power. During this new era of isolation, Abyssinia looked to its west and interior for new ways of economic wealth and stability. In the 10th century the capital was moved to Agaw land in the highlands; but the old north remained the spiritual center of the nation with Axum as the national holy city. About this time some of the coastal population began to embrace Islam, further culturally isolating Abyssinia with respect to the contemporary Christian world. Ironically it was in Abyssinia that some of Muhammad's first disciples, following his advice to go to the "land of righteousness," found tolerance and refuge in a world dominated by Christianity.

#### LATER MIDDLE AGES

After the fall of ACRE in 1291, Guillaume Adam, the Dominican monk who became the archbishop of Sultaniyah, promoted in 1317 an ultimately failed plan for a crusade by blockading the Gulf of Aden with Abyssinian cooperation. In the 14th century, as the Egyptian chronicler al-Magrizi indicates, the Muslims were aware of and feared this quest for the Euro-Abyssinian "great alliance against Islam." In the meantime Abyssinian rulers themselves tried to organize crusades to liberate Jerusalem. By the 14th century, it was thought that PRESTER JOHN was more probably the emperor of Abyssinia. European monarchs sought a political alliance with the Abyssinian emperor while several popes sought his spiritual and ecclesiastical adherence.

From the 14th to the 16th century, European leaders were interested in Abyssinia for more mundane reasons. John II of Portugal (r. 1481–95) wanted to take the spice trade from Venice. Religious objectives remained important, as demonstrated by the missions sent to Abyssinia and the spiritual messages exchanged with its rulers. One important motive underlying the explorations of Prince HENRY "THE NAVIGATOR" was the desire to discover a sea route to Abyssinia.

During major religious reform in Abyssinian history, during the reign of Emperor Zara Yagob (1434–68), representatives of the Abyssinian monasteries of Jerusalem arrived at the Council of Florence in 1441 to discuss the

idea of Christian unity. Thereafter the Holy See acquired a house behind Saint Peter's Basilica for Abyssinian pilgrims, who contributed not only to Abyssinian studies in Europe but also to interest in Semitic languages and Eastern Christendom.

**Further reading:** O. G. S. Crawford, ed., *Abyssinian Itineraries, circa 1400–1524, Including Those Collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the Years 1519–24*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, 109 (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1958 for 1955); C. F. Beckingham, "Abyssinia and Europe, 1200–1650," in *The European Outthrust and Encounter: The First Phase c. 1400–c. 1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on His 85th Birthday*, ed. Cecil H. Clough and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 77–95; Ephraim Isaac, "Abyssinia (Ethiopia)," *DMA* 1.30–33.

**accounting** See BANKS AND BANKING.

**Achaia** See MOREA, CHRONICLE AND DESPOT OF

**Acre (Akka, Acco, Akko)** Acre is a city near the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, at the north end of the Bay of Haifa, formerly the Bay of Acre. It was conquered by the Arabs at the start of the caliphate of UMAR (634–644), rebuilt in the reign of Caliph Muawiya (661–680), and its port was restored at the end of the ninth century. Its fame derives principally from the role it played during the Crusades. BALDWIN I, king of Jerusalem, took it from the FATIMIDS in 1104 with the help of Genoese ships. Its favorable harbor position made it the point of convergence of caravans from inner Syria and the east, and Acre was the destination of choice for all Western fleets. Communes such as GENOA, Marseille, VENICE, and PISA were granted their own quarters and important privileges there. Western merchants sold mainly wood, metals, and cloth and bought from Muslim merchants medicinal products, spices, cotton, silk, dyestuffs, and various luxury goods such as precious stones, porcelain, perfumes, and precious woods. Customs duties, imposed especially on goods from the East, were levied at the royal market in the northeast part of the town, and in the inner port quarter, at the court of the Chain, which also served as a court of justice for maritime and mercantile affairs.

The town was taken by SALADIN on July 9, 1187, but on July 12, 1191, after a two-year siege, the Eastern Franks and those communes participating in the Third Crusade regained possession. After the 1192 treaty of Jaffa concluded between RICHARD I LIONHEART and Saladin, Acre became the capital of a second Latin kingdom. Its population increased, and the suburb or new town of Montmusard developed north of the city wall and was given its own wall during the visit of LOUIS IX to Palestine after 1250.

Acre in the 13th century was deeply divided among several Christian factions. The Italian communes installed in their fortified quarters were usually at odds with each other for commercial dominance. The military orders of TEMPLARS and HOSPITALLERS possessed a quarter in the town and frequently intervened in the ceaseless conflicts that shook the kingdom after emperor FREDERICK II's disputed accession to the throne of Jerusalem in 1229. In 1231 a commune was formed around the anti-imperialist nobles led by the IBELINS. It managed the government of the town for 10 years. These divisions became all the more dangerous for Acre when the MAMLUKS, installed in Egypt from 1250, began to lead an offensive JIHAD against the Franks after 1265. The fall of Acre on May 18, 1291, was the culmination of this Muslim reconquest and put an end to two centuries of Latin presence in Syria-Palestine. In the Mamluk period, Acre was no more than a ruined and deserted town, which was rebuilt only in the mid-18th century.

**Further reading:** Bernard Dichter, *Akko: A Bibliography* (Acre: Municipality of Akko, 1979); Bernard Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: An Historical Cartography* (Acre: Municipality of Acre, 1973); Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976); Charles William Wilson, *The Land of Galilee and the North* (Jerusalem: Ariel, 1975).

**Adam of Bremen** (ca. 1040–ca. 1085) *historian, canon in Hamburg, author*

Adam was born about 1040 in eastern Franconia, probably near Würzburg, and was possibly educated at Bamberg. Details of his life are sketchy, but Archbishop Adalbert in 1066 or 1067 invited him to Bremen. He became canon of the cathedral chapter and assumed responsibility for the cathedral school. Adam began gathering material for his *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, which he wrote between 1073 and 1076. Adam was well acquainted with classical authors and GREGORY of Tours, EINHARD, and BEDE and used monastic annals, biographies, and papal documents. He also drew upon oral sources, especially the Danish king Svein Estridsen (r. 1046–74). Adam was a good historian and the first noteworthy geographer in medieval Germany.

His *History* traces Christianity in Lower Saxony to 936 and the careers of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen to 1045, describes Slavic peoples and their land, and conflicts between the church and the Saxon aristocracy. The *History* contains a biographical sketch of Adam's patron, Bishop Adalbert (1043–72); descriptions of Danish expansion under CANUTE the Great; the lives of Saint Olaf, Magnus the Good, and Harold Hardrada in Norway; the battle of Stamford Bridge; the Norman Conquest in England by WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR in 1066; and the conversion to Christianity by the northern Slavic

peoples. The chapter or book “A Description of the Islands of the North” is one of the best accounts of early Scandinavia and its peoples. After completing the work in 1076, Adam revised it with much new material, so there are wide variations in the content of the surviving manuscripts of the *History*. He died about 1085.

**Further reading:** Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan (1959; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); William North, “Adam of Bremen (fl. 2nd half of the 11th c.)” in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 3–4.

**Adelaide, Saint** (ca. 931–999) *influential empress of the Holy Roman Empire*

Born in 931 Adelaide was the daughter of Rudolph II of Burgundy, who married her to a certain Lothar of Italy. Adelaide was widowed from her first husband and held prisoner by Berengar I (d. 924) of Friuli. Freed by OTTO I of Germany, who married her in 951, Adelaide became queen, and from 962 she was empress. Adelaide was an important influence on her son, Otto II (r. 973–983), and her grandson, OTTO III. In both courts she promoted imperial authority. She also supported Hugh CAPET in France, through an intermediary, Adalberon of Rheims. After 985, she retired from the court but continued to influence it. She devoted the rest of her life to religious affairs, promoting Cluniac reform and founding and reforming abbeys in Germany and Lorraine. She died in 999.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

**Adelard of Bath (Adalard)** (ca. 1070–ca. 1150) *English scholar, translator, traveler*

According to slim biographical sources, Adelard of Bath was born in about 1070, the son of Fastrad. He was in the household of John of Villula, bishop of Bath and Wells (1088–1122), who moved the see of the bishopric to Bath making the town a resort and a place of learning. John probably sent Adelard to Tours for his further education. He later taught at Laon. He likely traveled and studied in Sicily consulting works in Arabic, and eventually settling in his native Bath, where, probably with the assistance of a converted Jew from ARAGON, Petrus Alfonsi (1062–ca. 1130), he wrote Latin versions of the Arabic version of Euclid’s *Elements*, a set of astronomical tables, two elementary works on astrology, and a book on talismans. As late as 1149–50, about when he died, he probably composed a text on the ASTROLABE, including an introduction to Ptolemaic astronomy. The translation of Euclid’s *Elements* became a basic source of geometrical speculation throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Adelard of Bath, *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with His Nephew: On the Same and the Dif-*

*ferent, Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds*, trans. Charles Burnett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Charles Burnett, *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century* (London: Warburg Institute, 1987); Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* (London: British Museum Press, 1994).

**Adhémar of Monteil (Adhémar de le Puy)** (ca. 1050–1098) *bishop of Le Puy, spiritual leader of the First Crusade*

Adhémar was from the illustrious Adhémar family, the counts of Valentinois and masters of the Rhone Valley from Valence to Donzère. Born about 1050, he had probably been trained in arms before entering the religious life. Elected bishop of le Puy, Adhémar devoted himself to running his diocese, and according to tradition, composed the hymn *Salve Regina*. On return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Adhémar declared war on the local lords who had taken over parts of his bishopric but soon agreed to abandon their claims in exchange for a large sum of money. Adhémar was associated with the reforming ideals of the Monastery of CLUNY and was closely associated with that effort to remove the church from lay power and to reform clerical discipline. Familiar with Cluniac ideas about crusading, he was chosen legate by URBAN II, a former Cluniac monk who had become pope in 1088. At CLERMONT, where the pope preached the Crusade, he gave the leadership of the enterprise to Adhémar. The legate successfully gained the participation of competent military leaders and recruited William VI, count of Auvergne. Above all he enlisted the participation of the powerful count of Toulouse, RAYMOND IV, who took command of one of the three principal armies. Much of southern France joined their crusading army, commanded by Adhémar and Raymond, reaching Anatolia after suffering some difficulties in DALMATIA and an attack by Petchenegs in the employ of Byzantium. On its steppe plateau, the army finally met in battle the SELJUK Turks, at Dorylaeum on July 1, 1097. The military superiority of the Franks, by virtue of motivation and discipline, was evident during this first great battle of the First Crusade. Adhémar, a former warrior, participated and fought valiantly. But a little over a year later, the legate was killed by a plague and died at ANTIOCH on August 1, 1098, not living to see the capture of Jerusalem. His death left the crusaders divided and less motivated by religious concerns than by political motives.

**Further reading:** Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**adolescence** See AGING.

**adoptionism** A heresy that appeared in the Iberian Peninsula in the early 780s, adoptionism maintained that Christ was only the adoptive son of GOD. Elipandus (717–800), archbishop of Toledo, established the basis of adoptionism in opposition to the views on the Trinity of the cleric Migetius. According to Elipandus, God had chosen Jesus to bear his message. But only the Word emanated from God, and thus Christ was only the adoptive son of God the Father, a son “by appellation” only. This claim was taken up and spread in ASTURIAS and in Iberian GALICIA, then in the southwest of modern France through the activities of a bishop of Urgel. But it also encountered the strong opposition of Beatus of Liébana (d. 798) and his disciples.

The ensuing debate soon attracted the attention of the religious and political authorities of the Christian West. In 785, Pope Adrian I sent the prelates of Iberia a doctrinal letter denouncing such views. At the same time Charlemagne looked into the case of Felix of Urgel (d. 818), a subordinate of the metropolitan of Narbonne. Called before a synod at Regensburg in 792, Felix recanted, and later officially did so again at Rome. As soon as he was freed, he returned to Toledo and again proclaimed his adherence to the ideas condemned at Regensburg. CHARLEMAGNE called another council at Frankfurt in 794. Adoptionism was declared heretical and, at Charlemagne’s request, Pope Adrian I wrote another letter threatening EXCOMMUNICATION of all those who rejected the council’s conclusions. ALCUIN then became the champion of orthodoxy against the heretical ideas emanating from Toledo.

In 799 Pope Leo III proclaimed yet another anathema against Felix of Urgel. Felix claimed to be convinced by the arguments and again retracted his views at AACHEN in 800. Charlemagne refused to allow him to return to Urgel and imprisoned him at Lyon, where he died in 818. Elipandus continued, despite Alcuin’s efforts, to refuse to retract his position even until his death in about 807. Though adoptionism was suppressed, it remained of importance in the isolated Mozarabic Church, or the Christian community in Spain that was subject to Muslim rule.

**Further reading:** John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1983).

**Adrian IV (Hadrian, Nicholas Breakspear)** (ca. 1100–1159) *English pope*

Nicholas Breakspear was born at Abbot’s Langley near Saint Albans about 1100 and educated at Paris. He later served as an abbot of a monastery near Avignon in

southern France. Pope Eugenius III appointed him cardinal bishop of Albano before 1150 and charged him with a mission to SWEDEN in 1152. Elected pope on December 4, 1154, he took the name Adrian IV. After extracting concessions on papal temporal authority, in 1155 he crowned as emperor FREDERICK I Barbarossa, who then helped him to eliminate the heretical and political threat to papal control of Rome presented by Arnold of Brescia (d. 1155). Without imperial help, he later created a coalition against the Normans, who dominated southern Italy and threatened papal control over central Italy. Despite military failure, the Treaty of Benevento on June 18, 1156, concluded with the Norman William I’s recognizing papal sovereignty over the Norman Kingdom in SICILY and southern Italy. After the Diet of Besançon in 1157 and the Constitutions of Roncaglia in 1158, the pope was again obliged to lead a new coalition among the Lombard towns, the Byzantine emperor, and the Normans to protect the rights of the Holy See against imperial threats. In the middle of this crisis, Adrian IV died, on September 1, 1159.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Southern, “Pope Adrian IV,” in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 234–252; Walter Ullmann, “The Pontificate of Adrian IV,” *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1953–1955): 233–252.

**Adrianople (Edirne)** This city was the most important BYZANTINE town in Thrace and later was temporary capital of the OTTOMANS in Europe. Adrianople’s position on the main military road from Bulgaria to CONSTANTINOPLE left it open to frequent attacks by invaders from the north, including the AVARS, BULGARS, SERBS, and Petchenegs. At the famous Battle of Adrianople in 378, the Goths killed the emperor Valens and routed his army. The city’s vulnerability to attacks from BULGARIA, whose khan KRUM occupied the city briefly, turned it into a strategic center for military expeditions against Bulgaria. FREDERICK I Barbarossa seized Adrianople briefly in 1190 during the Third Crusade, and after the Fourth Crusade BALDWIN of Flanders was defeated there in 1205. The emperor John III Vatatzes (r. 1222–54) occupied the city from 1242 to 1246. It was finally lost to Byzantium in 1361, when the Ottomans captured it. Soon thereafter it became their capital, remaining so until the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

**Further reading:** F. T. Dijkema, ed., *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977); Martinus Johannes Nicasié, *Twilight of Empire: The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1998).

**adultery** In ecclesiastical law adultery was a serious sin, a lapse of conjugal faith by one or other of the spouses. Secular law primarily blamed infidelity on the wife, who

risked introducing “clandestine” children conceived outside the marriage into familial descent. In the 12th century ecclesiastical jurisdiction prevailed, but from the end of the century, temporal authorities following Roman law claimed to take control of the judgment of adulterers, arguing that they were a nuisance to public order. During the 13th century the dominance of lay courts became general. Ecclesiastical judges had normally imposed simple penances and fines, while secular judges inflicted harsh sanctions on adulterous women and their accomplices.

By the end of the 13th century, the law began to limit the repression and punishment of adultery. No longer seeking it out, the court’s action now was initiated by a complaint from a husband or by the “capture” of the lovers in the act itself (in flagrante delicto). The repression of adultery then became primarily a private affair. However, common-law texts and opinion regularly raised the supposition that if the guilty pair were caught in the act by the husband, he, driven by excusable anger, could be excused for killing either the man or the woman or both. From the 14th century, it was enough for the husband to ask the king for a regularly granted letter of remission. However, in the law of southern France, the penalty for adultery remained the *course*: The guilty pair had to run a ritual path, naked, to the sound of a trumpet, and both were whipped. The *course* could be avoided by a fine. It remained more difficult for women: Civil sanctions such as the loss of her dowry and her legal reputation or *fama* in the community might be added. Despite the ranting of preachers and moralists who thundered in the latter Middle Ages against the sins of wives and other women and the laxity of repression, social reprobation toward adultery seems very muted, at least in popular literature.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

**Advent** The Advent period is the penitential four weeks in the Roman liturgy from the ninth century that precede and anticipate Christmas. The weeks also signify the end of the year and suggest the opening of time onto the last days, or eschatology. This expectation of Christmas and the Incarnation of Christ and the eschatological expectation of the second coming of Christ rest on the idea of the two comings of Christ, the Incarnation and the Last Judgment. To this, Saint Bernard added a third expectation, the coming of Christ into people’s souls.

**Further reading:** A. Carthusian, *From Advent to Pentecost*, trans. Carmel Brett (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1999).

**Aegean Sea** The Aegean Sea is situated between Greece and Anatolia or Asia Minor. It contains numerous islands and has a complex coastline. The Aegean was

essential to the economic well-being of CONSTANTINOPLE, which needed access to the sea for food and trade. Its islands, such as CRETE, supplied grain and other foodstuffs to Constantinople. The defense of the Aegean entailed from the seventh century the important naval command of the theme, or military administrative district, of Karabisianoi. In the ninth and 10th centuries, there was further naval development to prevent Arab raids into the Aegean from Crete, which the Arabs had seized around 828. By the end of the 11th century, Venetian economic power dominated and after 1204 was further assured by control of the strategic islands of Crete, Euboea, Andros, and Naxos along with bases in the vicinity of Constantinople itself. This Venetian colonial empire lasted until the Ottoman conquests of the 16th century.

**Further reading:** Henry Mangles Denham, *The Aegean: A Sea-Guide to Its Coasts and Islands* (London: J. Murray, 1963); Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London: Longman, 1995).

**Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham (Grammaticus)** (ca. 953–ca. 1015) *conservative scholar, writer*

Ælfric was born about 950/955 near Winchester, England. His studies in Winchester coincided with the revival of Benedictine monasticism in England. He contributed varied writings that preserved, translated, and disseminated the Christian tradition. Ælfric was influenced by the recent example of King ALFRED, who tried to make the learning of the past available to his subjects in the vernacular instead of Latin. He did have doubts about making Latin texts available to the laity.

Soon after he became a monk at Cerne Abbey in Dorset in 987, he produced texts explaining Christianity’s message and history. He wrote his first series of 40 homilies or commentaries on the readings at the service of the day in 989 and his second series in 992. These two collections explained the Gospel as it was read to the faithful every Sunday and on feast days. They built upon the ideas and interpretations of Saints AUGUSTINE, AMBROSE, JEROME, and BEDE and were theologically conservative in aim and outlook. He drew on both ornamented Latin prose and traditional Old English poetry. Between 992 and 1002 Ælfric revised and expanded his homilies, produced other didactic religious writings and translations, and wrote three Latin works to aid students in the study of language. These included a grammar, a glossary, and a text for use in vocabulary drills. All were full of information about Anglo-Saxon daily life. Between 1002 and 1005, he wrote a series of lives of the saints and free translations with commentary on the first seven Old Testament books of the Bible. In 1005 Ælfric became the first abbot of a new monastery at Eynsham near Oxford, where he continued to revise and expand his cycles of homilies and to write supplementary works of pedagogy and edification. Ælfric died between 1010 and 1020.

**Further reading:** Milton M. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); Caroline Louisa White, *Aelfric: A New Study of His Life and Writing* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974); James Hurt, *Aelfric* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972).

**Aeneas Silvius** See PIUS II, POPE.

**Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians** (d. 918) *daughter of Alfred of Wessex, one of the few medieval women who ruled a kingdom*

During the Middle Ages, women were sometimes permitted to act as regents for underage sons. Though Æthelflæd had no son, from the death of her husband, Æthelred, lord of the Mercians, in 911, until her own death, she apparently acted as regent for her late husband, ruling the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia alone. During these years she conducted a defense against Viking attacks and built fortifications in the northwest against incursions from the Irish Sea and in the northeast against English Viking settlements. She was responsible for campaigns that recovered Leicester and Derby from Viking rule, and her military power was such that the Danish settlers at York sought her as their “lord” and Welsh kings submitted to her. As a king did, she granted land by charter in her own name.

This extraordinary personal rule continued the power she had possessed and exercised during her husband’s lifetime. By 900 her name was already associated with his in joint grants of land. The political situation of the late ninth and early 10th centuries was crucial to her singular role. Her marriage sealed an important alliance between Mercia and Wessex. On her death in 918, a section of the Mercian nobility attempted to make her daughter Ælfwyn their ruler, but Edward the king of Wessex dominated the future of Mercia.

**Further reading:** Pauline Stafford, “The King’s Wife in Wessex, 800–1066,” *Past and Present* 91 (1981): 3–27; Frederick T. Wainwright, “Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians,” in *Scandinavian England: Collected Papers*, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), 305–324.

**Æthelred II the Unready** (Unraed, Ill advised) (ca. 969–1016) *Anglo-Saxon king of England*

Born about 969 into the royal house of Wessex, at that time the effective ruler of all the Anglo-Saxons, Æthelred was a direct descendant of ALFRED the Great and the son of King Edgar, who had ruled a united and peaceful England for 16 years. At Edgar’s death in 975, the realm passed to Æthelred’s elder brother, Edward, who was also still a child. The nobles of the kingdom formed rival parties around Edward and Æthelred, and the latter’s supporters murdered Edward on March 18, 978, thus making

Æthelred king. Edward was soon widely honored as a martyred saint; as a result many withheld allegiance from Æthelred, so from the time of his accession at the age of nine or 10, his reign was marred by the treason and revolt of his leading thegns, or noblemen. The ensuing disorder was nourished by his own indecisive character and by the renewal of Danish raids on England in 980 after a pause of some 25 years. In 991 Æthelred instituted a demoralizing policy of buying off Danish raiders with payments of silver.

In 1009 an enormous army, sent by King Sven Forkbeard (985/986–1014) of Denmark, arrived in England to depose Æthelred. Although the English bought the invaders off in 1012, the following year Sven launched another invasion. Æthelred resisted from London for a short period, then finally fled to Normandy. After Sven died suddenly in February 1014, Æthelred was reinstated as king. His rule was challenged by CANUTE, Sven’s younger son, and apparently by his own son, Edmund Ironsides (ca. 988–1016). Canute’s first campaign failed, and he retreated to Denmark, only to return to England with a new army in 1015. Æthelred and Edmund joined forces against the invader early in 1016, then on April 23, 1016, Æthelred died. Edmund succeeded him but on November 30, Edmund, too, died. Canute became the ruler of England.

See also ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES.

**Further reading:** David Hill, ed., *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978); Simon Keynes, *The Diplomats of King Æthelred “The Unready” (978–1016): A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Simon Keynes, “The Vikings in England,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. Peter Sawyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 48–82; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

**Afarabus** See AL-FARABI.

**Africa** The areas along the northern coast of Africa, the continent south of Europe across the Mediterranean Sea, played fundamental roles in the development of European culture and civilization. As in ancient times, only a part of it was known in the Middle Ages, principally the northern and eastern parts, near the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts. After the conquests of ISLAM and the penetration of Muslim influence in eastern and central Africa, Arab travelers and geographers described a larger part of the continent, mainly Sudan and the Sahara. In the Middle Ages, the African continent was divided into four distinct regions, according to our knowledge and the development of the historical civilization. The first part, northern Africa, from the Mediterranean shores to the ATLAS Mountains, including the Valley of the Nile in

EGYPT and Sudan, participated in the classical world as highly developed Roman provinces. From the seventh century on, it was an important region of the Islamic world, with major centers in EGYPT, AL-QAYRAWAN, IFRIQIYA, and MOROCCO. Ancient marginal groups survived in the region, such as the COPTS in Egypt. The second prominent region was eastern Africa, with the independent Christian empire of ABYSSINIA and certain Arab and black settlements, such as the Somalis and Swahili-speaking populations near Zanzibar and the coastal part of present-day Tanzania. The third part, the tropical region of the Sahara and western Sudan, was known only vaguely by Europeans and Muslims until the 14th century. There, under the influence of African elements and Islam states such as the empires of GHANA and MALI emerged and developed their own civilizations. The last part, the central and southern areas of the continent, most of Africa, was in the Middle Ages at a disparate stage of development. Entirely unknown to Muslims and Europeans, these tribal civilizations were penetrated in modern times, primarily as sources of slaves.

#### TOWARD MUSLIM PENETRATION

In the late antique world, Christianity was well entrenched in the northern African provinces of the Roman Empire and in Egypt and well represented in Christian Latin literature by AUGUSTINE of Hippo. By 429, the VANDALS established their kingdom in North Africa. The Byzantines under JUSTINIAN destroyed the Vandal kingdom in 534 and reestablished their rule in North Africa. The conversion to Islam after 640 was rapid, and under the rule of the Umayyad caliphs (660–750) the African provinces were prosperous. The local BERBERS converted to Islam, as did the people of NUBIA in the eastern Sudan.

Slaves and gold always drew the interest of the Islamic caliphates. After the ABBASID revolution of 750, the political and economic orientation of the Baghdad caliphate turned to IRAQ and IRAN. Local emirs or governors grew more autonomous, yet formally recognized their dependence on the caliph. In the ninth century a Shiite dynasty, the FATIMIDS, revolted against the Abbasids and established an independent caliphate in al-Qayrawan. They eventually conquered Egypt, founded their own caliphate, built a new capital at Cairo, and established the famous school of the Al-Azhar mosque. Arab merchants and missionaries spread Islam through the Sahara, Sudan, and eastern Africa; only ABYSSINIA survived as a Christian state. By the 11th century most of Africa was Islamic. The western lands of northern Africa were divided among different local warring dynasties, the most powerful of which was that of the ALMORAVIDS. The Arab element in them was challenged by the Berbers, who were often more militant and fanatic in their faith.

The slave trade gave Muslims contact and conflict with the Tuareg states of the Sahara. An empire of

GHANA, which had lasted from the fourth to the 11th centuries, was destroyed by Islamic penetration and attacks. In Egypt the Fatimids were replaced by the AYYUBIDS (1171–1250) under SALADIN. The rise of the Almohads (1147–1269) in Morocco opened an era of expansion, violence, and oppression. The crusaders and the Italian cities failed to establish bases in Egypt and even to conquer it in 1217 and 1247–48 and again at TUNIS in 1270.

#### FURTHER CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

Further political and social change was chiefly a result of local wars and of the rise of Berber elements in ALMAGHRIB. MAMLUK rule in Egypt did not continue the policy of expansion followed by earlier dynasties. In the 14th and 15th centuries, a series of PLAGUES, such as the Black Death of 1348, and FAMINE ravaged northern Africa, particularly Egypt. The opening of the MONGOL trade route to China caused an economic depression in the continent.

In the Middle Ages central Africa developed separately. Christian Abyssinia preserved its independence from Islam at the price of isolation and loss of the coastal provinces of Eritrea and Somalia. Trade routes developed across the Sahara and the Sudan, facilitating exchange between Muslim northern Africa and polytheistic sub-Saharan tribes. The Muslim empire of Mali became in the 13th and 14th centuries the most powerful of the black states. Its capital, TIMBUKTU, as described by IBN BATTUTA, was a major market, especially for salt, slaves, and gold. By the 15th century, Italian merchants arrived. The rise of the Kingdom of Gao and SONGHAI in the 15th century opened more contact between the Mediterranean and Nigerian tribes. In the later part of the 15th century, the Portuguese arrived and set up regular trading posts and fortresses to obtain slaves and protect their routes to the east.

**Further reading:** J. F. P. Hopkins, trans., and N. Levtzion and J. F. Hopkins, eds., *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Grabois, MC, 22–23; George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1993); Basil Davidson, *A History of West Africa 1000–1800* (London: Longmans, 1967); Muhammad El Fasi, ed., *General History of Africa, III, Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press for UNESCO, 1988) [abridged edition, ed. Ivan Hrbek (Berkeley: James Currey, 1992)]; J. D. Fage, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 2, From c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Djibril Tamsir Niane, ed., *General History of Africa, Vol. 4, Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press for UNESCO, 1984) [abridged edition, ed. Joseph Ki-Zerbo and Djibril Tamsir Niane (Berkeley: James Currey,

1997)]; Roland Oliver, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. 3, *From c. 1050 to c. 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Medieval Africa, 1250–1800*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**Aghlabid dynasty** The Aghlabids were a Muslim dynasty who flourished and ruled Ifriqiya, Tunisia, Sicily, Malta, and eastern Algeria from 800 to 909. This dynasty was centered in AL-QAYRAWAN and took its name from Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab (r. 800–812). Their four states in AL-MAGHRIB were dependent on the balance of political forces within the region itself, since the ABBASID caliphal government in BAGHDAD was far away and unable to interfere. After their usurpation of power in 800, though recognized by Baghdad for a payment of regular tribute, the essentially independent Aghlabids devised a government aimed at maintaining their political survival in a land still dominated by an Arab class of large landowners, on whom they depended for troops. The urban centers, more ethnically mixed communities, resented the domination of the state by the old Arab elite and the heavy taxes that they and the peasant communities were forced to pay.

During their rule al-Qayrawan was a major center of Islamic culture and civilization. They were responsible for the building of the Great Mosque, which still stands there today along with those at Tunis and Sousse. The dynasty was successful in military ventures and its strong fleet dominated the eastern Mediterranean, conquered SICILY and MALTA, and almost invaded the city of Rome in 849. The dynasty built impressive public hydraulic works to carry water to the growing cities under its rule. It promoted security by founding and building a series of fortified monasteries, or *ribats*, along the coast.

#### RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION

Despite promoting economic prosperity and a thriving religious life, the Aghlabids were almost constantly plagued by rebellions of soldiers and the populations of their cities. Emphasizing Islamic religious norms allowed these groups to articulate their grievances against the state and the Arab ruling class. By the beginning of the ninth century such grievances could be expressed formally when two of the four Sunni schools of Islamic religious law, the Hanafi and the Maliki, became established in al-Maghrib. The Hanafi School was adopted by the Aghlabids. Religious scholars, however, were proponents of the simpler and stricter teachings of the Maliki School. By teaching religious law and admonishing the rulers to adhere to its provisions in the administration of justice, taxation, and the prohibition of alcohol, Maliki scholars became in the 820s the presumptive defenders of the rights of the common people against this Arab-dominated state. The last Aghlabid ruler fled before the FATIMIDS in 909.

**Further reading:** Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1980); Charles André Julien, *History of North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco*, trans. John Petrie and ed. C. C. Stewart (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970); G. Marçais and Joseph Schacht, "Aghlabids or banu 'l-Aghlab," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.247–250.

**Agincourt, Battle of** Agincourt, situated in Artois in northern France, is famous as the site of one of the principal battles of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR on October 25, 1415. The English army, composed mainly of infantry and archers and led by King HENRY V, took advantage of the conditions of the terrain and the driving rain, which forced the French cavalry under the constable of Albret to dismount. The French cavalry was decimated and the constable was killed in the battle. Thus Henry won a decisive victory, putting northern France under English rule. The English were then able to take over the lands of the dead French nobles, and Henry was crowned king of France.

**Further reading:** Howard Loxton, ed., *The Battle of Agincourt: A Collection of Contemporary Documents* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966); Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2000); Christopher Hibbert, *Agincourt* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000); Rosemary Hawley Jarman, *Crispin's Day: The Glory of Agincourt* (London: Collins, 1979); John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: Viking, 1976); E. F. Jacob, *Henry V and the Invasion of France* (New York: Macmillan, 1950).

**aging** The medieval concept of aging was based on at least four or five to seven periods of life, encompassing infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, and old age. This division was based on an amalgamation of classical, Christian, and Arab sources, such as ARISTOTLE, Avicenna (IBN SINA), Scripture, and ISIDORE of Seville, with mere observation. According to these sources, the universe was given by the Creator certain natural unifying laws that governed the changing periods of life. As a reflection of this progressive path of creation, the very spiritual, physical, intellectual, and emotional aspects of humans paralleled the seasons, history, and heavenly movements of the natural world. Each era or stage possessed its own fundamental strengths and weaknesses. To live a balanced life, one must establish an equilibrium appropriate for each period. Each of the possible three to seven ages of life had its own particular set of moral virtues and vices and physical traits, all tied to the changing proportions of humors and the falling amounts of heat and moisture in the body.

Although the precise duration of each period might vary, seven periods were usually recognized. That of infancy, from birth to age seven, was characterized by

innocence, purity, and ignorance. That of childhood, ages seven to 14, was a moment of malleability, openness, physical development, and awakening religious feelings. The era of adolescence, ages 14 to 21, was a time of turmoil and sexual awakening in which one faced crucial choices between the temptations of the flesh and the spirit. That of youth, ages 21 to 35, was an era devoted to career, childbearing, and public responsibility. That of adulthood, ages 35 to 50, was a period of physical and emotional maturity. Old age, from 50 to 70, was a period of physical decay and cynicism. Finally, that of decrepitude, ages 70 until death, was viewed as a time of growing senility, bitterness, and fear of approaching death.

The later Middle Ages saw efforts to elaborate understanding of the life cycle. Those reflecting on aging linked other themes to it such as the attainments of salvation, learning, and the acquisition of virtue. This growing body of ideas on the traits of the various ages, their parallels in the natural world, and their place within the plan of salvation was reflected in art and literature.

See also CHILDHOOD.

**Further reading:** J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Michael Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought: 1250–1350* (London: University Press of America, 1989); Michael Goodich, “Ages of Life,” *EMA*, 1.23; Georges Minois, *History of Old Age: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989); Elizabeth L. Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986); Shulamith Shahar, *Growing Old in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1977).

**agriculture** Agricultural activity was the heart of the medieval economy and was closely tied to political and social structures of the medieval state. There is a fundamental difference between western European agriculture and that of the Byzantine and Muslim worlds. Roman and similar technology and structures persisted everywhere for centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire. The absence of slaves led to the development of new agrarian techniques. In the Byzantine Empire the great estates, belonging to the aristocracy and the church, continued to be administered much as the old Roman estates or *latifundia* were. They were based on slave labor or something similar to it and produced a variety of crops primarily for urban and commercial markets for money. Outside the great estates an important class of free peasants cultivated their own plots of land in the Balkans and Anatolia. By the beginning of the eighth century, this class had gained enough power numerically and economically to win legal status.

The establishment of the Arab caliphate in the seventh century fostered a new concept of agriculture in the

Muslim lands. The Arab conquerors settled in cities and engaged in trade. The cultivation of the land was left to the conquered populations, which continued in their traditional ways of life and practice. This division explains why the countryside was Islamized so slowly. Landowners, however, were compelled either to become Muslims or to leave. Possession of land was allowed only to Muslims. The peasants had to pay taxes to the state and to the landowners. As in the Byzantine Empire, Muslim agriculture was based on commercial considerations.

Unlike in these agrarian societies, western European agriculture faced a growing shortage of laborers and slaves from the third century. Free peasants were bound to the land and compelled to work on the estates of the aristocracy to provide food for the expanding army. New techniques of field management, in which one-third of the land was left fallow each year, helped to solve the problem of the shortage of workers. Another technological innovation was the watermill. This agrarian economy lost much of its commercial character, as most of the produce was consumed on the estates, and a certain amount was transported to the much shrunken urban market.

#### EVOLUTION IN TECHNIQUES

In the 10th to 12th centuries, the diet of Europeans was centered on cereals. Agricultural techniques primarily focused on grain crops. The wooden tools used were multipurpose and also served for kitchen, gardening, or industrial crops. Iron remained rare and expensive, though its use was more common after the 10th century. The spade with a wooden core partly covered in iron and the hoe were used before the swing-plow that broke the soil and the plow that turned over the ground. In the early Middle Ages, the latter was heavy and needed numerous oxen and wheels. It was simplified in the 13th century, losing its wheels and becoming more manageable. These plows were adapted to different types of soil. Harvesting was done with a sickle, the grain cut high or low according to the amount of straw needed. These technical changes were less important to the evolution of agriculture than the expansion of cultivated areas and the intensified and more productive work extracted from peasant families.

The landlords of the Middle Ages favored labor carried out under peasant tenure. Entrusted to a conjugal family with men and women working in the fields, a tenurial relationship became the usual form of agricultural arrangement. Seigniorial equipment was provided, with specific fees charged for the use of the mill, the oven, and the press. The multiplication of these family groups facilitated unprecedented expansion of the cultivated area into forests, marshes, and swamps.

To lessen the risks of a bad harvest, to ensure the feeding of the peasants, and to respond to seigniorial demands, a more varied planting became common. Wheat



*The Agricultural Labors of the Twelve Months*, Pietro de'Crescenzi, reproduced in *Le Rustican*, Ms. 340/603, France (ca. 1460), Musée Condé, Chantilly, France (*Giraudon / Art Resource*)

for the white bread of lords gained ground accompanied by other cereals such as millet, spelt, rye, and sorghum for the lower classes and animals. Exploitation combined a variety of soils such as arable land, vineyards, and well-cared-for GARDENS. These were supplemented by FORESTS and uncultivated lands for the gathering of wood and animal husbandry. Speculative and commercial cultivation developed for the market for dye plants, hops, sugarcane, rice, and silk mulberries. At the end of the Middle Ages, regional specializations in vine-growing regions and animal husbandry had developed.

Medieval agriculture was perhaps limited less by yields than by the technology and limits of economic organization and transport. Although capable of producing surpluses in good years, it left populations susceptible

to dearth and famines that conditions such as climate, epidemics, or political factors such as warfare periodically provoked.

*See also* ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; PEASANTRY; SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY.

**Further reading:** Mauro Ambrosoli, *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850*, trans. Mary McCann Salvatorelli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Greenville Astill and John Langdon, eds., *Medieval Farming and Technology: The Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1968 [1962]); Del Sweeney, ed., *Agriculture in the Middle*

*Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); B. H. Slicher van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500–1850*, trans. Olive Ordish (London: Edward Arnold, 1963); Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

**Ahl al-Kitab** (People of the Book, Possessors of the Scripture) See *DHIMMI*.

**Ailly, Pierre d' (Peter, Petrus de Alliaco)** (ca. 1350–1420) *French scholar, cardinal*

Pierre d'Ailly was born about 1350 at Compiègne. He spent most of his life in an association with the University of PARIS: as a graduate in theology from the College of Navarre in 1380, master of the college in 1384, and chancellor of the university in 1389.

One of the university's chief concerns was the Western SCHISM (1378–1417), in which two and later three rival popes claimed legitimacy. At first d'Ailly supported the Avignon pope Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417), but he soon became a radical leader of the conciliar movement in 1408. The Conciliarists argued that a general council of the church supersedes the power of the pope and could therefore end the schism by choosing a new pope satisfactory to all parties. D'Ailly played a prominent part at the Council of Pisa in 1409, which elected a new pope, Alexander V (r. 1409–10). In 1411 Alexander's successor, John XXIII (r. 1410–15), made d'Ailly a cardinal. When the rival popes (Benedict and John) refused to resign, however, the Council of CONSTANCE (1414–18) was called. An acknowledged leader, d'Ailly helped effect the decision to have the contending popes abdicate. The council then elected a new pope, Martin V, and the schism ended. D'Ailly himself became a candidate for the papal throne, but he lost the election because of opposition from France's enemies, England and Burgundy. He retired for safety to Avignon, where he served Martin V.

Pierre d'Ailly wrote prolifically. His works on the nature of the church had the most lasting influence. He developed further the theory of conciliarism and the concept that the only infallible body in the church is the whole of the faithful. He was an advocate of calendar reform and took great interest in ASTROLOGY. His book on GEOGRAPHY, *The Image of the World*, was read carefully by COLUMBUS, who said that it inspired his voyage of 1492 by suggesting the feasibility of sailing from Spain west to India. D'Ailly also wrote on astronomy, meteorology, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, and psychology. He died in Avignon in 1420.

**Further reading:** Pierre d'Ailly, *Imago Mundi*, trans. E. F. Keever (Wilmington: Linprint, 1948); Francis Oakley, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly* (New Haven, Conn.:

Yale University Press, 1964); Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Laura Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

**Aistulf** (749–756) *king of the Lombards*

When Aistulf was proclaimed king in northern Italy in 749, Pavia was held by his brother and predecessor, Ratchis (r. 744–749), who soon retired to the Abbey of MONTE CASSINO. The ambitious Aistulf reorganized Lombard military service according to wealth. He began the conquest of Byzantine and papal territories in Italy. He occupied RAVENNA and initiated an alliance of Spoletan and Beneventan Lombards against Rome. He subjected the papal city of Rome to tribute in 752 and even besieged it in 756. In the meantime Pope Stephen II (r. 752–57) had obtained help from the FRANKS. PÉPIN III THE SHORT defeated Aistulf in 755 and 756 and obliged him to give the conquered territories to the pope, including the Exarchate of Ravenna, much to the anger of the Byzantine Empire. When Aistulf died accidentally in 756, an alliance between the Lombards and the Byzantines was under negotiation.

**Further reading:** Neil Christie, *The Lombards* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); Jan T. Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy and the Papacy in the Eighth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1982); Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

**alabaster** Alabaster is a dense, translucent hydrated calcium sulfate, a form of gypsum used by sculptors for small panels, figures and tombs on the Continent and in England. Evidence from English panels indicates that medieval carvers initially shaped the alabaster by saw. Subsequent carving resembled woodcarving, using a chisel or a knife. Deeper undercutting was done with a small drill. The application of paint and gilding often followed, and a smoothing by an abrasive of sand or pumice completed the artifact.

Alabaster was popular in Germany during the 15th century and England tombcarvers in particular used alabaster from the beginning of the 14th century. Numerous image panels and altarpieces were also carved. The English alabaster industry also had a lively export trade, and its products were sought throughout Europe.

**Further reading:** Francis Cheetham, "Alabaster," *Dictionary of Art*, 1.515–520; Walter Leo Hildburgh, *English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama* (Oxford: Printed by Charles Batey for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1949); Francis Cheetham, *The*

*Alabaster Men: Sacred Images from Medieval England: Catalogue* (London: Daniel Katz, 2001).

**Alan of Lille** (Alain de Lille, Alanus de Insulis, Universal Doctor) (ca. 1114–1202) *scholar, writer*

Born at Lille about 1114, but from about 1180 Alan lived in southern France, at Montpellier. At Paris, between 1170 and 1180, he composed several works of theology, under the influence of GILBERT of Poitiers. Within the context of the anti-CATHAR struggle in the south of France, Alan continued his literary activity, adding to it a more pastoral character. The majority of his sermons are from this period, along with his treatise, the *ARS PRAEDICANDI*, or Art of preaching. He created an anthology of biblical, patristic, and secular citations grouped around the virtues to be preached and cultivated and the vices to be eliminated. His *Book of Penance* promoted the administration of the sacrament of penance, aiming to stimulate the zeal of pastors and improve their spiritual and moral education.

His other scientific and pastoral works were numerous and varied. *The Complaint of Nature* is among Alan's first writings, from before 1171. This text, mixed with poetry, criticizes human vices, especially sodomy. According to Alan human nature and willpower are incapable on their own of enabling people to overcome the disorders of their desires and senses. Later, this *The Anticlaudianus* described a "perfect man" as prescribed by nature. In it he elaborated on and called forth the moral virtues that must be linked to human intellectual faculties. At the end of his life, he retired to the abbey of CITEAUX, where he died in 1202.

**Further reading:** Alan of Lille, *Alan of Lille, The Anticlaudianus or the Good and Perfect Man*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), *Alan of Lille: The Complaint of Nature*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980); Jan Ziolkowski, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1985); Gillian R. Evans, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

**Alans (Alani)** In the first century C.E., they were an Indo-European nomadic people settled in southern Russia. They fled westward when the Huns swept across southern Russia in the late fourth century. In 406 they crossed the Rhine and devastated cities in Gaul before entering Spain in 409, when their king was slain and they were conquered by the VISIGOTHS. Other Alans later served in various Byzantine, German, and Hunnic armies, including those of ATTILA. The most famous Byzantine general of Alan descent, Aspar, wielded enormous influence in Byzantium in the mid-fifth century. In the early eighth century, the

Byzantine emperor Justinian II (r. 705–711) sent an embassy to another group of Alans living in the northern Caucasus mountains. By the 10th century Alania, as the Byzantines called it, was the object of Byzantine diplomacy and church missions. Anna KOMNENÆ calls Alan mercenaries great fighters. In the early 14th century, however, they failed the empire in fighting poorly against the SELJUK Turks and the Catalan Grand Company in Greece.

**Further reading:** Bernard S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West: From Their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973).

**Alaric I** (ca. 370–410) *king of the Visigoths*

Alaric was born near the mouth of the Danube about 370. The VISIGOTHS had been driven from their homeland in central Europe into Roman territory by the attacks of the neighboring HUNS and permitted to settle within the empire. After the Visigoths inflicted a massive defeat on the Eastern Roman army in 378 at the Battle of ADRIANOPLE, they were persuaded by the emperor, Theodosios I (r. 379–95), to settle in the Roman province of northern BULGARIA as Roman mercenaries. The Visigothic troops in Roman service chose Alaric as their leader about 390. In 395, dissatisfied by the employment given them, Alaric attacked Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. In 397 the military leader of the Western Empire, Stilicho (d. 408), convinced Alaric to settle in Epirus or northwestern Greece.

Despite these honors, in 401 Alaric invaded Italy for the first time. After a battle with Stilicho in April 402, he was persuaded to withdraw. He returned in 403 and was defeated at Verona, but Stilicho allowed him to escape to the Dalmatia-Pannonia area on the east side of the Adriatic Sea.

Alaric demanded in 408 payments for his services from the Western emperor, Honorius (r. 395–423). The recent fall and death of Stilicho and the massacre of many families of barbarian mercenaries in Roman service provided Alaric with new allies and excuses for attacking Italy. He laid siege to Rome but withdrew on the payment of 5,000 pounds of gold. In 409, when the emperor refused to meet his renewed demands, Alaric returned to Rome still interested in a settlement with the Western Roman government. However, when his camp was treacherously attacked in July 410 by Sarus, a Visigoth loyal to the Western emperor, Alaric decided to attack Rome. He entered the city on August 24, 410, and for the first time in 800 years barbarians, joined by freed slaves, sacked the city. Although Alaric on the whole spared the holy places, perhaps because the Visigoths were Christians, the population suffered heavily. He carried away numerous captives, including GALLA Placidia, the sister of the emperor Honorius. The fall of Rome shocked the civilized world, prompting AUGUSTINE to write his *City of God*.

Alaric moved south, seeking food and land for his people. His ultimate destination appears to have been Africa. He sacked Capua and Nola on the way but failed to take NAPLES. He reached Reggio Calabria on the coast, but the Gothic fleet that was to carry him to Africa had been lost. Turning north again, he died at nearby Cosenza or Bruttium in late 410 and was reportedly buried with his treasure in the Busento River.

**Further reading:** Marcel Brion, *Alaric, the Goth*, trans. Frederick H. Martens (New York: R. M. McBride, 1930); Thomas S. Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome: A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca. 375–425 A.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Colin D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila: Fifth Century Byzantium and the Barbarians* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960); Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. Thomas J. Dunlap (1979; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

**Albania and the Albanians** They are a nation of Thracian and Illyrian origin. The Albanians were ruled in the Middle Ages periodically by the BYZANTINES or others from the sixth to the 14th century, including the BULGARS from the ninth and 10th centuries, before succumbing to the Turks in 1479. The Fourth Crusade in 1203–04 allowed the creation of the independent Albanian states of Scuttari (Shkoder) and DURAZZO or Durrës. Durazzo was at the beginning point of the route across the Balkans, the old Via Egnatia. It connected the Adriatic Sea with CONSTANTINOPLE. CHARLES OF ANJOU proclaimed himself king of Albania in 1272. This state continued until 1380 under the name of the Duchy of Durazzo. The Albanians were under Serbian control between 1345 and 1350 and Venetian authority between 1392 and 1479.

The conversion to Christianity of the Albanians after the Slav invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries was the work of missionaries sent from Rome and Constantinople. The Albanian Church was divided between the two rites, Latin and Greek. The north remained Roman while the south recognized the jurisdiction of Constantinople. At Ottoman occupation, delayed by the resistance of SCANDERBERG (1444–68), the Catholic north and the Orthodox south resisted Islamization, but the center mostly converted to Islam.

Of all the medieval literature in Albanian, only liturgical texts from 1462 and a lexicon of Albanian from 1497 by a German pilgrim have survived. They used the Latin alphabet. Art of Byzantine style existed in Albania from the end of the ninth century. Its finest churches were covered with mosaics, frescoes, and icons and date from the prosperous period of the 11th and 12th centuries. The influence of Dalmatian and Venetian artists and craftsmen arrived with the settlement of

the Dominicans and Franciscans in the towns bordering the Adriatic.

**Further reading:** Alain Ducellier, “Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. V, c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 779–795; Donald Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Ramadan Marmulaku, *Albania and the Albanians*, trans. Margot and Bosko Milosavljevic (London: C. Hurst, 1975); Stefanaq Pollo, *The History of Albania: From Its Origins to the Present Day*, trans. G. Wiseman and G. Hole (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1981).

**Alberti, Leon Battista** (1404–1472) *Italian Renaissance writer, humanist, architect*

Alberti was born in Genoa on February 14, 1404, the illegitimate son of an exiled Florentine merchant banker, Lorenzo Alberti. He received a humanist education at the universities of PADUA and BOLOGNA and obtained a doctorate in canon law in 1428. He then went to Rome and worked in the papal chancery as an abbreviator. A papal dispensation allowed him to take holy orders despite his illegitimacy. His early writing was in a Latin style, but he



The facade of Sant'Andrea in Mantua, Italy, designed by Leon Battista Alberti in 1470 (*Alinari / Art Resource*)

later became an ardent promoter of the vernacular for learned treatises.

In 1434, Alberti accompanied Pope EUGENIUS IV to FLORENCE and established congenial relations with leading humanists and artists including Leonardo BRUNI, Poggio BRACCIOLINI, Carlo Marsuppini (1399–1453), Filippo BRUNELLESCHI, and DONATELLO. With his intellectual horizons broadened by his sojourn in Florence, he returned to Rome in 1443 to concentrate on scientific and artistic problems. He advised Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) on problems of urban renewal and the restoration of Roman churches. Though he spent most of his later life in Rome, he maintained contact with Florentine intellectuals such as Marsilio FICINO, Cristoforo Landino (1424–92), and the young Lorenzo de' MEDICI.

Alberti was both a theorist and a practitioner of the classical revival in architecture. His 1452 treatise *On the Art of Building*, published in 1485, formulated the principles of the new style. His major building projects were in Florence, the loggia of the Palazzo Rucellai and the facade of Santa Maria Novella; in Rimini, the Tempio Malatestiano or Church of San Francesco; and in Mantua, the churches of San Sebastiano and Sant'Andrea.

In addition to his treatise on architecture, Alberti wrote the essays *On Painting* in 1435 and *On Sculpture* in about 1464. He used classical models in composing many of his Latin works. His most famous work in Italian, perhaps, *On the Family*, was written between 1432 and 1445 from the perspective of an illegitimate member of an elite, sometimes exiled, family. Written as a dialogue, it analyzed and commented on the social, moral, and cultural problems of Italian, specifically Florentine, urban society in the mid-15th century. He died in Rome in April 1472. The location of his remains is unknown.

**Further reading:** Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Renée Neu Watkins (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969); Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000); Joan Kelly, *Leon Battista Alberti: Universal Man of the Early Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); Carroll William Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise; Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447–55* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974).

**Albertus Magnus, Saint (Albert the Great, Albert of Cologne, the Universal Doctor)** (ca. 1200–1280) *German Dominican friar, scholar, teacher, philosopher, scientist, dominant figure in the evolution of Christian Scholastic thought and natural philosophy*

Albertus was born about 1200 in Lauingen, Swabia. His family was of the lesser nobility. They sent him to study at the new University of PADUA in Italy. After two years of



Albertus Magnus, engraving (Courtesy Library of Congress)

study of the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS, Albert was accepted into the DOMINICAN Order of mendicant friars in 1223. He then studied theology in Germany and was the first German Dominican to become a master of theology at the University of PARIS, where he taught some of the great Scholastic thinkers of the 13th century, including Thomas AQUINAS.

In 1256 Pope Alexander IV (r. 1254–61) ordered Albertus to his court to defend the mendicants against the attacks by many of their colleagues at the University of Paris. Most members of the faculty were members of the secular clergy, who were jealous of the intellectual and financial encroachments of the new mendicant orders into the university and college systems. In 1260 Albertus became bishop of Ratisbon. In 1263–64 he served as the pope's legate, preaching a crusade in Germany. Albertus died on November 15, 1280; he was beatified in 1622 and canonized by Pope Pius XI in 1932.

#### INTELLECTUAL IMPORTANCE

The works of Albertus Magnus embrace a vast array of knowledge in the natural sciences, philosophy, and theology. His botanical writings are noted for their accuracy and their detailed descriptions of plant anatomy. His presentation of a scientific basis for a classification scheme for plant evolution, by explaining changing plant forms, was unsurpassed until the 16th century. Something of an ecologist, he also had qualities of a practical farmer and

intuitive conservationist. He advocated the proper use of manure, the planting of trees to arrest soil erosion, and the cultivation of vineyards.

Learning from the newly available works of ARISTOTLE, he wrote extensively on the animal world as well. His *On Animals* contains descriptions of many animal forms and has sections on reproduction and embryology. Albertus Magnus had little knowledge of internal anatomy but presented the Aristotelian classification scheme for the animal kingdom, taking note of the adaptations of animal forms responding to evolving environments.

In the physical sciences and ALCHEMY, he commented extensively on the chemical, geological, and petrological features and stability of mineral forms. Here he followed the Aristotelian conception of the four elements and the four qualities, avoiding the more fanciful notions of the alchemists. He was skeptical about the possibility of a true transformation of any base metal into gold or silver. Furthermore, he isolated the element arsenic, drew up a list of about 100 minerals and their properties, and made sound observations on fossils. His work on chemistry discussed the basic processes of sublimation, distillation, pulverization, grinding, heating, cementing, dissolving, coagulation, and liquefaction.

Albertus was repeatedly charged by some of his contemporaries with having communications with the devil and practicing the craft of magic. Despite this, he clearly fostered the autonomy and appropriateness of reason in the sciences at a critical moment. His prestige and assistance were of vital importance in preventing the church from outlawing the rational study of nature as a form of magic or necromancy. He also was instrumental in maintaining the equilibrium of his intellectual environment despite the aggressive forces of mysticism and dogmatic orthodoxy.

**Further reading:** Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, *Albert and Thomas*, trans. Simon Tugwell (New York: Paulist Press, 1988); Étienne Gilson, *Christianity and Philosophy*, trans. Ralph MacDonald (New York: Published for the Institute of Mediaeval Studies by Sheed and Ward, 1939); Étienne Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*, trans. A. H. C. Downes (London: Sheed and Ward, 1936); James Weisheipel, *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essay 1980* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980).

**Albigensian Crusade** See ALBIGENSIANS AND ALBIGENSIAN MOVEMENT.

**Albigensians and Albigensian movement** The Albigensians were a heretical Christian sect, named after the city of Albi in southern France. In other parts of Europe, their counterparts were often called CATHARS. Much of what is known of their beliefs was promulgated by their enemies and persecutors. The sect generally

believed in the principles of Manichean dualism, which attempted to reconcile a belief in two distinct powers, the good and the evil, with the Christian religion. The Albigensians apparently had some belief in the Old and the New Testament but interpreted them allegorically, thus denying Jesus's bodily suffering. They attacked the church for its interpretation of the Bible, a book they considered "the work of the Devil." They rejected the value of the sacraments and any mediating role for the clergy. The church was not to own property or receive any income. Their doctrine, moreover, forbade marriage, and the eating of animal products. They recognized two classes of the faithful, the "perfect," or pure, who received the sacrament of consolation (*consolamentum*) and observed all the principles of the sect, and the believers, who led a normal life but would receive the *consolamentum* at some point in the future. The believers were to live simply. The Albigensians tried to segregate themselves doctrinally and socially from society, creating their own communities when they could.

#### REPRESSION AND WAR

By the 12th century the sect had spread throughout southern France. Repeated condemnations by church councils and persecutions by the authorities, failed to counter them. Some of the nobility joined the sect. By 1167 the Albigensians had created a loose federation of communities, while teaching an authorized text, the "Cathar Bible." Alarmed by this, the church and the kings of France and England, Louis VII (r. 1137–80) and HENRY II, determined to repress the movement. In 1184 a council at Verona attacked this heresy and established the INQUISITION to investigate suspected heretics and take them to trial. These efforts at suppression were ineffective and the Albigensians gained even greater regional sympathy and political influence. Pope INNOCENT III at first attempted to convert the Albigensians, appointing monks such as St. DOMINIC to special missions. This missionary activity led to the assassination, in 1208, of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau. Innocent then resolved to launch a military crusade against the Albigensians, calling faithful of northern France to extirpate them by force of arms. Led by SIMON OF MONTFORT the Elder, an army of French knights assembled, moved into southern France and committed massacres, such as at Béziers in 1208, when heretics and orthodox were indiscriminately killed. A coalition of southern forces, led by Peter II of Aragon (r. 1196–1216) and Raymond VI, the count of Toulouse, fought back, but Simon won the Battle of Muret in 1213, becoming the master of the region until his death in 1218. The Albigensians were not completely crushed, and soon the French crown-prince, Louis, had to lead a new crusade. In 1229, in the Peace of Paris, his widow settled the political aspect of the crusade in favor of French monarchy. This settlement led to the annexation of most of the country of Toulouse

to the French Crown. The heiress of TOULOUSE later married the king's second son, Alphonse of Poitiers. A bloody repression by the INQUISITION and the DOMINICANS continued, culminating in the massacre of the Albigensians at their last citadel at Montsegur in 1244. Traces of the sect remained well into the 14th century fostered by the resentment of the south of France of control from the north and Paris.

**Further reading:** Guillaume de Tudèle, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–1450*, 2 vols. (Manchester: University Press, 1967); Michael Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Joseph R. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992); Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974).

**Alboin** (d. 573) *elected king by the Lombard tribes*  
Alboin became king of the Lombards in 561, when they were still north of the Alps. Alboin played upon Italian opposition and resistance to Byzantine or Greek rule to invade Italy from the north. Approaching from the northeast, he took Friuli and the city of Aquileia, whose patriarch fled to the island of Grado, a future part of Venice. Having taken VERONA, he made it his capital and then conquered Milan in September 569. He was assassinated at the instigation of his wife in his palace in Verona in a failed coup attempt in 573.

**Further reading:** Neil Christie, *The Lombards* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

**Albornoz, Gil, Cardinal** (Aegidius, Egidio, Gil Álvarez Carillo de Albornoz) (ca. 1310–1367) *papal legate*  
Born about 1310 he became a protégé of Alfonso XI, the king of León and Castile (1311–50); Albornoz was named archbishop of Toledo in 1338 and chancellor of the kingdom of CASTILE. As legate of the Holy See during the crusade against the Muslims of AL-ANDALUS, he distinguished himself at the Battle of Tarifa in 1340. Disliked by King Peter I the Cruel (1334–69), he retired to AVIGNON, where Pope CLEMENT VI (r. 1342–52) soon appointed him cardinal of San Clemente in Rome in 1350.

Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352–62), in an attempt to restore order and retake control of the PAPAL STATES in central Italy, made Albornoz his legate and military commander in Italy in 1353. Towns and noble lords had

taken advantage of the papacy's sojourn in Avignon to desert their allegiance and financial obligations to the Holy See. Orvieto and then Viterbo were captured. Albornoz then campaigned successfully against the rebels in the Marches northeast of Rome. In the Romagna, farther north, the cardinal encountered the power of the VISCONTI family of Milan. As a result of their influence at the papal court in Avignon, Albornoz was replaced in 1357 by Cardinal Androin de la Roche, who failed to follow up on Albornoz's earlier successes.

After Albornoz returned to Avignon, Innocent VI soon restored his title of legate in 1358. He defeated Francesco Ordelaffi, lord of Cesena and Forli, in 1359. He recovered the major city of BOLOGNA, where he installed a relative in 1360 as rector.

A new pope, Urban V (r. 1362–70), prolonged the powers of Albornoz's appointment and cited Bernabò Visconti (d. 1385) to appear at Avignon. The pope condemned Bernabò as a heretic, and preached a crusade against the Visconti. Bernabò called for the appointment of a new legate as the price of his submission. Albornoz was once again removed but was appointed legate to the Kingdom of Naples. Albornoz was still able to complete his pacification of the Papal States. This was the necessary precondition for the safe return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome and Italy. Albornoz died on August 22 or 23, 1367, just as Pope Urban V had reached Viterbo on his way to Rome.

He was one of the ablest and toughest legates of the Avignonese papacy but did not hesitate to oppose successfully the vacillating policies of several popes. He also demonstrated his prowess as an administrator by drawing up a new set of ruling laws for the newly recovered Papal States.

**Further reading:** Anne-Marie Hayez, "Albornoz, Gil," *EMA*, 1.31–32; Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (1949; reprint, New York: T. Nelson, 1963).

**Alcántara, Order of** This Hispanic military order grew out of the confraternity of knights of San Julián del Pereiro. It was approved by Pope ALEXANDER III in October 1176. Founded during the struggle against the Muslims, the order was subjected to the Order of CALATRAVA in 1187 adopting the Cistercian rule. A conflict between the older Sanjulianists and the Order of Calatrava ended in 1218 in a compromise. In exchange for their submission, the Sanjulianists received the fortress of Alcántara on the Tagus River and took their name from it. The Order of Alcántara developed mainly in the Estremadura to serve the Crown in Muslim GRANADA and in southern PORTUGAL. In the 15th century, the order was involved in political struggles among Castilian nobles. In 1501, FERDINAND II and ISABEL I, the Catholic monarchs, managed to persuade the pope to name them as the

“perpetual administrators” of the assets of this rich order, thus making it a royal institution.

See also RECON QUEST.

**Further reading:** Georgiana Goddard King, *A Brief Account of the Military Orders in Spain* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1921); Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and Its Affiliates* (London: Variorum, 1975).

**alchemy** Alchemy was a theoretical and practical search for a way of transforming base metals into gold or silver. Alchemy developed into the search for the Philosopher’s Stone, a substance to be used to help with this transformation. Despite some earlier forerunners, alchemy or the transmutation of metals was introduced to the West in the movement of translations of texts from Arabic to Latin, around the mid-12th century. Texts circulated under various names but all were purportedly written by Arabs. The most famous of these eighth-century texts was supposed to be by Abu Musa Jabber ibn Khiyan al-Sufi. The dominant theory of this alchemy made sulfur and mercury the constituents of metals and took into account the theory of the four elements.

The first challenge for Western intellectuals was to find a place within the knowledge hierarchy for this new discipline, which straddled the realms of both art and science. In the 13th century treatises apocryphally or doubtfully attributed to ALBERTUS MAGNUS followed IBN SINA’S or Avicenna’s assertion that alchemists were incapable of transmuting metals; at most, they could modify accidental properties, producing mere imitations. Albertus and Ibn Sina admitted a theoretical possibility of a transmutation of metals after their reduction to “prime matter.” Albertus considered it possible that alchemy can arrange matter to render it naturally mutable. In the texts attributed to him, Roger BACON defined alchemy as a part of his experimental science, beyond the simple attempt at transmuting metals into gold. For Bacon the secret of alchemy was the search for an elixir, admittedly a mixture of metals, to change them into gold, also an elixir of the body that could “prolong life.” If the transmutation of a metal into natural gold remained within the realm of nature, the production of a divine stone capable of producing these transmutations or purifications belonged to the supernatural. The true alchemist needed a divinely illuminated supplement to accomplish his work.

In the 14th and 15th centuries there were more false attributions to famous names, such as Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Thomas AQUINAS. Alchemy now had a wide audience in the West. However, in the years 1270–80, the authorities of the mendicant orders forbade their members to practice it. The most notable condemnation was a decretal of Pope JOHN XXII in 1317 that attacked alchemy as a possible source of falsification.

Despite this, within the church there were voices sympathetic to alchemy. After this official condemnation, alchemical thought retreated into veiled and allegorical expression in art and literature.

**Further reading:** Johannes Fabricius, *Alchemy: The Medieval Alchemists and Their Royal Art* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1976); E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957); Pearl Kibre, *Studies in Medieval Science: Alchemy, Astrology, Mathematics, and Medicine* (London: Hambleton Press, 1984); Claudia Kren, *Alchemy in Europe: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1990); Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1923–1958).

**Alcuin of York (Albinus, Alchuuine, Alcuinus)** (ca. 730–804) *respected educator, statesman, deacon, liturgist* Born in or near York about 730, Alcuin was early entrusted to the cathedral school there under the master teacher Egbert, who had been a pupil of the great English historian BEDE. When Egbert became archbishop of York, Alcuin had the good fortune to study at the cathedral school there under the mentoring scholar Ælberht (r. 767–78). Alcuin visited the Continent to secure books and art treasures to enrich the library at York.

Alcuin’s education was firmly classical, since at this time the resources of Mediterranean or classical learning were pouring into England. And under the impact of Bede, such secular studies as literature, science, history, and music, which had been uncommon in earlier monastic schools, were added to the curriculum. Dedicated to learning, Alcuin was promoted at age 30 from student to teacher, and soon to master. In the meantime he was ordained a deacon. He never advanced to the priesthood.

#### RELATIONSHIP WITH CHARLEMAGNE AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Returning from a visit to Rome in 781, Alcuin happened to meet the future emperor CHARLEMAGNE at Parma. As a serious and learned teacher, he made a deep impression on the Frankish leader, who urged Alcuin to take charge of the palace school, which had been established not only to educate royalty and members of noble families, but also to prepare missionaries and scholars to convert the heathen tribes Charlemagne intended to integrate into his projected Christian empire. In 782 he joined Charlemagne and from then on he visited England occasionally only as an agent and personal representative of Charlemagne. Alcuin set about reforming the palace school. He did not have an original point of view, but he gave to the task great persistence and a mind that was a great storehouse of knowledge.

Gradually Charlemagne drew him into an ever-closer collaboration on matters of politics. Besides establishing his school, which quickly became a center of Western

culture and learning, Alcuin wrote important political and liturgical works. He composed a number of significant official documents, once believed to be entirely the work of Charlemagne. These included decisions and opinions on the difficult problems of iconoclasm and the Spanish heresy of ADOPTIONISM. Alcuin's new liturgical guide prudently took into account both universally accepted and locally observed rites. They thus served as the reasonable basis for the new standard missal. After serving Charlemagne for many years, Alcuin withdrew to establish another school at the abbey of Saint Martin of Tours, where he died on May 18, 804.

**Further reading:** John Cavadini, *The Last Christology in the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne: His World and His Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1951); John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959).

**Aleppo (Halab, Halep, Alep)** Often recognized for its great age, Aleppo was a city in SYRIA that was inhabited for perhaps 4,000 years. After being sacked by the SAS-SANIANS in the sixth century and captured by KHALID IBN AL-WALID in 636, it declined in importance until it became the capital of the HAMDANIDS in the 10th century. From then on it was to remain one of the major cities of Islam until well after 1500. Saif-al-Daula (r. 945–967) managed to maintain the city's fortunes against the BYZANTINES, who nonetheless attacked in 962, and against the BUYIDS from Baghdad. The Hamdanids eventually lost control to the FATIMIDS of Egypt in 1004. In the last years of the 10th century there had been a cultural revival, especially in literature, centered in Aleppo and under the patronage of Saif-al-Daula and his successors.

The fortunes and prestige of the city grew further in the 12th century as it became a bulwark against crusader expansion under the Zangi dynasty, especially Imad al-Din Zangi (1127–46) and NUR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD IBN ZANGI (1146–73). They solidified Muslim resistance against the crusaders with their military capacities and skillful cultivation of the concept of JIHAD. The AYYUBIDS took over in the 1170s under the leadership of SALADIN, who rebuilt the citadel and made the entire city into a great fortress. At the same time the city continued to profit as a place of a lively trade between West and East and gained a reputation for the quality of its glass, ceramics, textiles, and metalwork.

Sacked again by the MONGOLS in 1260 and rebuilt under the MAMLUKS of Egypt soon afterward, Aleppo regained prosperity in the mid-14th century, as attested

by IBN BATTUTA, who visited the city in 1355 and remarked on its impressive buildings and spaces, especially its mosques and bazaar. After this era of prosperity, Aleppo fell victim to another raid and to occupation by TAMERLANE in 1400, to earthquakes in 1403, and to a serious famine in 1422. Its strategic location for trade allowed yet another rebuilding, and Aleppo continued to be famous for the beauty and impressiveness of its fortifications and schools or MADRASAS. The OTTOMANS captured the city in 1516, and it remained a rich commercial center for caravans long after that.

**Further reading:** D. W. Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and His World: Ibn al-'dim and Aleppo as Portrayed in His Biological Dictionary of People Associated with the City* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Suhayl Zakkar, *The Emirate of Aleppo, 1004–1094* (Beirut: Dar al-Amanah, 1971).

**Alexander III, Pope (Rolandino Bandinelli(?), Orlando)** (ca. 1105–1181) *traditionally considered a noble, most probably a teacher of theology or canon law, later pope*

Born about 1105, the future Alexander III or Rolandino became a canon of Pisa. He was appointed cardinal in 1150 and chancellor of the Roman church in 1153 by Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–53). While he was legate at the imperial Diet of Besançon in 1157, in a discussion of a letter of Pope ADRIAN IV, the imperial chancellor Rainald of Dassel interpreted the word *beneficium* as “fief” instead of “benefice.” This was equivalent to suggesting lay control of the offices and rights of the church. Rolandino disagreed and spoke in favor of a papal interpretation.

After the death of Adrian IV at Anagni on September 1, 1159, Rolandino was elected pope in Rome on September 7. He first refused the office. Elected by at least four cardinal-bishops of the six, Alexander III soon reconsidered and thought himself the legitimate pope. The emperor's decision to have the election of an antipope, Victor IV, confirmed by a council meeting at Pavia on February 15, 1160, provoked a schism that lasted 18 years. Alexander III sought refuge in France. A peace between Barbarossa and the pope was concluded eventually in Venice on July 24, 1177, as the emperor kissed the pope's feet. After 10 years of exile, the pope entered in triumph Rome in 1178. A year later, he convened one of the most important councils of the Middle Ages, the Third Lateran. This produced legislative work of lasting importance, especially on marriage and the doctrinal foundations of papal authority. Clarity of expression and rigor of argument assured its permanent success when 470 of its decretals were included in the *Corpus iuris canonici*. However, in summer 1179 the citizens of Rome elected a new antipope, called Innocent III, forcing Alexander to flee

Rome. Old and sick, he died at Civit  Castellana on August 30, 1181.

**Further reading:** G. M. Ellis, trans., *Boso's Life of Alexander III* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973); Robert Summerville, *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163): A Study of Ecclesiastical Politics and Institutions in the Twelfth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Marshall Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century* (Glen Rock, N.J.: Newman, 1968).

**Alexander VI (Rodrigo de Borja y Doms, Rodrigo de Borgia)** (1431–1503) *notorious Renaissance pope*

On January 1, 1431, Alexander VI was born Rodrigo Borja at J tiva in Valencia, Spain. He studied law at the University of Bologna and rose to prominence in 1455, when his uncle was elected pope as Calixtus III (r. 1455–58). As his uncle had, Rodrigo changed his name to Borgia, the Italian form of Borja. When Rodrigo was 25, his uncle made him a cardinal; at 26 he became the vice-chancellor of the papal court, a position he filled competently for 35 years. Borgia lived a secular life in Rome and did not become a priest until 1468, when he was 37 years old. Priesthood, however, did not change the character of his life. He had children by several mistresses. There is certainty only about the mother of four of his children, Caesare born in 1475, Giovanni born in 1476, Lucrezia born in 1480, and Goffredo born in 1481. She was Vanozza de' Catanei. Rodrigo was considered handsome and attractive to women, intelligent, a good public speaker, and popular with the citizens of Rome.

In the conclave of August 6 to October 11, 1492, the cardinals elected the 61-year-old Borgia as pope. He took the name of Alexander VI in honor of Alexander the Great. He started his reign well. The populace of Rome was pleased by his election. He began extensive building projects in the city and worked conscientiously at papal business. In 1494, King Ferrante or Ferdinand I (1423–94) of Naples died. The Kingdom of NAPLES had once been a possession of the French throne; King Charles VIII (r. 1483–98) of France decided to reclaim it by invasion and reached Rome in December 1494. Alexander feared deposition but managed to negotiate his freedom. He then joined forces with VENICE, the Holy Roman Emperor, Spain, and MILAN. Together they expelled Charles from Italy. Pope Alexander in the meantime had to face the monumental task of regaining control of the PAPAL STATES, which had fallen into the hands of local nobles during the pontificate of his predecessor, Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92). Alexander delegated this task to his son Caesare Borgia (ca. 1475–1507), who accomplished it with brutal determination. Caesare's ambitious marriage to the French princess Charlotte d'Albret in 1499 committed Alexander to friendship with the new French king, Louis XII (r. 1498–1515), forcing the pope

into an unwise course of action. In exchange for French help in retaking the Papal States, Alexander cooperated with Louis's conquest of Milan and deposition of Ludovico Sforza (r. 1494–99, d. 1508). Alexander VI died on August 18, 1503, perhaps of malaria. According to another story, he was poisoned.

Alexander VI has been widely condemned for his conduct. He was seen by some as disregarding priestly celibacy, practicing SIMONY and nepotism, and preferring political chicanery to spiritual leadership. He used his position to enrich his children, to support a host of Spanish relatives in Rome, and to create 19 Spanish cardinals. Though he shocked his contemporaries by openly acknowledging his children, his morals were hardly worse than those of his contemporaries. Vicious rumors that he poisoned his enemies and held sexual orgies are dubious.

**Further reading:** Johann Burchard, *Pope Alexander VI and His Court: Extracts from the Latin Diary of Johannes Burchardus*, ed. F. L. Glaser (New York: N. L. Brown, 1921); E. R. Chamberlain, *The Fall of the House of Borgia* (New York: Dial Press, 1974); Michael Mallett, *The Borgia: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969); Georgina Masson, *The Borgias* (London: Macdonald Futura, 1981).

**Alexander Nevsky, Saint** See NEVSKY, ALEXANDER, SAINT.

**Alexander romances** Alexander romances are generally found in all of the literatures of medieval Europe, including Bulgarian, Armenian, Hebrew, Serbian, Greek, Syriac, Persian, and Ethiopian. They consist of extensive and involved narratives in both prose and poetry. The career of Alexander the Great was the subject of these romances. They were somewhat historical and somewhat fictional and were initially formulated soon after his death in 323 B.C.E. The Latin prose history was written by Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, in the first century C.E. and is the standard historical account available to medieval writers.

Two important fictional works did circulate in the central Middle Ages. One was a letter purporting to be from Alexander to his tutor ARISTOTLE describing his travels and the wonders of India. The other work, *The Journey to Paradise*, definitely of Hebrew origin, was sometimes combined with other stories that connected Alexander with Jerusalem and Daniel the prophet. It tells of the arrival of Alexander at the gates of an earthly paradise. He asks for tribute but is given a stone with mysterious markings. These were interpreted by an elderly Jew from Babylon as symbolizing Alexander's power but also of its impotence in the face of death, and as warning him of the danger of avarice and the value of humility.

The most important medieval poems about Alexander are the Latin *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Châtillon from between 1178 and 1182 and the French *Roman d'Alexandre*. Gautier compares Alexander favorably to his great rival Darius, the Persian emperor, but is critical of Alexander for his cruelty. It basically portrays him as an ideal pagan prince blessed by good fortune and God's providence, a model for a Christian prince, especially in terms of magnanimity and control of his troops. Nonetheless, Alexander might be a fine pagan prince but he was too motivated by the vanities of this world and was still destined to perish. According to this tradition he illustrated better than anyone the vanity and emptiness of all earthly success.

**Further reading:** *The Medieval "Roman d'Alexandre,"* 7 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1937–1976); George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); *Legends of Alexander the Great*, trans. and ed. Richard Stoneman (London: J. M. Dent, 1994); Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Romance of Alexander the Great*, trans. Albert Murgdich Wolohojian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, and Claire Isoz, eds., *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus International, 1982).

**Alexandria** (Askandarujya, al-Iskandariyya) A city founded by Alexander the Great on the northern coast of Egypt, west of the Nile, Alexandria was the chief city of Byzantine Egypt. With the ascendancy of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE, to whom the see of Alexandria answered after the division of the Roman Empire in 364, the local church adopted MONOPHYTISM, or the belief in the single nature and physical divinity of Christ, as a way of asserting its independence. Despite the rejection of monophysitism by the Council of CHALCEDON in 451, the Alexandrian church resisted Constantinople's attempts to bring it into line. An underground church developed to oppose the established one and became a focus of Egyptian loyalties. Such disaffection with Byzantine rule helped create the conditions in which Alexandria fell to the Persians in 616, and then to the ARABS in 642. The Arabs occupied Alexandria without resistance. With the exception of a short interlude in 645, when the city was briefly retaken by a Byzantine fleet, Alexandria's fortunes were from then on linked to the new faith and culture, ISLAM. Alexandria was soon eclipsed politically by the new Muslim capital at AL-FUSTAT and that city became the strategic prize for those wanting to control Egypt. Alexandria continued to flourish as a maritime trading center for textiles and luxury goods. The city was important as a naval base, especially under the FATIMIDS and the MAMLUKS. On the other hand, it was contracting in size, as the walls rebuilt in the 13th and 14th centuries enclosed less than half the

area of the Greco-Roman city. Alexandria survived the early CRUSADES relatively unscathed, and the city had a commercial rebirth with the development of an East–West spice trade. The loss of this trade after the discovery of a sea route to India in 1498 by the Portuguese, combined with Turkish conquest of Egypt in 1517, were among the final blows to the city's prosperity. As a cultural center, however, it had had few peers in the East, rivaling Constantinople in every respect. Its university was renowned in the distinguished tradition of the famous Library of Alexandria, perhaps destroyed by fire in 476, which had been the greatest library of the Late Roman world. The church of Alexandria produced strong bishops, such as CYRIL and ATHANASIOS, who were often in conflict with the Jews and persecuted the pagans in the city.

**Further reading:** E. M. Forster, *Alexandria: A History and a Guide* (1961; reprint, Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1974); Morsi Saad El-Din, *Alexandria: The Site and the History*, ed. Gareth L. Steen with photographs by Araldo de Luca (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

**Alexiad** See KOMNENA, ANNA.

**Alexios I Komnenos (Alexius Comnenus)** (ca. 1048–1018) *Byzantine emperor*

Nephew of the Emperor Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–59), Alexios was born about 1048 and was raised by his strong-willed mother, Anna Dalassena. Even as a youth, he was noted for his great military success. Surviving changes in regime, Alexios was a strong supporter of successive emperors while putting down a number of rebellions. At last driven to revolt, he secured the support of other aristocratic leaders and was proclaimed emperor on April 4, 1081.

When Alexios assumed power, the empire seemed about to collapse. Internal affairs were in chaos, and external enemies closed in on all sides. ANATOLIA, the empire's heartland and chief source of labor and revenue, was all but lost since the disastrous Battle of MANZIKERT in 1071. That defeat had exposed Anatolia to devastation and occupation by the SELJUK Turks. To the north, the Asiatic Petchenegs threatened the Balkan frontiers. And Robert GUISCARD, the Norman chieftain from southern ITALY, was planning to attack the empire to establish a great Eastern realm of his own.

Alexios had few resources, so he accepted humiliating terms with the Turks, scraped together hasty forces, and purchased naval aid from VENICE to face the NORMAN threat. The Normans were repulsed, and Alexios devoted the next years to freeing the Balkan provinces from the combined menaces of a Bulgarian revolt and invasions by the Petchenegs and the CUMANS. Despite defeats, Alexios played them off against each other, and with Cuman help he defeated the Petchenegs overwhelmingly at Levurnion

in 1091. This victory, a turning point in Alexios's career, enabled him to consolidate his hold on the throne.

#### THE CRUSADES AND BEYOND

Alexios turned next to the grim situation in Anatolia. Realizing his need for greater military strength, and at the same time anxious to cooperate with the papacy in ending the GREAT SCHISM OF 1054 between the Eastern and Western Churches, he sent appeals to the pope. He urged Westerners to help him fight in the East. The Latin response was the First CRUSADE. Expecting only mercenary auxiliaries, the Byzantines were faced instead by a mob of uncontrolled and irresponsible military adventurers. The initial group, under PETER the Hermit, arrived in early 1096 and crossed precipitously into Anatolia, only to be massacred by the Turks. The main crusader army arrived during the following winter.

In June 1097 the crusaders and Byzantines jointly took NICAIA from the Turks. Despite this success, ill feelings grew between them, and the crusaders plunged on their own across Anatolia into SYRIA. Alexios's failure to aid them in their siege of ANTIOCH in 1097–98 increased their estrangement. Alexios later tried to assert his rights of suzerainty over the new states that the crusaders established in the Levant (the shore of the Mediterranean) and in the Holy Land after their conquest of JERUSALEM in 1099. BOHEMOND, Guiscard's ambitious son, seized ANTIOCH for himself and returned to Italy to organize a new invasion of the Balkans. In the fighting that ensued from 1104 to 1108, Alexios defeated Bohemond and forced a temporary settlement. At Bohemond's death in 1111, the question of Alexios's claims to Antioch and to other crusader territories remained unsettled. In the closing years of his life, Alexios renewed campaigns against the Seljuk Turks. A victory in 1117 won back for the empire at least some parts of Anatolia.

The successes of Alexios's internal policies consisted in his careful husbanding of limited resources. The realm he left behind was no longer the greatest power in CHRISTENDOM, but he did leave it on its way to recovery and stability. At the death of Alexios on August 16, 1118, a clear transfer of power was made to his son, JOHN II Komnenos.

See also KOMNENA, ANNA; KOMNENOI, DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnena*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (New York: Penguin Books, 1969); Margaret Mullett and Dion Smythe, eds., *Alexios I Komnenos* (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 1996).

**Alfonso V the Magnanimous** (1396–1458) *king of Aragon and Naples, patron of humanists*

He was the eldest son, born in 1396, of Ferdinand I (ca. 1379–1416), the king of ARAGON and count of Barcelona, from the Castilian house of Trastámara.

Alfonso V succeeded his father in 1416. In 1419 he convoked the CORTES, or representative assemblies, to finance his expensive Mediterranean ambitions. However, his subjects demanded a greater part in the government, then monopolized by Castilian officials. In 1420 he waged war on GENOA and pacified SARDINIA, but failed to conquer CORSICA. In 1423 he tried unsuccessfully to take NAPLES; instead he sacked Marseille and stole the relics of Saint Louis of Anjou. In 1435 the Angevins of Naples, defeated and captured him at the naval Battle of Ponza. During the ensuing captivity, he charmed Filippo Maria VISCONTI (1392–1447), the duke of Milan, into becoming an ally. He returned and conquered Naples in 1442. In ALBANIA, he supported SKANDERBEG against the Turks. He never returned to his Hispanic domains, which were ruled by his wife, Maria of Castile. In CATALONIA, the enslaved and impoverished peasantry revolted. His war against Castile between 1445 and 1454 made the situation worse. On his death in 1458, Alfonso's brother, John II (ca. 1398–1479), inherited his Iberian possessions; Ferrante (1423–94), a illegitimate son, ruled the kingdom of Naples.

Alfonso's political efforts and activities primarily took place in Italy. He reformed Neapolitan political institutions, filling them with his Iberian relatives. His fiscal policy, such as his takeover of transhumance routes of sheep, were met with revolts by the Italian aristocracy between 1444 and 1446. He was a generous patron of the arts at Naples, and sponsored and surrounded himself with humanists such as Lorenzo VALLA, Leonardo BRUNI of Arezzo, Leonardo Giovanni Pontano (1422–1503), and Antonio Beccadelli (1394–1471) of Palermo.

**Further reading:** Martin Aurell, "Alfonso V of Aragon," *EMA*, 1.39–40; Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous: The Making of the Modern State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

**Alfonso X the Learned (the Wise, el Sabio)** (1221–1284) *king of Castile and León, royal patron of learning*

The eldest son of Ferdinand III (ca. 1201–52) and Beatrice of SWABIA, Alfonso was born in TOLEDO on November 23, 1221. As a youth, he was tutored in the arts of war and government. In 1247 he drove the Muslims from Murcia, and in 1248 he played an important role in his father's capture of SEVILLE. The following year he married Violante, daughter of JAMES I of ARAGON, who bore him 10 children. Alfonso became king in 1252 and immediately embarked upon war. He fought Alfonso III (1210–79) of PORTUGAL over frontier posts on the border in the Algarve. In 1254 he invaded Gascony and claimed the throne of NAVARRE. Alfonso spent much of the next 20 years in a vain attempt

to gain the Crown of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, claimed through his German mother. Three successive popes opposed this. In the end he was obliged to back down under the threat of excommunication. His frequent absences from CASTILE proved an encouragement to rebellion. His Muslim subjects in AL-ANDALUS and Murcia revolted in 1262 with the assistance of Alfonso's tributary, the king of GRANADA, and the MERINID ruler of MOROCCO. A series of fresh disturbances followed, during which Alfonso's eldest son, Ferdinand de la Cerda, exercised military leadership. Ferdinand's death in 1275 precipitated a lengthy struggle over the succession to the throne. The king's last years were clouded by the contest between the backers of his second son, Sancho IV the Fierce (r. 1284–95), and those of his grandson, Alfonso. In 1282 Sancho declared his father deposed. Alfonso, deserted even by the queen, fled to Seville, disinherited Sancho, and called on the emir of Morocco for help. Sancho, however, was able to meet this threat and confined the old king in Seville. There Alfonso X died, a tragic figure, with curses on his son from his deathbed on April 14, 1284.

#### INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Alfonso's greatest legacy was the *Seven Divisions of the Law* (*Siete Partidas*). This work is more than a legal codex, rather, a learned essay on various kinds of law addressing all aspects of social life. It is a careful repository of medieval Spanish custom that had enormous influence on the future course of Spanish law and on the law of Spain's overseas possessions. The scientific treatises compiled under Alfonso's patronage were the work of the "School of Translators" of Toledo, an informal grouping of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish scholars who made available the findings of Arab science to the rest of Europe in Latin and Spanish translations. The king's own scientific interests were in astronomy and ASTROLOGY. Of Alfonso's poems, the most significant are the *Canticles of Holy Mary*, written in Galician Portuguese between 1257 and 1279.

**Further reading:** Robert I. Burns, *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Robert I. Burns, *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso the Learned and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

**Alfred the Great** (849–899) *king of Wessex and England, one of the greatest Anglo-Saxon kings*

Alfred was born in 849. Despite continual assault from VIKING armies and several defeats, his military strategy and resourcefulness eventually defeated the Vikings and led to a treaty at Wedmore in 878. This led to peace from Viking attack for nearly a century. Alfred then set about

establishing an educational system by drawing several foreign scholars such as Asser (d. 808/809), John the Old Saxon (fl.890), and Grimbold of Saint-Bertin (d. 901) to his court. Alfred himself translated with the help of others into English prose and poetry a number of Latin works that he deemed essential to human knowledge and a proper education. These included Pope GREGORY I the Great's *Pastoral Care*, BOETHIUS'S *Consolation of Philosophy*, AUGUSTINE'S *Soliloquies*, OROSIUS'S *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, and the first 50 psalms. He is considered among the first writers of Anglo-Saxon prose. He also patronized monasteries such as those at Athelney and Shaftesbury and reformed the clergy. He died on October 26, 899, and is buried at Winchester.

**Further reading:** Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, eds., *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983); Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (New York: Longman, 1998); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Alfred the Great and His England* (London: Collins, 1957); H. R. Loyn, *Alfred the Great* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); A. P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (London: Dent, 1995).

**Algazel** See AL-GHAZALI.

**Alhambra** The Alhambra is a palace complex in GRANADA, the last Muslim enclave of AL-ANDALUS in southern Spain, which was built by the NASRID dynasty over several centuries. It sits on a large rocky outcropping, or mountain spur, within the present-day city. The oldest part, the Alcazaba, is a fortress overlooking the city, built by the Almohads in the 12th century. Several impressive gates and a wall remain from this period, but the living quarters for the administrative workers and barracks for soldiers are not visible. Most of the rest of the Muslim parts were built in the 14th and 15th centuries, during the era when the Nasrids held out against the rest of Christian Spain and were able to hire the best remaining artisans from Islamic Spain. The whole complex consists of several palaces, reception (throne) halls, a 14th-century tower, mosques, and courts that were linked as they were added. They are connected by a series of patios and arcaded courtyards usually graced with fountains and running water. The rooms are usually richly decorated with inscriptions, colorful tiles, wooden ceilings, and heavenly vaults formed of stucco supported by beautiful niches and bearing hanging stalactite ceilings. The most impressive and famous courtyards are those called the Court of the Myrtles because of the myrtle bushes or shrubbery decorating them, and the Court of the Lions, which encloses a fountain spouting from the backs of carved lions. The divisions between internal and external space are not clearly defined, and light is dramatically employed nearly everywhere.



The Alhambra palace of the Muslim Nasrid dynasty in Granada in southern Spain built primarily between 1238 and 1358 (Courtesy Edward English)

Farther up the hill is a 14th-century summer palace called the Generalife that is linked to the main complex by gardens re-created in the 20th century. The palace itself is entered by an elongated patio formed around a canal, the water source. Soon after Granada fell to the Christians in 1492, the emperor Charles V built a palace in the Renaissance style that required some demolition and now looms among the older palaces and fortress.

The Alhambra is especially important because it is one of the few palaces to have survived from medieval Islamic times. It illustrates superbly a number of architectural concerns occasionally documented in literary references. It demonstrates a contrast between an unassuming exterior and a richly decorated interior to achieve an effect of a secluded or private place of repose. The architectural decoration of the Alhambra was mostly of stucco. Some of it is flat. There, however, are extraordinarily complex cupolas appearing as upside-down crowns. Heavy, elaborately decorated ceilings are supported by frail columns. Walls are pierced with many windows with light spreading through almost every part of its large, domed halls. The poems and calligraphic ornamentation adorning the Alhambra suggest that its cupolas are the domes of heaven rotating around the prince sitting under them. The whole complex is a stunning exception to the general austerity of Muslim architecture existing in Spain.

**Further reading:** Lamia Doumato, *The Alhambra Palace, Granada* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies,

1981); Antonio Fernández Puertas, *The Alhambra*, 2 vols. (London: Saqi Books, 1997); Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 2d ed. (Sebastopol, Calif.: Solipsist Press, 1992 [1978]); Enrique Sordo and Wim Swann, *Moorish Spain: Córdoba, Seville and Granada*, trans. Ian Michael (London: Crown Publishers, 1963).

**Alids** See ALI IBN ABI TALIB.

**Alighieri, Dante** (1265–1321) *Florentine politician, poet, author of The Divine Comedy*

Born in 1265 to an ancient Florentine family, Dante studied grammar and rhetoric. His poetic talent improved considerably through his contacts with old poets such as BRUNETTO Latini and Guido Cavalcanti (ca. 1225–1300), who were among his early models. His first important work in the vernacular was *The New Life*, written in Italian about 1293. In it he expounded his reflections on his devoted and courtly, never proclaimed love for Beatrice, on whom he had been fixated since he was nine years old. Her death in 1290 struck him deeply. He soon married and attended the schools of the FRANCISCANS and the DOMINICANS in Florence, where he studied philosophy, logic, and theology.

#### POLITICS

In 1295 Dante began a political career, when FLORENCE was riven by disputes between rival factions within the



papal and GUELPH party, then divided into the Blacks and the Whites. The Blacks, with the backing of Pope BONIFACE VIII, pursued a policy of territorial expansion for the pope's family and allies in TUSCANY. Dante, neutral on this, assumed an important role in city politics as a prior, or an administrator of the city. In a vain attempt to enforce peace and public order, Dante banished the leaders of both factions but later became a leader of the Whites and opposed the pope's policies. When Charles I (1270–1325) of Valois invaded Tuscany at the pope's request and threatened Florence, Dante was dispatched to appease Boniface. He failed. Charles entered the city and the Blacks gained control, then took revenge on the Whites. The absent Dante was tried in court, failed to appear, and was condemned to death.

Dante then began a lifetime of exile, wandering, traveling periodically through VERONA in 1303 and 1316, BOLOGNA between 1304 and 1306, LUCCA in 1308, and RAVENNA between 1318 and 1321. He withdrew from Florentine politics but sought unsuccessfully to have his banishment lifted.

#### MAJOR OPERA

During the ensuing years of exile, Dante produced the works that made him immediately famous. While at Bologna he wrote *The Banquet* and *On Vulgar Eloquence*, both unfinished. They reflected his return to philosophical and rhetorical studies. The latter work promoted the Italian vernacular, regarded as not only a nationalistic expression, but as an appropriate and worthy language for poetry. *The Banquet* was a discussion on Dante's ideas of the value of imperial authority, later more clearly developed in his Latin treatise *On Monarchy*. There Dante argues that a universal monarchy ruled by a secular emperor backed by divine right was the only answer for a divided and tormented CHRISTENDOM.

Spending his last years in Ravenna, he wrote his great poetic work, *The Divine Comedy*, between 1307 and 1321. It was made up of three parts: *Inferno* (Hell) from 1310, *Purgatorio* (Purgatory) from 1314, and *Paradiso* (Paradise) from between 1315 and 1321. They described in poetry Dante's allegorical and penitential journey into an afterlife. Guided by Virgil at first, Dante passed through a dark Inferno, where he encountered and spoke with contemporary and classical historical figures, including sinful emperors, popes, churchmen, politicians, and women. He then passed on to and through purgatory. At the entrance to PARADISE, Beatrice appears and takes him through 10 heavens to the highest one. There, through the intervention of SAINT BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, he is given a vision of divinity, or a BEATIFIC VISION. *The Divine Comedy* has been read as reflecting the values and people of a medieval world, where Dante passed contemporary critical judgment on figures and events. He died of malaria in Ravenna in 1321.

**Further reading:** George Holmes, *Dante* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); William Anderson, *Dante the Maker* (London: Hutchinson, 1980); Rachel Jacoff, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Dante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); R. W. B. Lewis, *Dante: A Penguin Life* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 2001).

**Ali ibn Abi Talib, Caliph (Haydara [the Lion], Turab [the Dustman])** (ca. 600–661) *cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, courageous soldier, imam of the Shiites, fourth caliph of the Sunni*

When his father died in about 619, Ali became impoverished and was taken under his care by MUHAMMAD, who himself had been supported by Ali's late father as a child. When Muhammad felt God's call to become his prophet, Ali, though a teenager, became one of the first converts to Islam and remained a lifelong devoted follower of the Prophet. As one of the strongest supporters of Muhammad, he protected the Prophet's interests on several occasions, even sleeping in his bed to impersonate him the night that Muhammad fled in 622 from MECCA to MEDINA. He married Muhammad's daughter Fatima, who bore him two sons, AL-HASAN and AL-HUSAYN, and two daughters, Zaynab and Umm Kulthum. In the early years of Islam he served in a military capacity as a courageous soldier, as a secretary or scribe, as a diplomat, and as a destroyer of idols in the KABA. He was a pious man, but not an able politician. He had nine wives, 14 sons, and 19 daughters. He did not take another wife until Fatima died.

When Muhammad died on June 8, 632, some believed that Ali had unequivocally been named as his successor, but others thought that Muhammad had died without naming a successor. At the last rites of the Prophet, Ali found out that ABU BAKR, Muhammad's father-in-law, had already been chosen caliph. Ali did not immediately submit to Abu Bakr's authority but retired to practice religious works and to compile a first version of the QURAN.

#### CALIPHATE AND DEATH

After the murder in 656 of Uthman ibn Affan, the third caliph, Ali reluctantly accepted the offer to become the fourth caliph. He ruled according to the neglected ideals of Islam on social justice and equality among all believers. The Quraysh aristocracy of Mecca demanded that he put the murderers of Uthman on trial, but when Ali refused, a rebellion that became the first Islamic civil war began, which Ali won at the Battle of the Camel in 656. Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, a kinsman of murdered Uthman and the governor of Syria, began a second rebellion for vengeance. This was ended by a forced and failed arbitration initiated by a trick during the Battle of Siffin. Ali's reputation continued to be damaged by all this vacillation and hesitation. The KHARIJITES, disgusted by his

compromising, seceded from Ali's army, but they were soon defeated at the Battle of al-Nahrawan in Iraq in 658. Many perished, but the movement survived. Muawiya mounted an aggressive policy, and by the end of 660 Ali had lost control of Egypt and most of eastern Arabia, still failing to assert his authority. As he was praying in a mosque at al-Kufa in Iraq in 661, a vengeful Kharijite, Ibn Muljam, attacked Ali with a poisoned sword. Two days later Ali died and was secretly buried near al-Kufa. The grave was not found until 150 years later. Ali's gifted political discourses, sermons, letters, and sayings were collected by Ash-Sharif al-Radi (d. 1015) in the book *The Path of Eloquence* with commentary by Ibn Abi al-Hadid (d. 1258). The Alids, his descendants, led rebellions against Umayyad caliphs for the next 100 years and more. They became the Zaydite movement in the ninth century and the Shiite Twelver sect in the late ninth century. Al-Hasan, his son, temporarily succeeded him but quickly passed the title of caliph to his father's rival, the Umayyad Muawiya I (r. 661–680).

**Further reading:** Wilferd Madelung, "Alī: The Counter-Caliphate of Hāshim," in *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 141–310; Laura Vecchia Vaglieri, "Alī b. Abī Talib," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.381–386.

**Allah** See GOD.

**Almohads (al-Muwahhidun, the Unitarians)** They were a dynasty who controlled North Africa and later AL-ANDALUS between 1130 and 1269. In about 1128, returning from a journey to the East to study, a BERBER of the Masmuda tribe, IBN TUMART, began to preach in al-MAGHRIB. Considering himself the envoy of God, or a Mahdi, Ibn Tumart settled at Tinmal, an isolated village in the high ATLAS Mountains. From there he undertook to reform the morals of the Berbers corrupted by liberal theologians and the dissolute rule of the ALMORAVIDS. His doctrine advocated a return to the sources of ISLAM, in particular the QURAN and the SUNNA. From its origins, the movement was extremely rigorous and practiced a policy of repression of rival theologians. Its founder set up an organization modeled on the tradition of the earliest times of Islam. He tied this to the tribal ideals of the Berber groups.

#### RISE OF THE DYNASTY

On the death of Ibn Tumart in 1130, his disciple Abd al-Mumin (r. 1130–63) took the title of caliph and engaged in a policy of military expansion. The Almohads took almost two decades to conquer MOROCCO. In 1147 they ended Almoravid rule by capturing and making MARRAKECH their capital. Abd al-Mumin then turned to Salé, where he assembled a great army to undertake the con-

quest of the central Maghrib or present-day Algeria. He occupied Algiers, Bougie, and Constantine from 1152. In 1159 the Almohads took TUNIS. The same year, Madhya, Sfax, and Tripoli were taken from the Normans. These conquests were complicated by several interventions into Taifa Spain, then dominated again by numerous small weak kingdoms. Cadiz and Jerez recognized the authority of the Almohad caliph in 1146, and SEVILLE was captured in 1147, thus giving the Almohads a strong base in AL-ANDALUS. Resistance to their rule became stronger, especially around VALENCIA, and even more so in the BALEARIC ISLANDS; Minorca was not taken until 1202 and Palma de Majorca until 1203.

#### CHRISTIAN REACTION

The caliph Abu Yusuf Yakub's victory over the Christians at Alarcos in 1195 created an awareness of danger among the Iberian kingdoms. The archbishop of TOLEDO made an appeal for a crusade that led to the formation of an armed coalition that routed the Almohads at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. This defeat, aggravated by economic difficulties combined with growing intolerance for Jews and dissident Muslim scholars, was the beginning of an internal crisis for the dynasty that accelerated the decline of Almohad power in the peninsula. CÓRDOBA fell into Christian hands in 1236, then Valencia in 1238 and Seville, the Almohad capital, in 1248. In al-Maghrib, a crisis marked by revolts in the towns and the repudiation of Almohad doctrine by Caliph al-Mamun led to a period of political instability. Outlying regions began to detach themselves from the Almohad Empire. In 1229 the governor of Ifriqiya declared independence, quickly followed by the governors of Tlemcen and the central Maghrib. In Morocco, Zanata nomad tribes of the plains captured Marrakech in 1269 and Tinmal in 1276. Having long lost its initial invigorating puritanical religious enthusiasm, the Almohad Empire then disappeared. While the NASRIDS of GRANADA managed to maintain Muslim control in the southern part of al-Andalus, al-Maghrib broke up into three zones under the control of other dynasties, the MERINIDS in Morocco, the Abdawadids at Tlemcen, and the HAFSIDS in Ifriqiya.

See also MUDÉJAR AND MUDÉJAR ART.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 30–31; Roger Le Tourneau, *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969); Maya Shatzmiller, "Al-Muwahhidun," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 7.801–807.

**Almoravids (al-Murabitun, inmates of a religious hermitage, "those bound by allegiance [to the cause of defending the faith]")** The Almoravids were a dynasty from the Western Sahara who controlled MOROCCO and

later AL-ANDALUS between 1056 and 1147. In the second quarter of the 11th century, on his return from a pilgrimage to MECCA, the Sanhaja Berber chief Yahya ibn Ibrahim al-Judali and a religious adviser, Abd Allah ben Yasin al-Jazuli, created in 1059 a reforming movement that preached a more strict legal system based on the QURAN and SUNNA. The name of this movement was taken from the word *ribat*, or a fortified convent, where the adherents retreated and the movement's religious and ascetic followers gathered. The obligations and interdictions of this new doctrine did not fit well with the customs and traditions of the barely Islamic local tribes. However, military success into richer populated areas drew followers. Under the leadership of skilled military leaders, Abu Bakr ben Umar and then Yusuf ben Tashfin (r. 1060–1106), the Almoravids embarked upon a policy of conquest to spread their religious ideals, cleansing heretical sects and destroying wine shops and musical instruments along the way. FEZ was taken in 1063, and in about 1069 they founded the town of MARRAKECH, the capital of their new empire. Yusuf ben Tashfin took Algiers in 1082/3 in the east.

#### ENTRY INTO AL-ANDALUS AND THE CHRISTIAN REACTION

These successes soon attracted the attention of Muslim rulers in al-Andalus in need of help in defending their petty kingdoms and Islam from the Christian RECONQUEST. The capture of Toledo in 1085 by King Alfonso VI of Castile (1040–1109) caused several emirs to request support from Yusuf ben Tashfin. After victories over the Christians, he decided to undertake the conquest of the peninsula himself and eliminate the bickering Taifa emirs in their small kingdoms. CORDOBA and SEVILLE fell to them in 1091, then Badajoz and LISBON in 1094, then VALENCIA in 1102. They had united the whole of southern Spain under their rule; but this was a regime that was unpopular with local Muslims of al-Andalus, who prejudicially viewed the Almoravids as semibarbaric. The Almoravids maintained the centers of their power in Africa and remained strangers in Muslim Spain.

The Christians soon fought back against Almoravid expansion. After having taken Saragossa in 1118, the king of ARAGON, Alfonso I the Battler (r. 1104–34), invaded al-Andalus and threatened the major cities of Murcia, Córdoba, and GRANADA in 1125. Some years later, with the conquest of Tortosa in 1148 and of Lérida in 1149, the Christians reoccupied the whole of the Ebro valley in the northeast. At the same time, back in al-Maghrib, the Almoravids were locked in a desperate conflict with the ALMOHADS, who took Marrakech in 1147, after a battle in which the last Almoravid ruler, Ishaq ibn Ali (r. 1146–47), was killed. Almoravid rule then came to an end, apart from in a corsair state on the BALEARIC ISLANDS that lasted until 1203 and in Tunisia.

See also RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR (EL CID CAMPEADOR, AL-SID).

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 28–29; Julia Clancy-Smith, ed., *North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War* (London: Frank Cass, 2001); H. T. Norris and P. Chalmers, “Al-Murabitun,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 7.583–591.

**almsgiving** See CHARITY AND POVERTY.

**Alp Arslan (Alp Arslan Adud al-Dawla Abu Shudja Muhammad ibn Daud Caghribeg)** (ca. 1028–1072) *second Seljuk sultan of Persia and Iraq, member of the Turkish dynasty who revitalized Muslim rule during the decline of the Abbasid caliphate*

Alp Arslan was born Muhammad ibn Daud in the Persian province of Khurasan between 1026 and 1032. He was the great-grandson of Seljuk, chieftain of the Ghuzz Turks or TURKOMANS, who had invaded southwestern Asia earlier in the 11th century. Famed as a military leader, Alp Arslan, “Lion Hero,” began his career campaigning extensively for his father, Daud Chaghri Beg, commander of the Turkoman forces in Khurasan. Upon his father's death in 1059–60, Alp Arslan succeeded to his command. Meanwhile, Seljuk Sunni forces under Chaghri's brother, TUGHRUL BEG, had ended a century of SHIITE and BUYID dominance in BAGHDAD, whereupon Caliph al-Kaim (r. 1031–75) made him sultan, in effect in charge of the government. At Tughrul's death in 1063, Alp Arslan was made sultan, despite an attempt to enthrone Tughrul's brother, Suleiman. As the new sultan he was immediately faced with internal opposition. His father's cousin, Kutulmish, led a revolt in Khurasan in 1064, and his own brother, Kawurd, rebelled twice, in 1064 and 1067. Between the suppression of rebellious relatives and recalcitrant subordinates, Alp Arslan had to campaign against threatening neighbors. He led raids in 1064 into Georgia and ARMENIA, during which the Georgian king acknowledged Seljuk suzerainty. The following year the sultan led his forces into Transoxiana. In 1070 he took ALEPPO during a campaign into Syria. His holdings then reached from central Asia to the Mediterranean.

Alp Arslan was a courageous soldier, generous in his treatment of opponents. His domestic affairs were handled by his Persian vizier, Nizam al-Mulk. Military fiefs, governed by Seljuk princes, were established to provide support for the soldiers and to acclimate the nomadic Turks to the established Persian agricultural scene.

In eastern ANATOLIA, the Seljuks and independent Turkish bands had begun to raid the Byzantine frontier. In retaliation the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1068–71) led his forces into Seljuk territory in 1071, and Alp Arslan on August 26 met the invaders at

MANZIKERT near Lake Van. The Turks won a huge victory. This battle, decided primarily by superior Turkish cavalry, was important since it opened ANATOLIA to Seljuk penetration. Alp Arslan was generous in his treatment of Romanos, whom he merely sent home after a peace settlement. In 1072, while campaigning in Turkestan, Alp Arslan was stabbed by the captive commander of a recently conquered fortress. He died soon after, on November 24, and was succeeded by his son, Malik Shah.

**Further reading:** Vasilii V. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 4th ed., trans. T. Minorsky and ed. C. E. Bosworth (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1977); Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt (New York: Longman, 2001 [1988]); Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor* (New York: Praeger, 1961).

**alphabets and alphabetization** See LIBRARIES; PALEOGRAPHY.

**altars and altarpieces** The altar is one of the central elements in the Christian liturgy. In the first centuries of Christianity, it consisted of a simple table, solely for the commemoration of the eucharistic meal in the MASS. But soon Christians linked the altar with symbolism based on Old Testament passages on sacrifice. In addition these altars usually contained relics, whose symbolism embraced baptism and the death and resurrection of the new Christian. In the early Middle Ages, the number of altars in monastic churches increased as the number of monk-priests increased. They had to celebrate frequent masses in the side aisles and transepts of churches. Western Churches had numerous altars, but the Orthodox kept only one.

#### EVOLUTION TOWARD COMPLEXITY

Altar arrangements eventually influenced new forms of architecture. By the second half of the ninth century, architectural forms that built around altars within a church were created. In the ROMANESQUE period, sculptors decorated altars with geometrical motifs and plant and zoomorphic friezes or even human figures. Goldsmiths were enlisted to add portable altars and altar frontals showing an iconography or decorative scheme of Christ and the saints that had great importance for later medieval art.

By the 11th century new liturgical practices had placed the priest and congregation on the same side of the altar, making it possible to decorate the upper facing front of the altar. Altarpieces were then designed in diverse forms and materials. Northern Europe favored sculpted altar decorations made of precious metals and, from about 1300, stone, marble, ALABASTER, or painted

wood, some with hinged wings. Many were destroyed in the 16th-century Reformation. In Italy there were sculpted altars, but painted panels were far more popular. During the 14th century, numerous attached panels were produced and decorated with gilded frames, pinnacles, and bases that represented a diverse range of sacred subject matter. In the 15th century, single panels began to contain sacred figures grouped in a defined space. At the same time, smaller, portable altarpieces were common for the growing number of private chapels.

**Further reading:** Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, eds., *Italian Altarpieces, 1250–1550: Function and Design* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp, eds., *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Lynn F. Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces, 1380–1550: Medieval Tastes and Mass Marketing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); H. W. van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function*, 2 vols., trans. Michael Hoyle (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984–1990); Mary A. Vance, *Altars and Altarpieces: Monographs* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1983).

**Althing (general assembly in Iceland)** See ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

**Amalfi** Amalfi is a seaport on the southwestern coast of Italy between NAPLES and Salerno. As did Gaeta, Amalfi belonged nominally to the BYZANTINE Duchy of NAPLES, but it constituted an independent merchant republic after 839. It maintained close political, economic, and artistic ties to Byzantium, as commemorated by the great Byzantine bronze doors of the Cathedral of Amalfi. This affiliation diminished with the occupation of Amalfi in 1073 by the NORMANS as well as with the increasing dependence of Byzantium on Amalfi's rival, VENICE.

Mentioned as a bishopric in a letter of Pope GREGORY I in 596, Amalfi was under Byzantine rule until the ninth century. It elected its own count and enjoyed considerable autonomy from Byzantium. It maintained good relations with the FATIMIDS of Ifriqiya. Motivated by their location on the sea, the Amalfians built ships. With the privileges they enjoyed in the Byzantine Empire and the good reception they received in North African ports and then EGYPT, from the 10th century onward, the city enjoyed a role in the developing trade between East and West. Amalfi was ruled by an aristocracy of counts, then prefects, who founded a hospital at JERUSALEM near the HOLY SEPULCHER that became the foundation of the new military order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem or the HOSPITALLERS in the 12th century.

The conquest of the town by the Normans in 1073 and its pillage by the Pisans in 1135 and 1137 ended Amalfi's commercial, mediating role in relations between

East and West. Culturally, Amalfi fostered the influence of Byzantine works of art into the West. Amalfi also made a significant legal contribution, with the redaction of a collection of maritime statutes that ultimately formed the basis of European commercial and maritime jurisprudence.

**Further reading:** Robert Gathorne-Hardy, *Amalfi: Aspects of the City and Her Ancient Territories* (London: Faber, 1968); Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), especially chapter 5; Patricia Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and Its Neighbours, 850–1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Henry M. Willard, *Abbot Desiderius and the Ties between Montecassino and Amalfi in the Eleventh Century* (Montecassino: Badia di Montecassino, 1973).

**Ambrose, Saint** (339–397) *bishop of Milan, chief opponent of Arianism, adviser to Western emperors*

Born into the highest social class in 339, Ambrose was a respected provincial governor of Emilia-Liguria when the entire city proclaimed him bishop. He rose to this status in eight days from that of an unbaptized Christian. More than any previous bishop, he played an important role in the politics of his day, especially in his excommunication in 390 of the Emperor Theodosios I (r. 379–395) after that emperor massacred thousands of civilians in THESSALONIKI as reprisal for the murder of German mercenaries garrisoned there. Theodosios was forced to yield to the penance Ambrose imposed on him, and thus accede to Ambrose's insistence that the church is independent of the state, and even superior to it in questions of faith and morals. A famous preacher, he exerted a great influence in the conversion of AUGUSTINE, who writes of Ambrose's kindness, generosity, erudition, and eloquence. Later recognized as a father of the church, Ambrose died in 397.

**Further reading:** Boniface Ramsey, *Ambrose* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); John Moorhead, *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World* (New York: Longman, 1999).

**Amiens Cathedral** Amiens Cathedral is classified as one of the five archetypical GOTHIC cathedrals of FRANCE, together with Bourges, CHARTRES, RHEIMS, and Soissons. The cathedral also contains luminous decorative and structural features that foreshadow later Gothic architecture. Amiens is noted for its fully developed Gothic plan, with a choir with ambulatory and seven radiating chapels and aisled transept and nave. The vaults of the nave are 138 feet high, among the tallest in any Gothic building. The Gothic cathedral was rebuilt after a fire around 1220 had destroyed a Romanesque cathedral. The chronology



The choir of Amiens Cathedral (1890–1900) (Courtesy Library of Congress)

of construction is not clear, but according to tradition, the nave was built from about 1220 to 1235, the lower story of the transept, choir, and radiating chapels in about 1235–40, and the upper parts of the choir in about 1240 to about 1280. Its large sculpture program is not outstanding. The cathedral underwent extensive restoration by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc between 1849 and 1874, but the interior has not been changed much, with only the loss of much of the STAINED GLASS.

**Further reading:** Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1965); Hans Jantzen, *High Gothic: The Classic Cathedrals of Chartres, Reims and Amiens* (New York: Pantheon, 1962); Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (London: The British Library, 1999).

**amour courtois** See COURTLY LOVE.

**Anatolia (Asia Minor)** Geographically, Anatolia or Asia Minor constitutes a large peninsula at the extremity of western Asia extending toward Europe, the Asian part of

Turkey. Anatolia extends from the AEGEAN SEA to the Euphrates River, and it is dominated by a large central plateau, some 3,500 to 6,500 feet (1,000 to 2,000 meters) in elevation. It has peripheral mountain ranges, including the Taurus range in the southeast.

Asia Minor's peace and prosperity under the BYZANTINE EMPIRE remained intact until the destructive Persian raids of the early seventh century. These were followed by Arab raids that continued relentlessly for the next two centuries, despite a system that provided a kind of defense in depth. During these centuries, its cities shrank in size as they had to become heavily fortified. The able emperor Michael III the Drunkard (r. 842–867) launched an offensive in 856 that began to turn back Arabic penetration. Taking advantage of Muslim disunity, he created peaceful conditions that lasted until the advent of the SELJUKS in the middle of the 11th century. The massive Byzantine defeat, the Battle of MANZIKERT in 1071, opened the door to Seljuk Turk expansion. Several Turkish states took control of various regions, but fought frequently among themselves and sporadically against the crusading armies from western Europe that passed through the peninsula. The last Byzantine efforts to maintain some control in Asia Minor were dashed at the Battle of Myriokephalon in 1176. Anatolia then passed under the control of Turkish rulers, culminating in the OTTOMANS in the 15th century.

**Further reading:** Clive Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1985); Robert Hillenbrand, ed., *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Edinburgh in 1982* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1994); Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*, trans. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); William Watson, ed., *The Art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th Century AD* (London: University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1975).

**anatomy** Anatomy is the study and science of the human body. The Middle Ages inherited the Greek and Roman concepts of anatomy, which had barely survived and were revived in western Europe in the 10th and 11th centuries via Muslim and Jewish scholarship. The Jewish Talmudic knowledge of anatomy was based more on a pragmatic study of medicine and surgery. The real study of anatomy in the West began in southern Italy with the establishment in 1030 of the medical school at Salerno, where Jewish physicians worked alongside Christians. In 11th-century Salerno the BENEDICTINE monk CONSTANTINE THE AFRICAN wrote a book on the anatomy of pigs, which remained for centuries a standard textbook. By the beginning of the 14th century,

anatomy had become a course in the leading medical schools of Europe at that time, BOLOGNA, PADUA, and MONTPELLIER. In 1315 at the University of Bologna Modino de Liucci began teaching anatomy. His course was based both on theory and on limited dissections of human corpses. He stressed the importance of the dissection of human bodies, to differentiate them from the bodies of animals. Many still believed, especially north of the Alps, that theoretical study from textbooks was sufficient and that human bodies should not be desecrated. Eventually Liucci's theories and procedures were accepted and the first dissection of a human body was done at VIENNA in 1404.

**Further reading:** Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999); George Washington Corner, *Anatomical Texts of the Earlier Middle Ages: A Study in the Transmission of Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1927); Fu'ad Ishaq Khuri, *The Body in Islamic Culture* (London: Saqi, 2001); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995).

**anchorites and anchoresses** The lay or religious anchorite was someone seeking to create a perfect imitation of Christ and to find God by isolation and penitential practices. Ideally his or her progress was animated by a profound faith, fostered in a spirit of humility and accomplished with absolute personal liberty and love of God. To fulfill this lofty ideal, it was necessary to withdraw permanently or provisionally to a desert and isolated place. It was a popular way of breaking with the world and society to return to a human identity in the image of God. If that was accomplished, the anchorite could return to the world to convert it to a true Christian one. Famous ones founded monastic communities, led popular religious movements such as the First CRUSADE, or founded religious orders such as the Camaldolese and CARTHUSIANS. Since they were by definition out of control, they aroused the suspicions of both the lay and the ecclesiastical authorities.

From the late antique world on, there were varied forms of anchoritic life: eremitism, reclusion, residence on columns, and colonies. Complete solitude was rarely accomplished. Most often the anchorites lived apart, but some accepted visitors and disciples even forming a nascent community. The early communities existed mainly in PALESTINE and consisted of individual anchorites living in solitude during the week who met together for the Sunday liturgy. Within the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, anchorites eventually lived under the jurisdiction of the new coenobitic monasteries. Complete isolation was reserved only for a select few, since the

temptations of demons were deemed too formidable when on one's own.

See also BENEDICTINE ORDER; HERMITS AND EREMITISM; JULIAN OF NORWICH.

**Further reading:** Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914); Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

*Ancrenne Riwle* (*Ancrenne Wisse*, “Guide for anchoresses”) This is an anonymous religious guide written for anchoresses or female hermits between 1215 and 1222. First composed at the request of three female recluses, the work was later revised for larger audiences of both men and women. English seems to have been its original language, although versions also exist in Latin and French. *Ancrenne Riwle* proliferated in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

The author of the *Ancrenne Riwle* is not known; he was most likely an Augustinian canon. The three recluses for whom the *Ancrenne Riwle* was written are not named but are addressed as well-born sisters within the work itself. As were other anchoresses, they were “dead to the world,” taking vows of obedience, chastity, and stability. We know that these three were devout and lived comfortably with servants and a garden. The work is considered one of the most sophisticated examples of early Middle English devotional prose, combining lyric intensity, piety, and spiritual direction.

See also ANCHORITES AND ANCHORESSES.

**Further reading:** *Ancrenne Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, trans. Hugh White (New York: Penguin Books, 1993); Linda Georgianna, *The Solitary Self: Individuality in the Ancrenne Wisse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, eds. and trans., *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrenne Wisse and Associated Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991).

**al-Andalus (Djazirat, Andalusia)** At one time three-quarters of the Iberian Peninsula, it was controlled primarily by Muslims until the capture of GRANADA in 1492. From its high tide in the eighth century, it gradually shrank down to the city of Granada by the late 15th century. In 710 an Arab-BERBER army set out for the Iberian Peninsula under the leadership of Tariq ibn Ziyad. They totally defeated the Visigothic king Roderick in 711 and then raided into and through the Iberian Peninsula, which they called al-Andalus. They claimed to rule in the name of the Umayyad caliph. The Andalusian Muslims seem never to have had serious goals of expansion across the Pyrenees. In 732 CHARLES MARTEL encountered not a Muslim army but a summer raiding party at the Battle of POITIERS. Despite his “victory” over that party, Muslims

continued their seasonal raiding along the southern French coast for many years.

Unlike in other Arab conquests, in Muslim al-Andalus there was little consistent pressure for large-scale conversion. Muslims probably never became the majority throughout their 700-year presence. Non-Muslims entered into the Muslim realm as MOZARABS, Christians who had adopted the language and manners, rather than the faith, of the Arabs.

By 1147, the ALMOHADS had replaced ALMORAVIDS, fellow Berbers from MOROCCO who had seized control of al-Andalus and nearly all their territories in the ALMAGHRIB. In al-Andalus the arrival of the fierce and religious Almohads slowed the progress of the Christian RECONQUEST. They encouraged a revival of arts and letters, for example, the work of IBN RUSHD or Averroës, the Andalusian judge and physician whose interpretations of ARISTOTLE became so important and disputed for medieval European Christianity. During the late Almohad period in al-Andalus, the intercommunal nature and periodic tolerance or *convivencia* of this civilization became especially noticeable in the work of non-Muslim thinkers, such as MOSES MAIMONIDES, who participated in trends outside their own communities even at the expense of criticism from within them.

By the early 13th century, Almohad power began to decline. They were defeated in 1212 at Las Navas de Tolosa by the Christian kings of the north and forced mostly to retreat back into the al-Maghrif. The importance of Almohad cultural patronage to al-Andalus, however, long outlasted Almohad political power. The successor small dynasties in the surviving Muslim states were responsible for some of the highest achievements of Andalusian Muslims, among them the ALHAMBRA palace in Granada. The 400-year southward movement of the Christian-Muslim frontier—the Reconquest resulted, ironically, in some of the most intense and productive Christian-Muslim cultural interaction in Andalusian history. Muslims, as Mudéjars, lived under Christian rule in their conquered territories and contributed to their culture. JEWS translated Arabic and Hebrew texts into Castilian, their translations led eventually to the Latin translations so important for the development of Scholastic thought.

**Further reading:** Marianne Barrucand, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (Cologne: B. Taschen, 1992); Jerrilynn D. Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992); Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Longman, 1996); Hugh Kennedy, “Sicily and al-Andalus under Muslim Rule,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 646–669; Katherine Watson, *French Romanesque and Islam: Andalusian Elements in French Architectural Decoration c. 1030–1180*, 2 vols. (Oxford: B.A.R., 1989).

**Angela of Foligno, Blessed** (ca. 1248–1309) *Franciscan mystic*

There is little sure information on Angela's life; she was probably born in Foligno about 1248 and died on January 4, 1309. According to our only source, a spiritual biography written by her confessor Arnaldo da Foligno, she was married and had children. She underwent a conversion to a life of chastity and penitence in about 1285. After the "providential" death of all her family, she was free to dedicate herself entirely to GOD. She had a profound and oppressive sense of sin and a strong feeling of an incapacity to make complete restitution for her sins. According to her biography SAINT FRANCIS went to her aid and attained for her the gift of a general confession. She was then able to reform her life. In 1291 she made a pilgrimage to ASSISI and joined the FRANCISCAN Third Order. Angela's spiritual activities show various influences as well as a distinct originality. As well as the *Memorial*, *Thirty-Six Instructions* are attributed to her. She was spiritually influenced by many, including the Franciscan UBERTINO da Casale. Her writings and the texts concerning her, suspicious to her contemporaries, were submitted to the approval of Cardinal Giacomo Colonna in 1309, about the time of her death.

See also SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** Angela of Foligno, *Angela of Foligno: Complete Works*, trans. Paul Lachance (New York: Paulist Press, 1993); Paul Lachance, *The Spiritual Journey of the Blessed Angela of Foligno According to the Memorial of Frater A.* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1984).

**Angelico, Fra (Guido di Pietro, Giovanni da Fiesole)** (ca. 1385–1455) *Dominican friar, painter*

Guido di Pietro was born about 1385. Almost no knowledge of his youth remains, except that he was a painter before he entered the DOMINICAN ORDER. On October 31, 1417, he joined a GUILD of painters, the Company of Saint Nicholas at FLORENCE. Between 1420 and 1422 Guido, taking the religious name Fra Giovanni, assumed the habit with the Observant friars of Fiesole. There he became acquainted with Antonino Pierozzi, the future Saint ANTONINUS, and was influenced by Giovanni Dominici (1357–1419), founder and first prior of the convent, and promoter of renewal within the Dominican order.

#### ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENT

The new Fra Giovanni immediately put his art at the service of his fellow Dominicans. Between 1428 and 1435, the date of the solemn consecration of the church at the convent of Fiesole, he painted five ALTARPIECES. His most famous works are the FRESCOES of Saint Mark's convent in Florence, painted between 1438 and 1445. They unite GOTHIC traditions with those of the RENAISSANCE. Painted in various cells in the convent, they were invitations to meditation.

In 1445, Pope EUGENIUS IV called Giovanni to ROME to decorate the now vanished chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Vatican Palace. The painter then moved into the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the headquarters of the order. There he lived as a "modest, pious" friar who refused to accept appointment as the archbishop of Florence. He had a close link with the humanist Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) and decorated his private chapel between 1447 and 1450. There he tried to reconcile humanist and theological ideas.

He returned to TUSCANY in 1450, continued to paint, and served as prior of the convent of San Domenico at Fiesole until 1452. Called while still alive "one of the most famous painters in Italy," he returned to Rome to paint in the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. He died in that convent on February 18, 1455. Decades later he was given the nickname "Angelico." After a much-interrupted process and without a cult or miracle, he was finally beatified in 1984.

**Further reading:** Georges Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); William Hood, *Fra Angelico at San Marco* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); John Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 2d ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1974); John T. Spike, *Fra Angelico* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996).

**angels and angelology** The term *angel* means a "messenger," sent by God on a mission. Angels appear in the QURAN when the Angel Gabriel gives MUHAMMAD his revelation. The Scriptures provided a primary and rich basis for the medieval treatment of angels by both Christians and JEWS, especially from the ninth to 12th centuries. AUGUSTINE in several works provided a more strictly doctrinal description in his ideas about creation, asserting a division of angels as either good or fallen from grace. DIONYSUS THE AREOPAGITE divided angels into hierarchies that receive aspects and particular gifts of purification, illumination, and even perfection from God and then transmit them in an orderly way to the hierarchy of the church. Pope GREGORY the Great started the tradition that angels, by the plan of God, can through prayer be at the service of human beings and intercede with God.

**Further reading:** Stephen Bemrose, *Dante's Angelic Intelligences: Their Importance in the Cosmos and in Pre-Christian Religion* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1983); Steven Chase, *Angelic Wisdom: The Cherubim and the Grace of Contemplation in Richard of St. Victor* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

**Anglo-Latin poetry** The English or ANGLO-SAXONS composed verses in LATIN as soon as they learned to write in the seventh century and continued to write so

throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. The oldest surviving poems in Latin by an Anglo-Saxon are by the learned Aldhelm (ca. 640–ca. 709), a monk of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne. His work ranges from short riddles up to a 3,000-line poem on the celibate life (*On Virginity*). Many well-known Anglo-Saxons before the conquest in 1066 wrote poems that survive, such as BEDE'S hymn on Judgment Day, the missionary BONIFACE'S collection of riddles, and ALCUIN'S philosophical lament on the destruction of Lindisfarne by the VIKINGS. Other kinds of poetry for specific occasions, such as for epitaphs, church dedications, and monumental inscriptions, also survive. They also composed metrical histories, liturgical hymns, biographies of saints, and prayers.

The NORMAN Conquest in 1066 increased ENGLAND'S contact with the wider cultural revivals of the 12th and 13th centuries. The older traditional hymns and liturgical poems were increasingly supplemented by classically inspired collections of verse.

The arrival of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the early 13th century introduced new religious themes and ideas about poets. Poems then often revolved around devotion to the Blessed Virgin and political events and exploits. This typical mendicant piety continued to be expressed in verse in the 14th century, especially in verse inspired by religious mysticism. Latin poetry was replaced by vernacular and Middle English from the mid-14th century. For example, CHAUCER left no Latin verse, although his contemporary John GOWER composed works in Latin, Anglo-Norman French, and English.

See also RICHARD ROLLE.

**Further reading:** Rosalind C. Love, trans. and ed., *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, and Vita S. Rumwoldi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); W. F. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 597–1066* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967); A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

**Anglo-Norman language and literature** *Anglo-Norman* is the French dialect written and spoken in the British Isles from WILLIAM I'S conquest in 1066 until the early 15th century, being the official language of the English court until the reign of King Henry IV (1399–1413). Anglo-Norman did not replace English among the nobility or among the other sectors of the population. It is difficult to measure the relative use of the English and Anglo-Norman languages in everyday parlance. Anglo-Norman was used in commercial transactions, in drawing up of legal acts, and in official documents of the royal administration during the 13th century. Instruction and discussion in the universities continued in French and Latin until the mid-14th century. On the other hand, Anglo-Norman did have a long life as

a prestigious language for the educated and cultivated English elite, being something of a mark of social prestige.

The Anglo-Norman literature of the 12th to 15th centuries is full of moral, religious, and didactic works. Annals or histories were written in Anglo-Norman, as were saints' lives. There were vernacular adaptations from Latin biographies and hagiographical material, such as for the Lives of Saint EDWARD THE CONFESSOR and Saint Thomas BECKET. Prompted by the pastoral decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Council of Oxford in 1222, the output of literature for the religious instruction of the laity and in promotion of annual confession increased, some in Anglo-Norman. There also appeared Anglo-Norman manuals, didactic treatises, allegorical poems, chronicles, romances, and FABLIAUX until the 15th century, when English became the medium for most of these kinds of works.

See also ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES.

**Further reading:** "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," *Medieval England*, 44–48; Jean Blacker, *The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin Historical Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

**Anglo-Saxon Chronicles** The collections of annalistic compilations, known as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles are a useful source for the political history of the Anglo-Saxon period, and of import to scholars of manuscripts, philologists, and literary scholars. The earliest version of the chronicles extant today is from the early 890s, dependent on now-lost annals and records dating from earlier periods. It was subsequently considerably extended, and some versions continued well after the conquest of 1066 and were written in Middle English. The first compilation and its extensions provided source material for a number of later medieval historians writing in Latin and in ANGLO-NORMAN.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles exist in seven manuscript versions, each with its own peculiar features. Scholars have established families of the various versions and have formulated clear relationships among the versions according to clues within the manuscripts and information gathered about the texts.

In spite of their traditional title, and unlike some of the subsequent extensions, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles in their earliest identifiable versions are not an attempt to trace the course of Anglo-Saxon history. After 891 and 892, the versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles are independent of one another. Two names have been suggested for the authorship of the chronicles, King ALFRED and Bishop WULFSTAN. The royal patronage of any of the authors remains unclear despite hints from evidence internal to the texts. Also uncertain is the place of origin of the different chronicle versions. The quality of the

writing in the chronicles not surprisingly varies from section to section. In general they are written in a traditional plain style. These chronicles were later used by historians of the 11th to the 13th centuries such as Henry of Huntingdon (ca. 1088–ca. 1157), Florence of Worcester (d. 1118), Simeon of Durham (d. 1129/30), WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, and Hugh Candidus (fl. 1120).

**Further reading:** G. N. Garmonsway, trans. and ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1953); Janet Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Texts and Textual Relationships* (Reading: University of Reading, 1991); Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Textual Histories: Readings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

**Anglo-Saxon language and literature** See ALFRED THE GREAT; ANGLO-SAXONS.

**Anglo-Saxons** The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in England initially appeared in the sixth century. Then groups of invaders arrived and actually homesteaded. Their legendary and tribal chiefs were later given royal status. The early kingdoms were territorial entities divided into governmental units, which imposed fiscal and military obligations on subject populations. The first historical kingdoms are those of the seventh century. After the arrival of missionaries from Rome, such as AUGUSTINE of Canterbury in 594, the church sanctified the character of kingship and thus certain dynasties. There existed a multiplicity of kingdoms, sometimes seven. Many of these had more than one ruler at a time. Successful kings created larger states such as Mercia, from the early eighth century, followed by the kingdom of WESSEX under King ALFRED. VIKING aggression and the establishment of Anglo-Scandinavian kingdoms in the north and east led in the ninth and 10th centuries to almost constant warfare. Temporary unification was achieved by King Æthelstan of Wessex between 924 and 939, and under King Edgar between 959 and 975 as kings of the English. In the 11th century the Scandinavian CANUTE exercised hegemony between 1016 and 1035 and EDWARD the Confessor tenuously between 1042 and 1066.

#### WEALTH AND CULTURE

Despite political uncertainty during the Anglo-Saxon period, ENGLAND became one of the wealthiest countries of Europe. This wealth was employed for the commissioning of numerous and varied works of art and literature. The skill and wealth of Anglo-Saxon art was in many media of expression, including metalwork, EMBROIDERY, IVORY, stone and wood sculpture, manuscript decoration, wall painting, and architecture, as well as literature in Old English and LATIN. Among the most impressive survivals of artistic work from Anglo-Saxon England are the SUTTON HOO jewelry from the seventh century; ivory carving such as the Franks Casket; stone carving such as the

Ruthwell Cross; illuminated manuscripts, such as the Book of Durrow, the LINDISFARNE GOSPELS, the *Codex Amiatinus*, the Vespasian Psalter, and the Benedictional of Saint Æthelwood; and churches, most notably at Jarrow, Brixworth, Bradord-on-Avon, Deerhurst, and Escomb.

Anglo-Saxon England had the richest vernacular literature of early medieval Europe. Among some 30,000 lines of poetry, there are such works as *BEOWULF*, a masterpiece of medieval literature; poems such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*; as well as biblical, hagiographical, and other varieties of verse. Old English prose survives in translations from Latin of saints' lives and homilies. Of the learned Latin literature produced in Anglo-Saxon England, there is that by prominent authors such as Aldhelm, BEDE, and ALCUIN.

**Further reading:** F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); James Campbell, ed., *The Anglo-Saxons* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982); Stephen Bassett, ed., *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989); H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965–1978); John Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England* (London: Harvey, Miller and Medcalf, 1972); J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the Ninth Century* (London: H. Miller, 1978).

**animal husbandry** See ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

**animals, attitudes to** See ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; BEAST EPICS; BESTIARIES.

**animals and animal husbandry** Archaeology serves as a vital informant, complementing the impressionistic views concerning medieval animals and animal husbandry portrayed by texts and images. Archaeology explains which animals were reared, what were their proportions of use in that husbandry, how that husbandry was carried out, and for what purposes besides food they were used. There is little question about human exploitation of animals for food and labor.

Recent excavations carried out on hundreds of medieval European sites demonstrate the evolving size and morphological characteristics of domestic animals. In general, we see a version of most animals smaller than their earlier Roman counterparts. Less obvious among cattle and horses, the size difference is particularly pronounced among bovines or oxen. Their mean height at the withers becomes hardly more than four feet, much smaller than the five and one-half feet common in the Roman period. Horses, too, follow this pattern, which does not seem to reverse itself until the 15th century. The decline in size seems a product of the contraction of pastoral space during the high Middle Ages, when

population growth necessitated an expansion of cultivated land at the expense of pasture or the cultivation of food stocks for animals. After the demographic changes of the 14th century, much more land became available for pasturing and probably for more domestic animals.

Cattle were kept in the largest quantities at all times in the Middle Ages, followed by sheep and goats, especially in southern Europe. Pigs were of greater significance in the earlier and later Middle Ages than during the “high” period. Other animals were bred domestically, including dogs and cats kept for hunting and scavenging. Oxen, valued for their pulling force, frequently mentioned in texts and iconography, are widely attested by archaeology. More efficient horses were used to pull plows and harrows much more commonly after 1000 and are linked with an agricultural revolution in the high Middle Ages.

More than objects of agricultural practice and science, animals were symbols. Medieval image makers and preachers often resorted for allegorical and other reference to the animal kingdom for the edification of congregants and other audiences. The majority of animals were stereotyped either positively or negatively, according to circumstances, but sometimes embodied both traits at once. Used as nicknames for people, they communicated human traits that corresponded to those of animals.

See also AGRICULTURE; BEAST EPICS AND FABLES; BESTIARIES; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; FURS AND THE FUR TRADE.

**Further reading:** W. B. Clarke and M. T. McMunn, eds. *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Carola Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993); Nona C. Flores, ed., *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1996); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

**Anjou** Anjou is a county in western FRANCE along the banks of the Loire River. A buffer state, it was created in the ninth century, during the NORMAN invasions. In 861 CHARLES the Bald gave it to Robert the Strong (d. 866), count of Tours, to halt Scandinavian penetration into the Loire valley. Robert placed Anjou under the control of one of his vassals, Fulk (d. 942), the founder of the first Angevin dynasty. The Angevins preserved the integrity of the county, making it in the 11th century one of the most powerful feudal states in France. In 1054 the counts of Anjou controlled Tours and thus a main, revenue-producing pilgrimage route between northern France and SPAIN.

#### THE ASCENT TO POWER

At the beginning of the 12th century, serious conflict broke out with the dukes of NORMANDY over the count of Maine, between the two principalities. As part of this war Count

FULK V (1109–29) had to build numerous castles and improve the effectiveness of his fiscal administration and control of his vassals. In 1125 Fulk concluded an alliance with HENRY I, king of England and effective ruler of Normandy, ending their rivalry over Maine. Fulk’s son, Geoffrey IV PLANTAGENET, married Henry’s daughter, Matilda (1102–67), the widow of Emperor Henry V (1086–1125) and the legitimate descendant of HENRY I, the king of England. Fulk gave the rule of Anjou to his son Geoffrey as part of the treaty and left for the Latin kingdom of JERUSALEM, where he married Melisend (d. 1161), the daughter of Baldwin II (r. 1118–31) and heiress of Jerusalem. He became king of Jerusalem in 1131.

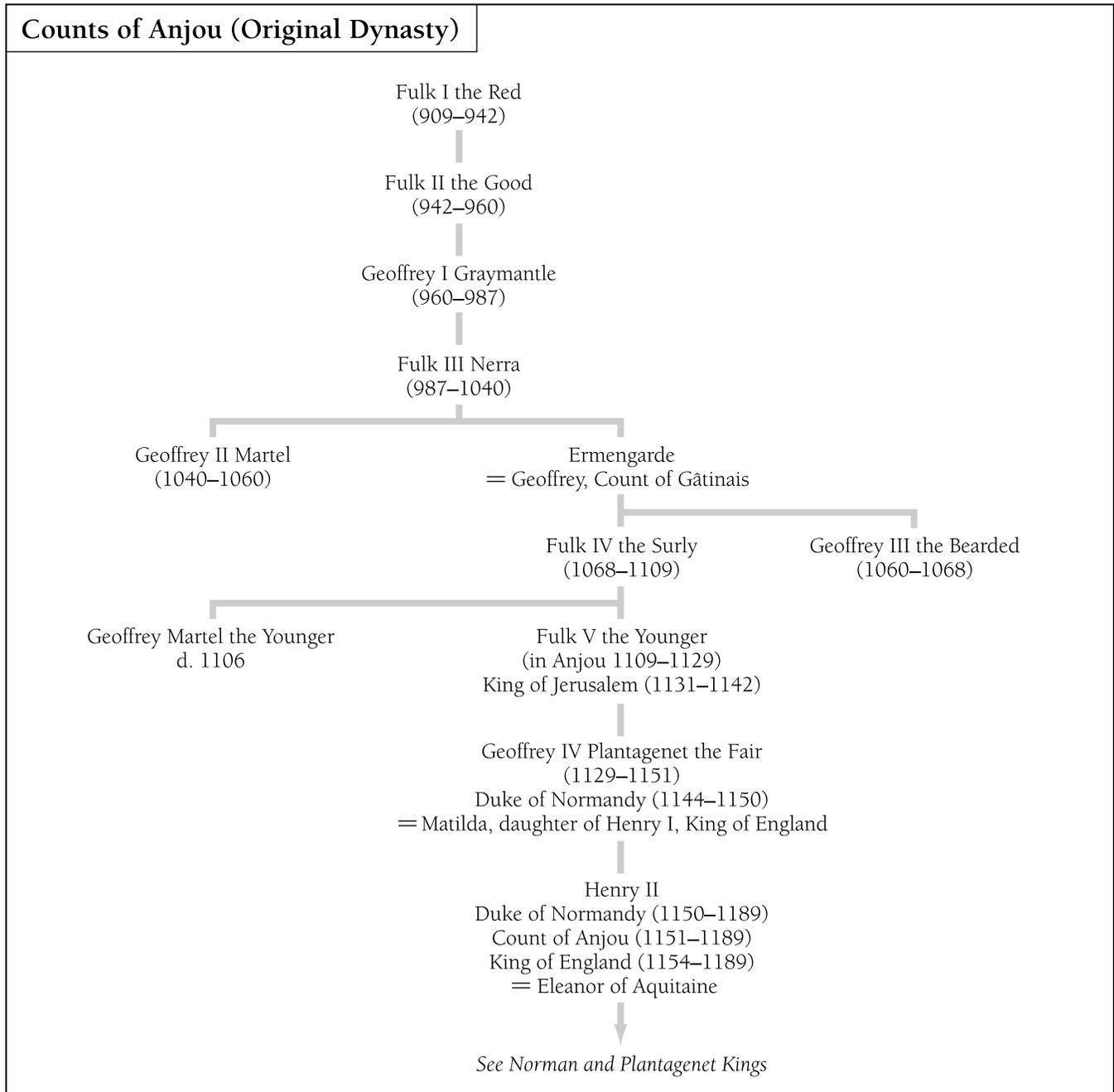
In the meantime Geoffrey Plantagenet became involved in the struggle for succession to Henry I. In 1151 he conquered Normandy for Matilda and their son, HENRY II PLANTAGENET. Anjou remained a core region of an “Angevin Empire” created by Henry II, who, in 1152, married ELEANOR of Aquitaine and in 1154 became king of England; consequently absent, he nevertheless continued to benefit from the financial, social, and administrative structure of Anjou.

In 1206 Anjou was conquered by PHILIP II Augustus, king of France, who annexed it from King JOHN Lackland. In 1246 King LOUIS IX gave it to his brother CHARLES I who founded the second dynasty of Anjou. In 1268 this Charles became king of SICILY. The county itself was given as a dowry to Charles’s granddaughter Margaret, when she married Charles, count of Valois (1240–1325). In 1328 Anjou returned to the control of the French crown. In 1360 John II the Good (r. 1350–64) made Anjou a duchy and gave it to his second son. However, the prosperity of the county in the 13th century did not survive the HUNDRED YEARS’ WAR between France and England in the second half of the 14th century. René of Anjou (1409–80), known for the luxury and display of his court, was the last effective duke. King LOUIS XI took the county back into the royal domain at the death of René in 1480.

**Further reading:** Bernard S. Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987–1040: A Political Biography of the Angevin Count* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); W. Scott Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025–1098* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 2000); Jean-Michel Matz, “Anjou, Angers,” *EMA*, 1.64–66; W. L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England, 1086–1272* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987).

**Annunciation** The Annunciation is the archangel Gabriel’s announcement to MARY, the Blessed Virgin, telling her of the Incarnation of Christ, the first act of the work of REDEMPTION.

There were to be many representations of this scene, fundamental to Christianity, in medieval and Renaissance art. The details chosen comprise the archangel transmitting



the divine message to Christ's human mother. The composition usually contained a small number of people, two, or three, with or without the HOLY SPIRIT, sometimes portrayed as a dove. The two main actors belong to two different universes, heaven and Earth. The archangel often seems dominant and active, whereas Mary usually seems meek and passive. Artists portrayed the scene from the perspectives of the indoors and outdoors. After the growth of devotion to the Blessed Virgin in the 12th century, Mary became much more central, often shown surprised while reading a book. The Annunciation is also a feast celebrated on March 25, Lady Day.

See also CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

**Further reading:** Don Denny, *The Annunciation from the Right: From Early Christian Times to the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1977).

**Anselm of Canterbury, Saint (Anselm of Aosta)** *Italian prelate, theologian, doctor of the church, archbishop of Canterbury*

Anselm was born about 1033 at Aosta in the Italian Alps. His family was noble and seems to have been related to

the house of SAVOY, the leading territorial magnates of the region. Anselm's parents possessed political, economic, or social prominence or resources.

After the death of his mother in about 1056, Anselm argued with his father and left Aosta forever. He traveled across the Alps and contacted his mother's relatives in the kingdom of BURGUNDY. After a period of study in Burgundy and northern FRANCE, he went to the monastery of Bec in NORMANDY to study under its prior, LANFRANC, a leading teacher in northern Europe. In 1060 Anselm

entered the monastic life at Bec. His proficiency in learning was so impressive that three years later, when Lanfranc departed from Bec, Anselm was appointed the prior of Bec and the head of the monastic school. After 1070, because of a request from his students that he record some of his teachings, he wrote several major works.

#### PROOF OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD

The first of these works was the *Monologion* in about 1077, a treatise examining the existence and nature of



Fra Angelico. *The Annunciation* (1425–28), including the expulsion from Paradise, and on the predella scenes from the life of the Virgin, Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain (Erich Lessing / Art Resource)

GOD on rational grounds. He used two arguments: To make any comparative judgment, it is necessary to have a superlative, or the best against which everything else can be judged. For Anselm, God is that highest good. Anselm also used the argument of contingency: Everything must enter into existence through the agency of something prior. It is thus necessary to posit a first cause or being on which everything else depends. If there was nothing on which something depended, it could not exist. That first cause, for Anselm, is God.

More revolutionary was the work that Anselm entitled *Proslogion* in about 1078. This extremely influential ontological argument was based on a definition that seemed to Anselm to be convincing by its very logical simplicity. God was that being, a greater than which could not be conceived. Using that definition as the basic content of his idea of God, Anselm then argued that such a being necessarily existed, both as an idea in the mind and in external reality. This ontological argument or meditation greatly influenced the course of philosophical and theological thought. In 1078 Anselm was elected abbot of Bec, a position he held until 1093. Anselm found time to complete several works on grammar and truth and treatises on free will and the DEVIL.

#### TWO CONTROVERSIES: THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL

From 1090 to 1093 Anselm was drawn into two controversies that influenced his career. The first concerned the understanding of the Incarnation of Christ and the doctrine of the Atonement of Christ for the sins of humankind or REDEMPTION. Beginning in 1092, Anselm wrote two letters on this subject, soon published in *Cur Deus homo* (Why God became human). His method of presentation and the precision of his arguments make this work one of the most influential in the history of theology.

The second controversy that dominated Anselm's life during this period concerned the political and ecclesiastical situation in England. After the death of the archbishop of CANTERBURY in 1089, King WILLIAM II RUFUS allowed the position to remain vacant to prevent creating a strong ecclesiastical rival and to collect ecclesiastical revenues. The king sought royal control of the English church. Illness and fear of eternal retribution, however, finally caused William to appoint a successor, Anselm. Despite initial reluctance, Anselm was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on December 4, 1093. Anselm's advocacy of church reform and the recognition of URBAN II as the rightful pope quickly produced a conflict with the king, whose growing animosity forced Anselm to flee England in 1097.

#### EXILE AND RETURN

Anselm went to central and southern Italy, where he remained for several years as a close associate of the

papacy. After the death of William II Rufus in 1100, his brother and successor, HENRY I, summoned Anselm back to England. Lay INVESTITURE and Henry's demand that Anselm renew his oath of feudal homage to the Crown quickly led to more conflict. The hostility of the king soon forced Anselm to remain away from England until 1106. A compromise was finally worked out whereby King Henry gave up the right of investiture in return for a guarantee that Anselm would consecrate all the candidates for episcopal and monastic office who had taken an oath of homage to the Crown and had already been appointed by the king. Anselm returned to England as archbishop and remained there for the last three years of his life, writing works on the sacraments and on foreknowledge of God. He died on April 21, 1109.

**Further reading:** Anselm, *St. Anselm: Basic Writings*, 2d ed., trans. S. N. Deane (1st ed., 1962; La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1981); Eadmer, *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Richard W. Southern (London: T. Nelson, 1962); Gillian R. Evans, "Anselm of Canterbury," *EMA*, 1.68–69; Richard W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Sally N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The Innocence of the Dove and the Wisdom of the Serpent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

#### Anselm of Laon (Laudunensis) (ca. 1050–1117) *theologian, biblical scholar, and teacher*

It is not known where he studied, perhaps at Bec under Saint ANSELM OF CANTERBURY. Toward the end of the 11th century, Anselm had established and was teaching at the cathedral school at LAON, where he was joined by his brother, Ralph (d. 1133). Anselm seems to have been both the chancellor and the dean of the cathedral between 1106 and 1114, and eventually archdeacon by 1115. He was famous as a teacher of the liberal arts as well as of theology, especially on the books of the BIBLE. After his death his works on the authority of the church fathers and the Bible were collected into a systematic study. Traditional in his interpretations, Anselm stuck close to the fathers, but his Scholastic methods were new. In his lectures on the substance of the texts of the Bible, he opened the way for more systematic inquiry. He was an important and influential teacher of William of Champeaux (ca. 1070–ca. 1121), GILBERT OF POITIERS, and Peter ABÉLARD. He died in 1117.

See also SCHOLASTICISM AND THE SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** Mary Dove, ed., *Glossa Ordinaria* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997); Seamus P. Heaney, *The Development of the Sacramentality of Marriage from Anselm of Laon to Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963).

**Anthony of Padua, Saint** (1195–1231) *Franciscan friar, theologian, and preacher*

Anthony of Padua was born Fernando de Bouillon in LISBON, PORTUGAL, on August 15, 1195, to a wealthy and socially prominent family. His father, Martin de Bouillon, claimed to be a descendant of GODFREY de Bouillon, a commander of the First CRUSADE. Martin worked as a revenue officer and was a knight of the court of King Alfonso II (ca. 1183–1223). His mother, Theresa Taveira, was said to be a descendant of a king of ASTURIAS.

Anthony was educated at the Cathedral School of Saint Mary near his home. His teachers suggested that he become a knight but, somewhat contrary to conventual parental ideas and desires, Anthony's father objected. He argued that his son was not strong enough to become a knight, that he was better suited for intellectual pursuits. However, Anthony was to help with the family's estate and stay a noble layman. To his father's great dismay, Anthony decided to join the AUGUSTINIAN CANONS at the age of 15. He entered Saint Vincent's Convent of LISBON in 1210. During his first two years there, he was visited often by family and friends, who encouraged him to rethink his vocation. Distracted, Anthony sought to be transferred to Holy Cross Monastery in Coimbra, then the capital of Portugal.

Anthony spent eight years studying theology in Coimbra and was ordained a priest around 1219 or 1220. Prompted by the example of the martyrdom of friars in Islamic MOROCCO, he switched his allegiance to join the new Order of Friars Minor, the FRANCISCANS. Failing to reach Morocco to be martyred, he was shipwrecked in SICILY. He first stayed with the Franciscans of Messina but soon moved near Forlì in central Italy.

Anthony lived a life of solitude until his gift for preaching was discovered when he by chance replaced a preacher. SAINT FRANCIS quickly appointed him the first theology teacher of the new order and sent him to travel throughout ITALY preaching. Called the "Hammer of Heretics," he traveled extensively in Italy and FRANCE, lecturing to people directly about their sins without regard to their social standing and prestige. He set the model for Franciscan preaching. Shaping moreover the development of Franciscan theology, Anthony in 1223 founded what became the school for theology at the University of BOLOGNA. He died in Arcella at a Franciscan monastery near Padua on June 13, 1231, at the age of 35. He was canonized by Pope GREGORY IX on May 30, 1232.

**Further reading:** Anthony of Padua, *Sermons for the Easter Cycle*, trans. and ed. George Marcil (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1994); John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

**Antichrist** Using biblical predictions the Antichrist is prophesized as the leader of the forces of evil arranged

against the forces of Christ during the tribulations at the end of time. Medieval exegesis continued the tradition of early Christianity about this eschatological figure. Biblical texts can be read to show that he will appear some time soon and before the Second Coming of Christ. He will deceive the church and Christians about his mission and good faith. According to the APOCALYPSE and the book of Daniel, he will set himself against GOD and be worshiped in God's place. He will persecute Christians but will eventually be destroyed by Christ or his agent. His symbol is the beast with seven heads rising from the sea.

#### NONBIBLICAL SOURCES

There are nonbiblical sources for this tradition, including unaccepted biblical books, the APOCRYPHA; the sibylline oracles of the classical tradition that also predict Christ; and the seventh-century *Description of the Last Times* by Pseudo-Methodius. More conservative readings followed AUGUSTINE and JEROME and placed his coming immediately before the Second Coming of Christ and the LAST JUDGMENT. ISIDORE of Seville and the Venerable BEDE posited a sixth age, the age of the church, at whose end he would appear. Adso of Montier-en-Der (930–992) drew these stories together in a biography, *The Book of the Antichrist*, in the 10th century. The ideas of this work were augmented throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and beyond. In it the Antichrist appears as a tyrant and as a false Christ figure, actually parodying Christ. One orthodox reading of the biblical tradition in the 12th century insisted on the imminence of the end with the expected violence of the Antichrist.

JOACHIM of Fiore, however, posited several comings of the Antichrist. His "great Antichrist," was to appear at the beginning of a spiritual era. His popular conception was employed in numerous political and religious polemics on political figures from the 13th to the 15th century, especially about Emperor FREDERICK II in the early 13th century and Pope BONIFACE VIII in the early 14th century. Their enemies tried to identify them as the Antichrist. The Antichrist appeared at the same time in many types of literature and in many iconographical compositions within artistic works. The extreme popularity of the Antichrist rested mainly on the expected actual event, the vivid and dramatic opportunities the tradition offered to authors and artists, and the ease of interpreting as signs contemporary tragic events such as the Black Death and the spread of warfare.

**Further reading:** Marc Boilloux and Claude Carozzi, "Antichrist," *EMA*, 1.73–74; Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism in Art and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); Bernard McGinn, *Anti-Christ: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994).

**anticlericalism** The term and notion of anticlericalism was coined to name a condition that existed in the Middle Ages and actually first came into use in the 19th century in response to the perceived baneful influence of the medieval and contemporary clergy on public affairs. Anticlericalism can assume the value of a clear distinction between church and state. Negative feelings about the malignant influence of the clergy first seriously crystallized in the West during the time of the GREGORIAN REFORM, in the 11th century. From then on numerous open manifestations of hostility to ecclesiastical structures, the hierarchy, the pope, the clergy, and particular clerics appeared in the polemics such conflicts spawned.

The laity evolved higher expectations of clerical conduct based on the conduct expected by the reformers within the church. When the clergy failed to live up to these standards, as defined by the papacy, the laity became much more critical of the clergy in general. Some went so far as to link the validity of the sacraments to the moral state of the ministering priests. They deserted churches and parishes and even refused to pay tithes, which were supposed to comprise one-tenth or more of the income of Christians and were fundamental to the support of the parish system and its clergy. The protesting laity were naturally soon declared heretics by the church. Many clerics themselves, moreover, appear in the ranks of these “heretics.” Alienation from and criticism of the role and conduct of the clergy were common in many accusations of heresy between the 11th and the mid-14th century. Some also questioned the mediation of priests between this world and GOD.

There might have been much more skepticism among Christians than the surviving sources reveal. In satirical literature such as the *FABLIAUX* of the 13th century, priests, bishops, monks, and mendicant friars were frequently portrayed as ignorant, sexually active, and seducers of married women. Again it is unclear whether these stories represent reality or were meant as edgy criticism of clerical mores. Mystical movements in the later Middle Ages also engendered doubt about the need for such a highly developed clerical system and the institutions supporting it. The individual Christian might relate well to God and gain salvation without clerical intervention except perhaps in the priestly sacramental role in the Eucharist. Even that clerical role was questioned by some.

**Further reading:** Robert I. Moore, ed., *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975); P. A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

**anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism** Religious hostility toward JEWS, or anti-Judaism, developed throughout the Middle Ages and took different forms in different times and places. *Anti-Semitism* is a 19th-century political expression with explicit and strong racial overtones.

*Anti-Judaism* is religiously based and can describe better the medieval attitudes of the church and many Christians. There was often a gap between the official attitude of the church and that of the volatile Christian populace. Christian polemics were expressed in treatises with titles like “Against the Jewish People.” Christian theologians approved of the survival of the Jewish people as permanent reminders of the circumstances of the Passion of Christ and as living representatives of the historical truth of the Scriptures. In doing so they reaffirmed the responsibility of the Jews for the crucifixion and the stubbornness and misfortune of those who would not recognize Christ as the Messiah. The church fathers had developed these ideas, and the papacy used them to define a place for the Jews within CHRISTENDOM. At some moments popes claimed to be, and acted with various levels of effectiveness as, the protectors of the Jews.

From the 11th century, Jewish communities were physically threatened by the pressures of a more harsh and active popular anti-Judaism. At the time of the first of the CRUSADES IN 1098, there was a change from the traditional, popular attitudes of tolerance and indifference. The route of the crusaders was marked by attacks especially against German Jews in spring 1096. At the time of the preaching of the Second Crusade in the 1140s, there were forced conversions and more massacres in ENGLAND and northern FRANCE. This anti-Judaism soon took on the form of accusations of RITUAL MURDERS and profaning of consecrated hosts (the HOST desecration libel), a reenactment of the crucifixion of Christ’s body. These accusations had dire consequences for the condition of Jews living in the West.

Frequently renewing the protection granted by Pope Calixtus II (r. 1119–24) and showing occasional concern for the protection of Jewish communities, the papacy, however, ultimately hardened its position against them. From the 13th century onward, conciliar legislation spread and reaffirmed anti-Judaic canons of early councils to segregate Jews. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 tried to limit Jewish lending to Christians, to obligate Jews to wear distinctive signs on their clothing, and to prevent them from holding public office. To these restrictions were added the condemnation of the TALMUD between 1239 and 1248 and the requirement of attendance at Christian sermons by a bull of 1278. These burdens represent a marked deterioration in Jewish-Christian relations that extended into England, France, and GERMANY in the 13th century and then in the 14th century into the formerly more tolerant Iberian Peninsula and Italy. This in turn led to the expulsions of Jews from England in 1290, France in 1394, and then the Spain of FERDINAND II and ISABEL I in 1492.

**Further reading:** Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in Dispute: Disputational Literature and the Rise of Anti-Judaism in the West (c. 1000–1150)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and*

*Modern Anti-Semitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982); Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology*, trans. Edward Quinn (London: S.P.C.K., 1978); Gavin Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Ruth Mellinkoff, *Antisemitic Hate Signs in Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from Medieval Germany* (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999).

**Antioch (Antiochia, Antakya)** Antioch was the chief city of Byzantine SYRIA on the Orontes River, about 20 miles from the coast of the Mediterranean. It was one of the great cities of the eastern Mediterranean until its sack by the Persians in 540 and a subsequent series of devastating earthquakes. It was retaken and rebuilt by the emperor JUSTINIAN and became a cultural, religious, theological, and administrative center. It was the seat of one of the great Eastern patriarchs, graced with architecture and strong fortifications. As the military base from which Roman and later BYZANTINE military expeditions attacked the Persians. Captured in 637, during the first centuries of Muslim occupation it was their strong point in frontier defenses. Returning to the offensive against the Arabs, the Byzantines recaptured Antioch in 969 and kept it until 1084, when it fell to the SELJUKS. The First CRUSADE conquered it on June 28, 1098, after which it became a city of contention between LATIN rulers in the East, such as BOHEMOND, and Byzantium. At various times there was submission to the authority of Byzantium, such as that by Raymond of Poitiers to the emperor JOHN II in 1137. In the second half of the 12th century, its Christian and Frankish rulers had to spend most of their time maintaining independence from SALADIN and from a reinvigorated kingdom of ARMENIA. In 1268, however, Sultan BAYBARS and the Mamluks from EGYPT captured the city and massacred the population in punishment for the city's alliance with the MONGOLS. It never regained much importance thereafter.

**Further reading:** Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961); J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

**antiphon** In medieval Christian worship and liturgical practice an antiphon was a short prose text sung before and after a psalm, a group of psalms, or a canticle. Psalm antiphons were usual in worship and within liturgical chant. They gave context to a repeated psalm or canticle by linking it to a particular feast or season. In its earliest form the antiphon was repeated as a refrain after each

verse of the psalm it accompanied. During the Middle Ages the antiphon largely lost its role as a refrain and usually only framed other particular verses. The complete antiphon was heard only at the end.

Those for ferial or nonfeast days were brief and within a smaller melodic range. Those for festivals were more elaborate musically. Antiphons occurred in the MASS as the chants for the Introit, Offertory, and Communion. As in the office, each of these items originally incorporated a complete psalm that used the antiphon as a refrain between verses.

**Further reading:** Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 305–312, 392–404; Terence Bailey, *Antiphon and Psalm in the Ambrosian Office* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1994); Joan Halmo, *Antiphons for Paschal Triduum-Easter in the Medieval Office* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995).

**antipodes** Antipodes were originally the creatures who put the soles of their feet against our own and live on the opposite side of the Earth. In general, the term *antipodes* actually referred to creatures that lived far away and were exotic and different in their behavior and appearance, though they were members of the human race. This concept did reveal awareness of the spherical shape of the Earth, an idea that had been current since Pythagoras in the second half of the sixth century B.C.E.

A more elaborate idea of the antipodes was based on the idea of the Earth as a sphere divided into four equal island continents divided by oceans crossing each other at right angles. In later medieval maps, parts of this world were portrayed as populated with monstrous creatures. Some of these creatures were said to lack faces or mouths, some to have one eye, some four eyes, eyes on their chest, a dog's head, backward-facing feet, a huge foot serving as a sunshade, six arms, gigantic ears, and other strange characteristics. In the Middle Ages, these human creatures were thought to inhabit a specific, only slightly known opposite part of the Earth. The most important literary work dealing with antipodes and the other side of the spherical world is that of John MANDEVILLE.

**Further reading:** John Mandeville, *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).

**Antoninus, Saint (Antonino Pierozzi)** (1389–1459) *Dominican friar, theologian, archbishop of Florence* As the son of a notary born on March 11, 1389, Antoninus studied canon law; but then under the guidance of Giovanni Dominici (1357–1419), he entered the DOMINICAN observants in 1405. Beginning as a novice at Cortona,

he lived in convents at Fiesole, Foligno, NAPLES, and ROME, finally in the convent of Saint Mark at FLORENCE as prior in 1438. He received other posts at the same time, such as vicar general of the observants in TUSCANY, then vicar general of reformed convents. At Saint Mark's, Antoninus ably directed the friars, supervised the building of a library ordered by Cosimo de' MEDICI, regulated confraternities, preached, and served as a well-respected confessor and spiritual director.

Pope EUGENIUS IV appointed him to the see of Florence on the death of Archbishop Bartolomeo Zabarella in January 1446. A clerical synod in April and pastoral visits to 149 parishes between August 1446 and April 1447 advised him of the poor material and moral state of the diocese. He immediately set to work reorganizing the mismanaged temporal possessions and properties of the Florentine church. In a more spiritual vein, he undertook to reform the clergy, stressing training, qualified appointments, and acceptable moral standards. He was ardent in his clear and instructive preaching to the laity and promoted a campaign to correct moral failings, especially USURY or lending money at interest, gambling, and marriage practices.

A skillful and practiced writer, Antoninus produced extensive pastoral works for confessors and the education of children. He also wrote a complex work on the rules of legal exchange practice or usury and a historical chronicle. He died on May 2, 1459, and was canonized in 1523. In 1959 he was named as the principal patron saint of Florence.

**Further reading:** Peter Francis Howard, *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus, 1427–1459* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995).

**Apocalypse and apocalyptic literature** The Apocalypse prophetically deals with the end of the world and the transition to and qualities of the next. Apocalyptic literature consists of a very diverse group of texts composed throughout the Middle Ages and based on the prophetic books from the Bible, especially in terms of a commentary on John's Apocalypse, as well as on the apocalypses of Daniel and the gospel of Matthew. In the Middle Ages, it was related to a journey through the domains of the afterlife, such as in Dante ALIGHIERI's *Divine Comedy*.

In some popular apocalyptic traditions, the final time of peace was entrusted to the guidance of an elite of the perfected. Also prophesied was a full gathering of all people into the church, with the laity resuming their spiritual role, previously overshadowed and taken from them by the church. In this radical view of the postapocalyptic church, the laity were elevated to a new level of importance. These ideas produced mass revival and nationalistic movements tied to the most important dates expected as the beginning of the end. Among these movements were

the Children's Crusade in 1212, the Alleluia processions of 1233, the *Pastoureaux* or popular crusades in 1251, and the FLAGELLANTS in 1260. These were the years considered to merit particular attention in calculating the date of the end of the world. They also represented the so-called age of the spirit, for the church and for the world. The most influential writers in continuing and elaborating ideas about the apocalypse were HILDEGARD of Bingen, RUPERT of Deutz, Richard of Saint-Victor (d. 1173), ANGELA of Foligno, Margaret PORETE, and especially JOACHIM OF FIORE.

*See also* ANTICHRIST; MILLENARIANISM.

**Further reading:** Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992); *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Vol. 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John J. Collins; Vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York: Continuum, 1998); Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

### Apocrypha and the apocryphal New Testament

Biblical Apocrypha are writings associated with the Old and the New Testament but not accepted into the canonical tradition of either Jews or Christians. Christians admitted several Jewish books that had been rejected by the compilers of the Torah. They excluded others, such as, certain collections of the Acts of the Apostles and Gospels, originally accepted by the earliest Judeo-Christian communities. The New Testament Apocrypha are often of Gnostic origin. JEROME scoffed at the "delirious material of the apocrypha." In a decree, Pope Gelasius I (r. 492–496) named 28 books that were forbidden, but this did not prevent educated circles from circulating them in the Middle Ages. The Parisian master Peter Comestor (d. 1178/79) in about 1160 made great use of them in a widely accepted manual of biblical history. The books he used were narratives. They included those on the infancies of the Blessed Virgin and of Jesus; on Jesus' Passion; on the acts of the apostles Paul, Peter, Andrew, John, and Thomas; collections of epistles; and apocalypses prophesying the end of the world and visions of the afterlife. Once the stories on the infancy of Christ and the Virgin Mary were translated into Latin and then the vernacular languages, they inspired the countless examples of Christian iconography that grace museums, churches, and manuscripts.

**Further reading:** R. W. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913); M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924).

**apostolic succession** Apostolic succession is the concept that the ministry of the Christian Church through its priests and bishops is derived from the

apostles by a continuous succession. Thus, bishops are considered the successors of the apostles, they perform the same functions as the apostles, and their commission dates to the time of the apostles. They also succeed to the same sees or dioceses in a line that can be traced to the apostles. Some writers thought that their consecration to the episcopal office was inherited from the apostles through the Holy Spirit, thus empowering their work. In the first century C.E., Clement, the bishop of Rome (ca. 88–ca. 97), affirmed their succession from the apostles. The church of the Middle Ages did not question this succession. However, the actual continuity of these successions has since been disputed, especially by the 16th-century reformers.

**Further reading:** Arnold Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries of the Church* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953); William Telfer, *The Office of a Bishop* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1962).

**Apulia (Puglia)** Apulia is an area or province in the heel-shaped southeastern part of the Italian peninsula. It is bordered on the north by the mountainous Gargano peninsula and by the Strait of Otranto in the south. BARI and Brindisi are its chief towns. Apulia was a battleground between the emperor JUSTINIAN I's troops and the OSTROGOTHS. The LOMBARDS overran it in the late sixth century, making it part of the Duchy of Benevento. Subsequently it was attacked by ARABS, and by the emperor Louis II (d. 875). BASIL I retook much of the region for BYZANTIUM in the ninth century. The NORMANS under Robert GUISCARD set up the duchy of Apulia in the 11th century. The Byzantines were at last ejected from Apulia in 1071 when the Normans captured Bari. The Normans launched their attacks on the Balkans and Byzantium from this area, which also provided many of the harbors for launching ships and men into the CRUSADES. Apulia reached its highest level of prosperity under King ROGER II of SICILY and then Emperor FREDRICK II. After the SICILIAN VESPERS of 1282, however, and the imposition of Angevin rule, it began a long slide into stagnation and neglect.

**Further reading:** Tessa Garton, *Early Romanesque Sculpture in Apulia* (New York: Garland, 1984); G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).

**al-Aqsa Mosque** See DOME OF THE ROCK.

**Aquinas, Thomas, Saint** (1224/5–1274) *Dominican friar; Scholastic philosopher, theologian*

Thomas was born of noble family at Roccasecca about 1225 in south-central Italy and for a time served as a BENEDICTINE oblate at MONTE CASSINO. He began his studies at NAPLES in 1239, formally joining the

DOMINICANS in April 1244. He continued his education at PARIS from 1245 to 1248, especially with ALBERTUS MAGNUS. Following Albertus, he moved to COLOGNE in 1248 and spent four years there, completing his education and beginning to teach.

#### WRITING AND TRAVELING

Back in Paris, Thomas studied there from 1252 to 1256. During this period he produced his *Commentary on the Sentences* of PETER Lombard in 1256, as well as *On Being and Essence* and *On the Principles of Nature*. He became a master of theology in 1256 and disputed and wrote on numerous questions. Thomas was a strong defender of the mendicant orders against the jealous attacks of the secular masters of Paris and on this issue completed a major tract called *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem* in 1256.

Returning to ITALY in 1259, Thomas probably lived at Naples from 1259 to 1261, continuing to write his *Summa contra Gentiles*. This was finished at Orvieto, where he held the post of reader for the convent from 1261 to 1265. There, too, he wrote his *Commentary on the Book of Job*, demonstrating a fine skill in biblical exegesis. About the same time he began work on his commentary on the four Gospels using extracts from the church fathers, including those from the Greek tradition.

From 1265 to 1268, Thomas directed the Dominican center for studies at Rome; started a second commentary on the *Sentences*; began his best-known work, the *Summa theologiae*; and completed many other works.

In the autumn of 1268, back again at Paris, Thomas taught, disputed, and wrote on numerous other questions and completed the second part of the *Summa* in 1271–72. At the same time he adopted a moderate viewpoint on the eternity of the world, a conflict then raging in Paris from new ideas from the recently translated Aristotelian texts.

In spring 1272, Thomas returned to Naples to direct the new Dominican *studium* there. He continued writing the third part of the *Summa* and lectured on the Epistle to the Romans and the Psalms. After an intense mystical experience and fatigue that obliged him to rest, he stopped writing and teaching around 1273. Summoned by Pope Gregory X (r. 1272–76) to the Second Council of Lyon, he died in transit on March 7, 1274, at the CISTERCIAN abbey of Fossanova.

#### QUESTIONABLE CONDEMNATION

After his death, on March 7, 1277, at the University of Paris, Bishop Stephen Tempier condemned 219 articles or propositions, most linked to the thought of IBN RUSHD (Averroës), some against the doctrines of Thomas himself. This was incited by his enemies among the FRANCISCAN and secular scholars there. Defying such attempts at disparagement, Thomas's growing reputation for sanctity led to his canonization by Pope JOHN XXII in 1323. His earlier condemnations were forgotten.



*The Church Militant and Triumphant, with Thomas Aquinas and Heretics*, a fresco by Andrea di Bonaiuto (14th century) in the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (Scala / Art Resource)

**Further reading:** Anton Pegis, ed., *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 2 vols. (New York: Random House, 1945); Norman Kretzmann and Eleanor Stump, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought, and Work (with Corrigenda and Addenda)* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1983).

**Aquitaine (Gascony)** The name AQUITAINE refers to the Aquitanian Basin in the southwest of France. The first known mention of Aquitaine is that by Julius Caesar, for whom Aquitaine was a region that extended from the Garonne River to the Pyrenees Mountains. From 418 to 507, the Visigothic kingdom of Aquitaine included all or part of Aquitaine as well as the present LANGUEDOC. After CLOVIS's victory over Alaric II

(r. 484–507) in 507, the descendants of the king of the FRANKS parcelled out Aquitaine on several occasions. On CHARLEMAGNE'S return from SPAIN, the future emperor created the kingdom of Aquitaine, which he entrusted to his son, LOUIS the Pious, in about 781. When Louis became emperor in 814, he was succeeded in the kingdom by his younger son, PÉPIN (817–838). CHARLES the Bald recognized his sons, Charles in 855 and Louis II the Stammerer in 867, as kings of Aquitaine.

In the late ninth century, powerful lordships appeared, including the counts of Auvergne, TOULOUSE, and Poitiers. William I the Pious (r. 898–918), a son of Bernard Plantevelue or Hairyfoot Duke of Aquitaine, soon founded the abbey of CLUNY in 911. A crisis of succession, which started in 1032, ended in the union of the duchies of Aquitaine and Gascony, under the dynasty of the house of Poitiers.

In 1137, Duke William X (d. 1137) assigned all his domains and his heiress, his eldest daughter ELEANOR, to the wardship of the French king Louis VI (r. 1108–37). The title duke of Aquitaine was taken by Eleanor's two husbands, King Louis VII (r. 1137–80) of France until 1152 and HENRY II Plantagenet, duke of NORMANDY, count of ANJOU, and king of England from 1154 onward. Her sons, including RICHARD I LIONHEART, successively governed Aquitaine in conjunction with her. The Duchy of Aquitaine remained from then until 1453 a possession of the PLANTAGENET or English state. The territories of this "English" Gascony varied from almost the whole of the Garonne basin and part of the Massif Central to only the surroundings of the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne. In July 1362, when King EDWARD III of ENGLAND made Aquitaine a principality, he gave it to his son, EDWARD the Black Prince. In 1371 the Black Prince, sick and dying, left for England, and this principality disappeared at his death in 1376. The area was lost forever to the English at the end of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR in 1453 and became part of the kingdom of France.

**Further reading:** Janet Martindale, *Status, Authority and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997); Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Anat Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine, c. 1090–1140* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Malcolm G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399–1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics during the Later Stages of the Hundred Years' War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

**Arabia** (Djazirat al-Arab [the Island of the Arabs]) *See* ARABS, PRE-ISLAMIC.

**Arabic art and architecture** *See* ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Arabs, pre-Islamic (al-Arab)** The Arabs were the inhabitants of the arid Arabian Peninsula and Syrian Desert long before the rise of Islam. They spoke a Semitic language, and a written language probably appeared in the sixth century. Before the fourth century, the caravan trade to Syria gave rise to the Nabataean Kingdom with its capital at PETRA, succeeded by the kingdom of PALMYRA, whose Arab queen, Zenobia, was conquered by the emperor Aurelian (r. 270–275) in 273. Roman policy focused on protecting the empire's Syrian border against raids of nomadic Bedouins, or "desert dwellers." They were considered troublesome raiders who did not threaten real conquest. To this end, frontier fortifications were erected in Syria, and Arab client states were cultivated as military allies of the empire. By the sixth century, the Christian GHASSANIDS of Syria were the most important

Arab allies of the Byzantines, and the LAKHMIDS were clients of the Persians. However, both the Romans and the Persians abandoned these alliances in the late sixth century, leaving the way into their respective empires open to the south. At the same time many Arabs left nomadic lives based on the domestication of the CAMEL, settled in towns, and became important participants in a north-south trade from the southern part of the Arabic Peninsula as caravan stops became towns, such as MECCA, MEDINA, and al-Taif. Even in towns they tended to maintain the traditional social organization of clans and tribes. Numerous fairs developed to assist trade. By then many Christians and Jews were living among them, most of them polytheistic pagans with a vague concept of monotheism.

Under the new banner of ISLAM in the seventh century, the Bedouin tribes and city-dwelling Arabs burst through the Syrian frontier, conquering most of BYZANTIUM'S eastern possessions, including EGYPT and North Africa, and destroying the SASSANIAN Empire. In ANATOLIA the Byzantine-Arab struggle that began in 646 continued for centuries.

*See also* ISLAM; ISLAMIC CONQUESTS; MUHAMMAD; SHIA; SUNNA.

**Further reading:** Section IX of the Bibliography for the post-Islam period; Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

**Aragon** In the Middle Ages, Aragon was a region and a kingdom in north-central Iberia. By about 720, during their conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, Muslims had occupied the lands of the Ebro Valley and the central Pyrenees region, reaching the northern parts of present-day Aragon. On the arrival of Islam, the peoples of this region were already partially Romanized and Christianized. Under the occupation, Mozarabic communities persisted in urban centers with a hierarchical episcopal organization, as well as churches and monasteries. The area was, however, at least partially Islamized since several elite families converted.

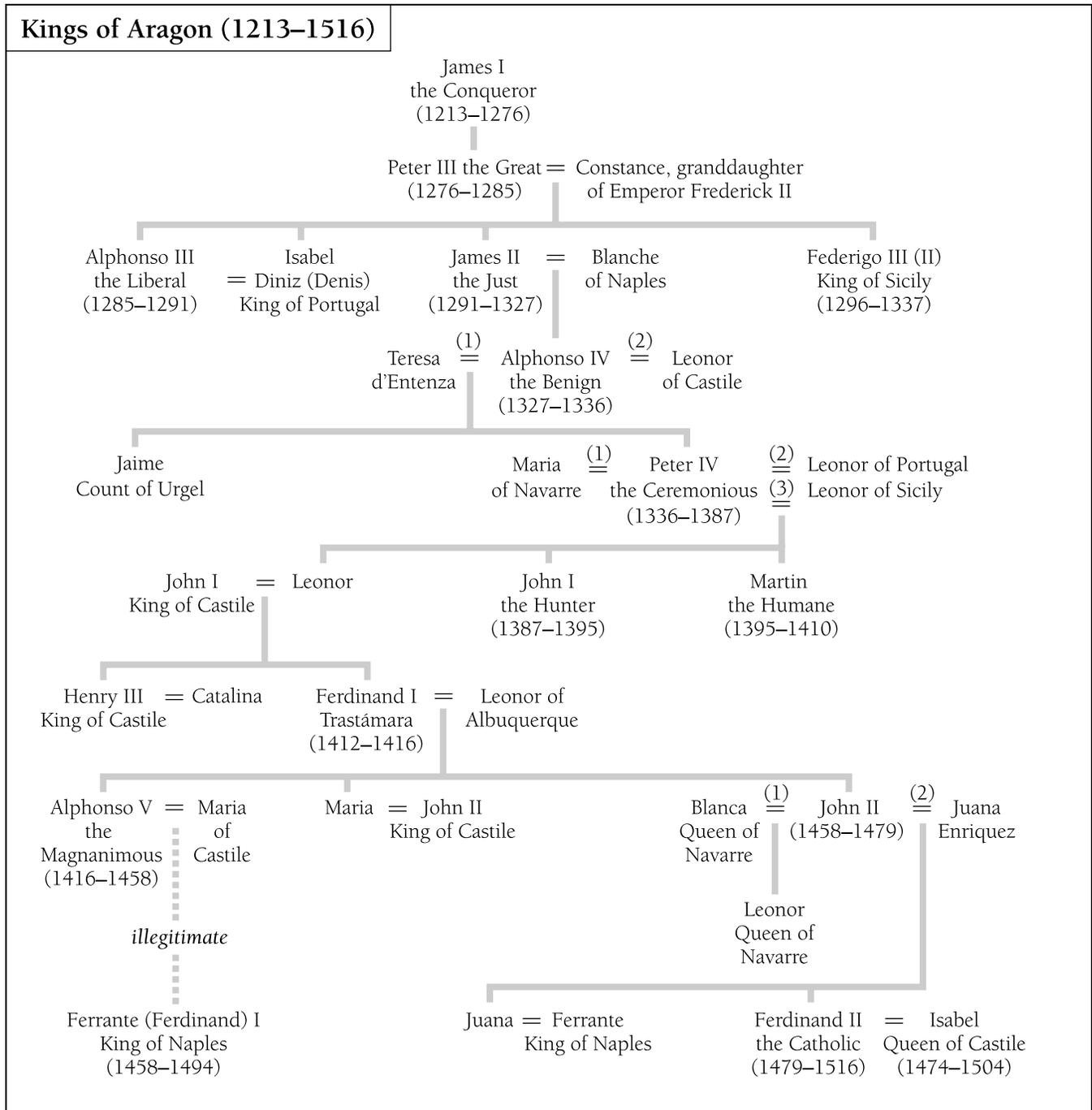
Toward the middle of the eighth century, the upper part of Andalus was a battlefield as ABD AL-RAHMAN I tried to impose his power on the local Muslim lords in Aragon. They even asked for aid from the FRANKS and CHARLEMAGNE, who intervened with marginal success. He did manage to establish a Spanish March, which put Frankish counts near enough to intervene in what became Aragon. They also established monasteries to perpetuate Christianity among the local population and to protect the passes across the Pyrenees Mountains.

In the early 10th century the county of Aragon became part of the kingdom of Pamplona. Sancho García III the Great of Pamplona (r. 1000–35) solidified his

control over Aragon and recovered from Muslim raids from the south. He systematized a network of monasteries across the country and introduced Cluniac reform to them. These monasteries assisted him in resettling local populations. On the death of Sancho III in 1035, his son, Ramiro I (1035–69), became the real architect of the kingdom of Aragon, maintaining authority over a heterogeneous territory. His successor, Sancho Ramírez (r. 1069–94), reformed and corrected religious practice in his kingdom, giving a unity of spirit it had not had

before. As part of his efforts to support a crusading movement to attack the Muslims in the south, he linked his kingdom to the Holy See, adopted the Roman rite, reformed monasteries, adopted Caroline script, and built in the ROMANESQUE style.

On this basis of material prosperity and human consensus, Sancho Ramírez began the RECONQUEST of the south. Peter I (r. 1094–1104) conquered Huesca and Barbastro, and his brother Alfonso I the Battler (1104–34) retook the rich Ebro Valley and captured Saragossa in



1118. At Peter's death the kingdom fell into chaos because of the lack of a successor. Ramiro II the Monk (r. 1134–57) left monastic life and became king of Aragon. He married and produced a daughter, who married the count of BARCELONA, Raymond Berenguer IV (r. 1131–62), producing a union with Barcelona and CATALONIA when Ramiro retired to a monastery again in 1157. It was the son of Raymond and Ramiro's daughter, Petronilla (r. 1137–64), Alfonso II (r. 1164–96), who reunified the kingdom, continued the march of conquests to the south, and founded the Crown of Aragon, which consisted of Catalonia and Aragon.

New lands from across the Pyrenees Mountains were temporarily added to the Catalano–Aragonese union, but Peter II (r. 1196–1213) intervened in the Albigensian wars and was killed in the Battle of Muret in France in 1213. The Reconquest was rejoined and became more effective during the reign of JAMES I the Conqueror (1213–76). James added the kingdoms of MAJORCA and VALENCIA, and the kingdom began to rival Castile for dominance in Christian Spain. James also became involved in wars in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Naples, the BALEARIC ISLANDS, and Athens. Peter III the Great (r. 1276–85) captured Sicily from the ANGEVINS in 1282 after the SICILIAN VESPER. This conquest led to years of war and papal disapproval and excommunication. By the early 14th century, a powerful assembly, the CORTES, had evolved and temporarily was playing an important role in limiting the Crown's resources and government. There were costly wars between the related rulers of Aragon and MAJORCA during the 14th century. King Martin I the Humane (r. 1395–1410) had little success in restoring the overtaxed kingdoms' fortunes. After the territorial union was achieved in the late 15th century by the marriage of FERDINAND II of Aragon and ISABEL I of Castile, the Crown of Aragon disappeared as a separate political entity with any institutional reality.

See also NAVARRE, KINGDOM OF

**Further reading:** Lynn H. Nelson, *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth-Century Official History of the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Yom Tov Assis, *Jewish Economy in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327: Money and Power* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997); Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986); John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Alan Forey, "The Crown of Aragon," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. VI, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 595–618.

**archives and archival institutions** Archives as parts of libraries or in special places of deposit preserve documents and records of routine activity by any agency, office, or person, public or private. They can be maintained as legal or historical evidence of that activity. Bureaucracies required memories. In the Middle Ages, three major forms of archival institution emerged: archives of the state or institutional church, notarial collections, and private collections. There were often both secular and ecclesiastical versions in each of these functional types of depositories. Many have lived on into the present collections today scattered all over Europe, North Africa, and western Asia.

#### ARCHIVES OF GOVERNMENTS

Archives of states preserved formal documents and records incidental to the acts of government, such as laws, decrees, court proceedings and sentences, and records of the processes that created them. States had to preserve treaties, political correspondence, letters of privilege, records of taxation, statements of expenses, and lists of government personnel. From the 10th century the typical monarchy, which was feudal and military and bound to a rural economic base, was constantly traveling and carrying its most important records with it. Departments of government eventually settled permanently in a capital and generated these archives that survive today such as the PIPE ROLLS of the English EXCHEQUER, beginning in 1130. The major European cities, towns, and monarchies in imitation of the Holy See began keeping registers of much of their correspondence during the 13th century. The PAPACY had begun this practice during the combative pontificate of INNOCENT III (1198–1216). One needed records to protect one's interests. Muslim states chiefly generated tax and judicial records, similar to those of the BYZANTINE administration. Only fragments of either survive from before the massive 16th-century archives of the OTTOMAN Empire.

#### NOTARIAL ARCHIVES

Notarial archives were intended to preserve the documents of private acts that had or might eventually have public or legal consequences, such as contracts of partnership and sale, marriage settlements, testaments, and sales. Especially widespread in ITALY and PROVENCE, this form of archive found new impetus when the Roman legal CODE OF JUSTINIAN was introduced into European scholarship, courts, and administration in the 11th century. This revived the profession of notary or *tabellio*, who was needed to authenticate records. Notarial archives are made up of formal copies of the documents; registers containing full, formal copies of notarial instruments, and simple notes or preparatory briefs for documents yet to be formally written. These were considered public records and had the power of proof in a court of

law without having to be proved themselves by the summoning of their original witnesses. The ecclesiastical equivalents of the notarial archive were parish registers, most dealing with baptisms and burials. Similar records were maintained by the Jewish communities of Europe, but almost all were destroyed in the violent persecutions of the later Middle Ages. The exception is the great collection or miscellaneous records from the Cairo Geniza for Jews and Muslims.

#### PRIVATE ARCHIVES

In the Middle Ages, family, corporate, or dynastic archives were kept to prove the documentary evidence of family or individuals' property, rights, rank, and powers. These contained original charters and grants of privilege, deeds of purchase, testaments, and court sentences and similar documents. There could also be copies of similar material systematically kept in registers, often called cartularies. Since they were mere stewards, not owners, of church property, abbots and monastic communities, bishops, and the incorporated clergy of cathedrals and other large churches had to keep cartularies and original documents to defend ownership and to justify financial accounts and uses of property. Commercial companies maintained international correspondence and financial records. One 14th-century businessman, Francesco DATINI, left a huge collection of his correspondence and business records in his house in Prato, near FLORENCE, only discovered in the 19th century.

See also NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIATE.

**Further reading:** Leonard E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and Its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972); Vivian H. Galbraith, *An Introduction to the Use of the Public Records* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth, eds., *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West (Proceedings of a Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatie, Princeton and New York, 16–18 September 1999)* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002).

**Arena Chapel (Scrovegni Chapel)** See GIOTTO DI BONDONE.

**Arianism** Arianism was a heresy named after a priest of ALEXANDRIA, Arius. In the years 318–323 he was in conflict with his bishop on the subject of TRINITARIAN doctrine. Arius proclaimed the supremacy of the Father as the only true GOD; the Son was begotten from the Father. Both the Son and the HOLY SPIRIT were subordinate and not equal. This dispute spread over the whole of the Eastern Empire. The emperor CONSTANTINE called the first ecumenical council at NICAEA in May 325. It overwhelmingly condemned Arius's position and defined

as a profession of faith the Creed of Nicaea. This stated that Christ was "the Son of God begotten of the Father, begotten and not made, consubstantial [or of one substance] with the Father." The unbending Arius and two bishops were exiled. Arianism reappeared at the end of the reign of Constantine and was even officially allowed by the emperors Constantius (r. 337–361) and Valens (r. 364–378). On January 1, 360, the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE wrote what was to be the official article of faith of the empire: "The son is like the Father." This vague formula was a compromise that did not contradict Arius's position. This "moderate" Arianism, was transmitted to the GOTHs by the missionary preaching of Bishop Ulphilas (d. 383). After Valens's death, the emperor Theodosios I the Great (r. 379–395), a convinced Nicene, held a second ecumenical council at Constantinople. It reaffirmed Nicaea in 381. At the end of his reign in 395, the Orthodox Catholicism of Nicaea was the official religion of the Roman world.

In the West apart from the still pagan FRANKS, the recently settled Germanic peoples in the fifth century were Arians. The coexistence of Arians and Catholic clergy and people posed no great problems. Serious conflict and tension, however, did occur in the VANDAL kingdom of North Africa, in the Visigothic kingdom in Iberia, in ITALY at the end of the reign of THEODORIC (d. 529), and at the time of the LOMBARD takeover from 569. In general, the Catholic episcopate in particular maintained good relations with Arian and barbarian kings.

Little is actually known about the Arian clergy, who did little to convert Catholics or pagans, unlike the expansionist Catholics. Arianism disappeared rapidly at first from AFRICA and ITALY in the wake of the BYZANTINE reconquest, then in Gaul with the conversion and the conquests of the MEROVINGIANS.

See also HERESY AND HERESIES.

**Further reading:** Robert C. Gregg and Dennis E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981); Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Maurice F. Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

#### Aristotle and Aristotelianism in the Middle Ages

From the 12th century the history of medieval thought can be seen as in many ways tied to the reception, interpretation, and utilization of the works of the great ancient Greek philosopher, scientist, scholar, and ethicist Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). For Christian culture, philosophy, and theology, there can be distinguished two eras: the first from the third to the 11th century, when Aristotle was known only as a logician; the second from the 12th to the 14th century, when the other parts of Aristotle's writing were rediscovered.

## FIRST ERA (OF LOGIC)

In the mid-fourth century, a Greek paraphrase of Aristotle's *Categories* in Latin appeared. In the early sixth century BOETHIUS planned and carried out a translation into Latin of Aristotle's writings on logic, ethics, and nature to show their substantial agreement with the dialogues of PLATO.

In the CAROLINGIAN period, ALCUIN rediscovered the *Categoriae decem* and Boethius's version of the *De interpretatione*. During the ninth and the 11th centuries, the *Isagoge*, the authentic *Categoriae*, and, at least in part, the *Topics* were added. All these works began to circulate and be studied and commented upon, becoming the basis for logical training. As they were to continue to do, they provided terminology, conceptual instruments, and opening positions for problems for both Christian philosophy and theology.

## SECOND ERA (OF DISCOVERY)

The year 1130 began the true discovery of the authority and whole body of writing by Aristotle. Translators produced Latin versions of such fundamental works as the two *Analytics*, the *Physics*, the *De generatione*, the *De anima*, the *Parva naturalia*, and parts of the *Metaphysics*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the *Meteorologica*. Translations from Arabic to Latin, produced the *De caelo*, the first three books of the *Meteorologica*, and numerous pseudo-Aristotelian treatises, such as the influential *De causis*. In the early 13th century MICHAEL SCOT translated commentaries by Averroës or IBN RUSHD and included the Aristotelian text, producing among other texts a new and more complete version of the *Metaphysics*. Other translations followed such as the *Secretum secretorum*, the *Rhetoric*, and Averroës's commentary on the *Poetics*. By midcentury, a new generation of Hellenists such as Robert GROSSETESTE produced a complete version of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, including a large number of Hellenistic and Byzantine glosses. WILLIAM of Moerbeke between 1260 and 1280 retranslated most of all the earlier versions of Aristotelian texts. He also made the first translation into Latin of the *Politics* and the *Poetics*.

## RECEPTION

The acceptance of this body of texts was neither immediate nor without opposition. A synod of PARIS in 1210 forbade the teaching of "Aristotle's books of natural philosophy," and in 1215 the arts faculty of the university prescribed the teaching of several works of Aristotle, but omitted "Aristotle's books of metaphysics and natural philosophy." Intending to insulate theology from pagan thought, in 1231 Pope GREGORY IX appointed a commission of theologians to examine their ideas and eliminate errors or dangers to Christianity.

Eventually, Aristotle's work proved too attractive and the arts faculty of the University of PARIS in 1255

approved as "textbooks" most of Aristotle's writings. This approval soon spread to the Universities of OXFORD, COLOGNE, and PADUA. Aristotle had become the foundation of philosophical teaching in all the European universities.

Much of the philosophical literature of the rest of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries revolved around commentaries on Aristotle. The work of Aristotle gave Scholastic philosophers and theologians a scientific ideal, conceptions of knowledge, the useful instruments of logical demonstration and analysis, principles, definitions, and ideas about act, potency, form, matter, substance, and accidents.

See also ALBERTUS MAGNUS; AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT; IBN RUSHD (ABU I-WALID MUHAMMAD); IBN SINA (ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN); SCHOLASTICISM AND THE SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** Cary J. Nederman, *Medieval Aristotelianism and Its Limits* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997); F. E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs: The Aristotelian Tradition in Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1968); Charles B. Schmitt and Fernand van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West: The Origins of Latin Aristotelianism*, trans. Leonard Johnston (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts, 1955).

**Arithmetic** See SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**Armagnac** Armagnac is a county in southwestern France, created in the 10th century out of Gascony, by the lords of Armagnac. Between 10th and 13th centuries, the counts consolidated their principality, fighting other feudal lords in Gascony such as the counts of Foix. During the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, John II (1373–84) helped CHARLES V to recover the provinces conquered by the English. Bernard VII of Armagnac (d. 1418) became the constable of France through the patronage of Louis of Orléans, the brother of King CHARLES VI (1380–1422). After the murder of Louis at PARIS in 1407, Bernard became the head of the Orléans or Armagnac party and father-in-law of Louis's son, Charles of Orléans. Supported by an important faction of the French nobility, Bernard led the fight against the duke of BURGUNDY, who had been responsible for the murder of Louis. His party, the Armagnacs, sacked the capital and crushed a revolt of 1413 but lost the Battle of AGINCOURT in 1415. Bernard maintained control of what was left of France, until his assassination by the Burgundians in 1418, which launched another stage in the war. The Armagnacs allied with the English; LOUIS XI absorbed the counts into France in the 1480s.

**Further reading:** C. T. Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973); Robin Neillands, *The Hundred Years' War* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

**Armenia** The geographical position of Armenia on the Armenian plateau beyond the Euphrates River and of Greater Armenia, between the Greco-Roman Mediterranean world and the Iranian and later Islam, gave the region a turbulent and unstable history. Armenia had real autonomy only when there was a balance of power among its powerful neighbors. This situation, however, favored Armenia on the cultural level. It was open to numerous fruitful influences from which it created a culture based on social, religious, and intellectual institutions independent of its variable political identity. The urban networks characteristic of the Greco-Roman political system always remained marginal to this decentralized and rural society.

A kingdom of Christian Armenia was partitioned between Rome and Persia in about 387, destroyed in 428, but revived at the end of the ninth century. From the fifth to the seventh century, Armenia was governed by Persian viceroys residing at Duin, several of whom belonged to the local nobility. The efforts of the Sassanids to reimpose Mazdaism on an already Christian Armenia in 450/451 provoked a violent revolt; Armenia rose again against power in 481 and 571–572.

On the social level, through most of the Middle Ages Armenia preserved an aristocratic structure categorically opposed to the Greco-Roman tradition of elective magistrates. In this noble system called *naxarar*, the great families entrenched in their inaccessible strongholds held not just principalities but also hereditary offices that could not be revoked. This more-or-less feudal tradition of hereditary offices extended to the office of patriarch, or *catholicos*, in clear violation of the canons of the other Christian churches.

#### CONVERSION

The most important event that turned this Iranian society toward the West was its conversion to Christianity. Saint Gregory the Illuminator (ca. 240–ca. 323) traveled from Caesarea in Cappadocia to convert the court and people of Greater Armenia early in the fourth century. There was a distancing of this Armenian Church from Constantinople after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, whose doctrine it condemned early in the seventh century as NESTORIAN. The church came to be a rallying point of Armenian ethnic loyalties. It resisted all Byzantine attempts to force acceptance of doctrine in the sixth and seventh centuries. At the same time there developed an alphabet for the spread of the Bible and liturgy in the early fifth century.

#### POLITICAL LIFE AND SURVIVAL

Peaceful coexistence with Muslims from the seventh century was brutally affected in the eighth century, especially after the accession of the ABBASIDS in 750. The Armenian nobility was essentially destroyed at the battle of Bagrevand in 775. However, the gradual decline of the Abbasid

caliphate and the recovery of Byzantium from a defensive to an offensive role in Anatolia again led to a temporary equilibrium on the frontiers of Armenia. A campaign for the Abbasid caliphate by a Turkish general, Bugha the Elder, in 852, devastated Armenia. It ended with the captivity of all the Armenian lords, including members of the prominent Bagratid dynasty, at the Abbasid capital of Samarra, where they converted to escape death.

The assassination of the caliph in 861 and a Byzantine recovery under the emperor BASIL I allowed Armenia to regain some autonomy. King Ashot I the Great (r. 884–890) resumed reconstituted the country. In 884, he had himself crowned king by the patriarch with the consent of the Byzantine emperor and the Abbasid caliph. This began a peaceful era lasted for a century and a half and inaugurated a brilliant period for Armenian culture in literature and architecture.

#### DECLINE

The centrifugal tradition of the system of nobles, whose loyalty rarely extended beyond the interests of their house, hampered all attempts at control or centralization. Armenia in the 10th and 11th centuries was fractured into small states, leaving it incapable of defending itself in the mid-11th century against the Byzantine Empire and later the SELJUK Turks. The ensuing massive migration of the Armenian nobility into Cappadocia and Cilicia, then into Crimea and the Balkans, enriching the Byzantine Empire but impoverishing the homeland, put an end to any dream of possible political autonomy.

Northern Armenia flourished briefly in the 13th century under the Christianized Kurdish dynasty of the Zakarids. They tried to reestablish the *naxarar* system on the basis of old and new noble families and to renew intellectual luster by encouraging new monastic foundations. In 1236, the last Zakarids strategically accepted MONGOL rule. After that the return of a patriarch to the see of Ejmiacin in 1441, the growth of monastic centers, and a diaspora of people preserved some idea of Armenian identity. The plateau of Armenia was invaded by the TIMURIDS and by Turkoman tribes. It was then conquered by the OTTOMANS, who partitioned it with the Safavids of Persia at the start of the 16th century.

**Further reading:** Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Belmont, Mass.: National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 1993); Thomas S. R. Boase, ed. *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1978); James Etmekjian, *History of Armenian Literature: Fifth to Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1985); Nina G. Garsoian, *Church and Culture in Early Medieval Armenia* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999); Agop J. Hacikyan, ed., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000);

Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Image in History and Literature* (Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1981); Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995); J. J. S. Weitenberg, ed., *New Approaches to Medieval Armenian Language and Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995).

**army and military organization** The European early medieval military system was based on the Germanic idea that all free men capable of bearing arms were to serve in the army of the ruler or chief in command. The late Roman tradition was based on professional, paid standing armies supplemented by contractual soldiers, especially CAVALRY. A concern for effectiveness and a vision of society led in the central Middle Ages to the designation of a group of professional warriors as the sole defenders of community structures, the church, and society.

#### FEUDALISM

By the ninth and 10th centuries, armies were formed around a core of heavy horsemen initially more appropriate for mobility than for actual fighting. This preponderance of armored cavalry did not eliminate the need for more lightly armed combatants or auxiliaries on foot, notably archers. In the 10th to the 11th centuries, FEUDALISM and the feudal organization of the military system made obligated service the primary source of the recruitment and deployment of armies. The vassal or KNIGHT, who had to serve his lord with arms and horses, also had to accompany the combatants or lead those he was responsible for providing. Armor grew more expensive and complex as projectiles became more common, penetrating, and deadly.

#### MILITARY EXPANSION

From the mid-11th century onward, European armies launched great expeditions such as the conquest of ENGLAND in 1066 and the First Crusade in 1095–99. A need for more manpower obliged war leaders to hire mercenaries and professional soldiers, who proliferated in a significant way from the 12th century. At the same time, the rise of towns involved the appearance of urban militias, some of whom were actually able to defeat professionals. Peasant communities were expected to provide armies with transport and serve as noncombatant service personnel.

#### LATER MIDDLE AGES IN THE WEST

In the 13th century, the employment of voluntary and mercenary troops grew. The number of knights fell while the number of unknighthed and not-quite-noble soldiers expanded. New and more sophisticated siege techniques created a demand for miners, pioneers, and engineers, while archers and crossbowmen became more effective and better deployed in combat. In the late-13th century,

the custom of paying men to fight, including even those who served as a feudal obligation, spread, particularly in FRANCE.

In the 14th century, the social context for recruitment of armies became more heterogeneous. In Italy from the beginning of the 14th century, mercenaries dominated papal, communal, and princely armies. Some of these captains did so well they acquired states for themselves. In any case, raising and equipping armies became for everyone a much more expensive proposition. That expense did not, however, significantly slow down the increase in armed conflict that occurred almost everywhere in the 14th century.

The HUNDRED YEARS' WAR led to further change. The system of raising and maintaining only temporarily troops as circumstance merited was both expensive and productive of disorder when the fighters became unemployed. Much of France and Italy suffered from marauding and blackmailing bands of predatory unemployed soldiers. In response King CHARLES VII of France created a permanent or standing army by hiring regular companies on long-term contract in 1445. His example was soon copied by CHARLES the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and then by his own successor, King LOUIS XI.

#### BYZANTINE

Byzantium maintained the military structures and practices of the late empire with a centrally controlled army established in garrisons. Along the frontier, troops were garrisoned to oppose barbarian raids. These troops were recruited from throughout the empire, especially from among tough mountain peoples such as the Isaurians, established by treaty within the limits of the empire. The numbers of this force were constantly diminishing. In the early fifth century the empire was supporting 500,000 soldiers, but by the time of the ambitious JUSTINIAN the Byzantine army seemingly was reduced to no more than 150,000 soldiers, primarily cavalry. The army of BELISARIOS, Justinian's most able general, sent to conquer North Africa from the Vandals, might have numbered only 14,000 combatants.

The devastating invasions of the SLAVS and AVARS, then Persian and Arab victories, led to reorganization of the military system of the empire. In the reforms of the second half of the seventh century, troops were distributed over the territory still controlled by Byzantium, thus forming thematic or regional armies. A new central army, the *tagmata*, was established as the garrison of the capital. When needed it reinforced the regional armies to repel offensives by Muslims or Bulgars or to take initiative in operations against these same enemies. This organization had its greatest successes in the 10th and 11th centuries. At the same time more mercenaries were hired, especially RUSS and even NORMANS. The emperors at Nicaea in the early 13th century had small but often victorious armies of mercenaries, especially TURKS and

CUMANS. The later emperors tried to transfer the burden of providing and supporting soldiers to local lords. This may have been necessary, but such a diffusion of resources into often unreliable hands ultimately produced only slight resistance to the OTTOMANS in the 15th century. The Ottomans had an overwhelming advantage in their professional JANISSARIES and a naval dominance based on Italian technology and sailors.

#### ISLAMIC

In the first period of expansion, the new Muslim armies were based on tribes and clans and were rewarded with booty and the property of the defeated. The Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs built semiprofessional armies that were personally loyal, at least in theory, to them. These armies grew in power and when supplemented by hired Turks became a major force in government. Armies based on slaves became dominant after the 10th century; these soldiers, such as the Mamluks, became in a short period the governing group or dynasty.

See also CASTLES AND FORTIFICATION; CAVALRY; CONDOTTIERI, COMPANIES, AND MERCENARIES; FIREARMS; GREEK FIRE; HORSES; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDINGS; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** Mark C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); Claude Blair, *European Armour, circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958); Kelly De Vries, *Medieval Military Technology* (Peterborough: Broadview, 1992); John F. Haldon, *Warfare, State, and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London: UCL Press, 1999); Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**Árpáds** This is the modern name for the first dynasty of 21 kings of HUNGARY, who sprang from Duke Árpád (ca. 850–905). The first Christian king, Saint STEPHEN I, was crowned in 1000. The principle of succession within the dynasty was determined by seniority. Age order was supplemented in the 11th to 12th centuries by the principle of suitability. The HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE and BYZANTIUM often supported rival suitable candidates. The sons-in-law of Saint Stephen succeeded him since he had died without male successors. The lineage that eventually provided all subsequent Árpád kings was descended from Saint Stephen's cousin, Vazul, whom Stephen had blinded to ensure the succession of his son Saint Emeric (d. 1031), who, however, died before Stephen. Vazul's exiled descendants retook power for the Árpáds in Hungary in 1046.

The dynasty had a reputation for sanctity that was founded upon the official veneration of the relics of

Saint Stephen and Saint Emeric, begun in 1083. Saint and King Ladislas (1077–95) was canonized in 1192 under Béla III (1172–96). In the 13th century, two holy princesses were added: Saint ELIZABETH, daughter of Andrew II (1171–1235) and widow of Count Louis of Thuringia, and Saint Margaret (1242–70), a Dominican nun and daughter of Béla IV (1235–70). The Árpád dynasty made several historically important and enduring contributions to Hungarian history. Saint Stephen promulgated Christian laws. Saint Ladislas restored Christianity after pagan revolts. Béla III modernized the monarchy by establishing a chancery and a court. King Andrew II (1205–35) led a crusade and published in 1222 a Golden Bull that guaranteed the constitutional rights of the nobility. Béla IV (1235–70) restored the country after the destructive Tatar invasion of 1241. After the extinction of the dynasty with the death of Andrew III in 1301, several claimants contended to win acceptance for their rights and descent through the female line of the Árpáds.

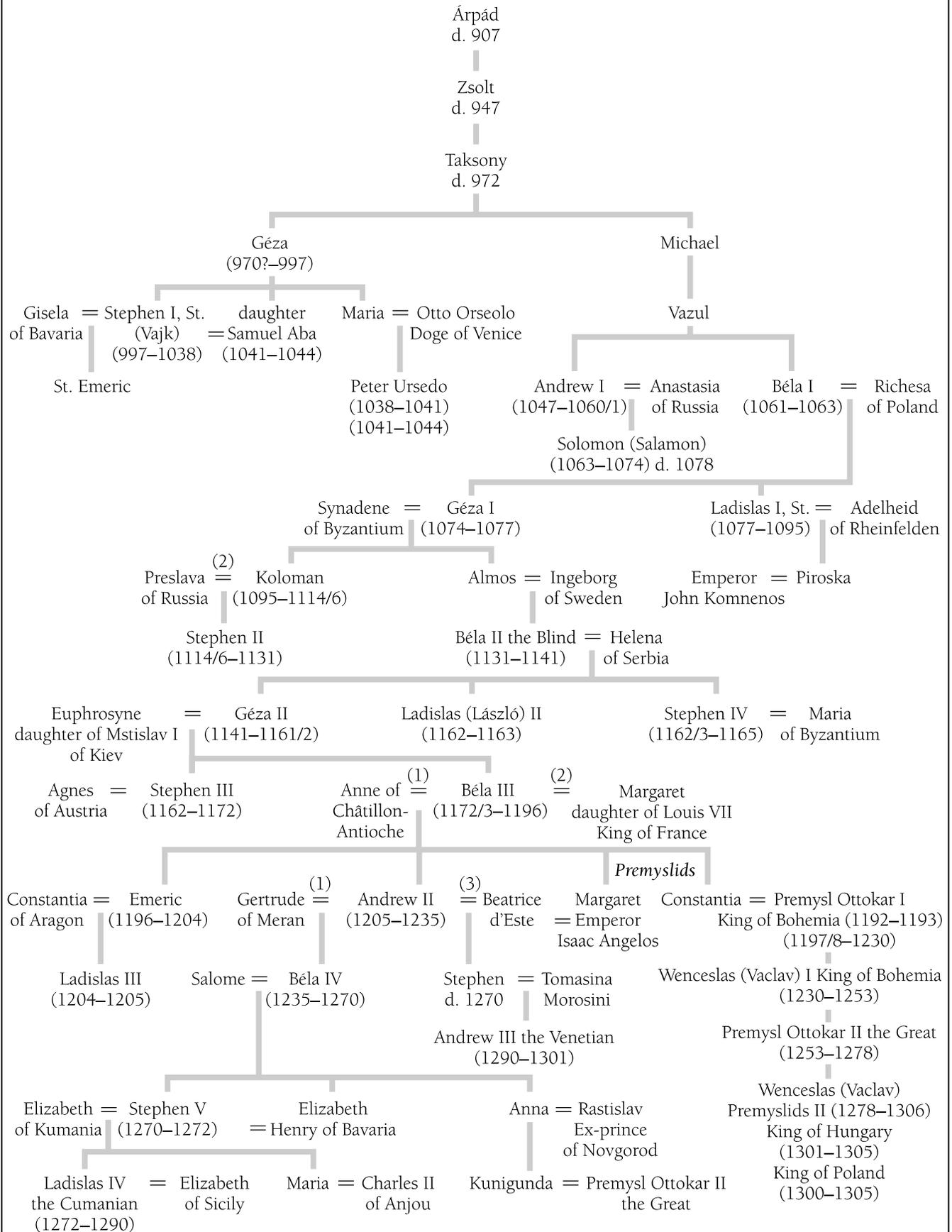
**Further reading:** Gébor Klaniczay, "From Sacral Kingship to Self-Representation: Hungarian and European Royal Saints," in *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Singerman and ed. Karen Margolis (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 79–94; Ferenc Makki, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the Twelfth Century* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989); Z. J. Kosztoľnyik, *Five Eleventh-Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and Their Relations with Rome* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

**ars antiqua and ars nova** These two terms were used in 14th-century thought to distinguish conventional rhythmic principles practiced in PARIS during the 12th through 13th centuries and innovations that followed in the early 14th century. These involved the rules and craft of musical composition. *Ars nova*, the new system, was first discussed in the treatises of Philippe de Vitry (1290–1361) about 1320 and others about 1321. Jacques de Liège about 1330 was a strident critic of this new art style and defended 13th-century traditional musical genres, note values, and rhythmic styles of the ancient usage or *ars antiqua*. The current usage of *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* covers musical styles, repertoires, and stages of composition.

See also MACHAUT, GUILLAUME DE.

**Further reading:** Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1961); Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham, eds., *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300–1540* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); Mary E. Wolinski, "Ars Antiqua, Ars Nova," in *EMA*, 1.112–3.

# Árpád Dynasty of Hungary (907–1301) and Premyslid Kings of Bohemia (1197/8–1306)



**ars moriendi (the art of dying)** The art of dying, practiced to prevent despair and gain salvation at the moment of death, was taught in various manuals. The church had always formulated models for such a “good death.” The graphic death scenes in saints’ lives were intended to show how it was best done. By the end of the Middle Ages these models for a good death were preached to the faithful laity.

From the 13th century onward, motivated by a greater pastoral concern for the faithful, the church began to show more interest in helping all of the sick and dying. Sermons hammered on the theme that death must be expected at any moment and in every place. Between the 14th and early 15th century, new genres of treatises began to appear. One example was the *Medicine of the Soul or Science of Dying Well*, written about 1403 by John GERSON. This exemplary and typical work discussed the exhortations and encouragements to the sick, the questions to ask them, the prayers to recite, and advice for those assisting the dying. It was a guide for clerics for their ministry to the dying.

Books called the *Art of Dying* were written in the vernacular and illustrated with graphic woodcuts, and appeared in great numbers from the mid-15th century onward. Their texts offered advice on resisting the “temptations” of the devil at the moment of death. The woodcuts depicted the dying person on his or her deathbed, supported on one side by the VIRGIN MARY, the heavenly court of angels, and his or her personal guardian angel. On the other side on the bed lurked Satan and his horde of demons. Both sides were shown vying for possession of the soul of the dying. These *Art of Dying* books were designed to show the art of dying well and to scare the faithful into living better lives while awaiting death.

**Further reading:** Mary Catherine O’Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); Nancy Lee Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: A Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970).

**ars notaria** See NOTARIES AND NOTARIATE.

**ars poetica and artes poeticae** These were manuals or treatises that teach the art of writing, especially poetry. Having few theoretical proscriptions, the authors were generally aware that rules cannot substitute for the writer’s lack of vision. ARISTOTLE’S *Poetics* was translated by WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE in 1278, but was ignored, and its title given to a commentary by IBN RUSHD. Horace’s *Ars Poetica* was well known. The audiences for these treatises were the schools and court poets. The treatises were written by clerics for clerics to teach how to compose literary works in verse or prose. Their sources were Horace and the *Rhetoric* attributed to Cicero, with

advice including the method to begin a poem, the procedures for its full development, techniques to elaborate thoughts by figures and tropes, and the way to write verses in a classical manner, including rhyming and metrics.

**Further reading:** Paul Maurice Clogan, ed., *Medieval Poetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Patrick S. Diehl, *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An Ars Poetica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Donald Kelly, *The Arts of Poetry and Prose* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

**ars praedicandi (the art of preaching)** These were educational tracts written for preachers to explain different procedures and forms for composing SERMONS for different audiences. In FRANCE, among the first was a treatise written by ALAN OF LILLE about 1200. About 200 of these works from before 1500 survive. In the 14th and 15th centuries, technical advice prevailed, dominated by Scholastic methods and newer rhetorical styles.

**Further reading:** Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. Gillian R. Evans (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1981); J. J. Murphy, ed., *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 109–215; Marianne C. Briscoe, *Artes Praedicandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

**art and architecture, Byzantine** Byzantine art was intimately tied to the political, military, and religious history of the empire. The hieratic styles and triumphs of JUSTINIAN’S reign were followed by a period of devastating wars with the Persians and the Muslims, which coincided with ICONOCLASM. The territorial conquests of the MACEDONIAN emperors were contemporary with an artistic renaissance, and an elaborate art developed under the KOMNENOI. After the LATIN EMPIRE and occupation of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1204, the return of the PALAIOLOGI generated an artistic and cultural renaissance glorifying the Greek past.

#### ICONOCLASM AND ITS AFTERMATH

Iconoclasm, in force from 726 to 843 except during a brief return to the use of images in worship between 787 and 815, was opposed to figurative representations, replacing them with compositions dominated by the motif of the cross. The iconoclast polemic and its formulation of the doctrine of religious images provided the roots of an iconography that stressed the themes of Christ’s Incarnation and dual nature. This change can be explained by a renewal of interest in the cultural heritage of the past, which coincided with a political and economic recovery of the empire. Imperial ideology, founded on the divine origin of power, was transmitted by means of iconographical themes such as the symbolic Crowning by Christ.



Heavenly ladder (12th-century icon) on which good monks climb to heaven and bad monks are dragged to hell by devils, Saint Catherine Monastery, Mount Sinai, Sinai Desert (Erich Lessing / Art Resource)

A coherent program of monumental decoration was established in central-plan churches dominated by Christ Pantocrator in cupolas, surrounded by the celestial hierarchy and the VIRGIN of the Incarnation in the apse. The distribution of key episodes of the New Testament found an adequate space in the plans of Greek cross churches with central domes. These compact edifices, with facades enlivened by offset plans, arcades, and patterns of bricks, reflect a privatization of devotion and the multiplication of monastic establishments. Large cupolas carried by pendentives were adopted in GREECE in edifices decorated with MOSAIC cycles. Groups of FRESCOES of the same period were also painted in Cappadocia, in Saint Sophia at KIEV (1037–46), and in MACEDONIA in Saint Sophia at Ohrid (1037–56).

A 10th-century humanist movement with a tendency to collect together and copy ancient texts influenced the basic models of art, which was oriented toward immaterial figures intended to express Christian spirituality. Abstract backgrounds, colored in gold, contain bodies on a monumental scale with impassive faces.

Interest in the culture of antiquity remained predominant in works produced for the imperial court in IVORY, manuscripts, SILK, and GOLD up to the late 10th century. The development of private devotion and prayer was expressed by an expanded production of objects such as crosses, reliquaries, and portable ICONS, illustrating prayers of intercession.

The 12th century was rich for the evolution of Byzantine art. Programs for the choir were marked by the ascendancy of the liturgy and of theological discussions centering on the nature of Christ and his place in the EUCHARIST.

#### LATER BYZANTINE ART

The capture of CONSTANTINOPLE by the LATINS in 1204 led to a diaspora of BYZANTINE artists. New centers were established at Nicaea, TREBIZOND, and THESSALONIKI. Essential characteristics of 13th-century Byzantine art have been found in regions such as SERBIA, where local workshops employed painters from Constantinople. Despite the departure of the richest donors and the elite of Byzantine society after the sack of 1204, the workshops of Constantinople continued to produce luxury articles, icons, and manuscripts. Restoration of the Byzantine Empire occurred only around its old capital in 1261. The will to assert a specific national identity against the Latins and TURKS awoke a patriotic current in which the glory of antiquity was rediscovered. A religious renewal based on MYSTICISM had its consequences for art. Another humanist movement entailed a diversified artistic patronage, recruited among wider social layers than those of the imperial court and the higher clergy. A profusion of iconographical details borrowed from antiquity was integrated into traditional compositions, all of which became more narrative, enriched with new subjects inspired by PRAYERS and liturgical hymns, psalms, and apocryphal gospels. Scenes unfolded within complex decorations filled with fantastic architecture lit by subtle and luminous highlights. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 did not eliminate the Byzantine style from the Balkans or Eastern Orthodox Europe.

See also HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

**Further reading:** John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2d ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1970); Robin Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997); Thomas J. Mathews, *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998).

**art and architecture, Islamic** The Islamic art of the first centuries after the conquests of the seventh century showed some unity but soon evolved into numerous regional styles. MOSQUES and MINARETS marked the

Islamized world in the most visible way. Over the medieval period, several types of plans were employed, varying according to geographical areas.

The first Qurans were transcribed on PARCHMENT under Caliph UTHMAN (644–656). Few illustrated Islamic manuscripts from before the 12th century survive, but historical sources mention their existence. The prohibition of images in Islamic art for secular material was not absolute. Iconographical traditions were deeply rooted in the many countries of the Muslim world, often retaining traditional and regional habits and styles. The Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs decorated their palaces with mural paintings or stucco reliefs depicting human images.

### ARCHITECTURE

The first great monument was the DOME OF THE ROCK, built in JERUSALEM in 692. It was a religious monument associated with the rock of Abraham's Sacrifice and the Jewish Temple. It was not a mosque, but rather a building demonstrating the victorious presence of Islam in a town central to Jewish and Christian belief.

Palace architecture was also an important aspect of Islamic architecture. The first Umayyad palaces com-

bined in their plan as well as their decoration the Roman *castrum*, or fort, with a Sassanian palace. In the Abbasid period, the immense palaces of the new palace town of Samarra, built near Baghdad in the ninth century, evolved toward what were to become the characteristic forms of Islamic building styles. These included structures with axial symmetry and hanging decorations of "arabesque" type. In western Islam in AL-ANDALUS, the palaces of AL-MADINA AL-ZAHIRA, built in the 10th century near Córdoba; the al-Jaferia of Saragossa from the 11th century; and the ALHAMBRA of GRANADA from the 13th and 14th centuries are impressive examples of this palace art.

### MINOR ARTS

In the field of the minor arts, Islamic ceramics were especially impressive. Muslim potters introduced new techniques to the West, notably faience and metallic luster. These artifacts also showed a great variety of decorations, comprising "blues and whites" as well as motifs in metallic luster. This procedure enjoyed considerable development in IRAN as well as in SYRIA, EGYPT, and Spain. Faience and metallic were used not just for pieces in the



The north end of the Myrtle Court in the Alhambra palace in Granada with the Comares Tower and Portico  
(Courtesy Edward English)

round but also for architectural decorations such as squares painted or cut out, then assembled into a MOSAIC for display on walls or floors.

### CALLIGRAPHY

Arabic CALLIGRAPHY, or *khatt*, was undoubtedly the art most valued by Muslims, since figurative representations were in theory banned by the QURAN. The actual words of the Quran were central to Muslim belief and were to be displayed to the faithful. Calligraphy is omnipresent in Islamic art, whether discreetly displayed on a ceramic or monumentally on the walls of a mosque or palace.

**Further reading:** Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650–1250* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999); Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the Literary World* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997); Andrew Petersen, *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

**art and architecture, Jewish** Any study of medieval Jewish art must start from the often quoted second commandment of the Decalogue: “You shall not make for yourself a sculptured image” (Exodus 20:4 and Deuteronomy 5:8). It has become clear this prohibition was not an unchanging and rigidly held concept that transcended particular historical contexts. Each Jewish society assimilated the biblical view of art to its own particular needs, necessitating new interpretations of the second commandment. The same book that contained the prohibitions on images praised Bezalel, an artist: “I have endowed him with a divine spirit of skill, ability, and knowledge in every kind of craft” (Exodus 31:1). A violation of this rule lies in the amazing cycle of paintings depicting biblical scenes found on the walls of the Dura Europos SYNAGOGUE in SYRIA dating from the mid-third century. Figural images were arranged in three tiers on all four walls of the synagogue.

### EARLY ARCHITECTURE AND MOSAICS

Large cycles of paintings or Hebrew manuscripts have not survived from the early medieval period. Evidence of the early Jewish artistic tradition is found primarily in architectural sources, specifically Palestinian synagogues, dating only from the sixth century. Some of the synagogues, such as Bet-Alfa, dating from either the first or second half of the sixth century, follow a basilica plan, and their orientation for prayer is toward JERUSALEM. Most interesting are the three-panel floor mosaics in Byzantine synagogues such as Bet Alfa and

Naarah, both dating from the sixth century. In an upper panel the ark is usually flanked by a menorah and such symbols of the Jewish holidays as the *shofar* and the *lulav* and *etrog* (a palm branch and citron, the symbols of the Feast of Tabernacles). The central panel usually has two concentric circles within a square with the sun god Helios depicted in his chariot. A second circle was divided into 12 radial units, one for each zodiacal sign. The corners of the square were decorated with images of the four seasons. The bottom panel usually has a theme of salvation, perhaps the Sacrifice of Isaac. These were similar to contemporary Christian images.

### ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

The majority of examples of medieval Jewish art were illuminated manuscripts created initially in Islamic countries such as EGYPT, PALESTINE, Yemen, and IRAN from the ninth and later centuries. They are also found in abundance in Western Europe, where the finest examples date from the 13th to 15th centuries.

The earliest dated illuminated Hebrew manuscript from Islam is the Moshe ben Asher codex from a synagogue in Cairo, containing the books of the prophets. Dated 894/895, it was probably from Tiberias in Palestine. The codex or book form of the manuscript was initially a uniquely Christian form and was not adopted by Jews in post-Talmudic times. The decorative motifs in the manuscripts were abstract geometric patterns similar to Quranic styles with schematic renderings of buildings. Most of the early decorated Hebrew manuscripts from Muslim Egypt and Palestine are BIBLES, which employ artistic conventions used in contemporary Islamic art.

The earliest illuminated Hebrew manuscripts in Western Europe are from the Franco-German, or Ashkenaz, area, where Jews had functioned as merchants since the 10th century. A two-volume commentary on the Bible made in the region of Würzburg in Germany in 1233 is the oldest illuminated Hebrew manuscript still extant. Its 17 miniatures reflect the late ROMANESQUE style current in southern Germany. Unquestionably the richest Hebrew biblical illuminations from the Ashkenazi region are found in a manuscript of miscellaneous texts in the British Library. It was painted in a High GOTHIC style common in Paris and dated to the last quarter of the 13th century and the early 14th century. Its numerous miniatures included biblical, liturgical, and eschatological scenes. The most significant manuscripts illuminated in Ashkenazi communities were codices containing the obligatory prayers and *piyyutim*, or additional liturgical poetry, for seven special Sabbaths and holidays. They were intended for use in a synagogue. The most common illuminated Hebrew manuscript in 15th-century Germany is for the Passover Haggadah. Stressing folklore and humor, these marginal illustrations deal with aspects of the seder liturgy.

**Further reading:** Marc Michael Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Joseph Gutmann, ed., *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Art* (Missoula, Mont.: Published by Scholars Press for American Academy of Religion, 1976); Joseph Gutmann, "Jewish Art," DMA, 7.63–68; Bezalel Narkiss, *Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collections, 1983).

**art and architecture, Western** See GOTHIC; ROMANESQUE.

**Artevelde, Jacob van** (ca. 1290–1345) *Flemish politician, merchant*

Born about 1290 in Ghent, Jacob van Artevelde was a member of the upper class and a successful cloth merchant who imported wool from England. In 1338 he was chosen as leader in GHENT'S struggle against the pro-French Count Louis of Nevers. His ambition was to restore social and political peace within the town by broadening participation in the municipal government. He permitted weavers to sit among the governors of the town, together with representatives of other trades, including the fullers. The main business of the town and the region was cloth production. He then negotiated a federation of the three towns of Ghent, BRUGES, and Ypres. An ineffective regent had been appointed to replace the count, who had been expelled and fled to France, so Artevelde exercised effective power. He initially pursued a policy of neutrality in the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. To restore commercial relations with ENGLAND, in 1339 he changed positions and concluded an alliance with England against FRANCE. Artevelde worked to establish a federation among the counties of BRABANT, FLANDERS, and Hainault. His authority dwindled during further social struggles between the weavers and fullers. During a weavers' revolt in July of 1345, he was murdered.

**Further reading:** Patricia Carson, *James Artevelde: The Man from Ghent* (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1980); David Nicholas, *The van Arteveldes of Ghent: The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988).

**Arthur, King, and Arthurian literature** *legendary hero of the Celtic Britons*

The Arthurian legends appear in chronicles of the 12th century and later; it seems to have had a historical foundation. In 540 the Celtic historian GILDAS reported that, at the beginning of the century, a warrior named Arthur halted the ANGLO-SAXON conquest of western Britain and won a number of battles, the most important of which

was fought at Mons Badonis. In the ninth and 10th centuries, chroniclers described Arthur as a Christian leader who fought against the pagan Anglo-Saxons and was perhaps killed in battle in 537. From the beginning of the 12th century, Arthur was transformed into the mythological figure whose youth was spent in wandering and marked by miracles. Eventually as a mythical king, he even conquered European countries such as SPAIN and ITALY.

The other aspects of his court and life were also the subject of 12th-century French literature. He held his court at a "round table," around which sat 12 knights, symbolizing the 12 apostles of Christ and personifying ideals of perfect chivalry. This fell apart when his sister's son, Mordred, who had kidnaped Arthur's wife, GUINEVERE, rebelled and conquered his kingdom. Arthur, severely wounded, took refuge on the island of Avalon, with his sister, the witch Morgan le Fay. He remained there, waiting to return when needed to save Britain from foreign conquerors. This legendary account became from the 1160s the basis of romances in French initially at the court of the counts of Champagne. Arthur and his knights were heroes of poems and romances showing them as archetypes of French chivalry. They were warriors and men of fidelity, wise and perfect Christians, but sometime flawed human beings. The most important poet of this Arthurian cycle was CHRÉTIEN de Troyes. By the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, a growing number of works were written about heroes such as PERCEVAL and TRISTAN. Arthurian romance became popular in England, where in 1470 Sir Thomas MALORY composed his synthesis, the *Morte d' Arthur*, printed by CAXTON. In it he concluded the medieval cycle and drew together all the heroes of the various tales.

See also BRUT, THE; GAWAIN AND THE GAWAIN ROMANCES; GOTTFRIED OF STRASSBURG; WACE; WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY; WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

**Further reading:** Rodney Castleden, *King Arthur: The Truth behind the Legend* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Christopher Dean, *Arthur of England: English Attitudes to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); John Morris, *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973); D. D. R. Owen, "Arthurian Legend," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 137–160; Gwyn A. Williams, *Excalibur: The Search for Arthur* (London: BBC Books, 1994).

**artillery** See WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**artisans** See GUILDS; SOCIAL STATUS.

**Ascension** This feast, observed by the church from at least the fourth century, commemorates the last appearance and ascent of Christ from the Mount of Olives into heaven on the 40th day after Easter. Its celebration included processions and dramatic presentation. The first representations of the Ascension date from the end of the fourth century. In detail, they depicted Christ ascending into heaven from a mountain and being taken up by the hand of GOD the Father. During the Middle Ages, the hand tended to disappear, replaced by an image containing angels more or less accompanying a rising Christ watched by the Blessed VIRGIN, reassuring the apostles. These images sometimes focused on Christ's feet disappearing over the

scene of the Virgin and apostles. In ITALY Christ's face was retained in his ascent over the just also rising on the Day of or LAST JUDGMENT.

**Further reading:** J. G. Davies, *He Ascended into Heaven: A Study in the History of Doctrine* (London: Butterworth Press, 1958); Brian K. Donne, *Christ Ascended: A Study in the Significance of the Ascension of Jesus Christ in the New Testament* (Exeter, England: Paternoster Press, 1983); Douglas Farrow, *Ascension and Ecclesia: On the Significance of the Doctrine of the Ascension for Ecclesiology and Christian Cosmology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999); William H. Marvee, *The Ascension of Christ in the Works of St. Augustine* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1967).



*Ascension of Christ into Heaven*, Giotto di Bondone (1266–1336), in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua, Italy (*Scala/Art Resource*)

**asceticism** Medieval asceticism consisted of a number of voluntary practices: penitential exercises, bodily deprivations, and contemplative exercises to overcome early attachments and attain spiritual perfection and eternal salvation. Ascetic practices were not confined to Christianity. Asceticism was a renunciation by human beings aimed at consecrating themselves totally and freely to GOD. Muslims and Jews were much more suspicious of its value, but some did follow such practices, though never on the scale of or with the official sanctions present in Christianity.

#### RELIGIOUS AND LAY PRACTICE

Monasticism was one field of ascetic withdrawal. Western monasticism, inspired by the Rule of St. BENEDICT, was characterized by some moderation and discretion, aiming at a renunciation of pleasure and a minimization of temptations. In the 11th and early 12th centuries, monastic asceticism became more severe under the influence of a more heroic spirituality. As an escape from the world and in the pursuit of voluntary suffering, the wearing of rough or painful garments, flagellation, vigils, sleeping on the ground, and fasting became more encouraged and practiced in the religious life.

Ascetic withdrawal was also practiced by men and women outside any kind of monastic organization. This independent lay asceticism lasted throughout the Middle Ages. HERMITS moved into the deserts of the Mediterranean lands and the mountainous and wooded regions. These lay hermits expanded the monastic model, giving themselves up to asceticism often in defiance and outdoing the traditional moderation of the Benedictine Rule practiced in monasteries and religious communities. They served an imitation of Christ by a realistic reproduction of the sufferings of the Passion. Physical suffering soon joined currents of voluntary poverty and charity to flow into an ideal of religious life more compatible with the lay state. These groups of lay penitents multiplied in the late 12th and the 13th centuries in communities of lay religiosity and in the CONFRATERNITY movement.

See also ANCHORITES AND ANCHORESSES; SUFISM.

**Further reading:** Owen Chadwick, ed., *Western Asceticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1958); Elizabeth A. Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); Susanna Elm, "Virgins of God": *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1994); Lutz Kaelber, *Schools of Asceticism: Ideology and Organization in Medieval Religious Communities* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

**al-Ashari, Abu l-Hasan Ali ibn Isma'il** (ca. 873–935) *leading conservative theologian in Sunnite Islam*

Born in al-Basra about 873, al-Ashari received the usual Islamic education in the QURAN, Arabic philology, and

the sharia legal system, then studied Islamic scholastic THEOLOGY or KALAM with the foremost Mutazilite theologian of the al-Basra school of thought, al-Jubbai. He gained a reputation as an excellent debater on theology in the MOSQUES and wrote works in the rationalist tradition of his master, which have not survived. At the age of 40 in about 914, he changed his doctrinal position to a more traditionalist one and became a strong opponent of the Mutazilites. This event was the result of dreams. In the first one, MUHAMMAD commanded him to defend a more traditional ISLAM. In another Muhammad insisted that he not abandon the dialectical method of *kalam* but use logic and rationalism to combat Mutazilite innovation. For the rest of his life, al-Ashari championed traditional Islamic theology, moving at one point from al-Basra to BAGHDAD, where he died about 935. His school of theology is called Ashariyyah.

**Further reading:** Ash'ari, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Isma'il, *The Theology of al-Ash'ari: The Arabic Texts of al-Ash'ari's Kitab al-Luma' and Risalat Istihsan al-khawd fi'ilm al-kalan*, trans. Richard J. McCarthy (Beirut: Impr. catholique, 1953); Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori (Princeton: N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London: Luzac, 1948); W. Montgomery Watt, "al-Ash' arī, Abu 'l-Hasan," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.694–695.

**Asher ben Jechiel (Asheri, Jehiel, the Rosh)** (ca. 1250–1327) *important rabbinical exegete*

Born about 1250 in GERMANY, the son of Rabbi Jehiel, he studied at his father's school and then at Troyes in FRANCE. After his marriage he settled in COLOGNE and later went to Worms, where he studied under Rabbi Meir ben Baruch (ca. 1215–93) of Rothenburg, the greatest figure of German Jewry at that time. Meir was held for ransom in 1286 by the emperor Rudolf I (r. 1273–91), but he refused to cooperate and died in prison, fearing that all Jews would be forced to ransom themselves. Asher then became the leader of the German Jews and tried to fortify the spirits of a persecuted community. His opinion on community disruptions and the conduct of individuals and communities under persecution was accepted by many Jews. In 1303 he fled Germany to avoid kidnapping and ransom, and wandered in ITALY and SPAIN. In 1305 he was invited to be the rabbi of the community of TOLEDO. Though asked to return to Germany, he stayed in Toledo the rest of his life, living in poverty. He introduced in Spain the teaching methods of ASHKENAZI Jews, and particularly the study of the Tosafists. Though he was opposed to the study and methods of PHILOSOPHY, he admitted the importance of the independent study of other sciences. His reputation and moral stature became so great that students were sent and questions were

addressed to him at Toledo from Jewish communities in Spain, as well as from other European countries. Besides rendering decisions and writing legal treatises representing a codex of Talmudic jurisdiction, he wrote commentaries on the Mishnah and work of the Tosafist school. He wrote more than 1,000 *responsa*, or written answers, to questions about Jewish life, law, and learning. In his ethical work, he expected integrity, courtesy, and sincerity in dealings with non-Jews. His method was first a discussion of numerous different opinions on a given issue, and then an attempt to offer a solution. He died in Toledo in 1327.

**Further reading:** Asher ben Jehiel, *Pathways of Eternal Life*, by Rabenu Asher, *Lighting the Pathways: A Compendium of Talmudic and Rabbinic Quotations and Commentaries*, trans. Moshe Yitzhok Elefant (Brooklyn: Association for the Advancement of Torah, 1977); Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols., trans. Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992).

**Ashkenaz and Ashkenazim** This is a Hebrew geographic term, which in the 10th and the 11th centuries Jews used to refer exclusively to western GERMANY, and later to greater Germany. After the expulsion of the Jews from ENGLAND in 1291 and from FRANCE in 1306, the term *Ashkenazi* meant European Jews in general, except those of SPAIN and ITALY, the SEPHARDIM. The term was linked with the use of Yiddish as a common language, cultural and religious traditions, and the learning and practices of French and German Jews. Ashkenaz appears in the books of Genesis and Chronicles and as a place-name in the book of Jeremiah. Medieval Jews utilized this term as a designation for Germany. *Ashkenazim* referred mostly to German Jews but sometimes to all of northern European Jewry. As northern European civilization began to develop economically in the 11th and 12th centuries large number of Jews moved from the Mediterranean to the booming towns of northern France and Germany. These Jews encountered substantial popular resentment and had to form protective alliances with political authorities. The Jews furnished liquid assets to the economy and could provide loans to their protectors who guaranteed their physical safety and businesses. Later Jews were invited to settle in England and eastward in Slavic lands.

By the late 13th century, political leaders were more strapped for funds to pay for wars and began to exploit the Jews. The church began to demand a more explicit isolation and limitation on the economic and social role of the Jews. Stronger senses of nationality enhanced perceptions of Jewish difference and irrational anti-Jewish propaganda expanded. Encountering this hostility, the Ashkenazi Jews responded by establishing new forms of Jewish self-government, new religious rituals, and new fundamentalist ideals of intellectual culture. The Jews

were expelled from England in 1290 and from France in 1306. Thought not expelled from Germany, the Ashkenazi there moved farther eastward. By 1500 the major center of Ashkenazi Jewry was in the kingdom of POLAND. There were enclaves spread throughout the fragmented German empire, but Jewish settlement was banned in France and England.

*See also* ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; ASHER BEN JECHIEL; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, JEWISH; HALAKAH; JEWS AND JUDAISM.

**Further reading:** Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 18 vols., 2d ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952–1983); Robert Chazan, “Ashkenaz,” *DMA*, 1.585–86; Gertrude Hirschler, ed., *Ashkenaz: The German Jewish Heritage* (New York: Yeshiva University Museum, 1988); Kenneth Re. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973).

**Assassins (Nizaris, Ismaili Nizari, Hashishin)** The Assassins were a sect of the Ismaili branch of the Shia. They received this name from Europeans because they practiced political murder while allegedly under the influence of hashish. The Arabic name they were known by in Syria, *Hashishiyya*, meaning “hashish smoker,” suggested contempt rather than actual practice. European chroniclers and travelers claimed the Assassins used hashish to give them courage and a visionary expectation of the sensual paradise they would gain by murdering political leaders. No Muslim source confirms this myth. They did, however, pursue a policy of assassination, primarily of Sunni Muslims.

In 1094 a group of ISMAILIS refused to accept the new Fatimid Shiite caliph in Cairo and moved to the mountain fortress at Alamut in the mountains of Daylam near the Caspian Sea in Iran. They preferred another, Nizar, as caliph and began terrorist attacks and murders as sacred duties in support of his candidacy, becoming known as the Nizari Ismailis. Besides attacking Fatimid representatives, they killed numerous members of the ABBASID and SELJUK governments, including two caliphs.

One group moved to Syria and established a mountain headquarters in the 12th century at Masyaf. From there the Syrian grandmaster, Rashid ad-Din as-Sinan, known as the “mountain chief,” mistranslated by Westerners as the mysterious and romantic “Old Man of the Mountain,” became famous for his murderous activities outside religious motivation and even for hire. Although sometimes in league with the crusaders, the assassins murdered two Christian rulers, Raymond of Tripoli in 1130 and Conrad of Montferrat (1146–92), the king of

Jerusalem, in Tyre in 1192. They failed in two attempts on SALADIN in 1174 and 1176. The MONGOLS under HULEGU captured their castles in Iran until 1256, when Alamut itself fell. The Syrian strongholds were gradually subjugated by the MAMLUK sultan BAYBARS I by 1273. After that, they lived on only as a small heretical sect in Syria, Iran, and South Asia.

**Further reading:** Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizari Ismailis against the Islamic World* (1955; reprint, The Hague: Mouton, 1980); Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

**Assisi** Assisi is a hill town in Umbria in central Italy, situated off the old Roman Via Flaminia. As a prosperous Roman town, Assisi had a medieval history that revolved around a succession of sacks and destructions, from TOTILA to CHARLEMAGNE, and well beyond. It became part of a LOMBARD and then a Frankish duchy centered in Spoleto. From the time of FREDERICK I in the 12th century the town became directly dependent on the empire. This subordination was enforced by the still extant and dominating imperial rocca or fortress. The existence of a COMMUNE dates from this time. From 1200 on the history of the town is marked by subjection to the pope, Perugia, or other external powers, combined with local seigniorial control. After numerous debilitating wars from the 14th to the early 16th century the town became part of the states of the Church under Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49).

From the early 13th century, the FRANCISCAN ORDER, ST. FRANCIS, and ST. CLARE gradually became the sole

sources of vitality and identification for the town in its architectural, institutional, and spiritual significance. The concentration of all its energies around the Franciscans, simultaneous with the economic decline of the town, drained the life from the other religious and civil aspects in Assisi's history. A great double church was built over the tomb of Francis between 1240 and 1340. It contains important frescoes by artists such as GIOTTO, CIMABUE, and SIMONE MARTINI.

**Further reading:** Elvio Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi: The Frescoes by Giotto, His Precursors and Followers*, trans. Christopher Evans (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996); James H. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Medieval Assisi, 1305–1487: A Social and Economic History of a Small Jewish Community in Italy* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1979); Lina Waterfield (Duff-Gordon), *The Story of Assisi* (London: J. M. Dent, 1901).

**assize** The term *assize* from the Latin *assisa*, literally, “a sitting or session or assembly” of judges, usually refers to a group of edicts concerning the nature and possession of property. The word was used in France and England. In 12th-century ENGLAND it often referred to meetings of the royal council or to the legislation that resulted from those meetings. In addition, the word referred to specific legal remedies or processes that were approved in such meetings. The first such usage appeared during the reign of King HENRY II. Henry, called the father of English common law, created



View of Assisi (Courtesy Library of Congress)

many remedies in royal courts for legal complaints that formerly had been handled in private or feudal courts. Henry permitted plaintiffs to purchase and use these remedies or provisions in his own royal court. In France assizes were local courts of a royal judge but never became the chief local civil and criminal courts as they did in England. They died out completely after 1500.

The English assizes formed the early foundations of the common law, and especially of land law, the most important part of common law. The assizes made available to the entire population of freemen common legal remedies from a common legal source, the Crown. The assizes led to the establishment of the due process of law and the role of the jury in civil actions, since no freeman could be deprived of land without judgment of his peers.

In creating assizes to restore stability in his new kingdom, Henry II invaded the jurisdiction of baronial courts and sharply defined the jurisdiction of church courts. He greatly increased the sphere of action for royal courts and expanded his authority. The assizes played a crucial role in the appearance and growth of the English royal court system. The feudal and freeholder classes, including barons, accepted his innovations because these measures made justice more certain and objective.

See also CLARENDON, CONSTITUTION OF

**Further reading:** Alan Harding, *The Law Courts of Medieval England* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1973); Donald W. Sutherland, *The Assize of Novel Disseisin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

**Assizes of Jerusalem** They were a series of law books written in French that state the feudal and customary law of the LATIN kingdom of JERUSALEM. They were compiled by various authorities at various dates from 1197 onward. Their ultimate source were the feudal customs of Western Europe at the time of the First CRUSADE.

The treatises fall into two groups: those describing the practices employed by the feudal high court and those describing the practices employed in the burges or lower courts for those not noble. All were unofficial, private compilations. It is clear that the authors of these works were all skilled participants in the courts. Subtleties of making a case were as important as knowledge of jurisprudence, laws, and customs. After the fall of the Christian possessions at the end of the 13th century, these treatises continued to be consulted and applied in CYPRUS.

**Further reading:** Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973).

**Assumption of the Virgin Mary** This refers to the taking or ascent of the Blessed VIRGIN MARY into heaven. By the end of the 13th century, the legend of the resurrection of Mary from her apocryphal lives gave way in iconography to an Assumption. But there was no Assumption in the BIBLE. The legend was modeled in the sixth century on the rapture of the prophet Elijah and the Ascension of Christ, but Mary died before being transfigured in glory.

Mary's Assumption was conceived in the West in the form of bodily resurrection. Representations of Mary's death foreshadow what will happen at the end of time to all the elect. Unlike Christ's Ascension, Mary's Assumption was passive, with ANGELS carrying her to the kingdom of heaven. The Assumption was distinguished from the Immaculate Conception, which was the doctrine of her conception without the stain of original sin. In the later Middle Ages, the Assumption became a popular subject in painting, especially in Italy, often bracketed between her death and crowning in heaven.

**Further reading:** J. K. Elliot, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Raymond Winch and Victor Bennett, *The Assumption of Our Lady and Catholic Theology* (London: S.P.C.K., 1950).

**astrolabe** The planispheric astrolabe is an astronomical and astrological instrument, in the form of a flat, easily transportable disk, to measure and observe the daily movement of stars. Known in Christian Europe, through the ARABS, from the 10th century, it was in common use and enjoyed a great vogue by the 12th. Perfectly justified by its real pedagogical qualities as it permitted calculations of the movements of the Sun and the stars, the astrolabe as a teaching tool experienced a lasting success until the 17th century. The later marine astrolabe was used for measuring distances and heights and telling time from the 13th century. The two instruments are different.

A respectable number of planispheric astrolabes still exist, among which are Arabic, Persian, Indian, and Western astrolabes. More than 100 date from the Middle Ages, most from the 14th or 15th century.

See also AL-BIRUNI, ABU RAYHAN MUHAMMAD; NAVIGATION.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Chaucer, *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, ed. Sigmund Eisner (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); Nemorarius Jordanus, *Jordanus de Nemore and the Mathematics of Astrolabes: De plana sphaera*, ed. and trans. Ron B. Thomson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978); L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Astrolabists and Their Works* (Geneva: A. Kundig, 1956); Roderick Webster and Marjorie Webster, *Western Astrolabes* (Chicago: Alder Planetarium & Astronomy Museum, 1998).

**astrology (discourse on the stars)** Astrology, or the “discourse on the stars,” is based on belief in the influence of celestial bodies on worldly events. As a possible way of divination, it played a considerable role among some Christians in the Middle Ages. Astrology and astronomy were sometimes considered in the Middle Ages as two complementary faces of one discipline. Astrological data were important in astronomical calculations and frequently taken into consideration in the practice of medicine.

#### HISTORY

Astrology dated from the ancient Babylonians. In the Hellenistic period it was based on the authority of two great second-century Greek scholars, Ptolemy and Galen. From them it passed to Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. In the LATIN West, the situation was different until the early 12th century, because the work of the Greek and Arab astronomers and astrologers linked with divination was not known. In the early Middle Ages, there was little true astrological theory. The reappearance in Christian Europe of a learned astrology or a clearly organized and hierarchical system of knowledge that took into account a number of celestial parameters, occurred in the first half of the 12th century. Then translations from Arabic to Latin provided the basic rules of astrological judgments and astronomical tables to show how the planets might be placed in evaluating horoscopes. The astral determinism or influences taught by Arab science were linked to Aristotelian theory of natural causality.

In the beginning of the 14th century, there was a sudden extension of its practices from 1320. The new *Alfonsine Tables* suggested a considerable improvement in the art of prediction. By 1470, the spread of printing gave a new stimulus to astrological output. It was vulgarized by way of almanacs and annual predictions, which became general all over the West and were now addressed to a wider group. The practice of astrology remained the prerogative of a small elite of clerics or the educated.

#### CONCEPTS

Medieval astrologers relied on four main components in the study and practice of their art: birth-dates, revolutions, elections, and interrogations. The births and conceptions of individuals were the starting points for any judgments that could be drawn. The study of the revolutions of sets of birth days was based on the examination of positions of objects in the sky at the moment or anniversary of the subject's birth. Ideas about the revolutions of years were tied to the location of the spring equinox of a particular year and the new and full moons immediately before. Decision-making could correspond to a choice of favorable moments to undertake an activity. Interrogations were intended to provide answers to questions asked by the astrologer of

a person. The practitioner then drew or cast a horoscope based on the precise moment when the question was asked.

Medieval astrology never became a simple set of techniques for prediction. It was supposed to be a comprehensive system of interpreting the world, embracing every sphere of human life. And it was in this capacity as an alternative to the idea of free human will so essential to Christianity that it occasioned numerous questions and antagonism about its orthodoxy.

**Further reading:** Hilary M. Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, trans. Carolyn Jackson and June Allen (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983); Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); S. J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990); Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1923–1958), especially volumes 1–4.

**astronomy** See SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**Asturias-León, kingdom of** In the early eighth century, the kingdom of Asturias-León extended over the western end of the Picos de Europa, a mountain range in the northern part of the present Spanish provinces of Santander and Asturias. At the kingdom's peak, early in the 10th century, the Asturian-Leonese kings ruled over most of the northwest section of the Iberian Peninsula. In 711 the armies of ISLAM had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar and destroyed the Visigothic Kingdom. Only in the far north, in the mountains of Asturias and Cantabria, did any region resist assimilation and conquest by the new invaders of the peninsula. Asturias expanded and contracted as a result of the frequent political convulsions of AL-ANDALUS, the area of southern Spain controlled by ISLAM. By the 10th century, the rulers of Asturias had managed to survive. The Muslims continued to send punitive expeditions against them but could not conquer them. Asturias was periodically from the ninth to the 11th century an independent kingdom. The Asturian-Leonese kings claimed to be the rightful heirs of the Visigoths. King Alfonso II (ca. 759–842) established his capital in Oviedo and solidified the kingdom's hold on GALICIA.

Cereals, wine, and livestock were the basis of the region's agriculture, which remained relatively backward, not employing a three-crop rotation and with horses pulling heavy plows. The social structure of the Asturian-Leonese kingdom was dominated by a military elite who ruled over free, semifree, and servile people. True serfdom and slavery were also present.

One of the most important developments for Asturian society and culture was the rise of the cult of Saint James the greater or (SANTIAGO) at Compostela. The early support of the cult of Saint James by the Asturian kings made Compostela an important religious focus for Christian Spain and CHRISTENDOM in general. From the midninth century, the number of pilgrimages to the apostle's tomb grew until its peak in the 12th and 13th centuries. With Toledo held by Muslims and discredited by adoptionist heresy, Asturias-León developed its own liturgy and church organization, the Mozarabic rite.

See also AL-MANSUR, MUHAMMED IBN ABU AMR.

**Further reading:** Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1983); Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).

### Athanasius of Alexandria, Saint (ca. 295–373) bishop of Alexandria

Born about 295 into an Alexandrian family of modest means, Athanasius as a boy was adopted by Alexander (d. 328), the bishop of ALEXANDRIA about 313 who raised him as his successor. Athanasius was present at the Council of NICAEA in 325 as a deacon. He was consecrated bishop of Alexandria after a disputed election on June 8, 328, but deposed from the see by councils of eastern bishops meeting outside EGYPT in 335, 338, 339, 349, and 351, for tyrannical and violent behavior and for intimidation of his flock as bishop. He spent many years in exile in the West or hiding out in rural Egypt.

Athanasius's troubled episcopal career can only be partially reconstructed. His own writings probably misrepresent many important points. Near the end of this episcopacy his political power within Egypt was so strong that the emperors Constantius II (r. 337–361) and Valens (364–378) had to cooperate with him when their own rule was challenged by rivals in 350–351 and 365–366. Athanasius always wrapped himself with that of the threatened orthodoxy of Nicaea. Likewise the creed of the Council of Nicaea became the standard of orthodoxy despite a strong and growing challenge in the Eastern Empire in the 340s. Athanasius might himself have put it at the center of theological debate in the 350s by encouraging his supporter Pope Liberius (r. 352–366), the bishop of ROME, and other Western bishops to use it in their refusal to accept ARIAN definitions of the relationship between GOD the Father and God the Son.

Athanasius's most influential writings are the *Oration against the Arians*, composed in exile (probably in Rome, about 340), works composed for his political and theological struggles against Arianism; the pastoral Letters he wrote for Easter Sundays from 329 to 373; and the *Life of Anthony*, though he probably was not its actual

author. Athanasius's theological significance was tied to his ardent and dogmatic defense of the orthodox positions of the Council of Nicaea and his support of early monasticism. He died on May 2/3, 373.

**Further reading:** *Athanasius: The Life of Anthony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, trans. R. C. Gregg (New York: Paulist Press, 1980); E. P. Meijering, *Athanasius, Contra Gentes: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984); T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

**Athens, city and duchy of** This famous ancient city, site of the glorious fifth-century intellectual culture that wielded extensive influence on the Western world, lies on the plain of Attica in east-central GREECE. It experienced a decline in the BYZANTINE era, beginning in 267 with a barbarian raid that did great damage. More damage occurred when ALARIC had to be fought off in 396. Nevertheless, Athens remained a center of learning, where great minds such as the emperor JULIAN, BASIL the Great, and GREGORY Nazianzus studied. In the fifth century (Athenais) Eudokia (ca. 400–460), the daughter of a pagan philosopher and teacher of rhetoric from Athens, was chosen as bride for Theodosios II (r. 408–450), who had closed the pagan temples in the city. The closing of the famed Academy of Athens in 529 by JUSTINIAN I, as well as the Slavic migrations into Greece in 579, accelerated the city's economic and intellectual decline. It remained in Greek hands until the Fourth CRUSADE, when it was incorporated into the duchy of Athens and Thebes under Otho de la Roche (d. 1234). In the early 14th century, it was taken over by the Catalan Grand Company, and ruled successively for short periods by Florentines, Venetians, and Byzantines from 1446 to 1456, when it fell to the OTTOMANS.

See also LATIN STATES IN GREECE.

**Further reading:** Alison Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1961); Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London: Variorum, 1975); Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388*, rev. ed. (London: Variorum, 1975).

**Athos, Mount (Holy Mountain, Hagion Oros)** These famous Athonian monasteries are located in a rugged and picturesque peninsula on the easternmost of the three promontories of Chalkidike, southeast of Thessaloniki. There are now some 20 monasteries, of which 17 are Greek, one Russian, one Serbian, and one Bulgarian. At the end of the peninsula is Mount Athos, hence the name *Ayion Oros* in Greek or "Holy Mountain." When exactly such activity began on Athos is unclear, but certainly by the ninth century monks were living in what was a desecrated region as hermits and in communities. Euthymios

the Younger founded the first formal community in 859 during the reign of Michael III the Drunkard (r. 842–867). In the reign of BASIL I, Kolobou, the first monastery, was founded sometime before 883 by John Kolobos. The construction of the “Great Lavra” in 963 by a certain Athanasius of Athos was the first large coenobitic monastery with an imperial benefactor, Nikephoros II Phocas (r. 963–969). Subsequent imperial support and protection followed. By 1001 the number of monasteries had multiplied to 46. There were monks from all over the Orthodox world, including Georgians, Armenians, Serbs, Italians, Russians, and Bulgarians. Acting in unison with a government headed by the *prôtos*, the monasteries increased their independence along with their wealth, which was augmented by properties acquired outside Athos. They survived LATIN rule, the raids of the Catalan Grand Company, imperial despoiling, and conquest in 1430 by the OTTOMANS, who guaranteed the peninsula’s independence in return for annual tribute. The Athonian monasteries continue to thrive to this day.

**Further reading:** A. Bryer and M. Cunningham, eds., *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); Jacque Lefort, “Athos,” *EMA*, 1.127–29; Patriarchikon Hidryma Paterikon Meleton, *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts, Miniatures-Headpieces-Initial Letters* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1974); John Julius Norwich and Resesby Sitwell, *Mount Athos* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

**Atlas Mountains** The Atlas mountain system in MOROCCO extending into modern Algeria takes the shape of an elongated oblong. Within its ranges there is a vast complex of plains and plateaus. The northern section is formed by the Tell Atlas, which receives enough rainfall to support forests. From west to east several distinct collections of mountains exist. The first of these is Er-Rif in Morocco between Ceuta and Melilla with a peak line exceeding 5,000 feet at several points and topping out at 8,058 feet, Mount Tidirhine. East of a gap formed by the Moulouya River lie the Algerian ranges, including the Ouarsenis Massif, reaching a height of 6,512 feet; the Great Kabylie, at 7,572 feet at the peak of Lalla Khedidja; and the mountains of Kroumirie extending into Tunisia.

The southern section, which is desert, is appropriately called the Saharan or High Atlas. It includes in the center shorter ranges, such as the Ksour and Ouled-Nail mountains, between two mighty ranges, the Moroccan High Atlas to the west and the Aurès Mountains to the east. The High Atlas includes Mount Toubkal at 13,665 feet, the highest point in the Atlas Mountains. The Aurès Mountains reach a height of 7,638 feet at Mount Chelia.

The mountains, with their difficult environment, have provided a refuge for those who fled successive invasions through the period 300 to 1500. BERBER people have survived there, preserving their own languages, tra-

ditions, and beliefs, while accepting their own version of an austere Islam.

*See also* ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS.

**Further reading:** J. M. Houston, *The Western Mediterranean World: An Introduction to Its Regional Landscapes* (New York: Praeger, 1967).

**attainder** *See* TREASON.

**Attila, the Hun** (“The Scourge of God”) (ca. 400–453)  
*king of the Huns*

Born about 400, Attila succeeded a series of Hunnish chieftains of varying degrees of ferocity and efficiency. Attila ruled jointly over the HUNS with his brother, Bleda, from 434 until 445, when he killed Bleda. He was described as short, the norm among his people, with a snub nose, small eyes, and a disconcerting stare that frightened most who met his gaze. We know that he was bearded, since a contemporary historian related that his beard was “sprinkled with gray” when he met him in 449. Attila was a ruthless natural leader who could inspire boundless enthusiasm and devotion among his followers. He fought his way to the leadership of the Huns and held that position for at least 19 years.

In North Africa, the VANDALS moved against EGYPT in 440. This threatened the food supply of CONSTANTINOPLE and its subsidiary areas, since Egypt was at that time the granary for the Middle East. The Eastern empire was obliged to focus resources on protecting Egypt from the Vandals, thereby facilitating Attila’s assault on the Balkan Peninsula as far as Greece itself.

In about 450 Attila sent word to the Roman court in ITALY claiming Princess Honoria in marriage. His claim was addressed to her brother, the emperor Valentinian III (425–455), although GALLA PLACIDIA, their mother, seems to have been the actual regnant. When his claim was rejected, Attila moved against western Europe, pillaging west of the Rhine Valley.

Flavius Aetius (d. 454), a Roman general and an old friend of Attila, raised a small force and led it north from Italy. With the help of the Roman governor of Auvergne, he reached an agreement with the VISIGOTHS under their king, Theodoric. The Visigoths and the Romans moved to the relief of the city of Orléans, under siege by the Huns. Attila promptly withdrew. The Huns then marched toward the Rhine Valley. Aetius and Theodoric pursued and caught him in the valley of the Marne River in July of the year 451. In the fierce fighting Theodoric was killed and Aetius’s horse was killed under him. However, at Chalons-sur-Marne, or the “Mauriac Fields,” Attila’s forces were nearly overwhelmed and he withdrew.

In spring 452, Attila marched against the Romans in Italy. He destroyed the important city of Aquileia at the northern end of the Adriatic and then Vicenza, VERONA, Brescia, and Bergamo. Pope LEO I sought a truce with

Attila, who met him on the banks of the Mincio River in northern Italy, near Piacenza. After detailed negotiations, Attila agreed to withdraw and led his forces out of Italy into PANNONIA.

In 453 an aging Attila married. The wedding involved a huge feast and heavy drinking. According to some accounts, Attila later collapsed on his bed, lying on his back. He suffered a hemorrhage or a nosebleed, as often happened to him after heavy drinking, and literally drowned in his own blood with his new bride present but uncomprehending. He was buried secretly, and the grave has never been found.

**Further reading:** Jordanes, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, trans. C. C. Mierow (1915; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966); Walter A. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584: The Politics of Accommodation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila: Fifth-Century Byzantium and the Barbarians* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966); Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*, ed. Max Knight (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); E. A. Thompson, *The Huns*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

### Augustine of Canterbury, Saint (Augustine of Kent) (d. 604/609) *first archbishop of Canterbury*

Augustine started out as a monk and prior of the monastery of Saint Andrew in the city of Rome. From there he was chosen by Pope GREGORY the Great to lead a mission to convert the pagan Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. BEDE wrote that Augustine and 40 Roman monks left Rome in 595 or 596 and arrived in England in spring of 597. They were well received by King Æthelberht (d. 616) of Kent (whose wife was already a Christian) at a meeting on the Isle of Thanet. The king and his retainers let them stay in CANTERBURY and gave them freedom to preach in the kingdom. King Æthelberht himself was soon converted. By the end of 597 Pope Gregory wrote that Augustine had brought more than 10,000 converts to the faith.

Gregory had intended to divide the newly Christian country into two ecclesiastical provinces, with episcopal seats at YORK and LONDON. Augustine and his archiepiscopal see remained entrenched at Canterbury. By 604 Augustine consecrated two more Roman missionaries to English sees: Saint Justus (d. 627) to the bishopric of Rochester and Mellitus (d. 624) to London. By the time of his death on May 26, between 604 and 609, a promising ecclesiastical organization was established. The founding of early schools for the training of a native clergy probably was part of this effort.

**Further reading:** Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984);

Richard Gameson, ed., *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); Henry Mayr-Hartung, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

### Augustine of Hippo, Saint (Aurelius Augustinus) (354–430) *bishop of Hippo, doctor of the Church*

Although his life and activity belong to an earlier age, Augustine's teaching and thought were of paramount importance throughout the Middle Ages. Born in Tagaste or Munidia on November 13, 354, to Monica, a devoted Christian, Augustine studied there and in Carthage and, in 373, began teaching RHETORIC. Upon reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero in 373, he began the study of philosophy. For nine years, he claimed to have followed the doctrines of the Manichaeans. Moving to MILAN in 384, Augustine was much influenced in his change of lifestyle by Bishop AMBROSE. He converted to Catholicism and was baptized in 387. Returning to Africa the following year, he was made bishop of Hippo, or modern Bone, in Algeria in 395.

#### IDEAS AND WORKS

His adoption of and reliance on Platonic philosophy as a basis for his personal religious and political thought laid the foundation of its becoming a prominent philosophical system in Western Europe. He viewed the Christian faith and religion as an organic system. The church was to create the conditions for gaining salvation through a knowledge of God and guiding the behavior of the faithful within a system of thought and institutions he represented as one with the body of Christ. This view had an enormous influence on ecclesiastical organization in the Middle Ages, and relations between church and secular society. His political ideas, as expressed in *The City of God*, elaborated the idea of a Christian state. It was a theocratic regime led by the church for the salvation of humankind. The underlying concept was that the present was a phase on the way to the kingdom of God sometime in the future. This "Political Augustinianism" fostered the church's acceptance of the less than ideal social systems of medieval states, with all their injustices, such as slavery, or barbaric or pagan customs, such as trial by ordeal. These could be accepted on the condition that any secular ruler must accept the spiritual leadership and advice of the church.

#### CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

The identification of the state with the body of Christ or Christian society, however, could imply the exclusion of non-Christians from the political body. As one example, his harsh exclusionism was applied with severity to pagans, who might be given a choice between

conversion or death as in the late eighth century by CHARLEMAGNE in SAXONY. In some interpretations of this Augustinian state, JEWS were tolerated and excluded only from public office and the ownership of land. Deviant Christians, pronounced heretical by the church, were excluded from the political body and punished for their ideas, viewed as promoting an infectious disease in the body of Christendom. This was the basis for the establishment of the INQUISITION in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Most medieval theologians and thinkers did not know all of the writings or ideas of Augustine. These were studied by a very small number of scholars and not widely available in a religious culture based on rare manuscripts. Most were instead familiar with excerpts from his writings and interpretations of his thought by such writers or compilers as Saint ISIDORE of Seville. This was particularly the case for most of Augustine's philosophical and theological works. The ideas of his main political work, *The City of God*, were more widely disseminated. Despite this, his ideas were pervasive in medieval thought even if known only secondhand.

See also PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; THEOLOGY, SCHOOLS OF; REDEMPTION; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1967); John Cavadini, ed., *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999); F. Van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop: Religion and Society at the Dawn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Brian Battershaw and G. R. Lamb (New York: Harper & Row, 1961); Robert A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Charles Trinkaus, *The Poet as Philosopher: Petrarch and the Formation of Renaissance Consciousness* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979); Gary Wills, *Augustine* (New York: Viking, 1999).

**Augustinian Canons (Black, Regular Canons)** The Augustinian or Austin Canons began in the 11th century as part of a general reform movement of the clergy concerned about SIMONY, nepotism, private property, clerical marriage, and inheritance of BENEFICES. The order of Austin Canons was founded as the first of the new orders of regular canons, whose pastoral role was to administer to the laity but who adopted the Rule of St. AUGUSTINE. Ideally, these communities of canons were to lead a full common or group life, in contrast to those clergy who were later designated "secular" canons. The rule prescribed the apostolic life in a collegiate organization with common use of cloister, refectory, and dormitory but allowed the continuation of controlling of private property. Secular canons led a common life in collegiate churches but did not live in communities sharing cloister, refectory, and dormitory.

The Lateran Council of 1059, encouraged by Hildebrand, the future pope GREGORY VII, expected most of the clergy to adhere to a regulated common life by living under a rule. Over the next 50 years, such communities of clerics grew and followed a stricter common life, especially in northern ITALY and FRANCE. The new regular life was followed by several new orders of canons. The PREMONSTRATIENSIS had their mother house at La Prémontré and were recognized by a white habit (the White Canons) as opposed to the Austin Canons (Black Canons). In numbers of religious estates, the largest houses soon rivaled some of the older BENEDICTINE monasteries, but most of these foundations were small with slender endowments.

**Further reading:** J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1950).

**Augustinian Friars or Hermits (Austin)** These comprised an order of hermits consolidated on April 9, 1256, by Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) out of three orders of hermits that followed the AUGUSTINIAN RULE in 13th-century Italy. The Hermits of Tuscany, instituted on an order by Pope INNOCENT IV in 1244, are the only religious order founded by a pope. The other two were the Hermits of Blessed John the Good and the Hermits of Brettino. All were united into one order in 1256. This order was based on charity, spirituality, and the theological study of Saint Augustine's particular teaching on the primacy of GRACE. Founded to preach and teach, as the FRANCISCANS and DOMINICANS, these Augustinians devoted themselves with deep commitment to the study of Scripture, the teachings of the church, and the writings of Saint Augustine. The English province had a house at the University of OXFORD as early as 1266 and another at the University of CAMBRIDGE by 1289.

Ruled by a prior-general, the order was eventually formed into provinces. The original Italian hermits claimed descent from Saint AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, a claim difficult or impossible to prove. Constitutions were drawn up to regulate daily life and to encourage strongly the friars in their dedicated intellectual pursuits. According to the evolving rule, the friars were to live in common, in poverty, and in the spirit of charity toward one another. With such a call to the eremitic and scholarly life, the regimen was severe. As mendicants they often had to beg for their subsistence. Under the influence of an English Augustinian, William of Flete, at the hermitage of Leccetto near SIENA, Saint CATHERINE of Siena, a Dominican nun developed a mystical doctrine highly influenced by Augustinian teachings.

From Italy the order expanded into England, eastward into Poland, and westward across Europe through Germany, the Low Countries, and France and, by the

late Middle Ages, into the Iberian Peninsula and as far as Palestine. These Augustinian friaries, maintained an active teaching and preaching apostolate. The Augustinians were ardent supporters of the papacy and orthodoxy, defending both from attack.

The order was devastated by the Black Death in 1348 when as many as 5,000 of a total of 8,000 of the friars died. The order has survived until the present day.

**Further reading:** Aubrey Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York: Longman, 1994).

**Augustinian rule** This refers to the communal rule alleged to have originated with Augustine. Possidius (ca. 370–after 437), a disciple and biographer of Augustine, described Augustine’s experiments in creating communities in his *Life of St. Augustine*. “Having become a priest, he soon founded a monastery in the Church and began to live with the servants of God in the way and on the principles fixed at the time of the Holy Apostles: above all, that none should have anything of his own in this community, but that all should be common to them, and that to each should be given according to his needs. This is what he had already done himself when he returned from abroad to his own land.”

No work has survived under this explicit title (*Rules*) among Augustine’s, even as compiled by a member of his community, Possidius. Nonetheless, numerous manuscripts contain a communal rule attributed to Augustine. The ideas associated with it were important for the development and evolution of the later rule attributed to Saint BENEDICT. The Augustinian tradition was more suspicious of property and more explicitly advocated a life dedicated to study and preaching. It became a standard for the new mendicant orders.

**Further reading:** Augustine, *The Rule of Saint Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions*, trans. Raymond Canning (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1996); Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head, eds., *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints’ Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), Possidius, “The Life of St. Augustine,” pp. 31–73; Adolar Zumkeller, *Augustine’s Ideal of the Religious Life*, trans. Edmund Colledge (New York: Fordham University Press, 1986); Jean Becquet, “Augustine, Rule of Saint,” *EMA*, 1.131–132; George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

**Austria, mark and duchy of** Medieval Austria was a country in the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, in southeastern GERMANY, on the Danube River. It became the center of the HABSBERG Empire in the 16th century.

## EARLY HISTORY

In the fifth century, the region was invaded by Slavic tribes. In the seventh century these were pushed out by the Bavarians in the west and the AVARS in the east, who conquered most of the country. In 798 the Avars were defeated by CHARLEMAGNE, who annexed their kingdom and founded in 800 the East Mark, the basis of the future Austria. In the middle of the ninth century, the march was devastated by the Hungarians and the Carolingian settlements destroyed. In 955 emperor OTTO I defeated the Hungarians at the battle of LECHFELD and the East Mark was reestablished. It flourished, with the development of trade and growth of towns, the most important of which was VIENNA.

In 976 Otto II (r. 973–983) gave Austria to Leopold I (r. 976–994) of the family of Babenberg, who were to control it until 1246. They expanded eastward and northward. In the 11th century another branch of the family established the mark of Carinthia. The rulers of both marks were vassals of the dukes of BAVARIA. Bavarian migrations in the 11th and 12th centuries repopulated the Austrian marks and gave them a German character. In 1156 Henry II (r. 1141–77) of Babenberg obtained from Emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, seeking to diminish Bavarian power in Germany, the title of duke, and thus Austria became a duchy within the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. In 1192, Duke Leopold V (r. 1177–94) joined Frederick on the Third CRUSADE. After the emperor’s death Leopold led the German army on to ACRE, where he quarreled dramatically with RICHARD I LIONHEART of England.

## RISE OF THE HABSBERGS

By 1192 Leopold had inherited Styria and had established at Vienna a brilliant court; the *Nibelungelied* was composed there. In 1246, after the extinction of the Babenberg family, Ottokar II (1230–78) of BOHEMIA inherited the duchy. He opposed the election of RUDOLF of Habsburg to the imperial throne and, in 1278, was defeated and killed at Marbach. In 1282 Rudolf (r. 1276–82) made his son, Albert I (r. 1282–98), duke of Austria, and from then until 1918 Austria was ruled by the Habsburg dynasty.

After Albert’s death, and until the end of the 14th century, the dynasty was preoccupied with Austria. In 1335, Carinthia was annexed to the duchy. In 1363, the Tyrol was added. This linked the family’s estates in Austria and SWITZERLAND. In 1382 the conquest of Trieste gave the Habsburgs a harbor on the Adriatic Sea. Austria remained the core center of Habsburg power in central Europe well after 1500.

**Further reading:** Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trans. Howard Kaminsky and James Van Horn Melton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992);

Walter Frodl, *Austria: Mediaeval Wall Paintings* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society by arrangement with UNESCO, 1964); A. W. A. Leeper, *A History of Medieval Austria*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson and C. A. Macartney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941).

**Avars** They were a people, probably of Asian origin, who had advanced military tactics and WEAPONS, using stirrups, long lances, and sabers, who settled in the area of the lower Danube in HUNGARY in the early sixth century and remained there until their defeat by CHARLEMAGNE in the ninth century. The BYZANTINE emperor JUSTINIAN I had hoped to use the Avars against another tribal group, the Uturgurs. The Avars sent envoys to Justinian in 562 to request land for settlement in exchange for military aid, and the emperor began to negotiate the transfer to the Avars of PANNONIA, a part of which was inhabited by the LOMBARDS, a Germanic people quickly displaced by the Avars and who later settled in northern ITALY and gave their name to Lombardy. The Avars had, in the meantime, defeated the SLAVS of the Vistula-Elbe-Oder region, as well as Sigebert (561–565) of the eastern MEROVINGIAN Empire, with whom they afterward formed an alliance in 566. In 570, they concluded a peace with Emperor Justin II (r. 565–578) in exchange for an annual tribute. By then his empire had spread from the Elbe and the eastern Alps to the Don River. Their economic trade routes then expanded over regions north, northwest, and northeast of the BLACK SEA, reaching into the Far East, Mongolia, and China.

After a failed attack on Constantinople with the Persians in 626, Avar power began to decline in the 630s. The Bulgars in Pannonia revolted against the Avars and by 660 were independent. At the same time, the BYZANTINE emperor HERAKLEIOS (r. 610–641) isolated the Avars by settling Croats and SERBS from the Elbe-Oder region on the lower Danube.

In the early 790s after vanishing from written history for more than a century, the Avars aided the rebel Bavarians against Charlemagne, who then led three campaigns against the fractured Avar state. The Avars fought the FRANKS but were soundly defeated. The Avars then tried unsuccessfully to conclude peace with the Franks. Two later Frankish armies, however, pursued the war and captured the Avars' legendarily huge treasure, which they took to AACHEN. As a result, the Franks now supposedly suddenly became fabulously rich. The Avars revolted against the provisions of this agreement but were trounced again by the Frankish forces between 799 and 803. In the Treaty of VERDUN, 843, all Avar territory fell under the Franks' rule.

See also AUSTRIA.

**Further reading:** Béla Köpeczi, ed., *The History of Transylvania*, trans. Adrienne Chambers-Makkai et al.

(Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994); Pál Lipták, *Avars and Ancient Hungarians*, trans. Bálint Balkay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983); S. Szádecy-Kardoss, "The Avars," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 206–228.

**Averroës and averroism** See IBN RUSHD, ABU L-WALID MUHAMMAD.

**Avicenna** See IBN SINA, ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN.

**Avignon and the Avignonese papacy** Avignon is a city in southern France or PROVENCE where the PAPACY took up residence in the 14th century.

#### EARLY HISTORY

Seized by CHARLES MARTEL in the eighth century, the town was taken again after a second siege, sacked, and burned in 737. In the following century, Avignon was incorporated in the kingdom of the emperors Lothair I (r. 840–855), then of Louis III the Blind (d. 928), who in 896 and 898 held a castle of Avignon.

Eventually under the authority of its bishop and count, later a viscount, Avignon began to prosper. Well situated at the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance Rivers, it was contested among the rulers of TOULOUSE, BARCELONA, and Forcalquier. Considerable urban development and agricultural cultivation occurred during the 12th and 13th centuries. Suburbs for artisans were built, and a bridge was constructed over the Rhone in about 1180. The town was soon protected by a double wall of ramparts. An urban patriciate was formed of knights, lawyers, and merchants, who formed a commune with ruling consuls; in addition, a PODESTÀ, or judge, from outside the community was hired.

During the ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE and after the Fourth Lateran Council, Avignon initially sided with Count Raymond VI of Toulouse (d. 1222) against the French crown and the crusaders. In 1226 it refused passage to King Louis VIII (1187–1226), who had marched down the Rhone Valley. It then underwent a siege of three months but had to capitulate and accept harsh terms from a papal legate. These included the destruction of 300 small fortresses and the wall in addition to the payment of a ransom. A later uprising was suppressed in 1251 by Alphonse of Poitiers (1220–71) and CHARLES I OF ANJOU, the brothers of King LOUIS IX. The town then lost its communal status and organization, autonomy, and even the archives supporting its rights. In 1290 the king of France, PHILIP IV THE FAIR, the heir to Alphonse, gave his rights over the town to Charles II of Anjou (ca. 1250–1309), the count of Provence.

## SOJOURN OF THE PAPACY

In 1309, the French pope CLEMENT V, wandering and unable to return to ITALY because of disorder in Rome, settled temporarily at Avignon, but was to live there intermittently until his death in 1314. His successor, Pope JOHN XXII, once bishop of the town, settled there indefinitely, still claiming his intention to return to ROME. His successors, Benedict XII (r. 1335–42) and CLEMENT VI, built a huge palace for the rapidly growing papal court and fiscal administration. Pope Clement VI purchased the town from Queen Joanna I (1326–82) of NAPLES for the sum of 80,000 florins in 1348. To protect the town, Innocent VI (r. 1352–62) constructed a new and more elaborate wall.

At last Pope Urban V (r. 1362–70) in 1367 and Pope Gregory XI (r. 1371–78) in 1376 tried to return back to Rome and ITALY. Gregory's death and the contested election of URBAN VI (r. 1378–89) led to a schism among the cardinals, who elected a second pope, Cardinal Robert of Geneva (1342–94), who took the name Clement VII. This Clement could not remain in Italy and returned to Avignon. His successor and resident at Avignon, Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417), kept the papacy despite the secession of his cardinals, who abandoned him in an attempt to end this Great SCHISM. Benedict XIII, after a four-year siege in the town and papal palace, finally fled from Avignon to Spain in disguise on March 11, 1403. His supporters and fellow countrymen, the Catalans, with his nephew remained in control of the town until another siege in 1411.

## INFLUENCE OF PAPAL PRESENCE

As the capital of Christendom for 70 years, Avignon completely changed in appearance. Its surface area grew three times its initial size to accommodate the court and all its

associates. This rich population included citizens and papal officials, residents and visiting prelates and their households, merchants, and the artisans there to conduct business in the lucrative market that the town had become. There were also numerous visitors and petitioners, lay and clerical, some of whom had to remain for years. The number of inhabitants grew to an estimated 40,000 in the first part of the 14th century, before being reduced by a third or even a half during the deadly Plague of 1348.

Benedict XII and Clement VI set an example for building with a papal palace, which for 20 years was a continuously growing construction site. The 20 or 25 cardinals, who lived in houses more-or-less requisitioned for their behalf, often then replaced these with new luxurious palaces where they lived surrounded by their rich households.

Popes often led sumptuous lives, as Clement VI did, but sometimes relatively austerely, as did Benedict XII and Urban V. The papal court attracted artists and scholars to Avignon. Other rulers, princes, prelates, or ambassadors also visited the pope. The papal court came to comprise from 300 to 500 persons. It had developed a complex administrative system, including the Apostolic Camera or treasury, the chancery, the audience of apostolic causes, the Penitentiary, and the domestic households for the chapel, kitchen, pantry, butlery, smithy, guards, and guards of honor, and almonry (the institution dispensing charity to the poor).

Avignon's prestige even survived the departure of the papacy in the early fifteenth century. It continued to prosper economically and culturally, remaining an ecclesiastical center and regional commercial hub.

**Further reading:** Robert Coogan, ed., *Babylon on the Rhone: A Translation of Letters by Dante, Petrarch, and Catherine of Siena on the Avignon Papacy* (Potomac: Studia



The Papal Palace in Avignon (ca. 1900) (Courtesy Library of Congress)

Humanitatis, 1983); Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Gail Marzieh, *Avignon in Flower, 1309–1403* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965); Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (London: T. Nelson, 1963); Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983).

**Axum (Aksum)** Axum was the capital city of the ancient kingdom of ABYSSINIA, the region now known as Eritrea and Abyssinia or Ethiopia, which covered an area of the wedge-shaped, northernmost Abyssinian plateau and included the port of Adulis from the fourth to the seventh century, Axum was among the greatest powers in AFRICA. Located near the Red Sea, its port Adulis was a market for African slaves, IVORY, PAPYRUS, and GOLD, as well as SPICES from India. Axum minted gold coins, and had a sophisticated court where for awhile Greek was spoken. Its economic and diplomatic ties stretched to ARABIA and IRAN. Christianity was probably established during the fourth century, during the reign of emperor Ezana (ca. 325–ca. 360). Its Monophysite church depended on the patriarch of ALEXANDRIA. The Byzantine emperor Justin I (ca. 450–527) persuaded an emperor to invade southern Arabia or Yemen, in 525, to stop the Persian attempt to take control of the area. In 531, JUSTINIAN I dispatched a mission to Axum to persuade the Ethiopians to circumvent the Persian SILK trade by importing silk from Ceylon through the Red Sea ports. Little came of this plan. In the seventh century, Axum lost the Red Sea ports to the Arabs, thus beginning a long economic decline.

**Further reading:** Yuri M. Kobishchanov, *Axum*, ed. Joseph W. Michaels and trans. Lorraine T. Kapitanoff (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979); S. C. Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); D. W. Phillipson, *Ancient Ethiopia: Aksum, Its Antecedents and Successors* (London: British Museum Press, 1998).

**Ayn-Jalut, Battle of** On September 3, 1260, the MAMLUKS of EGYPT decisively defeated a Mongol army, led by a general called “the Christian Turk Kit-buqa.” It took place at a village in Galilee in Palestine called the Spring of Goliath or Ayn-Jalut. The Mongols had recently taken BAGHDAD, destroyed the ABBASID caliphate, and taken and sacked the important cities of ALEPPO and DAMASCUS in 1259. Already distracted by a succession crisis back in Mongolia, HULEGU the new Mongol Khan of Persia, and his forces had exhausted the grasslands of SYRIA. He was forced to retire with the preponderance of his army to winter on the steppes. Before he left, he demanded that

the Mamluks of Egypt submit to Mongol rule. They refused and Hulegu dispatched a small army against them in the late summer of 1260. The Mongols, unused to the terrain and overconfident, were massacred by an overwhelming force of Mamluks led by the sultan Qutuz (r. 1259–60). Hulegu remained distracted by conflict with his northern neighbors, the Mongols of the Golden Horde, in a fight over critical grazing rights and was unable to avenge his loss. The destructive Mongol advance was stopped. Besides being unable to advance into Egypt they were soon driven out of Syria, at least temporarily. The outcome of this battle has traditionally been viewed as preserving Islam, but it was only the first step in a long process of defending Syria from becoming part of the Mongol Empire. This was the first time a Mongol army was defeated, and these events marked the beginning of the end of true military unity among the Mongol Khans. They continued to raid Syria but were never able to dispatch an army strong enough to capture Egypt and reoccupy Syria more than temporarily again.

**Further reading:** Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Bernard Lewis, “Ayn Djälüt,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.786–787.

**Ayyubids of Egypt and Syria** They were a KURDISH and SUNNI Muslim dynasty, founded by SALADIN, who ruled over EGYPT, upper Mesopotamia or IRAQ, most of SYRIA, and the Yemen by the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The foundations of the rise of the dynasty were laid by Ayyub ibn Shadi (d. 1173) and his brother Shirkuh (d. 1169), who were very successful soldiers in the anticrusader wars of the Zangids, Zengi (d. 1147) and NUR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD IBN ZANGI (r. 1146–71).

#### SALADIN AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

Saladin, as had his father and uncle, became a soldier for Nur al-Din. After several military successes for Nur al-Din against Fatimid Egypt, victories over crusaders, and the death of Nur al-Din in 1174, Saladin moved from military command and duties as chief administrative officer of the Egyptian caliphate to real control of Egypt and Syria. In the meantime he had sent his brother to conquer the Yemen in the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Ayyubid dominance of that region lasted until 1229, when Salah al-Din conceded it to a local dynasty.

Back in Syria and Egypt, Saladin promoted the concept of JIHAD against the crusader kingdoms but concentrated more on building his own power. By 1186, he was secure in Syria and Egypt, creating the most powerful Muslim state in the area and a true threat to the survival of the crusader states. He won a major victory over them at the Battle of HATTIN on October 2, 1187, and retook most of the kingdom of JERUSALEM, including the capital

city. He acted with mercy in most of these victories, enforcing his reputation among the Christians. During the Third Crusade and fighting against RICHARD I LIONHEART, he had much less success, losing the major city of ACRE back to the crusaders and a major fleet, all despite a clear superiority in troops and resources. He eventually reached an agreement in September 1192 with the crusaders, giving them access to Jerusalem. He died a few months later on March 4, 1193, but his now divided realm did manage to survive and even prosper in Egypt, first under his sons and then under his brother, al-Adil (r. 1200–18), and his nephew, al-Malik al-Kamil I (r. 1218–38). Syria soon split into small family emirates or city-states in ALEPPO, Hamah, Hims, DAMASCUS, Baalbek, and Transjordan. Warfare with the crusaders was intermittent, and diplomatic resolutions of conflicts were often achieved. There was always considerable tension between Cairo and Damascus, however, and sometimes warfare. The family remained in control of Egypt until they were overthrown by the MAMLUKS in 1250. The petty states in Syria lasted until they were crushed by the MONGOLS in 1260.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

The era of Saladin and his successors was marked by the establishment of Italian trading centers on the coast. Their military success provided an opportunity for economic life to revive and flourish. Syria and its ports and cities reached a new level of prosperity. That was not the case in Egypt, which suffered economically under this dynasty. The Ayyubid rulers patronized culture and architecture, especially military fortification, including the famous citadel of Cairo and the defenses of Aleppo. They created a new land system based on the grant of rights over land in return for military service. They were champions of Sunni orthodoxy against the sects that had gained ground in the previous era, but their efforts to stamp out heterodoxy were not completely successful. The ISMAILIS kept their strongholds in the mountains, and their secret organization, the ASSASSINS, had some political importance. The Ayyubids were zealous Sunni Muslims, seeking to convert Muslim Shiites and Christians. They introduced into Egypt and Jerusalem the

MADRASA, an academy or school of religious study, as intellectual and theological centers against the Shiia and sectarian rivals.

*See also* FREDERICK II.

**Further reading:** Ahmad ibn 'Ali Maqrizi, (1364–1442), *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980); Neil D. MacKenzie, *Ayyubid Cairo: A Topographical Study* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1992); Claude Cahen, "Ayyūbids," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.796–807; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

**al-Azhar Mosque** *See* CAIRO.

**Azores** The Azores are a chain of nine initially uninhabited volcanic islands near the mid-Atlantic Ocean discovered by ships sent by Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR in 1427. They became a fundamental base for Portuguese trade and commerce in the 15th century. The three most important islands are Santa Maria, San Miguel, and Terceira. They served as supply and trading centers for ships returning from Portuguese excursions to Africa and the later Spanish explorations to the Americas. Bearing northwest and using prevailing winds on the return voyage from Africa, sailors heading back to Europe stopped at the Azores for supplies of fresh water and foodstuffs. Portuguese nobles and traders moved to the islands to profit from this transient trade. Later, the economy was built around sugar production. Besides providing a place of refuge and source of supplies, the discovery of the Azores furnished important navigational information for the Atlantic Ocean, which soon made possible the voyages of COLUMBUS and others to the Western Hemisphere.

**Further reading:** James H. Guill, *A History of the Azores Islands* (Tulare, Calif.: Golden Shield Publications, Golden Shield International, 1993); Francis Millet Rogers, *Atlantic Islanders of the Azores and Madeiras* (North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publishing House, 1979).

# B

**Babylonian Captivity** See AVIGNON AND THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY.

**Bacon, Roger** (ca. 1213–1294) *English philosopher, often considered a forerunner of modern science*

Little is known about the details of Roger Bacon's life or about the chronology and motivation of his major works, the *Opus majus*, the *Opus minus*, and the *Opus tertium*. It appears that he was born in Ilchester, Somerset, about 1213. At 13 he entered Oxford University, where he spent eight years.

## SCIENCE AND RELIGION SYNTHESIZED

In the 1240s, perhaps in the early years of the decade, Bacon lectured at the University of PARIS on the works of ARISTOTLE. During this period he also wrote three works on logic. Within a few years he changed his life by returning to ENGLAND from FRANCE, by cultivating and awakening his scientific interests, and by entering the FRANCISCAN order.

Early in his empirical pursuits Bacon envisioned a universal science that would promote the spread of Christianity, prolong life, aid health, and synthesize THEOLOGY and the science of experience. Theology for Bacon was a theology based on scripture, not the SCHOLASTIC and dialectical theology based on the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD.

## POVERTY AND FRANCISCAN POLITICS

It is likely that Bacon became a Franciscan in 1252. By Bacon's time, as to a greater extent during the following century, the work begun by Saint FRANCIS had posed problems for his followers. Franciscans were required to

take a vow of poverty, but their work had swelled to such size and importance that it was impossible to continue it unless the order owned or at least administered property and other possessions. However, the acquisition of property by the Franciscan order was seriously questioned by a group of friars who claimed a literal allegiance to Saint Francis. Bacon joined this group and was a critic of clerical mores.

About 1257 Bacon was taken from England to France and, for unknown reasons, underwent some kind of confinement and censorship, perhaps even an imprisonment, in a French monastery. One theory is that his scientific interest aroused suspicion, but it is more likely that his views on Franciscan and clerical life proved unpopular with the friars in England. Actually, this confinement had no relation to an alleged conflict between science and religion.

## OPERA AND CONTRIBUTION

During his confinement, Bacon wrote his greatest works: the *Opus majus*, the *Opus minus*, and the *Opus tertium* (the big, the lesser, and the third work). Differences among scholars concerning the order and purposes of these works again underscore the many unknowns concerning Bacon's life. It seems that he intended to write a treatise on the sciences but soon recognized the magnitude of such a task. Instead, he composed what is now known as the *Opus majus*, in which he used materials already written, added new material, and concluded a section on ethics. The overall tone of the *Opus majus* is a rhetorical plea to persuade the pope, Clement IV (r. 1265–68), of the importance and usefulness of experimental knowledge. There is little evidence that Bacon made any important contribution to science; he was,

instead, a reader, writer, and rhetorician on behalf of the utility of science. His works mention flying machines, self-driven boats, and an “instrument small in size, which can raise and lower things of almost infinite weight.” He studied the heavens. Most important he studied the refraction of light under experimental conditions. His so-called science of experience did not make any significant advances into what is today called physics, and he did not produce any practical inventions.

Soon after writing the works mentioned, Bacon summarized his views in the *Communium naturalium* (The Union of natural things). Valuing the study of languages, he wrote a Greek grammar and a Hebrew grammar, and in 1292 he published *Compendium of the Study of Philosophy* (*Compendium studii theologiae*). In that the old, angry, polemical Bacon reemerges. His imprisonment in the final years of his life probably stemmed from this *Compendium*, in which he claimed to see in the warring factions of Christendom the presence of the ANTICHRIST and the apocalyptic views identified with JOACHIM of Fiore.

The length of his imprisonment and the causes of his release were not clear. He was not imprisoned at the time of his death, which occurred in 1294, according to one account, on June 11.

**Further reading:** Roger Bacon, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature: A Critical Edition, with English Translation, Introduction, and Notes, of De Multiplicatione Specierum and De Speculis Comburentibus*, ed. David C. Lindberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Roger Bacon, *Roger Bacon and the Origins of Perspectiva in the Middle Ages: A Critical Edition and English Translation of Bacon's Perspectiva, with Introduction and Notes*, ed. David C. Lindberg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Stewart C. Easton, *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970); Jeremiah Hackett, ed., *Roger Bacon and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays* (New York: Brill, 1997).

**Badr, Battle of (Badr Hunayn)** Between March 13 and 17 in 624, the followers from MEDINA of MUHAMMAD won an almost miraculous victory over those from MECCA who had opposed his teaching. The followers of Muhammad were greatly outnumbered, perhaps four to one, but with the assistance of a squadron of angels, according to the QURAN, they won this battle southwest of Medina. Several important Meccans were killed and others were later assassinated in the city itself. It did not end Meccan resistance but was the first step in that direction. For Muslims this defeat of polytheism was a sign of divine guidance and a vindication of their cause. It produced additional conversions from among the local Bedouins. There was much more conflict ahead, but this was the beginning of Muhammad's political success in his home region and the heartland of ISLAM.

**Further reading:** Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammad*, trans. Anne Carter (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971 [1961]); W. Montgomery Watt, “Badr,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.867–868; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad's Mecca: History in the Quran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

**Baghdad (Madinat al-Salam)** A city in present-day Iraq, Baghdad was founded as the capital of the ABBASID Empire in 762 by the second caliph of the dynasty, AL-MANSUR, on the banks of the Tigris River in IRAQ. His purposes were to escape from the turbulent city of al-Kufa and to create a town that would be the symbol of the new regime.

Located on a site with both strategic and commercial advantages Baghdad was originally a circular fortified city bordering the Tigris and connected with the Euphrates by a canal. On the inner square stood the caliph's palace and an adjacent Great Mosque. Markets were originally part of this but were moved in 773 to a suburb to the south, Karkh. In 773, on the east bank of the Tigris, the town of Rusafa was founded for an heir. Rusafa and the other suburbs developed more rapidly than expected because in 812–813 Baghdad suffered a siege that destroyed the old round aspect of the city. The caliphs, when they returned to Baghdad in 892 after temporarily moving to nearby Samarra, settled in palaces south of Rusafa. New palaces were later built by the BUYIDS and the SELJUKS. MADRASAS or colleges of religious science were established in the late 11th century. Baghdad, the seat of the Abbasid caliphate and still an intellectual, literary, and artistic center, was sacked by the MONGOLS in 1258. It then continued only as a stagnant provincial capital in the Mongol khanate of Persia.

**Further reading:** A. A. Duri, “Baghdad,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.894–908; Jacob Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: Text and Studies* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970); Philip K. Hitti, “Baghdad: The Intellectual Capital,” in *Capital Cities of Arab Islam* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 85–109; Reuben Levy, *A Baghdad Chronicle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929); George Makdisi, *History and Politics in Eleventh-Century Baghdad* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990).

**bailiff** This was an administrative office employed on the feudal estates of French-speaking Europe and in medieval ENGLAND.

#### NORMAN AND FRENCH

The office was developed in the duchy of NORMANDY in the 11th century. There the dukes and great lords appointed such stewards to administer their estates. The post included the supervision of such lesser officers,

financial management, and limited administration of justice. This Norman model was adopted in the 12th century by the kings of France. It departed from the feudal custom of giving land to a vassal or official in return for services. These bailiffs were royal agents and became the virtual governors of territories. They represented the king and resided in one of the towns of a *baillage*. Their power was derived entirely from royal authority. As their agents bailiffs were exacting in the exercise of the rights of the king, even more than the monarchs themselves. By the 13th century the PARLEMENT OF PARIS controlled their judicial functions and their financial activities.

#### ENGLAND AND ELSEWHERE

In England the office of sheriff was similar to that of French bailiffs. An English bailiff was a local feudal officer on the great manors. In the royal administration he was one of the assistants of a sheriff, commonly tied to the functioning of the courts of the Crown. In the Mediterranean countries the office, called *bayle*, was also used by urban and royal administrations. The Italian and Provençal cities were represented in the LATIN kingdom of JERUSALEM by *bayles*, who governed their transplanted citizens and looked after their interests.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Theodore Frank Thomas Plucknett, *The Mediaeval Bailiff* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1954); George Henry Tupling, *The Royal and Seigneurial Bailiffs of Lancashire in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1945).

#### Baldo degli Ubaldi de Perugia (Baldus de Ubaldis) (ca. 1320–1400) *teacher of civil and canon law*

From a prominent Perugian family, he was born about 1320. His father, Francesco, was a professor of medicine, and his brothers, Angelo and Piero, were also outstanding jurists. His son Francesco later earned an excellent reputation for his commentaries on the *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS*.

#### SCHOLARSHIP AND CAREER

An unlikely legend has it that at age 24 he received his doctorate from the University of Perugia in 1344 and engaged BARTOLO DA SASSOFERRATO in a public disputation. According to Baldo's own writing, his teachers were Federico Petrucci, Francesco Tigrini, and Bartolo da Sassoferrato. He moved around considerably among Italian universities, perhaps the Universities of Perugia and PISA in the 1350s, certainly the University of FLORENCE between 1358 and 1364, Perugia during most of the period between 1364 and 1376, the University of Bologna in 1370, the University of Padua between 1376 and 1379, the University of Perugia between 1380 and 1390, and

finally the University of Pavia from 1390 until his death in 1400. Among his students were Giovanni da Imola, Pietro d'Ancharano, Paolo da Castro, Cardinal Francesco ZABARELLA, and Pierre Roger, later Pope GREGORY XI.

#### WORKS AND IMPORTANCE

Baldo's writings were in the three major branches of medieval legal science, the civil, the canon, and the feudal law, specifically commentaries on the *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS*, on the first three books of the *Decretals of Gregory IX*, and on the *Book of Fiefs*. In these studies he discussed specific laws or topics, such as the fiscal syndication of officials, particular statutes and jurisdictions, and the politically fundamental for founding of the communes of Italy, the Peace of Constance. He held ecclesiastical and civil offices, serving, for example, as a vicar-general for the bishop of Todi and as a judge, ambassador, and council member for the guilds of Perugia. Ecclesiastical institutions, town councils, corporate bodies, and individuals paid Baldo for his opinions or particular topics. These thousands of legal opinions or *consilia* were on the ideals and practices of private, public, and criminal law. His works have not had modern editions but clearly could hold great potential for a better understanding of the law and constitutions of 14th-century Italy.

**Further reading:** Joseph Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Julius Kirshner, "Baldus," *DMA*, 2.57–58; R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

#### Baldwin I (Baldwin the Iron Arm) (ca. 840–879) *first known count of Flanders*

Baldwin was born about 840, perhaps in Lotharingia, and was related to the counts of Laon. Soon after his appointment Baldwin, the count of Ghent and known as Iron Arm, eloped and married Judith, a daughter of CHARLES THE BALD in 860. Infuriated, Charles got his bishops to excommunicate the couple, who had fled to Rome. Pope Nicholas I (r. 858–67) recognized the marriage and persuaded Charles to forgive them. By 864, the excommunication had been lifted, and the couple formally married at Auxerre. Baldwin was then confirmed by Charles as count.

In the same year the Vikings attacked FLANDERS, Baldwin, who had earlier threatened to ally with them, defended it, driving them from the county. Successful in repulsing later raids, he died in 879, just as Flanders was to receive another invasion. Baldwin's son and successor, Baldwin II (r. 879–918), triumphed against this threat and consolidated his control over the new county of Flanders.

Baldwin I's efforts to take full control of his county were typical in the history of CAROLINGIAN counties, duchies, and marches in the second half of the ninth century. This was the period of the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire. In reality he and they usurped local authority and seized land. His successors went on to establish a county independent of the Carolingian monarchs.

**Further reading:** Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms and the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983); David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (New York: Longman, 1992).

**Baldwin I (Baudouin de Boulogne)** (ca. 1058–1118) *one of the chief lay leaders of the First Crusade, first king of Jerusalem*

Born about 1058 as the son of the NORMAN count of Boulogne, Eustace II, and Ida d'Ardenne, Baldwin joined the First CRUSADE with his brothers, Eustace and GODFREY OF BOUILLON. Baldwin soon left the main army to establish himself in EDESSA, a BYZANTINE town beyond the Euphrates River, at the invitation of an Armenian prince. Upon the prince's death in 1098, Baldwin became the head of the first crusading state in the East. His wife, Godvere of Tosni, died shortly before this, but Baldwin soon solidified his political position by marrying an Armenian princess.

When Godfrey of Bouillon died in 1100, a group of knights in JERUSALEM asked Baldwin to succeed him. This succession was opposed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert (ca. 1050–1107), who wished to maintain real ecclesiastical control of the city, and by his fellow Norman crusader TANCRED, who was suspicious of the ambitions of Baldwin. Baldwin forced Daimbert to crown him king in Bethlehem rather than Jerusalem, but he warded off Tancred until Tancred took the lordship of ANTIOCH. In 1102 Baldwin deposed Daimbert, and his successors were reliable royal appointees.

Baldwin then set about securing his military position. He had little effective power until he was able to control the coastal towns, which were vital for communications and supplies. He depended on the loyalty of the vassals of the great FIEFS, such as those at Tiberias, Haifa, and Caesarea, and mercenary troops and ships from the Italian cities. Once assured of the oaths of his knights, Baldwin commenced a systematic reduction of the ports so that by 1113 he controlled all the important ones in the vicinity of Jerusalem except Ascalon and TYRE. Though still opposed by Tancred, Baldwin cooperated with him on at least two occasions, in 1109 and in 1112, when preservation of the kingdom made cooperation necessary. In 1113 Baldwin gave up Queen Arda for Adelaide of Salona, countess of SICILY and mother of Count ROGER II, a political marriage that yielded a dowry and potentially an heir to the kingdom. However, three years later Baldwin, who

had never divorced from his Armenian wife, received an annulment by the church of his union with Adelaide producing enmity at the Sicilian court. Baldwin died without an heir near Ascalon on a raiding expedition in EGYPT in April 1118. He was succeeded in Jerusalem by his cousin, Baldwin II (r. 1118–31) of Bourg. With limited resources and in the face of constant and powerful opposition from CAIRO, DAMASCUS, and his own associates, he had established and maintained personal authority over the new kingdom of Jerusalem for 18 years.

**Further reading:** John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*; Vol. 2, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–1952).

**Baldwin IV the Leper (the Leper King, Baudouin)** (1173–1185) *king of Jerusalem, son of Amalric I and Agnes of Courtenay*

Born in 1160, Baldwin IV was able to rule despite his illness, which restricted his actions on several occasions. He still made heroic efforts to maintain the crusader kingdom under circumstances that would have tried a more healthy ruler. In 1173 SALADIN, already governor of EGYPT, seized power in SYRIA, and the kingdom of JERUSALEM was for the first time encircled by a united Muslim power, which now had a vital strategic interest to control the route between Egypt and Syria. The nobility had grown powerful during the second half of the 12th century and was attempting to control the kingdom. The situation was aggravated by the emergence of two factions among the crusading nobility, one called for peaceful relations with the Muslims and a moderate policy, the other favored an active and even aggressive policy. Seeking to impose moderation, Baldwin on several occasions had himself carried in a litter to preside over the assemblies of his nobles.

In 1177 Saladin attacked the kingdom from Egypt. Baldwin called on the knights to join him at Ascalon, but they were cut off by Saladin's army near Ramlah. A battle was fought at Montgisard nearby and Saladin was defeated and fled to Egypt. The king appointed one of the heroes of the battle, Raynald of Châtillon (d. 1187), to be prince of Transjordan. Raynald was the leader of the aggressive noble faction, and pursued an independent policy that aggravated the conflict. His naval attacks in the Red Sea led Saladin to annex the Yemen and the Hejaz or eastern shore of the Red Sea. In the meantime Saladin called even more strongly for a holy war or JIHAD.

Between 1182 and 1185, the Muslim leader every year attacked castles on the other side of the river Jordan and raided the kingdom through the valley of Beth-Shean.

#### DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM

Baldwin could not prevent the politically dubious marriage of his sister and heiress, Sybil, with the unknown knight newly arrived from France, GUY of Lusignan. Attitudes toward this marriage divided the nobility, and Baldwin only succeeded in postponing conflict by proclaiming that the child of Sybil's by a previous marriage to William of Montferrat would be heir to the kingdom (Baldwin V, r. 1177–86). During the boy's minority the regency would be in the hands of the moderate party, led then by Raymond III (ca. 1140–87) of TRIPOLI, since 1183 one of the most important nobles in the kingdom. Raymond's authority was challenged by Guy, an ally of Raynald of Châtillon. Near-anarchy spread through the kingdom.

By 1185, no accepted leader existed in the LATIN kingdom. Baldwin IV died in 1185 and Baldwin V in 1186. The kingdom survived only a few years after his death under the incompetent rule of Guy of Lusignan.

**Further reading:** Bernard Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusade Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

**Balearic Islands** A western Mediterranean archipelago, the Balearic Islands were named by the Greeks. The individual island units, Majorca, Minorca, and Ibiza, however, owed their names to the Romans and Carthaginians. An Islamic conquest by the ALMORAVIDS from MOROCCO early in the 11th century destroyed most of the Christian presence, leaving only the ruins of early Christian basilicas in Majorca and Minorca and the vaguely remembered names of dioceses from the fifth century. In the 13th century, JAMES I the Conqueror (r. 1213–76) inaugurated his Mediterranean policy with the conquest of the Balearics, justified this by the need to defend the Catalan coast from Muslim raids. Majorca was taken in 1229. Minorca became a tributary of ARAGON in 1231 but only occupied in 1287, by Alfonso III the Liberal (r. 1285–91). Ibiza was retaken in 1235. James I's testament allowed his son, James II of Majorca (r. 1276–1311), to organize an independent kingdom in the Balearics, which was annexed permanently to the Crown of ARAGON in 1348 by the Aragonese king Peter IV the Ceremonious (r. 1336–87).

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1994); David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London: Longman, 1997); Luis Pericot García, *The Balearic Islands*, trans. Margaret Brown (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972).

**Ball, John** (ca. 1331–1381) cleric, supposed leader of the peasant rebellions in England

John Ball was probably born in Essex around 1331 to a modest rural family who owned property at Colchester. According to the chronicler Thomas Walsingham, he began his career as a priest at Saint Mary's Abbey, in the city of YORK. He was a chaplain at Colchester between 1377 and 1381. Probably a provocative preacher before the 1381 revolt, he had been heard in Essex and in Kent and was cited to appear before the archbishop of CANTERBURY's court in 1366. He was excommunicated in 1379. Ball must have been one of these wandering, subversive, poor, and marginal priests, uncontrollable with no fixed income or benefice.

In June 1381, when the PEASANT REBELLIONS started, he was in prison at Maidstone for preaching despite his EXCOMMUNICATION. Freed by rebels, he was accused later of accompanying them in their pillaging. Exaggerating his role and influence, Henry Knighton and Thomas Walsingham preserve in their chronicles several letters written supposedly Ball in an obscure style. Walsingham and the famous chronicler FROISSART described a sermon preached at Blackheath commenting on the idea "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman," Ball supposedly said: "What have we done to be thus held in bondage? Are we not all descended from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve?"

There is no clear evidence that Ball was a LOLLARD or a disciple of the heretical John WYCLIFFE. His social ideas were typical of the "protest literature" of *Piers Plowman* by William LANGLAND. In part inspired, however, by Wycliffe's preaching and his learned works, Ball was said to attack the idea of paying TITHES to an unworthy cleric, a position similar to Wycliffe's. Ball was present at the interview between King RICHARD II and the leader of the revolt, Wat TYLER, and fled when Tyler was killed. He was soon captured, imprisoned at Coventry, and executed at Saint Albans on July 15, 1381. The four quarters of his infamous corpse were then exposed in four cities of the realm.

**Further reading:** Brian Bird, *Rebel before His Time: The Story of John Ball and the Peasants' Revolt* (Worthing, West Sussex: Churchman, 1987); Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); R. B. Dobson, ed., *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Charles Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (1906; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

**ballads and balladry (ballata)** Ballads were the dominant lyric form or narrative folk song in French poetry of the 14th and 15th centuries. Their strict form consisted of three stanzas of eight lines each, with an *envoi*, or four-line conclusion, addressing either a person of importance or a personification. Each stanza, including the *envoi*, ends in a refrain. They are usually anonymous narrative rhymed poems, generally sung and part of an oral tradition. Ballads were passed on by word of mouth, so they existed in many versions, even within one language, and were and still are sung to more than one tune. Ballad meter was simple, so a single tune was used for many ballads. Ballads were on a variety of topics. A few were of religious or romantic origin, and ballads about outlaws, fairies, the return to life by a dead person, and raids across contested borders were common. Enmity, capture, revenge, and jealousy were other frequent themes. Many had a tragic ending. What is known of them is largely the result of 18th-century antiquarian scholarship, with its interest in origins and in a nationalistic past.

**Further reading:** Francis J. Child, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1882–1898); Gwendolyn Morgan, “Ballads (Balladry),” in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. Robert Thomas Lambdin and Laura Cooner Lambdin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 35–46.

**Balts** The Balts, made up of a number of peoples, reached the banks of the Baltic Sea in northern Europe around 500 B.C.E. They were among the oldest Indo-European peoples. The Pomeranians and the Pruthenians settled between the Vistula and Niemen Rivers. They consisted of many groups of peoples, Lithuanians, Prussians, and Estonians, among others. The Lithuanians grouped between the Niemen and the Dvina Rivers; the Letts and Estonians settled farther north as far as the Gulf of FINLAND. The term *Balt* was first used in the 19th century.

#### CHRISTIANIZATION

These peoples were still pagan at the dawn of the 13th century. The Pomeranians, were converted by Saint Otto of Bamberg (1062–1130) between 1124 and 1128. The first attempts to Christianize the Pruthenians failed, producing numerous martyrs. Believing that conversion and evangelization needed the assistance of military persuasion, Pope GREGORY IX called a CRUSADE in 1230 and gave any acquired territories to Hermann of Salza (d. 1239), the grandmaster of the TEUTONIC Order, thus entrusting the conversion of PRUSSIA to the order. The first successes were made in 1249 but were reversed by the Prussians’ Lithuanian neighbors, who returned to PAGANISM in 1253. Warfare and massacres began and then intensified between 1260 and 1274. The insurgents in the end capitulated and submitted to Christianity in 1284.

LITHUANIA continued to resist conversion and colonization, fiercely opposing all attempts at Christianization and Germanization. The Lithuanians sought Polish support against this common enemy. Mindaugas (1200–63), the federate king, was seduced by the GOSPEL, to guarantee his western frontiers and to continue expansion into Ruś and Tartar lands. But under pressure from his pagan subjects, Duke Gedyminas (r. 1316–41), the founder of a Lithuanian state, had to renounce the Christian faith. Eventually a union with the Poles decided the conversion of the Lithuanians. Jogaila, grandson of duke Gedyminas (r. 1315–41) and grand prince of Lithuania (1377–1434), adopted Christianity in 1386, marrying Hedwig, heiress of the kingdom of POLAND. By becoming King Ladislas II Jagiello (r. 1386–1434) of Poland, he united Poland and Lithuania.

Teutonic Knights, the Danes, and the HANSEATIC cities, with the CISTERCIANS, carried out the Christianization of LIVONIA or Estonia. From 1180, Meinhard (d. 1196), an Augustinian canon of Segebert in Holstein, trailed Hanseatic merchants up the Drina River and in 1184 obtained authorization from a prince of Polotsk to build a church. Built in 1186, this church of Üxhüll was the first in Livonia. However, all this had collapsed by 1199. In 1201, Albert of Buxtehude (d. 1229) founded the city of Riga in Latvia and became bishop. In 1225, Pope INNOCENT IV gave Livonia to the Danes, who had occupied it from 1216 and had founded, in 1219, the bishopric of Tallinn, attaching it to their bishopric of Lund.

#### GERMAN CONTROL

Valdeman II (1202–47), the king of DENMARK, gave Livonia in fief to the German Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Knights in 1228. German merchants and artisans, originally from the Hanseatic towns of LÜBECK, Hamburg, and Bremen, had already established themselves in the urban centers. The clergy received two-thirds of the occupied territories, controlled most of the land, and kept themselves apart from the local laity. In 1346 Valdemar IV, whom the Hanse had put in power, tried to cede Estonia to the Teutonic Knights, opponents of the Hanse, for 19,000 Prussian marks. From then on the Christianized Livonians were entirely subject to German power. Nevertheless, German culture affected only urban and rural elites and with difficulty penetrated the villages, where traditional culture and social structures were maintained. The Germans and the Poles fought over these regions in the 14th and 15th centuries.

*See also* JAGIELLONIANS, DYNASTY OF; PRUSSIA.

**Further reading:** William L. Urban, ed., *The Baltic Crusade* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1975); Eric Christianson, *The Northern Crusades*, new ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1977); Albert d’Haenens, ed., *Europe of the North Sea and Baltic: The World of the Hanse* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1984); Philippe Dollinger,

*The German Hansa*, trans. D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (1964; reprint, London: Macmillan, 1970); Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), 483–507; Alan V. Murray, ed., *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); S. C. Rowell, “Baltic Europe,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 699–734; William L. Urban, “Baltic Countries/Balts,” *DMA*, 2.61–68.

**ban** (*bannum*, *banalité*) *Ban*, “the power to order and to punish,” meant in the early Middle Ages the power of command exercised by war leaders. The CAROLINGIANS made banal lordship a key concept of the political and financial organization of their state. It was derived directly from the emperor. The ban was power both to judge and to punish. It designated the duty to assemble and lead an army; it also included the management of fiscal manners and the collection of taxes. The military function was the most important and with the possession of a fortress often the main visual aspect of holding the power of ban.

By the 11th century, the FEUDAL period, these fortresses were completely appropriated by their holders along with the powers they symbolized. By then exercising the ban meant using these powers over the people of a district. This entailed the power to dispense justice and power over roads, bridges, and fords and the collecting of tolls to pay for it all. The ban also included the procuring of services, military, and labor. This amounted to all the services, in labor, money, or kind, required by the lord from his subject people, which could include forced labor on the lord’s land and any revenues from the redemption of those liable, but also included the obligation to use all the time the lord’s services or facilities such as a mill.

**Further reading:** Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Cynthia Postan (1962; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968); Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200*, trans. Caroline Hissett (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991 [1980]).

**banks and banking** The term *bank*, meaning “credit negotiated on a counter at *banco*,” either in terms of loans or deposits, was first used in northern and central ITALY in the 13th century. It was introduced by the LOMBARDS and other Italian merchants in the commercial centers of western Europe to denote the business of money. Such activities had been practiced since the beginning of the Middle Ages, but, until the end of the 10th century, they consisted simply of borrowing money against a pledge or security. The economic development

of the 11th and 12th centuries, including the growth of a wider money economy, made credit transactions more frequent. Early banks also accumulated capital by accepting deposits with hidden interest but with little security. USURY, or additional profit or interest for the use of something over time, was collected for loans and in sales or exchanges, but was forbidden by ecclesiastical law. Bankers and businesses justified their usury by claiming the risk of loss and by disguising it in exchange rates. The church was uncomfortable with this but at the same time participated in usurious transactions out of a necessity to conduct its own affairs. The popes themselves greatly contributed to the development of banking by employing Italian companies to assist in the development of their taxation system in the 13th century. Numerous companies failed when there was a run on a bank that lacked sufficient resources to cover their obligations. And what they did have could not easily be turned into cash.

#### USURY, INSTRUMENTS, AND TECHNIQUES

Usury, or the charging of interest, was built on a system of pledging as security properties or sources of revenue. The amount eventually repaid included an additional sum for the use of funds over time. The security pledged allowed the moneylender to collect the income until the capital was repaid or take complete possession of the pledge if it was not. Because the terms of the loans often made the repayment of the capital almost impossible, many bonded lands passed to moneylenders. Jewish money lending, known to bear interest, led to accusations of usury. Canon laws tried to see that their operations were limited to small amounts and the rate of interest they charged was controlled.

In the 13th century, in Italy and western Europe, urban merchants, from their local business profits, began to invest in lending money, in effecting various financial transactions or transfers, and in changing the many different forms of money present throughout Europe. Letters of credit were granted by temporary companies and used by the kings and nobles who participated in the CRUSADES and by merchants who moved their products and profits between markets. These letters of credit were negotiated and passed among bankers internationally, especially at the FAIRS of Champagne. Companies maintained agents or representatives throughout Europe to facilitate this exchange and used better accounting methods to keep track of the various markets underpinning the value of coins and monies of account. Profits were derived from speculating on the exchange rates of money in money markets throughout Europe. All this business produced the largest medieval banks in the 13th century. After numerous bankruptcies around 1300, these old firms were replaced by new smaller associations that tried to spread risk better in more forms of enterprise. The late 15th century saw a revival of larger banks

formed by consortia of merchants who financed large-scale enterprises for political entities such as states, princes, and the popes.

See also ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; FLORENCE; SIENA.

**Further reading:** Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, *The Dawn of Modern Banking* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979); Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700*, 3d ed. (New York: Norton, 1993); Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice: Coins and Moneys of Account* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, eds., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents with Introductions and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Léon Poliakov, *Jewish Bankers and the Holy See from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Miriam Kochan (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1977); Nabil A. Saleh, *Unlawful Gain and Legitimate Profit in Islamic Law: Riba, Gharar, and Islamic Banking* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

**Bannockburn, Battle of** This was a battle on the English-Scottish border on June 23/24, 1314, between the English army, led by EDWARD II, and the Scots under ROBERT I THE BRUCE. The Scottish pike men defeated the English cavalry and the victory helped prolong the independence of SCOTLAND.

**Further reading:** Peter Reese, *Bannockburn* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2000); W. M. Mackenzie, *The Battle of Bannockburn: A Study in Mediaeval Warfare* (Stevenage: Strong Oak Press, 1989).

**baptism** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**barbarians and barbarian migrations (nations, invasions)** The term *barbarian* was based on Greek ideals of cultural and linguistic “otherness.” Such an attitude was not in complete conformity with Roman traditions of inclusion, even of the defeated. By the fourth century, there were tensions between an ideology that asserted that Rome possessed a unique capacity to rule and the reality that the empire was held together with the aid of many non-Romans. There was still no precise and objective distinction between *barbarian* and *savage*. They could leave their barbarity behind by living as Romans and practicing Roman religion and culture.

Many stereotypes from then, however, were ethnocentric and characteristic of people pressured by political

and social change. These concepts included ideas that the barbarians were by nature slaves, animals, faithless, dishonest, treasonable, arrogant, and drunken sots. Christians, when they were persecuted, thought God was using barbarians to punish Roman, especially pagan, sins. By the fifth century, Salvian, AUGUSTINE, and OROSIUS somewhat accepted barbarians as part of a new Christian order that surpassed a pagan past.

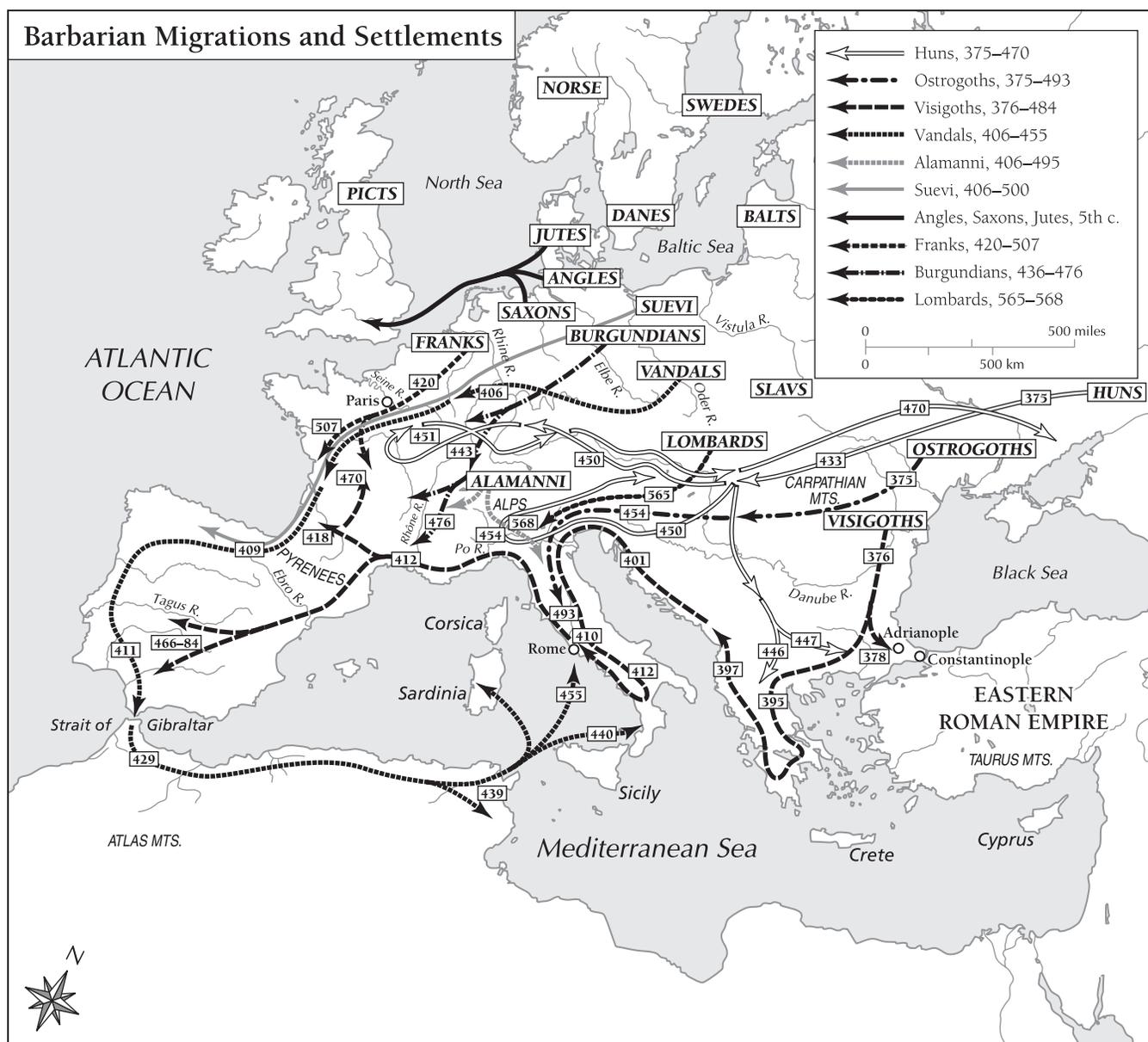
It is impossible to be precise about total numbers, and the archaeology of barbarian transient settlements has proved elusive. Research on the northern provinces of the Roman Empire has suggested that, despite considerable damage in the late third century and even with more radical transformation in the midfourth century, rural land itself was not abandoned by the native inhabitants. Scholars are less inclined to describe the barbarian settlements in terms of rupture and see them instead as an interactive process of assimilation.

**Further reading:** Lucien Musset, *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, AD 400–600*, trans. Edward and Columba James (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975); Andrew Bell-Fialkoff, *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe: Sedentary Civilization vs. “Barbarian” and Nomad* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000); Malcolm Todd, *The Early Germans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Herwig Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*, trans. Thomas Dunlop (1990; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

**Barcelona** Barcelona is a city on the Catalan coast of northeastern Spain. Around 715, the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom led to the conquest of Barcelona by the ARABS. In 801, the town was taken by the FRANKS. As the capital of a county or march on the frontier with ISLAM, it was integrated into the CAROLINGIAN world, though it was temporarily captured by the Arabs in 914 and 986. The collapse of the Carolingian Empire allowed the emergence of a native dynasty of counts, founded by Wilfred I (r. 870–897). From the 12th century, the counts of Barcelona united the region of Catalonia around the town, generally cooperate with the neighboring kingdom of ARAGON, and later even build a Mediterranean empire as far as SICILY and ATHENS.

The port of Barcelona expanded rapidly with merchants and artisans contributing to its commercial success. A new city wall was built during the reign of JAMES I (1213–76), enclosing dwellings built beyond the 11th-century wall.

In the 14th century civil buildings, such as the royal palace, a hospital, a naval dockyards, the cathedral, and mendicant convents, were built in the new GOTHIC style. In the 14th and 15th centuries, there were damaging social and political struggles among rich landlords, merchants, and artisans. The effects of PLAGUE, FAMINE, and



wars led to a population collapse from about 50,000 in 1340 to 20,000 by 1477. In 1480, the Jews, who had contributed much to the economic prosperity of the city, were expelled.

See also CATALONIA; LULL, RAMÓN, AND LULLISM.

**Further reading:** Donald J. Kagay, ed., *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Barcelona: A Thousand Years of the City's Past* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991); Kristine T. Utterback, *Pastoral Care and Administration in Mid-Fourteenth Century Barcelona: Exercising the "Art of Arts"* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1993).

**Bari** A city in APULIA on a low promontory of the Adriatic Sea, Bari was the center of BYZANTINE operations in southern ITALY from the time of its reconquest by BASIL I in 876 until 1071, when the NORMANS conquered it. In late antiquity it was a city of only middling importance but had a bishop by 465.

The town was first captured from the Greeks in the seventh century by the LOMBARDS of Benevento and only regained political importance in the ninth century, becoming the seat of a Lombard *gastald*, before being overrun by the Muslims. From 847 to 871 it was the capital of an emirate that extended over almost all modern Apulia. The CAROLINGIAN emperor Louis II (r. 855–875) and the BYZANTINE emperor Basil I accomplished the expulsion of the Muslims from the city in 871. In 876 the

city passed back under Byzantine control. In 895 it became the capital of a military district covering Apulia, called the theme of Langobardia. In the 10th century also, Bari became an episcopal see, taking over the defunct see of Canossa di Puglia.

At the end of a difficult siege, Robert GUISCARD took Bari in 1071 and built a castle there. In 1087, sailors from Bari took back from Anatolia the body of Saint NICHOLAS of Myra, an early Christian bishop. A basilica in the Romanesque style was built in his honor and consecrated by Pope URBAN II.

After the death of Robert Guiscard in 1085, the possession of Bari was disputed between his two sons, Duke ROGER I of Sicily and BOHEMOND. However, it became more-or-less independent under the authority of its archbishop, and then Grimoald Alferanita (1119–32). King ROGER II of Sicily retook the town in 1132. In 1156, King WILLIAM I of Sicily destroyed Bari, which had made a treaty with the BYZANTINES. FREDERICK II fostered its revival by building a new port and a commercial fair. The local economy had revived in the 12th century as a result of the development of olive cultivation and the export of its oil. By the 14th century with the arrival of the Angevins in the mid-13th century, Bari did not prosper. It was parceled out to the princes of Taranto and finally to member of the SFORZA. The port was an important point of embarkation in the time of the CRUSADES.

**Further reading:** Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (1968; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Longman, 1998); Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West* (1997; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Jean-Marie Martin, "Bari," *EMA*. 1.152–53.

### **Bartolo da Sassoferrato (Bartolus) (1314–1357) an important Italian jurist**

Born in Sassoferrato in central Italy in 1314, Bartolo studied at BOLOGNA. From 1343, he taught at the University of Perugia, specializing in Roman law and its interpretation. He was recognized by his contemporaries as one of the greatest authorities in that field. His opinions were solicited and accepted in the courts. He was particularly concerned with the reconciliation of traditional Roman law with innovations and changing social conditions. He believed Roman law to be universal, and other particular law no more than local custom. In reconciling this conflict, by using Scholastic methods, he acknowledged that local custom could depend on the sovereign will of a prince, thereby accomplishing a clarification of ultimate sovereignty. He died at Perugia in 1357.

See also BALDO DEGLI UBALDI DE PERUGIA.

**Further reading:** Osvaldo Cavallar, *A Grammar of Signs: Bartolo da Sassoferrato's Tract on Insignia and Coats*

*of Arms* (Berkeley: Robbins Collection, University of California at Berkeley, 1994); Anna Toole Sheedy, *Bartolus on Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); C. N. S. Woolf, *Bartolus of Sassoferrato: His Position in the History of Medieval Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913); Joseph Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

**Basel, Council of** This was a council convened, after much procrastination, by Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31) to begin at Basel on February 1, 1431, over which he appointed Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini as president. The purpose of the council was to promote reform in the church either through the papacy or through conciliar thought. The debates over authority began on July 23, but by the end of the year only a few ecclesiastics had arrived. EUGENIUS IV, the new pontiff, saw this as a way to rid himself of a potentially troublesome council and on December 18 pronounced its dissolution to protect papal authority. The ecumenical assembly, supported by the emperor SIGISMUND, however, continued to sit.

To avert a crisis dangerous to the church and himself, the pope retracted his dissolution on February 14, recognizing the council's legitimacy. The superiority of the council over the pope, a concept from a bull, *Dudum sacrum*, of 1433, remained the fundamental issue. Both pope and council wished to exercise supreme power. The pope was chased out of ROME by a revolution in 1434. This event weakened the papal party and papal authority.

### **WORK OF THE COUNCIL**

At Basel, the council continued on reforming faith, peace, and the internal business and reform of the church. The lower clergy, enjoying the same voting rights as bishops and other prelates, were a preponderant force. Decisions were determined by majority vote. Many of the members of the council, in defiance of the papacy, tried to develop an executive role for regular council meetings. A decree of June 9, 1435, tried to cut the resources of the papacy by suppressing annates, or annual taxes from the clergy due the papacy. The council tried to extirpate the Hussite heresy and secured some success by ensuring the adoption of the Compacts of PRAGUE on November 30, 1433.

### **PAPAL SUPPRESSION**

Arguing the need to hold a council of union with the Orthodox Greeks, Eugenius IV decided to transfer and recall an ecumenical assembly to Ferrara in September 1437. The Roman pontiff finally prevailed when the legate Cesarini left Basel on January 9, 1438, depriving the council of any pretense of canonical authority.

Cardinal Louis Aleman, an ardent partisan of conciliar theory, assumed the presidency of the remnant minority fraction. Under his influence, the Basel extremists removed Eugenius IV from office on February 25, 1439, and elected an antipope, Felix V (r. 1439–49) (Amadeus VIII of Savoy), on November 5, 1439. With limited funds and obedience, the antipope left Basel in November 1442. The rump assembly was forced out of town by the emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–93) in 1448 and accepted its dissolution on April 25, 1449, shortly after the abdication of Felix V on April 7. Many of its legislative texts and ideas were fulfilled, particularly in FRANCE, in the PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES of 1438. In the end, however, the Council of Basel failed to triumph over the authority of the pope.

See also FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 453–591; Anthony Black, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Fifteenth-Century Heritage* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979); Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

**Basil I the Macedonian** (812–886) *Byzantine emperor*  
Of obscure Armenian parentage, Basil was born in Thrace in 812. According to one tradition, he was carried off into captivity by the BULGARS when he was an infant; escaping in his 20s, he moved to CONSTANTINOPLE and took service with the uncle and guiding influence of Emperor Michael III the Drunkard (r. 842–867). About 858 Basil attracted the attention of the emperor through his great physical strength and his talent with horses. He rapidly rose to become Michael's boon companion, even marrying the emperor's mistress. Basil became his chamberlain and his influence grew. In May 866 Michael proclaimed Basil his coemperor.

Allegedly because of Michael's incapacity but apparently more because of fear of his whims, Basil murdered Michael on September 24, 867, and seized the throne. He also deposed the great patriarch PHOTIOS, who was then embroiled in a struggle with the PAPACY, which had deeply split church sentiments in the Byzantine Empire. When relations with the papacy deteriorated, he reconciled himself with Photios and restored him to the patriarchate in 877. Active as builder and patron, Basil achieved his greatest domestic accomplishment by initiating a reform of the legal system, starting work on a new collection of laws called the *Basilica*.

In the 870s his forces broke the heretical sect of the Paulicians, whose strongholds had weakened the eastern frontiers. His armies fought successfully against the ARABS, beginning the great momentum that Byzantium

would develop in territorial reconquest in the next century. Basil's reformed fleet reestablished Byzantine authority in DALMATIA, and he was the first emperor in perhaps two centuries to reassert Byzantine interest in ITALY; but he did lose SICILY to the AGHLABIDS.

Determined to establish his family on the throne, Basil made his three eldest sons his coemperors. But in 879 Constantine, the eldest and Basil's favorite, died, and Basil was left emotionally shattered and mentally unhinged. Basil died on August 29, 886, reportedly of a hunting accident.

See also BARI.

**Further reading:** George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

**Basil II the Bulgar Slayer (Bulgaroctonus)** (958–1025) *emperor of Byzantium*

An emperor of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil II was born in 958 and as a child was a coemperor with his stepfathers, Nikephoros Phokas (r. 963–969) and John Tzimiskes (r. 969–976). Even after Tzimiskes's death he was unable really to rule until 985 and even then had to struggle to control his generals, who, with the aristocracy, held immense power within the empire. He fought against the Bulgarian Tsar SIMEON I, who was trying to build an empire, but was defeated in 986 near SOFIA. The defeat triggered a rebellion by some of the BYZANTINE aristocracy and Basil had to be aided by VLADIMIR, prince of Kiev, to overcome them in 989. He abolished privileges, confiscated their lands, and deprived many of them of public office.

In 991 Basil prepared his revenge against the Bulgarians and their new tsar, SAMUEL, whom considered as a personal enemy. However, he first had to respond to a FATIMID attack on the eastern borders of ANATOLIA. In 995 and 999 he defeated the ARABS near ALEPPO but had to linger on the eastern frontier. In 1001 he returned to Europe and began a deadly offensive against the Bulgarians. He defeated them in 1004 and again in 1014. Because of their resistance, he blinded thousands of prisoners. He destroyed the Bulgarian empire and in Byzantine historiography was called "Bulgarian Slayer." During his reign, a schism began in the Eastern and Western Churches. He died December 15, 1025.

See also SCHISM, GREAT.

**Further reading:** Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (1963; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966); Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610–1071* (New York: Random House, 1966); George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Warren Treadgold,

*A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

**Basil of Caesarea, the Great, Saint** (ca. 330–379)  
*bishop of Caesarea, influential in the development of Eastern Orthodox monasticism*

Born about 330 as one of nine or 10 children, Basil was a member of a wealthy and noble Christian family of Cappadocia or Pontus. His younger brother Gregory, later known as GREGORY of Nyssa, also became a bishop and a distinguished theologian. When he was 21, after studying in his native Cappadocian Caesarea and in CONSTANTINOPLE, Basil went to ATHENS for five years to pursue a liberal education. There he met GREGORY of Nazianzus, a fellow student, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship.

After teaching rhetoric for a time at home in Caesarea after 355, Basil decided to abandon the secular life and to pursue instead the ideal of Christian perfection. He visited notable Christian ascetics in EGYPT and the Middle East and then returned, when he was about 30, to his family's estates on the Iris River in Pontus to lead a life of monastic retirement and discipline. Influencing others by his example, Basil was the inaugurator in ANATOLIA of cenobite monasticism, a system by which monks lived in communities under a shared rule of life. Basil's writings on monasticism or his rule were the single most important body of regulative documents for Eastern Orthodox monasticism.

Because of his leadership and learning, Basil was drawn away from his monastic interests into the wider life of conflicts within the church. Between 359 and 370 two successive bishops of Caesarea summoned him to their service; the second ordained him a priest in about 362. But Basil's strong convictions strained relations with his superiors, and he often left Caesarea to work among his monasteries. Selling some of his personal wealth and convincing merchants not to take advantage of the situation, Basil limited the impact of a serious famine in Cappadocia. In 370 he was made bishop of Caesarea, and until his death in 379 he was one of the most important figures of the Eastern church.

#### THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY

The most pressing problem Basil faced was the unresolved ARIAN controversy, which had troubled the Eastern Church over the preceding 50 years. The Arians asserted that belief in the full deity of Christ was incompatible with monotheism. The chief problem for the various Orthodox groups was the question of whether it was possible to preserve individual distinctions among God the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit, while continuing to assert the full divinity of all three.

Basil was certain that Arianism was heretical, but he also believed that the Nicene party, adhering strictly to

the language of the Council of NICAEA in 325, did not present a secure theological formulation of the orthodox position. He took the important step of agreeing with the Nicene view that there is only one divine substance shared by Father, Son, and Spirit; but he insisted at the same time that each of the three is an individual hypostasis within a single triune deity.

As a church leader, Basil showed notable courage in defying the Eastern emperor Valens (r. 364–378), who was intent on forcing a statement of creed tolerant of Arianism on the church and banishing the anti-Arian bishops. In prolonged attempts to impose order and understanding on the chaotic conflict of parties in the Eastern Church, Basil tried often but without success to win the adherence of the bishop of Rome or the papacy in approving the growing coalition of non-Arian parties. Too much of a moderate for the strongly Nicene position of the papacy, he paved the way nonetheless for the final victory of his cause at the Council of Constantinople in 381, a victory he did not live to see, in that he died on January 1, 379. He helped develop a concept of the Trinity and created a Basilian Rule, a balanced and model regimen of work and worship for monks that had tremendous impact on the development of monasticism. His many letters are a rich source for the cultural history of the period.

**Further reading:** Basil of Caesarea, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature*, ed. N. G. Wilson (London: Duckworth, 1975); Paul J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979); Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

**Basques** (Vasco, Vascongūdo, Euskaldunak, Euskotark) They live near the Bay of Biscay, on both sides of the Pyrenees. The Romans called them Vascones, and the name lived on in the Middle Ages, applied to the Gascons in southern France and the Navarrese in northern Spain. In the fifth century, the Basques preserved their autonomy from the new Visigothic kingdom. They later converted to Christianity, but this did not draw them closer to the FRANKS. They turned aside the attempts of CHARLEMAGNE to conquer their country by defeating his army in 787 at the Battle of RONCEVAUX. By the 10th century much of their country was the basis of the kingdom of NAVARRE and the rest was ruled by the dukes of Gascony. In the 15th century these principalities were united by the counts of Foix as feudal lords. At the same time the Basques themselves enjoyed local autonomy in their communities of peasants and shepherds.

**Further reading:** Roger Collins, *The Basques* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Roger Collins, "Spain: The Northern Kingdoms and the Basques, 711–910," in

*The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 2, c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 272–289.

**al-Basra (Bassora, Bassora, Balsora)** Al-Basra was a city in southern IRAQ near the Persian Gulf founded by the Arab conquerors of Iraq in 637; it began as a military camp for the conquest of Iraq and was near the site of an earlier city, long deserted by the end of the sixth century. A garrison town for the army and its families, al-Basra was a Bedouin settlement, divided into quarters according to town tribe. In 657–661 it was one of the major centers of plots against ALI IBN ABU TALIB and many of his successors. Under the ABBASIDS al-Basra was a large city serving as the harbor of the new city of BAGHDAD, as well as an important cultural and commercial center in itself. At the beginning of the ninth century, a group of black slaves (the Zanj, who had served in the army) settled in the city. They were active in conflicts leading to the decline of the Abbasid caliphate. Al-Basra itself began to decline in the 11th century with the rise of the SELJUKS, and, in 1258 it was destroyed by the MONGOLS.

See also KHARIJITES.

**Further reading:** Charles Pellet, “al-Basra,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1085–1087.

**battles** See *specific place-names*.

**Battuta, ibn** See IBN BATTUTA (SHAMS AL-DIN ABU ABD ALLAH, MUHAMMAD IBN ABDULLAH IBN BATTUTA).

**Bavaria and Bavarians (Bayern)** Medieval Bavaria was the region within the Lech River, the Danube River, and the Alps. It was settled by a poorly documented people, the Bavarians, in the late fifth century. Surviving as a duchy, it belonged successively to the Frankish/Burgundian Agilulfings from about 550 to 788, the Liutpoldings from 947 to 1002, the Swabian Welfs from 1070 to 80, and finally the WITTELSBACHS (from 1180). It formed a border area between the worlds of the FRANKS and the LOMBARDS. There were few major towns and those that developed were controlled by prince-bishops. The church promoted a regional unity because of the coincidence between the area and its ecclesiastical province. With the growth of Salzburg into a metropolitan in 798, the Bavarian church was formed with episcopal abbeys and BENEDICTINE and canonical establishments. The duchy was in the empire after the accession of the duke Henry II (r. 1002–24) as emperor. Bavaria was administered as part by imperial power to which bishops and religious establishments were directly subject. This was the foundations of the future state.

By concentrating on Bavaria and establishing it as the basis of their power, the Wittelsbachs from 1180 managed to construct the largest state in GERMANY. They acquired the Palatinate in 1214 but lost it in a treaty of 1329 to the nephews of the main line. Louis of Bavaria (Duke Louis IV) (1314–47) became emperor. At the deaths of rulers, Bavaria tended to be divided among the heirs, producing states too small to have much power or influence. It eventually had the vote in imperial elections. The adoption of primogeniture by Duke Albert IV the Wise (r. 1465–1508) in 1506 put an end to the partition of the duchy.

See also AUSTRIA.

**Further reading:** Theodore John Rivers, trans., *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977); Paul Sutter Fichtner, “Bavaria,” *DMA*, 2.132–135; Carl I. Hammer, *Charlemagne’s Months and Their Bavarian Labours: The Politics of the Seasons in the Carolingian Empire* (Oxford: Arceopress, 1997); Kathy Lynne Roper Pearson, *Conflicting Loyalties in Early Medieval Bavaria: A View of Socio-Political Interaction, 680–900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Herwig Wolfram, “Bavaria in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 293–309.

**Bayazid I (Bajezid, Bayezid, Yildirim [the Thunderbolt])** (ca. 1360–d. 1403) *Ottoman sultan, conqueror of Serbia and Bulgaria*

The son of MURAD I, he started his reign on June 15, 1389, when his father was assassinated during the Battle of KOSOVO. Having defeated the Serbians, he moved to ANATOLIA, where he integrated the independent Turkish principalities into his realm. In 1391 he besieged CONSTANTINOPLE and speedily invaded BULGARIA, GREECE, ALBANIA, and BOSNIA. That campaign earned his nickname, the “Thunderbolt.” In 1395, VENICE, concerned for its possessions in the eastern Mediterranean, with the papacy called for a crusade. A great army of knights from all over Europe gathered and marched east to NICOPOLIS in 1396 but was defeated there by Bayazid, who by doing so became the complete master of almost all of the Balkans, save only the city of Constantinople, on which he began an eight-year blockade.

In 1400, when he was at the peak of his power and reigning over an empire from the Danube to the Euphrates, the MONGOLS, led by TAMERLANE, invaded Anatolia. In July of 1402 Bayazid was defeated near Ankara and was taken captive. Tamerlane restored the independence of the small Turkish amirs of Anatolia and divided the OTTOMAN Empire among the six sons of Bayazid. Bayazid committed suicide in prison on March 3, 1403.

**Further reading:** Halil Inalcik, “Bayazid,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1117–1119; Ducas (fl. mid-15th century),

*Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975).

**Baybars I (Baibars, al-Zahir, Baybars al-Bunduqdari, Rukn-ad-Din)** (1233–1277) *Mamluk sultan of Egypt*  
Born about 1233 of a Turkish family settled in southern Russia, Baybars was sold as a slave-soldier or *mamluk* to the AYYUBIDS. In 1246 he was taken to EGYPT and entered the guard of Sultan al-Salah Ayyub (r. 1240–49), who made him a commander in the army. Baybars took part in the MAMLUK revolution of 1250. In 1260 he was in the army that defeated the Mongolian forces at AYN-JALUT, west of Bethlehem in PALESTINE. Although this was only part of HULEGU's army of the khanate of Persia, a Mongolian army had been defeated in battle for the first time, and Baybars won immense prestige and the nickname "al-Malik al-Zahir," or "victorious king," becoming a leader of all of Islam. After the murder of his colleague Qutuz (r. 1259–60), he became, in 1260, the fourth sultan of the Mamluks. To win legitimacy, he recognized the uncle of the last Abbasid caliph, who was murdered by the MONGOLS at Baghdad in 1258, and so became a champion of ISLAM against the Mongols.

Baybars consolidated his rule by conquering most of the small Ayyubid states in Syria at Kerak, DAMASCUS, and ALEPPO between 1262 and 1263. Using his effective army and excellent communication system, he attacked the remnants of the crusader states and, between 1265 and 1271, conquered Caesarea, Arsuf, Safed, ANTIOCH, Beaufort, Jaffa, and Montfort. This was in effect the virtual end of the crusader states, which was reduced to only a few fortified coastal cities, including ACRE, BEIRUT, and TRIPOLI. He also attacked the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and conquered a number of strongholds on the Taurus passes.

Baybars was a gifted general, but also a clever diplomat, who knew how to isolate his enemies by alliances, even striking deals with Christians and Mongols. He organized the army and the navy and encouraged economic development. He died, perhaps accidentally poisoned, on July 17, 1277, and was buried in Damascus.

See also ASSASSINS; NUBIA.

**Further reading:** P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260–1290: Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Abdul-Aziz Khowaytir, *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London: Green Mountain Press, 1978); Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956); Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt (London: Longman, 1992); G. Weit, "Baybars I," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1124–1126.

**Bayeux Tapestry** Location of the famous Bayeux Tapestry, the city of Bayeux in Normandy was named after an ancient Gallo-Roman people, the Baiocasses. In the NORMAN period, it was closely controlled by the dukes. WILLIAM I the Conqueror installed his half brother ODO, or Eudes, as bishop of Bayeux from 1049 to 1097. Odo likely commissioned the Bayeux tapestry. This nearly unique "canvas of the conquest," as it was long called, was an embroidered cloth nearly 250 feet long by 20 inches wide showing Harold's journey to Normandy, William's expedition to England up to the Battle of HASTINGS, and his coronation at LONDON, all accompanied with details of military and civilian life in the margins. The tapestry in its present state seems incomplete; it was executed in the ROMANESQUE style, probably between 1066 and 1077, in an English workshop, probably at CANTERBURY.

The tapestry was in Bayeux at the time of Odo's disgrace in 1082 but was not mentioned again until 1476 in a description of the cathedral treasury.

See also EMBROIDERY.

**Further reading:** David J. Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986); Shirley Ann Brown, *The Bayeux Tapestry: History and Bibliography* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1988); Richard Gameson, ed., *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1997); David M. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry: The Complete Tapestry in Color* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1985).

**beast epics and fables** Beast epics were long narratives in verse form of tales of animals with human characteristics, partially based on the older fable tradition of Aesop. They had their origins in the 11th century in France and Germany and primarily involved REYNARD THE FOX. The beast fable was a prose or verse story of animals with human qualities with an obvious moral intent. It was one of the two most important branches of animal story in medieval Europe. The primary difference between the much older Aesopic collections and the stories of Reynard the Fox was that the structure of the Aesopic material consisted of a series of moralistic fables involving many different animals, as distinct from the continuous tales of the fox Reynard or the wolf Ysengrimus and their cynical and dubiously moral activities at the court of a lion. Such animal stories were different from other works in which animals speak and act, such as *The Owl and the Nightingale*, which partially drew on animal fable but were essentially structured as debate poetry.

The intended interpretation of animal fables was usually simple and didactic, so they were often used as school texts. In the later Middle Ages, they became more sophisticated and even systematically philosophical. The 15th-century English printer William CAXTON was to translate and print two books of both kinds of animal story: *The History of Reynard the Fox* in 1481 and *Aesop* in 1484.



Bayeux Tapestry (actually embroidery). The coronation of Harold II, receiving the sword and scepter. Musée de la Tapisserie, Bayeux, France (Erich Lessing / Art Resource)

See also ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; BESTIARIES; CHAUCER, WILLIAM.

**Further reading:** *The Epic of the Beast, Consisting of English Translations of the History of Reynard the Fox and Physiologus* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924); Nivardus, *Ysengrimus: Text*, trans. Jill Mann (Leiden: Brill, 1987); Thomas W. Best, *Reynard the Fox* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983); Kenneth Varty, *The Roman de Renart: A Guide to Scholarly Work* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998); Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750–1150* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

**beatific vision** In medieval thought the beatific vision, promised to the “elect” by the Holy Scriptures, was the knowledge of God “as he is” and “face to face.” They will acquire it after their death, if saved. This Catholic doctrine of the beatific vision was defined in the Middle Ages only in 1336. Pope Benedict XII (r. 1335–42) ended contro-

versy unleashed by his immediate predecessor, JOHN XXII, drawing an official end to more than a century of Scholastic reflection on it.

**Further reading:** William J. Hoye, *Actualitas omnium actuum: Man’s Beatific Vision of God as Apprehended by Thomas Aquinas* (Meisenheim-am-Glan: Hain, 1975); Christian Trotman, “Beatific Vision,” EMA, 1.157–158.

**beauty aids** See COSMETICS AND BEAUTY AIDS.

**Becket, Thomas, Saint (Thomas à Becket)** (1117–1170) *archbishop of Canterbury, friend of King Henry II* Of NORMAN ancestry, Thomas Becket was born in LONDON probably on December 21, 1117, the son of prosperous London citizens, Gilbert and Matilda Becket. When Thomas Becket was around 18 years old, he journeyed to PARIS to continue his studies at the University of Paris, after an earlier education at Merton Priory in London. He was not a great scholar, but his studies acquainted him

with dialectical disputation and current theological and philosophical issues. Changes in his family's circumstances curtailed his schooling and drew Becket back to London when he was about 21. His mother had died, and his father was having financial difficulties.

#### ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY

For a few years, Becket was associated with the household of a Norman nobleman, and he served as a clerk to a London citizen and banker. He then obtained a place in the household of Theobald (d. 1161), the archbishop of CANTERBURY. Becket likely served as a secretary and administrator of the archbishop's properties and then was sent abroad for about a year to study canon law at BOLOGNA in ITALY and Auxerre in FRANCE. He became a close and trusted associate of Archbishop Theobald and was promoted as an archdeacon of Canterbury, the highest rank in the household.

#### CHANCELLOR TO THE KING

In 1154, Henry of Anjou became HENRY II, king of England, through the inheritance of his mother, Matilda (1102–67), the daughter and only surviving heir of the English king HENRY I. Though just 21, as duke of Normandy, count of ANJOU, and duke of AQUITAINE, he was already ruler of major territories in western France. Henry II faced a difficult task in governing England. During the 15 years of civil war between two claimants to the English throne, Stephen of Blois (1097–1154) and his mother, Matilda of Anjou, that had preceded Henry II's accession, the English barons had gained power at the expense of the centralized governmental institutions that WILLIAM the Conqueror and Henry I had instituted. Ambitious, temperamental, and unpredictable, Henry needed administrators who were capable of matching his energy to secure and increase royal power. Archbishop Theobald recommended the young Becket as Henry II's chancellor, and Becket assumed these duties in 1155 right after Henry II's coronation.

Becket then served as chancellor of England for seven years, from 1155 to 1162. Besides the routine duties of directing the EXCHEQUER, overseeing vacant holdings for the king, and serving as a royal itinerant justice, Becket undertook important diplomatic missions for the king. Traveling to PARIS, he arranged the marriage of Henry II's heir, the Henry "the Young King" (1155–83), with Margaret of France, daughter of King Louis VII (r. 1137–80). He also was present in Henry II's continental campaigns to secure the French territories of Anjou and Maine in 1156 and to promote the claims of ELEANOR of Aquitaine, Henry's wife, to the county of TOULOUSE in 1159.

#### ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

After Archbishop Theobald died in 1161, Henry II left the archbishopric of Canterbury vacant for about a year. By

1162, he had decided that a new archbishop be named, because he wanted to arrange an uncontested coronation of his heir, Henry "the Young King." Henry decided that Thomas Becket should become the archbishop of Canterbury. He pressured the ecclesiastical chapter at Canterbury for Becket's election.

Henry II certainly assumed that Becket would act in the interest of the king's policies to create a cooperative union between church and state. Becket, however, took his new position seriously and devoutly, so he assumed that the spiritual powers of the church took precedence over the temporal powers of the state. Within a year after Becket's consecration as archbishop, he and Henry II became involved in a major dispute over the issue of "benefit of clergy," the practice that when a member of the clergy committed a serious crime, his trial was to be within the jurisdiction of religious courts under canon law. Henry II believed that clerics, if found guilty according to canon law, should then be tried in a secular court and punished according to evolving common law.

Henry II brought the issue of jurisdiction over "criminals clerks" to a head at the Council of Westminster in October 1163. Thomas Becket saw this as a distinct threat to the church's power and independence from secular authority and, supported by most of the English bishops, opposed Henry's concept. Over the following months, in an attempt to reach a compromise, Becket modified his position slightly. Henry II pressed his case by demanding that ancient procedural customs be committed to writing. The document known as the Constitutions of CLARENDON, which was drawn up at the Council of Clarendon in January 1164 asserted royal authority over ecclesiastics who had been convicted of secular crimes in ecclesiastical courts but also additional provisions limiting legal appeals by English churchmen to the papacy. Becket initially opposed this written assertion of royal over ecclesiastical powers, but vacillated during the following months. At the same time his relationship with Henry II continued to deteriorate. Finally, after another direct confrontation with Henry II at the Council of Northampton in October 1164, a disguised Becket fled to the Continent.

#### EXILE AND RETURN

Under the protection of King Louis VII of France, he remained in exile for six years. He spent much of his time studying, while he continued to argue his case through correspondence to Pope ALEXANDER III, other English bishops, and Henry II. In 1169 Pope Alexander III urged Henry to reach a settlement with Becket. On June 14, 1170, in the presence of most of the English bishops and with Roger of Pont l'Évêque (d. 1181), archbishop of York, officiating and Becket absent, Henry II held the coronation ceremony at Westminster Abbey of Henry "the Young King." Becket was outraged, believing that only the archbishop of Canterbury as the primate of England could crown an English king. Despite this, Thomas

Becket and Henry II met in July 1170 and seemed to move closer to resolving their differences. Becket decided to return to Canterbury. He arrived in early November and excommunicated all the bishops who had participated in the coronation of Henry “the Young King” and publicly repeated these sentences at Christmas Mass in Canterbury Cathedral. When Henry II, who was in Normandy, heard this news, he flew into a rage. To his dinner guests and his household, he furiously demanded, “Will no one rid me of the turbulent priest?” Four knights took him at his word. Immediately leaving Henry’s court, they crossed the channel, arrived at Canterbury on the evening of December 29, 1170, and brutally murdered Thomas Becket while he was celebrating vespers in the cathedral.

#### INFLUENCE OF POLICY AND MARTYRDOM

Thomas Becket’s influence on the English church continued long after his death. In the matter of church and royal policy, however, his martyrdom was only in the short term a victory for his cause. Henry was ultimately able to extend gradually royal control over the institutional church in England. Ecclesiastical resistance to the Crown, however, was to last through the rest of the Middle Ages. Thomas Becket was made a saint in 1173, and his shrine at Canterbury became one of the most popular pilgrimage sites in Europe. His situation reflected the issues raised by the emergence of a national state and the role of the church and religion in an increasingly secular world.

**Further reading:** Anne J. Duggan, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162–1170*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); John Butler, *The Quest for Becket’s Bones: The Mystery of the Relics of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

**Bede the Venerable, Saint (the Venerable Bede, Beda)** (672/673–735) *Anglo-Saxon monk, scholar, theologian*  
Bede was born in 672 or 673 in Northumbria, near Jarrow. When he was seven, his relatives took him to the BENEDICTINE abbey at nearby Wearmouth. He spent the remainder of his life at Wearmouth and later at a new monastery at Jarrow. This era has been called a “golden age of English MONASTICISM,” when relations with the papacy and the Continent resulted in a fruitful exchange of ideas and culture in a Northumbrian Renaissance.

Bede’s works were many and various. He considered his major achievement to be his biblical commentaries, which were firmly rooted in traditional biblical exegesis, with the use of allegory to explain and enrich scriptural meaning. He wrote two scientific treatises on chronology and the formation of the church CALENDAR. Bede also

wrote a number of saints’ lives, that were full of edifying MIRACLES, including two versions of the metrical life of Saint Cuthbert. All of Bede’s interests joined most productively in 731 in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Its theme was the conversion of the ANGLO-SAXONS, after their settlement in Britain, by missionaries from ROME and IRELAND. Exemplary miraculous passages illustrated the benefits derived by the English from accepting the message of the GOSPEL and the well-deserved merits of any who devoted their life to propagating that message. Bede included many documents that provide important information about the early English church, and in addition he narrated many fascinating tales, such as that of CAEDMON, the unlettered peasant who miraculously became the first religious poet in English. Bede died at Jarrow on May 25, 735. He became a doctor of the church and is still revered for his holiness and learning.

*See also* BIBLE.

**Further reading:** Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978); George Hardin Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (Boston: Twayne, 1987); *The Age of Bede*, ed. D. H. Farmer and trans. J. F. Webb (New York: Penguin Books, 1965); Peter Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

**beer** *See* FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Beguines and Beghards** Dating from late-12th-century western Europe, Beguines and Beghards were new religious experiments for women and men. They combined a lay state with a life of penance and contemplation. Though consecrated to the service of GOD, the Beguines and Beghards were not bound to monastic vows, the common life, or a rule approved by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. They were to be celibate.

#### BEGUINES

The movement was mainly urban; in the cities there was demographic imbalance, an excess of women. Some lived alone, leading an itinerant existence or remaining under a family roof. Others shared a house. Others lived in “courts” called beguinages, veritable villages within a town, formed of several houses or convents and provided with a chapel, an infirmary, and other common buildings. The Beguines lived on alms, but also off their own labor.

*Beguine* was originally a disparaging term, used for “heretics” by the movement’s many detractors. In 1216, the pope approved such communities, but many churchmen were reluctant to accept such an “intermediate situation” blurring a distinction between the clergy and the laity. The secular and parish clergy were

hostile to their often-privileged relationship with MENDICANT orders. This placed them outside the jurisdiction of the ordinary priests. Moreover, the informal social and religious networks established by Beguines were an embarrassment to the institutional church. Even outside their own communities, the Beguines met, prayed together, and discussed their experiences with others. Above all, they read, knew how to write, interpreted sacred texts, and translated them into the vernacular. Their immediate and direct relationship with God, in contemplation and ecstasy, meant no role for the priests or clergy.

Faced with growth of the number of Beguines, the institutional church adopted two types of attitude: sometimes, the Beguine experiments were totally rejected and considered heresy, especially in the Rhineland, where they were persecuted from the 13th century. This was even before the declaration pronounced against them at the council of VIENNA in 1312 and promulgated in 1317. Sometimes, the church strove to enclose the Beguines into controlled communities of traditional nuns. Somewhere, however, it left alone to control their own religious aspirations.

#### BEGHARDS (BÉGARD, BOGARD)

They were named after Robert de Bègue from Liège. Lay male penitents, the Beghards were never as numerous as their female counterparts, the Beguines. The first mentions of Beghards in FLANDERS, northern FRANCE, and GERMANY dated from between 1220 and 1250.

As itinerant small communities of celibates, the Beghards sometimes lived off alms. But many of them worked, notably in the CLOTHING industry. At Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, and BRUGES, the Beghards formed associations of weavers, sharing their time between work and practices of piety. They were soon at odds with the ecclesiastical authorities, and were pressured by urban authorities and restrictive guild corporations, for whom they were direct rivals. In the course of the 14th century, they fell under the control of guilds and CONFRATERNITIES.

See also PORETTE, MARGARET.

**Further reading:** Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan with an introduction by Robert E. Lerner (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); Ernest McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954); Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Joanna E. Ziegler, *Sculpture of Compassion: The Pietà and*

*the Beguines in the Southern Low Countries, c. 1300–c. 1600* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

**Beirut (Bayrut, Beyrouth)** Beirut is a port on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean and the capital of modern LEBANON. In the late Roman period, as Berytus, it was a major administrative, commercial, and intellectual center, especially for the study of the law. In 551, it was destroyed by an earthquake and a tidal wave. The BYZANTINE emperor JUSTINIAN tried to rebuild Beirut. The ARABS easily captured it in 635.

#### ISLAM AND THE CRUSADES

The Umayyad Caliph Muawiya (r. 683–684) repopulated the town and region, making Beirut part of the province of DAMASCUS and fostering legal studies there. In 975 Beirut was taken, as were many other towns on the Syro-Palestinian coast, by the Byzantine general and later emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976). The FATIMIDS of EGYPT, however, retook control of it shortly afterward. It remained under their rule until the conquest of Syria and Palestine by the SELJUK TURKS between 1071 and 1078.

In 1099, the CRUSADERS bypassed Beirut on their way to JERUSALEM, but in May 1110 BALDWIN I with the support of a blockade by Genoese and Pisan ships, took it by storm. Beirut was now included in the kingdom of JERUSALEM, on the frontier with the county of TRIPOLI. A Latin bishop of Beirut was restored in 1112.

In 1187 SALADIN captured Beirut, but Aimery de LUSIGNAN, the King of Cyprus (r. 1194–1205) managed to recapture it in 1197. He gave it to John of IBELIN, who rebuilt its fortifications and promoted its commercial activities. In 1231, the troops of FREDERICK II entered the city but could not occupy the citadel. The Ibelin family regained control the following year and held it until July 31, 1291. The town was taken then by the MAMLUKS shortly after their capture of ACRE. Beirut then became the seat of a provincial governorship as part of the province of Damascus.

**Further reading:** Anna-Marie Eddé, “Beirut,” *EMA*, 1.162; N. Elisséeff, “Bayrūt,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1137–1138; Nina Jidejian, *Beirut through the Ages* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1973).

**Belgium** In the Middle Ages, Belgium consisted of numerous provinces that extended through modern Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and into northern France. Belgium was a Roman province at the beginning of the Middle Ages. In the fifth century, it became part of the kingdom of the FRANKS, ceasing to be a separate political and administrative unit. In the ninth century it was divided into feudal units. Picardy, and FLANDERS belonged to the nascent kingdom of FRANCE. In 843, the remainder became part of the kingdom of Lothar I (r. 840–55) and in 889 the duchy of Lower Lorraine.

In the 11th century the ducal title came to the house of Bouillon. Several provinces remained part of the empire. When GODFREY OF BOUILLON went on the CRUSADE, Lower Lorraine was split into several feudal units, such as the counties of Namur, Louvain, Hainault, and Luxemburg. Its northern part, the future NETHERLANDS, remained tied directly to the emperors. By the 12th century Hainault was attached to Flanders. These regions early on possessed prosperous commercial centers.

#### BRABANT AND BURGUNDY

In the 14th century the house of Luxemburg gained the imperial Crown and left the region to concentrate its interests in BOHEMIA. About the same time the Duchy of BRABANT was established; it included Louvain and the southern territories of modern HOLLAND. Simultaneously the cities of Antwerp and Brussels prospered, as Brussels became the capital of the duchy. In 1364, Philip the Bold, the duke of Burgundy, married Margaret of Flanders; the union gave Philip the Flemish part of Belgium. In 1419 Brabant and Holland descended to Duke PHILIP THE GOOD by his marriage with their heiress. The purchase of Namur and Luxemburg by Philip soon united the whole region under the house of BURGUNDY. The new combine of Belgium and Burgundy became the richest and the most powerful state in western Europe in the 15th century. Antwerp was a principal port for western Europe, and Brussels was sometimes the ducal capital, the center of the textile industry, and the residence of the Burgundian court in the late Middle Ages. The country was a rich and important cultural, intellectual, and artistic center.

See also BRUGES; GHENT.

**Further reading:** Peter J. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civil Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, *The Flemish Primitives: Catalogue of Early Netherlandish Painting in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium* (Brussels: Brepols, 1996).

**Belisarius (Belisarios)** (ca. 505–565) *Byzantine general* Originally from Illyria or the Balkans and born about 505, Belisarius rose to prominence in the imperial bodyguard and was advanced to high military command while still in his 20s. He won outstanding success in the war fought with Persia early in JUSTINIAN's reign. He further gained the emperor's confidence through his loyalty during the "Nika riots" of 532, during which he commanded the massacre of the rioters. In addition, Belisarius married Antonina, a friend of Empress THEODORA. His wife, though unfaithful and often embarrassing to him, had great influence at court, which was valuable when Justinian grew suspicious of him. Although Belisarius seems never to have been disloyal, Justinian was always fearful that so popular a commander might attempt to seize the throne.

#### MILITARY SUCCESSES

During the first of Justinian's campaigns of reconquest against the Germanic kingdoms in the west in 533, Belisarius led a small force against the VANDALS of North AFRICA. Through two overwhelming victories he destroyed the Vandal regime and recovered North Africa for the empire. For this he was allowed to celebrate a triumph upon his return to CONSTANTINOPLE. In 535 Belisarius was sent to begin the conquest of ITALY from the OSTROGOTHS. Making rapid progress northward from Byzantine SICILY, he took NAPLES and ROME. The GOTHS besieged him in Rome during 537–538, but they failed to dislodge him. In 540 the Goths even agreed to surrender, if Belisarius would become their emperor. He secured their capitulation but then refused the honor. Both the Ostrogoths and the emperor were suspicious of him afterward. Recalled in temporary disfavor, he was sent in 541 to command imperial forces in Mesopotamia in a renewed war with the Persians. He did well again and restored the frontier on the Euphrates.

A new Ostrogothic king, TOTILA, tried to end the Byzantine occupation of Italy, and Belisarius returned to Rome in 544. Justinian, suspicious, broke, and cheap, refused, however, to give him adequate men and supplies for the task. Belisarius found it impossible to deal with Totila effectively. Theodora's death in 548 deprived him of his last strong ally at court. He requested recall and was allowed to retire to CONSTANTINOPLE.

#### RETIREMENT

Belisarius remained inactive until 559, when an attack by a marauding force of HUNS threatened the capital, and the frightened Justinian called him out of retirement. Using his household retinue as a small force, he drove off the Huns. Three years later Belisarius was implicated, probably falsely, in a plot against the emperor's life. Justinian stripped him of his honors, great fortune, and retinue and kept him in enforced confinement for some time. This persecution gave rise to a false legend that Justinian blinded Belisarius, who was forced to beg in the streets. Somewhat restored to honor the following year and probably always faithful, Belisarius died in March 565, only a few months before the death of Justinian himself.

See also PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

**Further reading:** John W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996); Robert Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

**Bellini family** The Bellini family was distinguished for their exceptional contribution to Renaissance painting in VENICE. Jacopo Bellini (ca. 1400–70) and two of his sons, Gentile (ca. 1429–1507) and Giovanni (ca. 1431–1516),

were among the most distinguished Venetian painters of the early Renaissance. Likely trained under Jacopo, the brothers were practicing as independent masters by the 1460s but continued to assist their father on various projects in a shared workshop. In 1453, Nicolosia Bellini, Jacopo's daughter, married the Paduan artist Andrea MANTEGNA.

### JACOPO

He was the son of a Venetian pewter maker, Nicoletto Bellini, and his wife, Franceschina, and became a pupil of GENTILE da Fabriano, had been active in Venice from 1408 to 1413. Jacopo was probably an apprentice of Gentile between 1414 and 1419 in Brescia. His early work included a Crucifixion fresco for the Cathedral of VERONA in 1436 and a portrait of Leonello D'ESTE of FERRARA. By this portrait Jacopo overcame in a contest of skill the famous contemporary Veronese artist Antonio PISANELLO. He also did an altarpiece for the Gattamelata funerary chapel in 1459/60 in the Basilica of the Saint in PADUA and two narrative paintings on canvass for major confraternities in Venice, the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista and the Scuola Grande di San Marco in the 1460s. These paintings suggested that he was among the premier Venetian painters of his generation. They reflected his understanding of Gentile da Fabriano's experimentation of the effects of light and the ideas about perspective and classical form of Leon Battista ALBERTI. He also produced a two-volume set of 300 metal point drawings, highly prized in the period and inspiring stylistically to his sons.

### GENTILE

Gentile worked with his father, Jacopo, and his brother Giovanni at the Scuola di San Marco in Venice. His skill earned him a knighthood as a count palatin conferred by the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III (r. 1440–93), while he was visiting Venice in 1469. In 1474 he received the prestigious commission from the city of Venice for the redecoration of the Chamber of the Great Council in the Doge's Palace, later lost in a fire. In 1479 he was sent by the city to the court of MEHMED II, for whom he painted a distinguished portrait. When he returned to Venice he painted the images for which he was best remembered, those depicting detailed scenes of religious PROCESSIONS and pageants in the city of Venice.

### GIOVANNI

Giovanni Bellini was among the great innovative painters of the 15th century and one of the greatest of all Venetian painters. First recorded in a document of 1459, he changed painting in Venice through his embrace of the oil technique, thus enabling the accomplishments of Giorgione (ca. 1476/78–1510), Titian (ca. 1487/90–1576), and other Venetian artists in the next century. He changed brushstrokes, color, and

compositional meaning. Much influenced by his brother-in-law Mantegna, he was highly creative in his use of light and atmosphere. He demonstrated an acute observation of the natural world in numerous paintings. Giovanni portrayed landscape and changing atmospheric effects with a strong feeling of immediacy. He created several varieties of images of the Madonna and Child and important devotional and didactic altarpieces for several churches in Venice, including the Frari and Sant Zaccaria. He worked until his death in 1516 and was the teacher of Giorgione and Titian.

**Further reading:** Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1997); Colin T. Eisler, *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1989); Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian, and the Franciscans* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); Anchise Tempestini, *Giovanni Bellini*, trans. Alexandra Bonfante-Warren and Jay Hyams (New York: Abbeville Press, 1999); Carolyn Century Wilson, "Bellini Family," *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, 6 vols, ed. Paul Grendler (New York: Charles Scribner's 1999), 1.198–201.

**Benedict, rule of Saint** See BENEDICT OF NURSIA, SAINT.

**Benedictine order** In the pontificate of Pope Pelagius II (r. 579–590), after the completed destructive sack of MONTE CASSINO by the LOMBARDS in about 580, its monks of Saint BENEDICT moved to ROME, taking along their Rule. This rule was quickly adopted by other local monasteries, including one founded by the later Pope GREGORY I the Great. After Gregory became pope in 590, the growing number of monasteries governed by this Rule began to call themselves Benedictine, the beginning of the Benedictine Order. During Gregory's reign it spread to Gaul and Britain. Gregory fostered it and used its monks for missionary work, such as that by Saint AUGUSTINE of Canterbury. The Benedictines came to play a fundamental role in shaping the culture of western Europe. Their abbeys created centers of settlement and culture throughout Europe. Their obligations to study, demanded by the Rule, gave rise to the establishment of their SCHOOLS and LIBRARIES that were centers of scholarship in Europe until the 12th century. Their need for books and copying of manuscripts kept alive much of the culture of the ancient world and early Christianity that we have today. They had many reform movements during the course of the Middle Ages.

See also CISTERCIAN ORDER; CLUNY, CLUNIACS; NUNS AND NUNNERIES; SCRIPTORIUM.

**Further reading:** Giles Constable, *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms:*

*Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).

**Benedict of Nursia or Norcia, Saint** (ca. 480–547/560) *Italian monk, founder of the Benedictine monastic order*

Knowledge of Benedict's life is from the second book of the *Dialogues* of Pope GREGORY I the Great, in which Gregory retold accounts he received directly from four of Benedict's close followers. Benedict was born about 480 in Nursia, 70 miles from Rome, to a distinguished family. He was sent to Rome to pursue his studies, but its classical curriculum, the vices of the city, and libertinism of his fellow students forced Benedict and his nurse to flee to the countryside to escape temptation.

In Subiaco, he lived as a hermit in a cave, receiving food from a neighboring monk, who lowered bread to him over a cliff. Dressed in wild animal skins, Benedict fought temptation, even throwing himself into a briar patch to subdue his emotions when tempted by a vision of a woman. The monks of a neighboring monastery whose abbot had died, made Benedict take his place. The strict discipline and obedience demanded by the new abbot so angered the monks that they tried to poison him. Detecting the poison, Benedict left to live alone.

#### MONTE CASSINO AND MIRACLES

Isolation in a completely hermitic life was not Benedict's ideal. Soon other men gathered around him, and he organized several cenobitic monasteries. At regular intervals, under Benedict's direction, they all gathered in a chapel to chant psalms and pray silently. In about 529/530 Benedict moved his community to MONTE CASSINO, a hill 75 miles southeast of Rome. He and his monks demolished an old temple of Apollo on the summit, replaced it with a chapel dedicated to Saint MARTIN, and began construction of monastery buildings.

It is not possible to reconstruct Benedict's daily life at Monte Cassino. His biographer was concerned only with relating marvels, such as Benedict's detection of an impostor whom TOTILA, king of the OSTROGOTHS, had sent to the monastery in his place and Benedict's prediction of the destruction of Monte Cassino, an event that actually took place later in the century. The date generally given for Benedict's death is March 21, 547, or perhaps as late as 560. He was buried at Monte Cassino in a cave next to his sister, Saint Scholastica. He was made the patron saint of all of Europe by Pope Paul VI in 1964. The monastery was later sacked, and there is a dispute about where his body actually is.

#### RULE

The rule attributed to him was supposedly written during his years at Monte Cassino after 530. Based in part on

earlier rules, it was the means by which he was to exert great influence on the development of MONASTICISM, enabling the Benedictines to expand across Europe and dominate much of religious life of the Middle Ages. Unlike the extremes of the rigorously ascetic and solitary life of Eastern monasticism, Benedict's ideals involved life in a community in which all the monks shared and participated.

Government of the monastery was the responsibility of the elected abbot, who ruled the enclosed monks as a father did his children. They owed him total obedience. The details of daily life were set forward but were not intended to be difficult or impossible. After eight hours of sleep, the monks rose for the night office, which was followed by six other services during the day. Most monks were not to be priests. The remainder of the day was spent in labor and in the study of the BIBLE and other spiritual works. A novice entered the community only after a probationary period, which tested him for the virtues deemed necessary, humility and obedience. He had to renounce personal property. Moderation, organization, practicality, and discretion were to be the bywords of these communities. LOUIS I THE PIOUS in the ninth century made his rule the exclusive model for monastic life.

*See also* BENEDICTINE ORDER; CASSIAN, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict in English*, ed. Timothy Fry (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Adalbert de Vogüé, *The Life of St. Benedict—Gregory the Great*, trans. Hilary Costello and Eoin de Bhaldraithe (Petersham, Mass.: St. Bede's Publications, 1993); Ildefonso Schuster, *Saint Benedict and His Times*, trans. Gregory J. Roettger (1951; reprint, St. Louis: Herder, 1953).

**benefice** The literal medieval meaning of *benefice* was "doing good," and was first used in Christian terminology. At the beginning of the Middle Ages, it also meant a "donation of money or land to the church," for which the donor expected a counter gift of divine GRACE for himself and family. From the eighth century on, a benefice could also be the land given by a lord to a vassal and the permission to use its produce. In return the vassal had to render military or administrative service. The benefice remained the property of the lord and was to be returned after the completion of service, or upon the vassal's death.

Under the CAROLINGIANS, from the time of CHARLES MARTEL, vassals were barred by law from transferring the benefice in whole or in part to anyone, bequeathing it to heirs, transfer peasants and animals from it to their own properties. From the rule of CHARLEMAGNE, in the early ninth century, these laws were not always followed or enforceable. More and more vassals came to see the benefice as part of family tenure and attempted to dispose of it as they wanted. This process accelerated with the

decline and collapse of central authority in the Carolingian Empire. This culminated in 875 in an official decision to permit vassals to bequeath benefices to heirs. Thus, the term *benefice*, still used in the charters, became synonymous with FIEF. The term then gradually disappeared from feudal documents. From the 12th century, it was used exclusively by the church to designate income received by clergy while in office and fulfilling their duties and after they had retired.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (1935; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971); Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2 vols., trans. L. A. Manyon (1939; reprint, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961); Jean-Loup Lemaître, “Benefices, Ecclesiastical,” *EMA*, 1.169.

**Benjamin ben Jonah of Tudela (Ben Jonah)** (d. 1173) *Jewish rabbi from Spain*

In the second half of the 12th century, Benjamin, perhaps a rabbi, from the Spanish town of Tudela, on the Ebro River in the northern region of NAVARRE, made an extensive journey over years throughout the Mediterranean, PALESTINE, and the city of BAGHDAD. Nothing is known about him, except what is found in his travel account. On his return, he wrote a valuable record of his travels in Hebrew, *the Seter Massaot* or Book of Travels. One of his main motives was to report on the status of Jewish communities throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East, perhaps to evaluate them as places of refuge, if the JEWS were forced to leave the Iberian Peninsula.

Without giving a reason, Benjamin started his travels around the year 1159 from the port city of BARCELONA. He traveled north from there into PROVENCE to the cities of MONTPELLIER and Marseille, where he remarked upon the presence of large Jewish communities and the beginnings of the ALBIGENSIAN heresy. He took a ship from Marseille to GENOA and from there to PISA. He found almost no Jews in either of these cities but did find some in prominent positions once he reached the city of ROME.

He headed south through NAPLES and into SICILY, which was then ruled by the NORMANS. In GREECE Benjamin found a large Jewish colony in Thebes, where there were 2,000 Jewish dyers and silk workers. In December 1161, he reached the city of CONSTANTINOPLE, where he viewed the festivities surrounding the marriage of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80). He also described the church of HAGIA SOPHIA, the largest in the world. For all its size and wealth, Constantinople was ill-regarded by Benjamin because it confined its Jewish community in a distant suburb, forbade them to ride horses, and at times persecuted them.

From Constantinople Benjamin voyaged through the islands of the AEGEAN SEA to CYPRUS, where he was

shocked to find a heretical Jewish sect that did not even observe the SABBATH. Sometime in the year 1163 Benjamin reached the great city of ANTIOCH in SYRIA. He traveled south through LEBANON and reported on the ASSASSINS, a nonorthodox Muslim sect. From there, he entered Palestine, where he found many nationalities living in JERUSALEM, including about 200 Jews. He visited Hebron, where he found the Samaritans, the remnants of an early Jewish sect. Returning north to DAMASCUS Benjamin estimated that there were 3,000 Jews there and a continuing tradition of Jewish education. He was overwhelmed by the beauty of that city's chief MOSQUE. From Damascus, Benjamin visited the ruins of Baalbek in what is now LEBANON. From northern SYRIA he crossed over into Mesopotamia and in 1164 eventually reached Baghdad, probably the largest city in the world at that time. He reported on the high status of the Jews of the city and the respect enjoyed by a Jewish leader called “the Prince of the Captivity.”

Benjamin visited the ruins of the ancient city of Babylon and then proceeded into western IRAN and as far north as the Caspian Sea. Along the way he found numerous Jewish settlements. He then sailed around the Arabia Peninsula and reached EGYPT sometime during 1171, describing ALEXANDRIA and the Greek monasteries in the SINAI Desert. He embarked from the port of Damietta to Messina in Sicily and then made his way through central Europe and back to Spain. Many of his observations have been verified by other contemporary sources. He died probably in 1173. His observations often have been corroborated by other sources, and the book was soon translated into other languages.

**Further reading:** Elkan Nathan Adler, ed., *Jewish Travelers: A Treasury of Travelogues from Nine Centuries* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966); Sandra Benjamin, *The World of Benjamin of Tudela: A Medieval Mediterranean Travelogue* (Madison, Wis.: Associated University Presses, 1995); Michael A. Signer et al., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages* (Malibu, Calif.: Joseph Simon Pangloss Press, 1987).

**Bentivoglio family** They were an Italian aristocratic family influential in BOLOGNA from the 13th century. They led the city's antipapal movement in the second half of the 14th century, intending to oust the governors installed by the popes. John I Bentivoglio (d. 1402), who led the movement at the end of the 14th century, seized power and in 1401 became the lord of Bologna. Disputes with the VISCONTI of MILAN led to his assassination, murdered by a city nob, in 1402. His son, Anthony Galeazzo (d. 1435), a jurist, continued his father's policy until his death in 1435. Thereafter the city entered a period of decadence, as political-religious conflicts caused several leadership changes. Sante Bentivoglio (d. 1463), perhaps illegitimate, became lord of Bologna in 1446. He was

sponsored by the MEDICI in FLORENCE and ruled until 1462. Reaching an agreement with the PAPACY enabled him to concentrate on restoring order. Under him the city flourished and the university, which he reorganized, regained its former fame. His successor, John II (d. 1508), controlled the commune between 1463 and 1506 as first citizen.

**Further reading:** Cecilia Mary Ady, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna: A Study in Despotism* (1937; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

**Beowulf** The old English epic poem known as *Beowulf* has no title in the single manuscript, written about 1000, that preserved it. At 3,182 lines, it was the longest poem in any early Germanic language. By any reckoning it was one of the great literary monuments of the Middle Ages, telling the tale of a hero who in his youth slayed two monsters, and in old age was killed while trying to slay a dragon. *Beowulf* was a poem reflecting on themes such as the temporality transience of human life and civilization, the bonds that hold society together and the pressures that break them, fate, courage, pride, duty, heroism, vengeance, and death. Some scholars have seen the poem as a product of the eighth century, others as a product of the 10th or even the early 11th. There are many puzzling aspects of its composition and audience.

See also ANGLO-SAXONS.

**Further reading:** Howell D. Checkering, ed. and trans., *Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition* (Garden City: Anchor, 1977); Peter S. Baker, ed., *Beowulf: Basic Readings* (New York: Garland, 1995); Robert W. Hanning, "Beowulf and Anglo-Saxon Poetry," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Vol. 1, Prudentius to Medieval Drama, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 51–89; Dorothy Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951).

**Berbers** The collective term *Berber* was originally used by the Muslim ARABS who conquered North Africa in the seventh century to refer to the non-Roman natives of the region. They were affiliated with a wide variety of distinct tribal groups. The term was borrowed from the LATIN *barbari*, meaning people who did not speak Greek or Latin. Modern scholars use the term to refer to tribal groups who were linked linguistically and sometimes culturally, but not necessarily ethnically.

Libyan and southern peoples on the frontier fringes had been recorded in the fifth century as manning the forts of Roman frontier defenses. Noted by AUGUSTINE in southern Tripolitania or those described in southern Algeria as *Barbari transtagnentes*, they migrated seasonally across borders. Others in the mountainous areas such as the Aures and Kabyliae lived on fortified estates. Recent archaeology shows that Romanization had pene-

trated. Many served as Roman officers and were Christian. They carried on Roman culture well into the Islamic period.

Berbers figured prominently throughout the history of Islamic peoples during the Middle Ages. They often provided the breeding ground for Islamic revivals in North Africa, providing a new religious enthusiasm and soldiers for dynasties embarking on expansion or reconquest, especially into the Iberian Peninsula.

See also ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS; AL-ANDALUS; ALMAGHRIB; MOROCCO; TUNIS.

**Further reading:** Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Maya Shatzmiller, *The Berbers and the Islamic State: The Marinid Experience in Pre-Protectorate Morocco* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2000); Charles Pellet et al., "Berbers," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1173–1187.

**Berengar of Tours (Berengarius)** (ca. 1000–1088) *priest, theologian, teacher at Tours*

Born about 1000 of a wealthy family, Berengar was educated in grammar and dialectic at CHARTRES under FULBERT. In 1032, he was probably a canon at Saint-Martin at Tours and a grammar teacher at the cathedral school there. He soon became its director. In about 1040 he was appointed to the posts of archdeacon and episcopal treasurer at Angers.

#### EUCCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY

He began to teach Holy Scripture at Tours around 1048, and became interested in the controversial and condemned EUCCHARISTIC doctrine attributed to JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA. Just before a Roman synod of 1050, he sent a note to LANFRANC, the famous master of studies at the abbey of Bec, criticizing him for considering Eriugena's opinion as heretical. The note was taken to ROME. Berengar had questioned the idea of transubstantiation, in which the bread and wine of the Mass were actually changed into the body and blood of Christ. The Orthodox view was that their substances were changed. Berengar thought this association was only symbolic.

The synod presided over by Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–54) condemned this idea as heretical and excommunicated Berengar despite his absence. Summoned to synod at Vercelli the same year, Berengar lost several disputes over the question. He tried to convince the king of France, Henry I (r. 1031–60), but the king handed him over to one of his household, who held him captive in order to extort a ransom. Leo IX likened his doctrine to that of Scottus and branded him a heretic.

Berengar launched attacks on the church of Rome and the pope to prove the eucharistic bread remained bread after the consecration. Freed late in 1050, he was condemned again at several synods. He continued to argue ideas about the real presence of Christ in the

Eucharist that were based on rational evidence and dialectic argument. He finally went to Rome and appeared at a synod in Lent 1059 presided over by Pope NICHOLAS II. There he had to destroy his writings on the Eucharist, swear abjuration of his personal beliefs, and make a profession of orthodoxy. Humiliated but freed again, he returned to the attack and wrote a treatise, *Contra Synodum*, which produced another severe refutation and attack from Lanfranc. Summoned again to a Roman synod in 1079, he was again forced to accept a definition he did not believe. He retired to live as a hermit at Saint-Cosme, where he died seemingly in peace with the doctrine of the church on January 10, 1088.

**Further reading:** Allan John Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (1930; reprint, Merrick, N.Y.: Richwood, 1977); Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Gary Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom; Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1999).

**Bernardino of Siena, Saint (Bernardo degli Abizeschi)** (1380–1444) *Franciscan preacher, dominant figure of the Observant reform*

He was born on September 8, 1380, in Massa Marittima in Tuscany, the son of a powerful family of SIENA, the Abizeschi. Bernardino was orphaned young. His paternal uncle took care to give him a sound humanist and legal education in Siena. When a plague hit Siena in 1400, as part of a confraternity of penitents, he took over the direction of a hospital. This experience led to a conversion. On September 8, 1402, after some hesitation, he chose the reformed branch of the FRANCISCAN Observance. He was ordained a priest in 1404. His superiors quickly recognized his talents and assigned him to preach.

From 1406 to 1427, he dedicated himself entirely to PREACHING and traveled all through ITALY. Citizens traveled by hundreds to hear the great showman's sermons in a public square. They sometimes lasted three hours. The vigor of his moral teaching, expounded with ardour, earthy humor, and sometimes a furrous asperity, inspired numerous personal conversions. They often provoked communal governments to issue statutes against sexual sins and gambling. He showed himself particularly ardent on not accepting usury and taking only legitimate commercial profits. He strove to restore civil peace in towns torn apart by factional conflicts. He preached a Crusade against the TURKS. A rival DOMINICAN preacher accused him of HERESY in 1423. Bernardino easily demonstrated his orthodoxy at ROME. He continued to reform the Franciscan Observance, of which he was vicar-general, until 1443. By May 20, 1444, the date of his death at L'Aquila in the Abruzzi, the Observant Franciscans were

established in 230 convents. At his death, he was considered one of the greatest saints in Italy. His canonization was solemnly proclaimed by Nicholas V at PENTECOST in the jubilee year of 1450.

**Further reading:** Ada M. Harrison, ed., *Examples of San Bernardino* (London: G. Howe, 1926); Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962); Cynthia Polecristi, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000).

**Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint** (1090–1153) *French Cistercian monk, founder and abbot of the monastery of Clairvaux, theologian, doctor of the church*

Born third of seven children in 1090 in Fontaines-lès-Dijon of a noble family in BURGUNDY, Bernard was a tall, handsome, slender youth endowed with considerable charm, a knack for eloquence, sensitivity, and a passion for learning. When he was 23, he persuaded two uncles, his five brothers, and about 30 other young nobles to enter the empty CISTERCIAN monastery of Cîteaux, founded in 1098 in a swampy area near Dijon.

Life at Cîteaux was austere and included manual labor, prayer, and study. Bernard's ascetic practices ruined his health, and he was often sick. In June 1115 he was chosen to lead a group of 12 monks in founding a new monastery at Clairvaux, 70 miles from Cîteaux. Bernard's personality, holiness, and persuasiveness and the beautiful LATIN style of his writings soon made him and the new foundation of Clairvaux famous throughout Europe. He was sometimes very critical of certain aspects of the contemporary church. He frequently attacked in colorful language the monks of CLUNY for their eschewal of manual labor and for their rich ceremonial dress and food.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES; SECOND CRUSADE

Bernard soon became involved in important affairs of the church. He played a role in drawing up the Rule of the Knights Templar, obtaining approval for it at the Council of Troyes in 1128. In 1130 Pope Innocent II (r. 1130–43), a man of worthy character, was elected irregularly pope by a minority of the cardinals. A few hours later the majority of cardinals elected again irregularly an antipope, Anacletus II (r. 1130–38). The eventual decision in favor of Innocent II was the result of Bernard's persuasion. Bernard, too, helped convince the German emperor Conrad III (r. 1138–52) not to repudiate the Concordat of Worms of 1122 and to support Innocent II in a sorry conflict that lasted until the death of Anacletus II in 1138.

Two years later Bernard became deeply involved in challenging Peter ABÉLARD. Opponents of Abélard protested that his application of dialectic to theology was dangerous to the point of destroying faith. Bernard accepted Abélard's challenge to a debate at the Council of Sens in 1140. There Bernard presented a list of theses taken from Abélard's writings that showed how far he had departed from the traditional faith and ideas. After the pope condemned the theses, Abélard accepted the decision and made peace with Rome and Bernard.

The fall of EDESSA in 1143 led to a demand for a new crusade to protect the kingdom of Jerusalem. Bernard launched his first appeal for a crusade at VÉZELAY in France in 1146. He preached successfully, linking crusading with gaining salvation, and even persuaded Emperor Conrad III to join. He spoke out to protect the Jews from attacks during the crusade. The failure of the Second Crusade left Bernard heartbroken and dimmed his prestige and popularity.

#### WORKS AND IDEAS

Bernard's name was associated with the "two swords theory," whereby both the spiritual and temporal swords belonged to the pope and the church; the temporal sword was to be used by the prince at the request of the church. Bernard composed treatises on asceticism, polemical works, commentaries on the BIBLE, and innumerable sermons. His originality was most obvious in his biblical commentaries and sermons.

When Bernard died on August 20, 1153, MIRACLES were reported at once at the site of his tomb. His intellectual influence among Christians has remained immense.

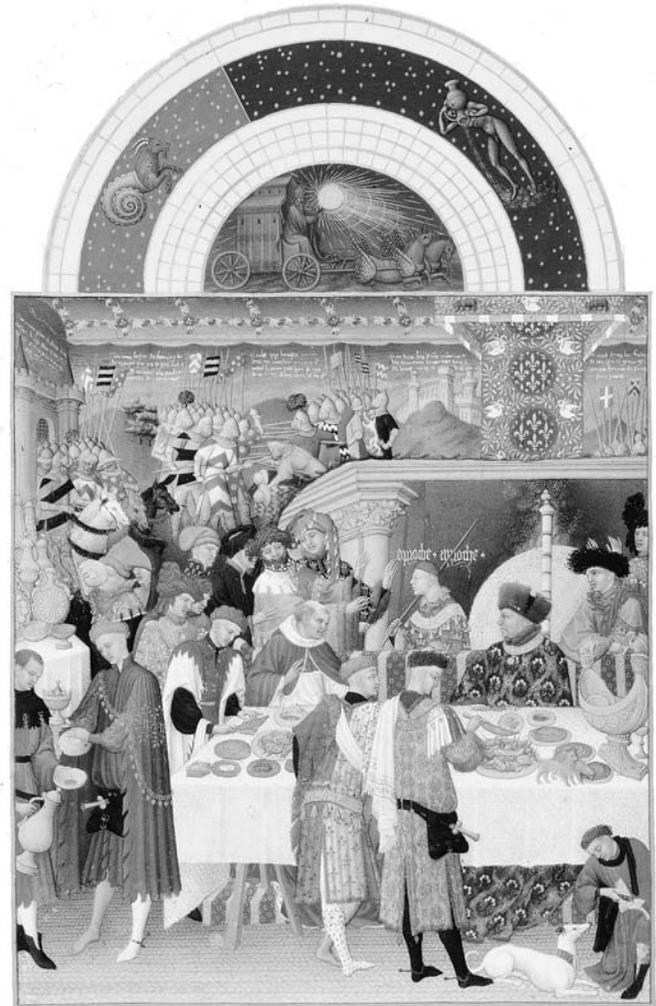
See also GILBERT OF POITIERS.

**Further reading:** Adrian H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996); Gillian Evans, *The Mind of Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Étienne Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, trans. A. H. C. Downes (London: Sheed and Ward, 1940).

#### Berry, John, duke of (Jean de France) (1340–1416) *patron of art and politician*

He was born on November 30, 1340, at Vincennes near Paris. During the reign of his father, John II (r. 1350–64), he was count of Poitou, participated in the Battle of POITIERS in 1356, and served as a lieutenant for his elder brother, the future king, CHARLES V (r. 1364–80). As part of the reorganization of the kingdom, he received the duchies of Berry and Auvergne in 1360. In the same year he married Jeanne d'Armagnac. As part of the treaty of Brétigny, he was sent as a hostage to England and lived there until 1369. On his return to France, his brother, King Charles V, appointed him royal lieutenant general for much of western France. His duty was to restore it to French rule from English domination.

He displayed little military talent and failed. On the king's death in 1380 and despite his brother's disapproval, he served on the Council of Regency for his nephew, Charles VI (1380–1422), and served as royal lieutenant general in LANGUEDOC. Widowed when Jeanne d'Armagnac died, in 1389 he married Jeanne de Boulogne. When King Charles VI showed failing mental health, John assumed authority in conjunction with his own brother, Philip the Bold (1342–1404) of Burgundy, and his nephew, Louis of Orléans (1372–1407), the king's brother. He seemed to try to reconcile the two factions of the Burgundians and the ARMAGNACS. He strongly condemned the murder of the duke of Orléans in 1407 by Berry's nephew, John the Fearless (1371–1419), the duke of Burgundy. He explicitly sided with the Armagnac party in 1410, even unscrupulously becoming its chief. He died essentially broke and childless in Paris on June 15, 1416.



A banquet with John, the duke of Berry, presiding, Limbourg brothers (15th century), January, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Ms. 65/1284, fol. 1v., Musée Condé, Chantilly, France (*Giraudon / Art Resource*)

## CULTURAL PATRONAGE

John of Berry had established for himself a reputation as an inept military leader, a spendthrift, but a famous and enlightened patron and a lover of finely illustrated manuscripts. His overtaxed subjects likely remembered his luxurious overspending. One hundred manuscripts of the 300 in his library have survived to this day, the famous *Très Riches Heures* and the *Très Belles Heures*, among others.

See also BOOKS OF HOURS; HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; LIMBOURG BROTHERS.

**Further reading:** Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean De Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1969); Marcel Thomas, *The Grandes Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York: Braziller, 1971).

**Berthold of Regensburg or Ratisbon** (ca. 1210–1272) *innovative German Franciscan preacher*

Born about 1210, Berthold focused his main concentration on his SERMONS, preaching especially in German. He drew huge crowds in BAVARIA and HUNGARY. Berthold was among the first to use anecdotes, exempla, proverbs, puns, and dialect words, employing them in learned rhetorical techniques. Berthold's sermons were effective and seemingly inspired the conversion of many listeners. They moreover constitute a remarkable mine of information reflecting popular culture of the time. Pope Urban IV (r. 1261–64) employed him to preach a Crusade with ALBERTUS MAGNUS. He died on December 14, 1272.

See also PREACHING.

**Further reading:** Debra L. Stoudt, "Berthold von Regensburg (ca. 1210–1272)," in John M. Jeep, ed., *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), 52–53.

**Bertran de Born** (ca. 1140–ca. 1215) *viscount of Haute-fort, remembered as a warmongering troubadour*

He was born between Limousin and Périgord in France about 1140 and later married and produced two children, but little information about his actual life has survived. In his lyrics, Bertran claimed in his writing that the active life was to be lived only fully on a battlefield. He was a quarrelsome figure in personal and political relationships, fighting his brother for possession of family property, going on Crusade, and assisting RICHARD I Lionheart in his rebellions against his father, the king. At the same time Bertran was also a benefactor of the church and became a Cistercian monk at Dalon for the last 20 years of his life. Throughout his poetry, he upheld the virtues of war, especially of courage and generosity. As a warrior with such a literary persona, he tried to promote the knightly values that he viewed to be absent among his contemporaries. He died between 1212 and 1215 in the abbey of Dalon.

See also TROUBADOURS.

**Further reading:** Bertran de Born, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. and trans. William D. Paden, Tilde Sankovich, and Patricia H. Stäblein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Karen Willk Klein, *The Partisan Voice: A Study of the Political Lyric in France and Germany, 1180–1230* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

**Bessarion, John Cardinal (Basil)** (ca. 1403–1472) *bishop of Nicaea, theologian, collector of Greek manuscripts*  
He was born to a poor family at Trebizond in northern Anatolia on January 2, 1403. The talents of the young Bessarion so impressed a local church official that he took him to CONSTANTINOPLE in about 1415. He studied RHETORIC and PHILOSOPHY under some of the best teachers of the era. Having become an Orthodox monk under the name Bessarion in 1423, he was ordained a priest in 1431. From 1431 to 1436, he lived at MISTRA in the Peloponnese in Greece, where he continued his study of Plato with the famous philosopher Gemistus Plethon (ca. 1360–1452).

CAREER AND ADVOCACY OF  
ECCLESIASTICAL UNION

The emperor John VIII Palailogos (r. 1425–48) sent him to the council of FERRARA-FLORENCE and appointed him bishop of Nicaea in 1437. He was one of the most prominent Greek advocates of the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, at the very least for political reasons to obtain help against the OTTOMAN threat. He returned in 1440 to Constantinople, where he learned of his elevation by the pope as a cardinal on December 18, 1439. He returned to Florence a year later and continued to promote the union of the two churches. Moving to the city of Rome with Pope EUGENIUS IV in 1443, he built a house near his titular church of the Twelve Apostles, which became an important center of humanist activity and fellowship, especially that of the Neoplatonist school. He also worked with GEORGE of Trebizond and Lorenzo VALLA to promote the study of Greek, copy Greek and Latin manuscripts, and translate important Greek authors. As part of that effort he assembled one of the largest and best libraries of the time. It later became the original core of the Bibliotheca Marciana at Venice.

## CRUSADING

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks, he promoted calling the ultimately unsuccessful Congress of Mantua in 1459–60 to retake the city and protect the Greek Church. In 1463 after the capture of TREBIZOND, the last bastion of the Byzantine Empire, he was appointed the Latin patriarch of Constantinople. He worked to encourage VENICE in particular to lead a crusade to protect its threatened colonies in the eastern Mediterranean. With the untimely death of Pope PIUS II

in 1464, this project came to nothing. In the meantime he had served the papacy as governor of Bologna and made many diplomatic missions trying to drum up support for intervention against the Turks. Twice he was an unsuccessful candidate for the papacy, in 1455 and 1471. He spent the rest of his life after 1464 trying to promote a crusade and reforming what was left of the Greek Church outside Ottoman control. On return from a diplomatic mission, he died at Ravenna on November 18, 1472.

**Further reading:** N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995).

**bestiaries** Bestiaries drew ethical lessons in the central Middle Ages from the supposed appearance or behavior of animals. These stories were descended from a second-century Greek text called the *Physiologus*, or “Natural philosopher,” which was available in Latin by the end of the fourth century. They varied in organization and in length, ranging from fewer than 30 chapters to more than 200.

A complete *Physiologus* contained 37 chapters arranged according to moral lessons rather than by animal. The organization of the orally intended *Physiologus* was based on the simple, memorable stories, repeated phrases, and occasional direct address to an audience. They were perhaps compiled as aids to preaching and as allegorical didactic examples of the consequences of virtue or vice.

The oldest surviving bestiary in Latin produced in ENGLAND was probably written at CANTERBURY between 1110 and 1130. It differed from a *Physiologus* collection only by addition of short extracts from the *Etymologiae* of ISIDORE of Seville. In the 13th century, they were more rarely used as sources for sermons. Preachers had begun to take more examples directly from life and used allegory less as they expanded and simplified their reach to more of the laity. The age of bestiary compilation was over by the end of the 13th century, but the stories and their illustration lived on in expensive and elaborate luxury manuscripts.

See also ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; ILLU-MINATION.

**Further reading:** Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* (London: Courtauld Institute, 1998); Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Debra Hassig, ed., *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (New York: Garland, 1999); Florence McCullough, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1960).

**betrothal** See MARRIAGE.

**beverages** See FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Bible** The word *Bible* (Latin: *biblia*, derived from the Greek *biblia*, meaning “books”) was first used for the Septuagint, an early translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. The term was later modified to include many more books. In medieval Judaism the Bible was the 30 books of the Old Testament. In Christianity it was the Old and the New Testaments.

The books of the Jewish Bible (*Tanakh*) or Old Testament were divided into three groups: first, the Torah or Pentateuch with the five books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; second, the Prophets, divided into the historical group of Joshua, Judges, Samuel I, Samuel II, Kings I, Kings II, and the Later Prophets, including Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets; third, the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles I, and Chronicles II. The New Testament or Christian Bible added the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Letters of Saint Paul, as well as the seven Letters of James, Peter, John, and Judas, and the Apocalypse.

The canon of the Hebrew Old Testament was established at the beginning of the second century C.E., and that of the Greek New Testament in the middle of the same century. By the fourth century many partial versions of the Bible, often with discrepancies, were used in the Roman Empire. Saint JEROME at the beginning of the fifth century undertook a new translation of the Bible from the Hebrew. This version, the VULGATE, became the authoritative text for the Roman or Latin Catholic Church.

#### SCHOLARSHIP AND EXEGESIS

Understanding and interpreting biblical texts posed great problems for Jews and Christians. Jews were the first to do so, and their methods were in great part borrowed by Christians. According to Jewish scholars, the Scriptures could be interpreted on four different levels: the literal, moral, historical, and allegorical. Whereas the literal and historical methods dealt with understanding and explaining the body of the text, the moral and allegorical methods attempted to find the spirit, or the underlying message.

Christian exegesis had three distinct phases, becoming traditional approaches in themselves: the patristic period, dominated by the church fathers; the 11th and 13th centuries, when the school of Saint Victor at Paris and the contributions of a number of individual exegetes introduced the four Jewish senses into Christian exegesis, and commentaries took the form of textual glosses; and

the 14th and 15th centuries, an era of rationalism, humanism, and textual techniques associated with Renaissance learning. At the same time, there was the mysticism and scriptural sensitivity of Meister ECKHART, and the asceticism and popularization of the FRANCISCANS, who produced a *Bible of the Poor*. Scholastic tendencies originated in the universities and schools of theology, where the Bible was often interpreted in senses other than the mystical. Greek teachers in ITALY called the Septuagint and the usefulness of studying the Bible in Greek to the attention of Western scholars in the later Middle Ages.

#### THE ART OF BIBLE ILLUSTRATION

Bibles were regularly copied in monastic *scriptoria*, as part of the reading dictated by the Rule. These artists paid special attention to decorative script and elaborate initial letters. Biblical illustration from the ninth century was the most common source of miniature painting on parchment. This phenomenon paralleled the Jewish and Muslim practice of illuminating the Torah and the Quran with abstract illuminations. By the end of the 13th and during the 14th and 15th centuries, deluxe copies of Bibles formed the core of the prestigious libraries of royal courts and great princes. Skilled artists used motifs from secular life and were employed to glorify their patrons.

See also BOOKS OF HOURS; GLOSSA ORDINARIA; ILLUMINATION.

**Further reading:** J. W. H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, 2 vols. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952; reprint, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964); Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, c. 1100–c. 1280* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985); John Williams, ed., *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

**biblical commentaries** See BIBLE.

**biblical exegesis** See BIBLE.

**Biel, Gabriel** (ca. 1415–1495) *theologian*

Gabriel was born about 1415 in Speyer, GERMANY, as an adult he joined the liberal arts faculty at the universities of Heidelberg and Erfurt. He preached at Mainz Cathedral between 1457 and 1465 and joined the BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE sometime before 1468. At Mainz and in the dying days of CONCILIARISM, he supported the PAPACY, in a stand that forced him to leave that city. He was later the rector of the University of Tübingen (1485–89) and occupied the chair of theology there between 1484 and 1492.

He tried to balance his approach to the authority of the papacy over the church. Papal hegemony was essential for the edification of the faithful and maintenance of church unity; however, papal power was not absolute. His sermons and his theological work, reflected influences from several sources, including DUNS SCOTUS, WILLIAM OF OCKHAM (in particular), John GERSON, and Thomas AQUINAS. He was particularly concerned with pastoral care. He also wrote an important political-economy work on money. After retiring to Einsiedeln, he died on December 7, 1495, in Tübingen.

**Further reading:** John L. Farthing, *Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Biel: Interpretations of St. Thomas in German Nominalism on the Eve of the Reformation* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988); Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1967).

**Birgitta of Sweden, Saint (Bridget, Birgid)** (ca. 1302–1373) *visionary prophetess, founder of a religious order, ardent proponent of the papacy's return to Rome*

Saint Bridget, or in Swedish, Birgitta or Birgers dotter, was born to an aristocratic family around 1302. She had eight children from her marriage at 14 in 1316 to Ulf Gudmarsson (d. 1344). She was a lady-in-waiting at the royal court from 1335. There she started having visions and tried to reform court life. After pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and elsewhere in 1341–42, the couple retired to the monastery of Alvastra, where Ulf died in 1344. In 1346 she founded a monastery for 60 nuns and 25 monks with a rule promoting study and reading within a simple community that gave its wealth to the poor.

#### MOVE TO ROME

From 1350 onward Birgitta lived at Rome with her daughter and two spiritual advisers, never to return to Sweden. She probably initially went as a pilgrim for the Holy Year of 1350, with the hope of gaining approval of her new order and rule. She soon added promotion of church reform and a call for the return of the papacy to Rome from AVIGNON. Her religious messages became doctrinal in tone and addressed to officials of both church and state and were often accompanied by ecstatic visions.

Birgitta's spiritual ideas, which were propagated through her spiritual directors, seemed to include considerable psychological insight and strong identification with the Blessed Virgin Mary. She died at Rome on July 23, 1373, after making pilgrimages throughout Italy and to the Holy Land. Her *Revelations* were collected by a Spanish bishop, Alfonso of Jaén. She was canonized for her virtues on October 7, 1391, a canonization confirmed by Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31) in 1419 for the whole of Christendom. Her order (the Brigettines), though small, has survived to the present.

**Further reading:** Julia Bolton Holloway, trans., *Saint Bride and Her Book: Birgitta of Sweden's Revelations* (Newburyport, Mass.: Focus Information Group, 1992); Marguerite Tjader Harris, ed., *Life and Selected Revelations* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); Bridget Morris, *St. Birgitta of Sweden* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1999).

**birth and infancy** See CHILDHOOD.

**birth control** See CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION.

**al-Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad (Beruni, Abu l-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad) (973–ca. 1050) scholar, scientist**

Al-Biruni was born about 973 in Khwarizm in Persia in 973. After its conquest by the Ghaznavids, he moved to their capital, Ghazna in Afghanistan, where he gained the patronage and protection of the ruling family. Little information on his life has survived, but he is known to have met IBN SINA or Avicenna when he was a young man. They engaged in a bitter but short discussion about the nature and transmission of heat and light.

His many works were written in Arabic, not his native Persian, which he disparaged. The most important were *The Chronology of the Ancient Peoples*, devising a calendar, and treatises on the weather, and astronomy. He also wrote a *Description of India*, in which he described the philosophical and cosmological theories of Hinduism, and his great encyclopedia of astronomy, *Al-Kanun al-Masudi*. He composed many other works, 138 according to his own list and perhaps as many as 180. These included treatises on mineralogy, pharmacology, and trigonometry. In all this material, he was cosmopolitan in his interest in the heritage of India, even learning Sanskrit. He studied and wrote with great scientific rigor, resisted theories based on mere superstition, and even posited a heliocentric cosmology. His work was not translated into Latin during the Middle Ages, and his originality was not appreciated by many Muslim and Christian scientists, who had little access to his ideas. According to tradition, he died on December 13 around 1050 in Ghazna.

**Further reading:** Muhammad ibn Ahmad Biruni, *The Exhaustive Treatise on Shadows: Translation and Commentary*, trans. E. S. Kennedy (Aleppo, Syria: Institute for the History of Arabic Science, University of Aleppo, 1976); E. S. Kennedy, *A Commentary upon Biruni's Kitab Tahdid al-Amakin: An Eleventh Century Treatise on Mathematical Geography* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1973); D. J. Boilot, "Al-Bīrūnī," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1. 1236–1238; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwan*

*al-Safa', al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina*, rev. ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

**bishops** See CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS.

**Bisticci, Vespasiano da (1421–1498) Florentine bookseller**

Vespasiano da Bisticci was born in 1421; he set up a stationery shop near the center of Florence and soon became a bookseller of deluxe manuscripts to the leading princes and humanists of his time. He specialized in manuscripts, written in new clear humanist script, of classical, patristic, and scholarly texts.

His shop supplied the leading collectors of his day with books. These included Cosimo de' MEDICI. For Cosimo's library the shop's 45 scribes produced 200 volumes in 22 months, according to Bisticci's publicity. He was the book supplier of choice to several popes and famous collectors such as FEDERICO da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino; Matthias CORVINUS; and ALFONSO V the Magnanimous of Aragon. He attended meetings of princes and prelates outside Florence to sell manuscripts to order. On occasion his very fast transcriptions were not very accurate, but even exacting humanist scholars continued to buy his products. He was unsympathetic to the reproductions of texts by the new printing and retired in 1482. He then produced biographies and lively sketches of many of his clients, who were among the most famous scholars and prince-collectors of his day. He died in 1498.

See also BOOKS OR CODICES, HISTORY OF; PRINTING, ORIGINS OF.

**Further reading:** Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters (London: G. Routledge, 1926).

**Black Death** See PLAGUES.

**blacks and Africans in the Middle Ages** In the Middle Ages, the Muslim world was in direct contact with black Africa. Europeans had contact with blacks almost exclusively as imported slaves, whom they acquired solely through Muslim merchants, who had greater access and facility of contact with Africa, until the 15th century.

As part of an annual tribute paid by NUBIA or caravans returning from the south, the slave trade extended over all of North AFRICA. From there, black slaves were sold in SPAIN. In both Christendom and Islam, these black slaves were kept primarily as domestics in private homes. However, there were armies of black slaves in EGYPT, IRAQ, and North Africa. They were used for military campaigns and for public works. Black eunuchs were

numerous in the palaces of Muslim rulers. The number of black slaves greatly increased in ARAGON and on the island of MAJORCA during the 14th and 15th centuries. They did tough agricultural work, especially for sugar production. Some earned their freedom. By the 15th century there were confraternities of freed Africans in BARCELONA and VALENCIA.

#### PORTUGAL AND RELIGION

The export and number of slaves from the western coast of Africa grew with the establishment of Portuguese trading posts along the West Africa coast. Initially, the Portuguese seized Muslim slave ships off the Moroccan coast and kept the slaves. In 1444 a slave-trading company was founded and soon the entire coast of West Africa became a huge slave-hunting ground. There were clear statements in canon law that forbade the enslavement of Christians; despite this prohibition, a bull of Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55), in 1454 to King Alfonso V of Portugal (r. 1438–81) observed that enslavement of pagan Africans was leading to their conversion, so perhaps it was permissible to enslave then convert to save souls. Conversion did not necessarily lead to freedom. The number of black slaves grew during the 15th century in PROVENCE, CATALONIA, GENOA, and VENICE as local merchants traded with Muslims. In the BYZANTINE Empire and northern, central, and eastern Europe, there were few black African slaves during the Middle Ages. Slavery in those regions depended on other sources of supply, but did exist, especially before 1100.

**Further reading:** R. Brunschvigh, “Abd,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.24–34; Catherine Theresa Johnson, “Representation of Blacks in Medieval German Literature and Art” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994); Paul Henry Daniel Kaplan, “Ruler, Saint and Servant: Blacks in European Art to 1520” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1983); Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

**Black Sea** The Black Sea is a large body of water north of CONSTANTINOPLE and connected to the Mediterranean. Its strategic importance was the result of its close proximity to Constantinople, whose people greatly benefited from the grain, salted fish, slaves, and raw material shipped to them on this inland sea just to the north. It also had a political and diplomatic importance. The BYZANTINE colony at Cherson, in the CRIMEA, was the place where Byzantium endeavored to monitor northern peoples such as the KHAZARS, Petchenegs, and RUS.

**Further reading:** Anthony Bryer, *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800–1900* (London: Variorum, 1988); Nikolai Ovcharov, *Ships and Shipping in the Black Sea: XIV–XIX Centuries*, trans. Elena Vatahka (Sofia: St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 1993).

**Blanche of Castile (Blanca da Castilla)** (1188–1252) *wife of King Louis VIII of France, twice regent of the kingdom of France*

Blanche was born in 1188, the daughter of Alfonso VIII (1158–1214) of Castile and Eleanor of England. She married at age 12 the future King Louis VIII (r. 1223–26) in 1200. They had 11 or 12 children, whom they raised strictly and in whom they created a strong devotion to France and the church. She became queen after the death of PHILIP II Augustus in 1223 and was widowed in 1226 when Louis VIII died during the Albigensian Crusades. She served as guardian and regent for the young King LOUIS IX. She defended ardently and successfully the interests of Louis, especially in the south of France. Even after he attained his majority in 1236, she remained among his closest advisers and confidants. Louis IX made her regent of the kingdom and guardian of his children when he went on a crusade between 1248 and 1252, even though she had strongly opposed his departure. She died on November 22, 1252, and was buried at the monastery of Maubuisson.

*See also* JOINVILLE, JEAN DE.

**Further reading:** Joinville, “The Life of Saint Louis,” in Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1977 [1963]), 163–353; Régine Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. Henry Noel (London: Collins, 1975).

**blasphemy** In Greek, *blasphemia* meant a “wounding word.” In the Judeo-Christian Bible, the word had this sense for designated words or phrases that offended GOD. The Old Testament demanded death for any blasphemy. According to the New Testament, Jesus himself was in part condemned for blasphemy. For Muslims blasphemy, or *sabb*, meant any insult to God, the Prophet, or any important aspect of Islam and was severely punished. In medieval Judaism, the death penalty or later excommunication for *gidduf* or *heruf* was limited to flagrant profaning of God’s sacred and ineffable name. Use of other words merited only flogging. There had to be two witnesses and repentance was possible.

For Christians the punishment was always harsh, sometimes in the extreme. In the sixth century, the JUSTINIAN code tortured blasphemers and legislated death of repeat offenders. Carolingian capitularies stated that capital punishment was reserved for cases of blasphemy pronounced inside a church, for blasphemy outside a church public penance and imprisonment were sufficient. In the 12th century, the fundamental ethical works of IVO of Chartres and GRATIAN suggested excommunication. In 1236, the *Decretals* of Pope GREGORY IX declared that blasphemers must stand for seven weeks at the door of a church during High Mass, wearing neither cloak nor shoes and with a cord around the neck. Saint LOUIS IX tortured a goldsmith at Caesarea and burned the nose

and lips of a Parisian for such a sin. By the 14th century, Scholastic theologians had defined more precisely the circumstances that should be taken into consideration for punishing the sin. These covered blasphemy of mouth, of the heart, blasphemy accompanied or not accompanied by hatred of God, blasphemy spoken directly against God or merely dishonoring his works, and blasphemy expressed in the heat of passion.

**Further reading:** Gilles Berceulle, "Blasphemy" *EMA*, 1.183; David A. Lawton, *Blasphemy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Leonard W. Levy, *Blasphemy: Verbal Offense against the Sacred, from Moses to Salman Rushdie* (New York: Knopf, 1993).

**Blood Libel** To the minds of some Christians, the continued existence of Jews and Judaism in Europe was a reminder of Christ's Passion and the still incomplete mission of conversion. Several fantastic ideas about the Jews were constructed from remnants of pagan blood superstitions and paralleled accusations once leveled against the early Christians. One was that a Christian child was sacrificed by Jews annually, supposedly as an insult to the Incarnation of Jesus; from 1235, it was thought to be done to provide blood for ritual or medicinal use. The Blood Libel seems first to have appeared in a description of events in Norwich in England in 1144, though its origins certainly preceded this. The idea of the financially lucrative production of a supposed new martyr for Christianity spread rapidly, bolstered in the eyes of the clergy by the possibility of creating new shrines to supposed martyrs. This idea also led to attacks on thousands of innocent Jews. Many died because of these false and ridiculous allegations that were frequently believed even by better educated Christians. In reality they would have contradicted basic Jewish religious beliefs about blood and concepts of purity. These ideas and allegations survived into modern times and became basic tenets of modern ANTI-SEMITISM.

**Further reading:** Alan Dundes, ed., *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1943).

**Boccaccio, Giovanni** (1313–1375) *Italian author* Boccaccio was born in either Certaldo, near Florence, or PARIS in June or July 1313 (into a Florentine merchant family). After Giovanni's mother's death, his father returned to FLORENCE, married, and took him home. There Boccaccio claimed to have been maltreated by his new stepmother. Boccaccio's earliest stories praised his own mother and described his own sufferings as a child.

His father intended him to be a merchant, but he preferred literature and studied LATIN. In 1328 he was sent to NAPLES to study law and work in business for the company of the Bardi. There Boccaccio spent most of his time around scholars and writers and was probably in contact with the poet Cino of Pistoia (ca. 1270–1336/37), who was a friend of Dante ALIGHIERI and PETRARCH. In 1336 he severed his ties with his father and devoted himself to a literary career. His supposed love affair with Maria d'Aquino, an illegitimate daughter of King Robert of Anjou (r. 1039–43), king of Naples, was later cited as inspiring his poetry. At the same time, Boccaccio frequented the court, whose activities he claimed he later described in the *Decameron*. In 1340 he reconciled with his father and returned to Florence.

#### TRAVELS AND COMMUNAL DIPLOMACY

Back in Florence he served on the city council and was sent on diplomatic missions. He went to Naples to negotiate with Queen Joan I (1343–82). He traveled to the Tyrol, to conclude a military alliance with a duke of BAVARIA. At RAVENNA, he gave DANTE's daughter a present from a repentant commune of Florence. At PADUA he was sent to offer PETRARCH a position at the new University of Florence. He also visited the papal court first at AVIGNON and later at ROME.

#### OPERA AND LATER WRITING

In the mid-14th century he started his most important work, the *Decameron*. It was completed in 1353. Besides the famous *Decameron*, he wrote interpretations of the important books of his age, such as Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The *Decameron* was a collection of 100 tales told by a group hiding from the Black Death in 1348 and written in the vernacular. It was created to entertain but also to teach, through the adventures of the protagonists, lessons about human wisdom, lust, folly, greed, and stupidity. He particularly criticized the clergy.

Soon after that his character and behavior underwent a profound conversion. He became preoccupied with religion, his own sins, salvation, and gave up poetry and profane writing. In an autobiographical and misogynist story, *Corbaccio*, written in 1354, he wrote disparagingly about the secular life and the women he had once loved. These feelings became stronger after a near-fatal illness and exposure to a monk who terrified him with the fear of death. He gave up his humanist works and set out to burn all of his sinful writings but was only prevented from doing so by Petrarch. From 1363 he never wrote in the vernacular. In his later years he settled in the little town of Certaldo, near Florence, where he lived in solitude. He died on December 21, 1375.

**Further reading:** Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Corbaccio*, trans. Anthony K. Cassell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); *Decameron*, rev. trans. Charles S. Singleton

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Vittore Branca, *Boccaccio: The Man and His Works* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Teodolinda Barolini, "Giovanni Boccaccio," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Vol. 1, *Petrarch to Renaissance Short Fiction*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 509–534; note especially the list of translated works by Boccaccio up to 1983 on p. 533; Joseph P. Consoli, *Giovanni Boccaccio: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1992).

**Boethius, Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus** (ca. 480–524/526) *Roman logician, theologian, politician*  
Born about 480 in ROME of an ancient family but orphaned young, Boethius probably received schooling in ATHENS or possibly in ALEXANDRIA. In any case he acquired a thorough knowledge of the Greek language and the philosophies of PLATO, ARISTOTLE, and the Stoics. He undertook to translate the works of Plato and Aristotle into LATIN with the aim of reconciling the two philosophies. This immense task was never completed, but Boethius did translate Aristotle's logical works and wrote commentaries on two of them. They had great influence on medieval thought.

#### ON CLASSICAL PHILOSOPHY AND MUSIC

Boethius's most important purely philosophical work was his second and longer commentary on Porphyry's *Introduction* to Aristotle's *Categories*. Therein he discussed the status of UNIVERSALS in a text that was extremely influential in the late Middle Ages. In his discussion Boethius presented Aristotle's solution on universals, as explained by Alexander of Aphrodisias, in about 200 B.C.E. This solution stated that species and genera were actual realities as well as mental conceptions. As realities, they were incorporeal and existed only in union with sensible things. Accordingly, individual human beings existed with substantial likenesses to one another, but what they had in common did not exist in any reality outside individuals. On the basis of these substantial likenesses, the mind conceived of the human species. An abstract conception was a true one, and it applied to individual human beings. No species existed apart from individuals.

Plato's thesis that universals were realities that were incorporeal and existed apart from sensible things was mentioned by Boethius as an alternative but not necessarily as a preferable one. Boethius's neutrality was odd since his views were very Platonic in *The Consolation of Philosophy*.

Boethius's *On the Institution of Music*, written in the early sixth century, was for medieval authors from around the ninth century the authoritative document on Greek music-theoretical thought and systems. The focus on counterpoint and the ecclesiastical modes in treatises after 1400 marginalized Boethius's volume to some extent, but



Boethius (left) with the Muse of Arithmetic (Courtesy Library of Congress)

the work regained significance with the discovery and translation into Latin of ancient Greek works that Boethius had used as the basis for *On the Institution of Music*.

#### CONSOLATION AND DEATH

In 510 THEODORIC, the Ostrogothic king of ITALY, raised Boethius to the rank of consul. By 523 Theodoric suspected him of conspiring with Roman aristocrats and the emperor in CONSTANTINOPLE to overthrow him. Exactly what caused Boethius to fall out of favor with Theodoric has been a matter of speculation. There were Roman aristocrats interested in reuniting the Eastern and Western empires at the expense of Ostrogothic rule and Boethius had made a suspicious contribution to bridging the schism of East and West by writing tracts on divisive theological issues between 512 and 522. Whatever the precise details, Theodoric had Boethius put to death for treason in 524 or 525.

*The Consolation of Philosophy* was composed by Boethius during the last year of his life while he was imprisoned in Pavia. This work was a dialogue in prose and verse between the author and Lady Philosophy, a personification of PHILOSOPHY. In it Boethius maintained that happiness can be found even in the most dreadful of conditions. The basis for such optimism was his contrast

of providence and fate. The world was created by a providential GOD and contained no possibility of evil as a true reality. In achieving cosmic order, God used the instrument of fate, which necessitated each individual happening. However unfortunate a fated event may seem to human beings from their limited and secondary point of view, they still have the genuine freedom to turn their mind to a providential God. They could thereby rise above the apparent misery of their circumstances and find certain consolation.

**Further reading:** Boethius, *Tractates: The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); Boethius, *Anicius Manlius Severinus, Fundamentals of Music*, trans. Calvin M. Bower and ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); Margaret T. Gibson, ed. *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolation of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Edmund Reiss, *Boethius* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).

**Bogomils (Bogumils)** Bogomils (“those pleasing to God”) were dualists who denounced both the church and the state as creations of an evil material world. The founder of the movement was a priest, Pop Bogomil, who began preaching during the reign (927–69) of Peter of Bulgaria that the world was created by the devil and must be avoided. This DUALISM had a long tradition, derived from the MANICHEANS and GnosticisM. Bogomil and his followers were pacifists who practiced civil disobedience. The movement might be based in popular resistance to BYZANTINE cultural imperialism in BULGARIA. The emperor ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS had a Bogomil leader named Basil burned in the HIPPODROME in the late 11th century. Bogomilism was to spread to western Europe, where its alleged adherents had many names, including ALBIGENSIANS and CATHARS.

In the 11th century, the sect’s doctrine took root among the aristocracy of Constantinople under the direction of BORIS the Bogomil, known from the *Alexiad* and from the *Refutation* of Euthymius Zigabenus commissioned by Alexios I Komnenos. The sect later spread throughout the Balkans, particularly to BOSNIA, where a Patarine or heretical church was set up under its influence. In Anatolia the patriarch of NICAEA wrote a treatise opposing it in the 13th century. In LANGUEDOC, the idea of the sect mentioned were considered a Bulgar heresy from the early 13th century.

#### DOCTRINES

They were antithetical to some of the fundamental beliefs of the Byzantine or Orthodox Church. They denied the value of the sacraments and thus the value of

the priesthood as intermediary. The beliefs of the Bogomils are known to us mainly through descriptions by persecutors. The Bogomils seemed to be dualists who separated a divine world from a material world; the latter was the work of Satan. The Incarnation of Christ was not possible, since God could not take on evil, a fleshly existence. The “elect” were forbidden the consumption of meat, wine, and sexual relations. The sect did not survive the OTTOMAN conquest of the Balkans in the 14th and 15th centuries.

**Further reading:** Dimitri Obolenky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948); Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947).

**Bohemia-Moravia** It is now a western region of the Czech Republic and was once a part of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. In the sixth century, SLAV tribes settled in the country and established two small principalities, Bohemia and MORAVIA. At the end of the eighth century, CHARLEMAGNE established a protectorate over these principalities, advancing into Moravia by 822.

#### MORAVIA RISES AS EMPIRE

In Moravia, the tribes were united in 840 under a Prince Mojmir, who sought independence from the CAROLINGIANS. His successor, Rostislav (r. 846–70), was appointed by the Frankish Louis the German (ca. 804–76) but supported the mission of CYRIL and Methodios, in an attempt to prevent German or Frankish domination. After the death of Methodios in 885, however, the Slavonic texts were replaced with Roman and Latin liturgy.

Rostislav was succeeded by Bohvoj, or Svatopluk (r. 870–894/895), who took advantage of the anarchic state among the Carolingians and was able to gain independence. By 880 he had control over the whole of Czech territory, Slovakia, and much of southern Poland. This great Moravian empire was then the most influential political power in central Europe. Its control over the trade route between western and eastern Europe provided abundant resources and economic prosperity. Because this short-lived empire lacked administrative structure, strong tribal traditions weakened the unity of this state. After Bohvoj’s death in 894/895, Great Moravia declined and fell into a civil war as his sons tried to divide the country.

In Bohemia itself Carolingian control had a marginal practical effect. Nonetheless, Louis the German invaded in 846 and 855 to keep it in place; the result was the introduction of Christianity into the country.

#### UNION, GERMANIZATION, CHRISTIANITY

The Magyar invasions destroyed the remnants of Moravia at the end of the 10th century, and what was left was

annexed to Bohemia. In 906 Bohemia even granted the Magyars passage through their land, formally breaking with the Carolingians in 911. Henry I the Fowler (r. 919–936), the king of Germany, invaded Bohemia and forced WENCESLAS to accept his overlordship. Wenceslas's brother, Boleslav I (r. 929–972), with the help of some nobles, murdered his brother and claimed independence again. In 950 the emperor OTTO I defeated him and imposed German control. There were further attempts to assert independence, but they all failed.

BOLESNAV I the Brave (r. 992–1025), king of POLAND conquered Bohemia in 1003 but was compelled to give up his conquest by the emperor Henry II (r. 1002–1024). Fear of the Poles usually influenced the dukes of Bohemia to remain faithful to the emperor. In the 11th century, a prosperous Bohemia was no longer considered a mere imperial fief. Its national dynasty was given hereditary rights. During the INVESTITURE Controversy, the dukes were faithful to the emperor Henry IV (1050–1106), who in 1085 rewarded Vratislav II (r. 1061–92) by granting him the title of king.

#### EXPANSION, LOSS, UPHEAVAL, DYNASTY

In 1157 FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA awarded Vladislav II (r. 1140–73) the title of king, but in 1174, his squabbling heirs lost it, and Bohemia was transferred from the duchy to direct imperial control. In 1198, after the death of HENRY VI, the royal title was restored to Ottokar I (1197–1230), the real founder of the duchy, as part of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1212 he obtained from FREDERICK II a charter that recognized him as the king of Bohemia and transferred the church from imperial to royal authority. Ottokar also introduced the feudal system into Bohemia and transformed its archaic tribal structures into a more efficient system, even as German cultural influence grew. During an interregnum in Germany (1254–72), Ottokar II (1253–78) seized AUSTRIA and Carinthia. He was recognized as one of the seven electors of the empire. In 1272, he was a candidate for the imperial crown. RUDOLF of HABSBURG defeated him and forced him to surrender land, where the Habsburgs then established the seat of their power. Ottokar was killed at the Battle of Marchfeld in 1278. In 1300 King Wenceslas II (r. 1278–1305) became king of Poland and an unsuccessful candidate for the Hungarian Crown. In 1308, that last member of the Premyslid dynasty, Wenceslas III (r. 1305–06), was murdered. In 1310 the Crown was finally conferred on John of Luxembourg (r. 1310–46), who established a new German–Czech dynasty that reigned in Bohemia until 1437. Under the Luxembourg dynasty, Bohemia was opened to German colonization and the towns became more Germanized. The villages remained Slav, and continued a traditional life under a native nobility. Heretical trends due to a mixture of CATHAR doctrines and opposition to the establishment developed; in the latter half of the century,

the movement was led by a Czech, Jan or John Milíc, a forerunner of HUSS. The 14th and 15th centuries were dominated by the career of the emperor CHARLES IV and the Hussite religious wars.

*See also* BOHEMIAN BRETHREN; HUS, JOHN; SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBOURG, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; PRAGUE; UTRAQUISTS.

**Further reading:** Jan Bialostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976); Jerzy Strzelczyk, “Bohemia and Poland: Two Examples of Slavonic State-Forming,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 514–535; Marvin Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1990).

**Bohemian Brethren** Bohemian Brethren, sometimes called the Moravian Brethren, were a subgroup within the UTRAQUISTS. They led a separate existence from the rest of those religious believers. The Bohemian Brethren separated formally under the leadership of Brother Gregory in 1467, to follow more closely the teaching of Peter Chelcicky (d. ca. 1460). Emphasizing faith above the practice of works, they rejected oaths, military service, town life, and private property. They promoted an ascetic Christian discipline. The Brethren were organized as a church in the second half of the 15th century by Lukas of Prague. They were persecuted by the other utraquists but survived and prospered in the 16th century. Their ideas influenced some later labor reform movements.

**Further reading:** Peter Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (s<sup>c</sup>-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1957); Petr Chelcický, *Peter Chelcický: Treatises on Christianity and the Social Order* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).

**Bohemond I of Taranto (Bohemund, Marc)** (ca. 1050/58–1111) *prince of Antioch, a chief lay leader of the First Crusade who proclaimed himself prince of Antioch*

Born in about 1050 as the eldest son of the NORMAN adventurer Robert GUISCARD and his wife, Alberada, Bohemond became involved after 1080 in several Norman expeditions against the BYZANTINE Empire in southern ITALY and on the Greek mainland. But when his father died in 1085, the Greek invasion halted, and Bohemond returned to Italy to take what lands he could, including Taranto, from his half brother, Roger I, the successor to their father's fiefs in APULLA and Calabria. In 1096 Bohemond joined the First CRUSADE on its way to CONSTANTINOPLE.

In spite of his reputation as an enemy of the Byzantines, he soon reached an agreement with Emperor

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and swore an oath of allegiance to him. But this act only aggravated the rivalry between Bohemond and Count RAYMOND IV OF SAINT-GILLES of Toulouse for the position of supreme lay leader of the Crusade. Charming when necessary, Bohemond was not religious but ambitious, aggressive, and capable of duplicity when it served his ends. Princess Anna KOMNENA, daughter of Alexios, was both attracted and repelled by him, whom she described as blond, clean-shaven, very tall, and well proportioned.

At the siege of ANTIOCH in the spring of 1098, Bohemond was successful in breaching the city's walls. Once in control, he took the title of prince of Antioch, thus ignoring his promise of 1097 to give the fortress to the emperor. In August 1100 he was captured by the Turkish emir of Sivas and held prisoner until he was ransomed in the spring of 1103. When Bohemond's small and ill-equipped army was defeated in 1104 by the Turks at Harran near the Euphrates River, he returned to FRANCE. He married Constance, the daughter of King Philip I (r. 1060–1108), and remained in France until 1107, when he set out to lay siege to the Byzantine town of DURAZZO. Emperor Alexios, however, defeated him and forced a truce, making Bohemond his vassal for Antioch. Bohemond returned to Italy and died on March 7, 1111, in Canosa di Puglia in Apulia, where he was buried.

See also NORMANS.

**Further reading:** John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (1924; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1980).

**Bojador, Cape** The present Cape Bojador is located on the northwestern coast of Africa. In 15th-century Portuguese sources, it was represented as a limit to European navigation in that area. Its name in Arabic means “father of danger.” These sources insisted that the Portuguese could not sail beyond this point because of navigational hazards and the inhospitable nature of the supposedly uninhabited coast. There was also fear that the return voyage might be impossible because of prevailing winds and tides. It was finally passed in 1434 by Gil Eanes, who, since his failure the previous year, was under severe pressure from Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR to succeed.

The actual geographical location of this historic 15th-century Cape Bojador has not been unambiguously

identified. The modern Cape Bojador is easy to sail, lacking the dangerous features listed by a captain in the service of Kings John II (r. 1481–95) and Manuel I (r. 1495–1521), who warned navigators to sail by the cape at least 30 miles out to sea. The modern Cape Juby or Yubi, located some 200 miles to the northeast, has been suggested as the really dangerous place. It probably symbolically embodied all the dangers of sailing by the West African coast.

See also CANARY ISLANDS.

**Further reading:** Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

**Boleslav I the Great (the Brave, Chrobry)** (ca. 966–1025) *king of Poland, successful military commander* Born about 966 Boleslav continued from 992 the policy of his father, Mieszko I (d. 992), to strengthen the state and promote Christianity. With the help of the Emperor OTTO III, he obtained the quick canonization of Bishop Adalbert (ca. 956–997) of Prague in 999 and the creation in 1000 of new important bishoprics. Otto crowned him in Griczno in 1000. He invited Benedictine monks to promote religious belief and help settle land. After Otto's death, he waged successful wars against Germans, ending with the peace of Bautzen in 1018. Boleslav the Brave enlarged the frontiers of the state by annexing to POLAND a part of Slovakia and Moravia as well as, for a short period, BOHEMIA. In the east, he pushed his frontiers to the Bug River in 1018. Having transformed the small duchy of Poland into a European power, he died in 1025.

See also PIAST DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

**Bologna and the University of Bologna** Bologna is a strategically located city in the province of ROMAGNA, between northern and central ITALY. During the fifth century, the Roman city of Bononia was conquered by the OSTROGOTHS. After the establishment of BYZANTINE rule in Italy in the middle of the sixth century, Bologna became one of the cities of the exarchate of RAVENNA. Allegedly given to the papacy by PÉPIN III the Short in 753 and CHARLEMAGNE in 774, Bologna was ruled by its bishops until the 12th century. In the 11th century the city grew as commerce thrived. Its law school founded by IRNERIUS, the city and the nascent university became the center for the study of Roman and canon law with students and teachers from all over western Europe. In 1112 Bologna became a “free city” and joined the LOMBARD League. During the struggles between the PAPACY and the empire the city supported one, then the other. In 1159

FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA made the law school a university with a charter. This exempted it from secular jurisdiction and permitted its teachers and students to travel freely.

In the 13th century antiimperial feelings grew along with opposition to FREDERICK II. The GUELF party became dominant. In the 14th and 15th centuries, two families claimed the right to rule the city, as lords, the BENTIVOGLIO and the VISCONTI, and later the SFORZA of MILAN. The struggle between these dynasties proved in the end to work in favor of the papacy. Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) assumed authority over the city in 1506, restoring it completely to the Papal States.

Bologna was a remarkable center of Italian GOTHIC architecture. Its cathedral, built on the site of the Roman center, was a fine example of 14th-century Gothic. A podestà's palace was started in 1201 and the city hall in 1290, with a merchants' guild hall added in the 14th century. In the center of the city, two extant towers (97 and 42 meters high, respectively), built for defense purposes at the beginning of the 12th century, stand as reminders of the struggle among its noble families.

#### UNIVERSITY

The University of Bologna has been considered one of the oldest universities in the world. It grew out of the School of Law, founded in 1088. A college of liberal arts was established in the middle of the 12th century. In 1218, Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–27) granted the university self-government and permitted the conferring of degrees. During the 13th century a medical school was added and quickly became one of the most famous in Europe.

See also ANATOMY; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; COMMUNE; *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS*.

**Further reading:** Cecilia Ady, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna: A Study in Despotism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937); Naomi Miller, *Renaissance Bologna: A Study in Architectural Form and Content* (New York: P. Lang, 1989); Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**Bonaventure, Saint (Giovanni di Fidanza)** (ca. 1217–1274) *Franciscan theologian, philosopher*

Born John of Fidanza in Bagnoregio in Italy about 1217, Bonaventure was the son of a prosperous doctor. He received his early education in the town of his birth, Bagnoregio, near Lake Bolsena not far from Orvieto in central ITALY. In 1234 he went to PARIS to study and earned a master of arts degree. Influenced by the FRANCISCANS throughout his education and thus acquiring deep reverence for the life of Saint FRANCIS of Assisi, he entered the Franciscan Order about 1243. Bonaventure continued his studies in THEOLOGY under Alexander of Hales (1170–1265) at the University of Paris and wrote commentaries on the Scriptures in 1248 and on

the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD between 1250 and 1252. He received a license to teach in 1253, and probably from that time until his election as minister general of the order in 1257 Bonaventure taught theology at the University of Paris.

#### FRANCISCAN ORDER

By the middle of the 13th century, the Franciscan Order was divided between those who wished to continue to alter the rule and program of Saint Francis in favor of the corporate possession of private property and activity in university education and political life and those who wished to remain as faithful as possible to Saint Francis's original ideal of poverty and missionary activity among common people. By training and probably by inclination, Bonaventure was a proponent of ideas of the former group. He advocated Franciscan participation in education and ecclesiastical affairs. To do that the order had to have the regular financial support and time provided by the corporate possession of property. At the same time, he was active in the debate about the use of the ideas of ARISTOTLE and IBN SINA or Avicenna, in theology and philosophy, whose study he strongly opposed.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS AND WORKS

As minister general of the Franciscans, Bonaventure tried to make Paris the center of his administration, but traveled and visited Italy. In 1260 the order adopted as its new constitution the collection of Franciscan legislation compiled by Bonaventure. A revisionist biography of Saint Francis was written by Bonaventure and was accepted as the official biography, with earlier biographies to be destroyed. His views were to have lasting influence on the activity and spirit of the Franciscans. In recognition of his activity as general of the Franciscan order and for assistance in his election, Pope Gregory X (r. 1273–76) made Bonaventure the cardinal bishop of Albano in 1273. Bonaventure helped to organize and conduct the Second General Council of LYONS in 1274. On July 15, before the end of the council, he died suddenly and was buried the same day in the Franciscan church in Lyon. He was canonized in 1482 and was later made a doctor of the church.

Bonaventure was a traditional theologian, much influenced by the thought of Saint AUGUSTINE. Christ-centered and nonapologetic, he was not preoccupied with presenting Christianity to nonbelievers. Although he adopted the rational Aristotelian description of the process of empirical knowledge, Bonaventure maintained that certain ideas and values, were placed within the human mind and recognized by means of divine illumination. Many of Bonaventure's writings may be described as mystical with the immediate aim of encouraging individuals in their quest for and ascent to GOD.

**Further reading:** Jacques Guy Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Bonaventure*, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson,

N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1964); John F. Quinn, *The Historical Constitution of St. Bonaventure's Philosophy* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973); Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St. Bonaventure*, trans. Zachary Hayes (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1971).

**Boniface, Saint** (Winfrith, Wynfrid) (ca. 675–754) *English monk, apostle of Germany*

Named Winfrith by his well-to-do English parents, Boniface was probably born near Exeter in Devon about 675. As a boy, he studied in BENEDICTINE monastery schools and became a monk himself, in the process. For 30 years he lived in relative peace, studying, teaching, and praying. In his early 40s he left the seclusion of the monastery to do missionary work on the Continent. Because his first efforts in FRISIA in 716 were unsuccessful, Winfrith traveled to ROME in search of direction. Pope Gregory II (r. 715–731) renamed him Boniface, “doer of good,” and sent him to preach the gospel message east of the Rhine River.

In 719 the missionary monk had begun a successful venture, producing converts by the thousands. The most famous story of his career was one in which he cut down a giant sacred oak at Geismar to convince the pagan people of Hesse that there was no effective spiritual power in nature. In 722 the pope consecrated him bishop for all of Germany. For 30 years Boniface worked to expand the church there and link the local communities with ROME. He enlisted the help of his fellow English monks and nuns to help him in Germany. He founded the Monastery of FULDA in 753. About 746/747 Boniface was appointed archbishop of Mainz, where he settled for several years as head of all the German churches.

Over the years he kept up an extensive correspondence, asking questions of popes, giving information about the many Christian communities, and relaying the popes' wishes. In 751, as the pope's emissary to the Franks, he assisted in the consecration of PÉPIN III king of the FRANKS. In his 80s and still filled with zeal, Boniface returned to preach the gospel in Frisia. There perhaps on June 5, 754, near the town of Dokkum, Boniface and some 50 companions were waylaid by a group of locals and put to death. His remains were later taken to Fulda, where he was revered as a martyr to the Christian faith.

**Further reading:** Boniface, *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. Ephraim Emerton with a new introduction and bibliography by Thomas F. X. Noble (1940; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Timothy Reuter, ed., *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1980); C. H. Talbot, trans. and ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Being the Lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba, and Libuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald and a Selection from the*

*Correspondence of St. Boniface* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954); E. W. F. Tomlin, *The World of St. Boniface* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1981).

**Boniface VIII, Pope** (Benedict, Benedetto Caetani, Gaetani) (ca. 1235–1303) *participant in Italian political and dynastic struggles*

The son of Roffredo and Emilia Caetani, Benedetto Caetani was born at Anagni about 1235/40. His family had important political and ecclesiastical connections, and during the 1250s Benedetto was sent to live with his uncle, the bishop of Todi. There he probably began the study of LAW, which he continued at Spoleto and, between 1263 and 1274, at the University of BOLOGNA, the center of legal studies in Christendom. In 1264 Benedetto received his first ecclesiastical appointment, a junior secretarial post in the legation of Cardinal Simon of Brie, later Pope Martin IV (r. 1281–85), to FRANCE. In 1265 Benedetto joined another legation, led by Cardinal Ottoboni Fieschi, later Pope Adrian V (r. 1276), to ENGLAND, where he remained probably until 1268. In 1276 Benedict's old master Ottoboni, now pope, assigned him the important duty of collecting ecclesiastical and Crusade taxes in FRANCE. Benedetto continued to obtain increasingly more responsible employment in the administrative and diplomatic bureaucracy of the late-13th-century papacy. In 1281, not yet a priest, Benedetto became Cardinal Deacon of Saint Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano. In 1290 he became papal legate to France. In 1291 he was finally ordained a priest and in the same year became Cardinal of Saint Martin in Montibus, one of the richest appointments in the church.

#### THE PAPACY

After the six-month pontificate of CELESTINE V ended with his resignation in December 1294, Benedetto Caetani was elected pope on December 24 and took the name Boniface VIII. Celestine's brief pontificate and the unique circumstances of his resignation had created chaos in the administration of the church. Boniface first had to restore order in the papal system of government and deal with the legality of his predecessor's resignation and the legitimacy of his own. Boniface had to defend himself against attacks by disaffected cardinals, particularly members of the powerful Colonna family, and by those ecclesiastical groups who had regarded Pope Celestine V as a living saint. They accused Boniface of having tricked the old man into resigning. He managed to smooth all this over, at least temporarily. In 1298 he promulgated his great canon law collection, the *Liber sextus*, in which, among many other matters, he naturally recognized the legitimacy of papal resignation.

In 1296 the question of collecting ecclesiastical taxation became critical. The church had long authorized, in certain cases, the collection of taxes on its income and

property to be handled by temporal authorities. The church itself also collected taxes, and by the late 13th century these early instances of taxation had become lucrative necessities for the kings and the ecclesiastical powers that collected them. The demand for a new tax on ecclesiastical revenues by King PHILIP IV of France prompted from Boniface VIII the bull *CLERICIS LAICOS* in 1296. In it the pope not only forbade the collection of taxes from the clergy by the laity but also even denied the French king authority over the clergy within his own realm. Philip IV retaliated by forbidding the export of all money from France; so in 1297 Boniface was forced to come to terms with Philip by recognizing a technicality known as “necessity of state” as reason for emergency taxation, even of clergy.

By 1300 Boniface had seemingly successfully restored papal prestige and proclaimed the first jubilee year. The crowds who flocked to ROME to receive the INDULGENCES that accompanied a papal blessing were given the impression that the church and the papacy were naturally at the greatest point of their power and prestige.

#### UNAM SANCTAM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In 1301 another phase of the quarrel between Boniface and Philip IV began. Philip arrested the bishop of

Pamiers on charges of heresy and treason and demanded that the pope recognize the legality of his act. Boniface responded by denouncing Philip’s act, calling a council in 1302 to consider the state of the church in France. He sent Philip another letter, in which he asserted the traditional superiority of popes to kings and emperors. In 1302 Philip called an assembly of all ranks of French society at Paris, the first meeting in history of a representative Estates General. His supporters presented a distorted version of Boniface’s letter and urged further royal action against the pope.

In 1302, when the papal council to discuss religion in France proved a failure, Boniface issued a bull, *Unam sanctam*, perhaps the most famous papal letter ever written, on November 18. In this document Boniface presented the traditional ecclesiastical view of papal authority over the church and over the world, the secular. Besides stating that there was not salvation outside the church, he claimed nearly complete power for the pope. In 1303 Philip’s minister Guillaume de Nogaret met Boniface at Anagni. There he held the pope prisoner, insulting and assaulting him. Rescued by the local inhabitants, a broken Boniface proceeded to Rome under the protection of the Orsini family; there he died several weeks later on October 11, 1303, and was buried



The papal palace built for Boniface VIII in 1297 on the Piazza del Duomo in Orvieto (Courtesy Edward English)

in the crypt of Saint Peter's. His body was found intact in 1605.

Boniface was the target of much abuse both within and outside the church. His enemies portrayed him as a heretic, a sorcerer, a sodomite, and a betrayer of the faith, saying these were the least of his sins. Between 1303 and 1311 Philip IV held the threat of a trial of Boniface and the possible repudiation of his pontificate by the church over the head of Boniface's weaker successors. Boniface's conflict with Philip IV led in the pope's public humiliation, a precipitous decline in papal prestige, and a major blow to the late 13th-century concept of papal monarchy. Boniface took the medieval theory of papal and theocratic authority to its most pretentious. At the same time he squandered papal prestige and power in temporary but common political disagreement.

**Further reading:** Thomas S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London: Constable, 1933); Charles T. Wood, ed. *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII: State vs. Papacy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).

**bookmaking** See BOOKS OR CODICES, HISTORY OF

**Book of Kells** See KELLS, BOOK OF

**book production** See BOOKS OR CODICES, HISTORY OF

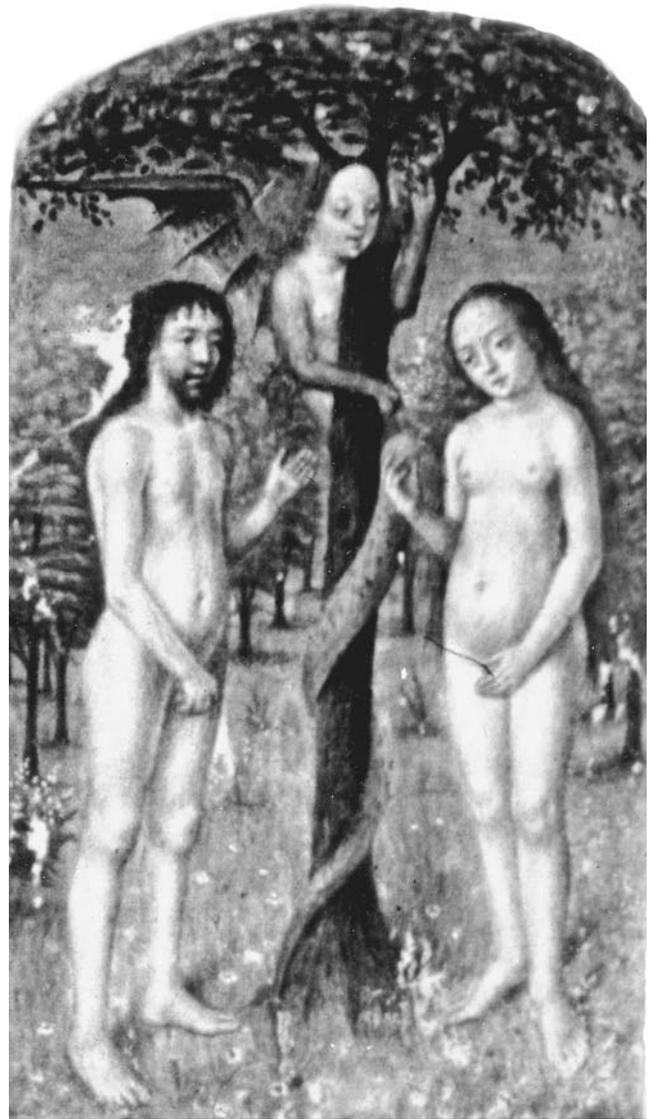
**Books of Hours** Books of Hours are books of PRAYERS mainly intended for the LAITY and often decorated. The Book of Hours succeeded the CAROLINGIAN prayer book and the PSALTER of the 12th and 13th centuries, addressing a much wider literate public. The production of Books of Hours underwent a vigorous expansion from the early 15th century, when didactic images and wood-cut illustrations were added.

The explosion in the production of this book was promoted by the growing cult of the Virgin MARY and the increase in literacy and private lay piety. The more elaborate and expensive books were richly illustrated, very frequently with a cycle of the infancy of Christ and a Marian cycle, from the ANNUNCIATION to her coronation, as queen of heaven. The other essential texts and iconography involved the CALENDAR with signs of the zodiac and labors of the months, the seven penitential psalms followed by the litanies of the saints, intercessory prayers to the saints, and elaboration of the office of the dead. Further subjects or images were the Hours of the Cross and the HOLY SPIRIT, the CRUCIFIXION and PENTECOST, four gospel portraits of the evangelists, the Marian prayers, images of the Virgin and Child or the Pietà, and a stereotyped figure of the book's recipient, usually a woman. Most texts remained in LATIN as the VERNACULAR was mainly used for secondary texts, such as the calendar, rubrics, and prayers. The

prayer of the hours by the laity was favored within institutions such as the mendicant Third Orders and CONFRATERNITIES. Their daily use was unlikely, emphasizing their importance as precious and prestigious objects.

See also BOOKS OR CODICES, HISTORY OF; ILLUMINATION; LIMBOURS BROTHERS.

**Further reading:** Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985); Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); John P. Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (New York: Crowell, 1977); Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor, eds., *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997).



Adam and Eve from the Warburg Book of Hours (Courtesy Library of Congress)

**books or codices, history of** Books became popular in the fourth century, replacing the rolled manuscript. Their advantages were several. Unlike in rolled manuscripts, both sides of the page could be written on, and information and texts could be retrieved quickly. A book was also more durable than a rolled manuscript. Beautiful page illustrations, illuminations, miniatures, and bindings soon made the manuscript book a thing of beauty, reflecting an owner's status.

During late antiquity, the use and production of rolls and the new codices declined and they were rare other than in the new monastic houses or cathedral churches. These libraries held Scriptures, liturgical books, and, in some, works inherited from pagan culture. The reforms of some, such as Abbot LUPUS OF FERRIÈRES in the ninth century, promoted the transmission of books from one monastery to another. With this and the evolving sophistications of copyists and illuminators the manuscript book had a "golden age" as part of the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

The production of books emerged from the SCRIPTORIUM or monastic copying room and vastly increased with the development of cathedral schools, then universities in the 13th century. The appearance of new professional and literate bodies specializing in the practice of writing and texts, such as jurists, and a great increase in literacy among nobility, merchants, and artisans created a need for book production. They became necessary tools for business, secular studies, work, leisure, and private devotion. With this their contents changed. Elaborate indexes and tables to find books were perfected. Book production became an industry carried out in workshops. PAPER began to be widely used around 1300, at a cost that was soon about 13 times less than that of PARCHMENT. The invention of movable type and thus PRINTING by Johann GUTENBERG in about 1450 in Mainz further increased production of books.

See also BISTICCI, VESPASIANO; BOOKS OF HOURS; CODICOLOGY; ILLUMINATION; POPYRUS AND POPYROLOGY; PSALTERS.

**Further reading:** Linda L. Brownrigg, ed., *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Peter Ganz, ed., *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September–1 October 1982* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986); Norma Levarie, *The Art and History of Books* (1968; reprint New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, 1995); Rita Schlusemann, J. M. M. Hermans, and Margriet Hoogvliet, eds., *Sources for the History of Medieval Books and Libraries* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1999).

**Borgia family (Borja)** See ALEXANDER VI, POPE.

**Boris I** (ca. 830–907) *first Christian prince, or khan, of Bulgaria*

He was born about 830 and his baptismal name was Michael. Boris began his attempt to consolidate the Bulgarian state by making an alliance with Louis the

German (804–876). At the same time he had to form an alliance with BYZANTIUM. He agreed to convert and took the name Michael in 865. The Bulgarian aristocracy, however, considered the introduction of Christianity and his conversion acts of political submission to the Greeks. In 869–870, the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE decreed that BULGARIA could have its own church organization and appoint its own prelates with guidance from Constantinople. He forced his people to convert and killed those who refused. Boris nevertheless emancipated himself from Byzantine cultural tutelage but welcomed the mission of CYRIL and Methodius, when they were expelled from Moravia. His capital, Pliska, later Preslav, and Ohrid became centers of Slavic-Christian culture. He abdicated in 889 and retired to a monastery, where he died on May 2, 907, after temporarily ending retirement to suppress a pagan revival led by his son and successor.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 112–131.

**borough (burg, burgus, bourg)** These terms originally meant towns fortified by a surrounding wall and moats, usually centered on a monastery or castle. From the late 10th century on, these terms designated new towns founded in the Middle Ages without a bishopric or Roman or classical roots. Not all new medieval settlements were called boroughs or contained this term in their name. Some continued to include in their name terms similar to the Roman *castrum* or castle to signify their origin, such as Chester in England or Chateau or Castel, in French-speaking countries.

With great growth in the foundation and number of medieval towns in the 12th century, these terms began to identify towns that enjoyed specific liberties and privileges. Some of their inhabitants were allowed to participate in public life, if they owned their own house. Boroughs usually had their own governing councils and control of the collection of taxes within their confines. The borough paid a lump sum to a royal or princely treasury and was partially able to apportion rates and collect revenues as it wished. In England the king's officials and magistrates lived within the boroughs at their expense, but the inhabitants might have benefited from access to the royal courts in their towns. There remained a technical and legal distinction between a city and a borough. A city was always the seat of a bishop. When a new episcopal see was created, a borough was from then on defined as a city. Another distinction entailed whether the town, commune, or incorporated borough was under the authority of any lord. Otherwise, boroughs and cities were identical.

See also COMMUNE.

**Further reading:** Helen M. Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot: David

and Charles, 1972); Carl Stephenson, *Borough and Town: A Study of Urban Origins in England* (Cambridge, Mass: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1933); James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough: Studies on its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936); Charles R. Young, *The English Borough and Royal Administration, 1130–1307* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961).

**Bosnia** A region in the Balkan Peninsula, Bosnia was once part of postwar Yugoslavia. From the time of the partition of the Roman Empire in 395, Bosnia and Herzegovina were joined with the West. Slavs settled in the region in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. By the ninth century it was theoretically under the control of the Franks, but since it bordered the BYZANTINE Empire, HUNGARY, BULGARIA, and SERBIA, all of these powers exercised control over it at one time or another during the Middle Ages. By the 11th century, Bosnia was part of the Western Church but used Old Slavonic in its secular literatures and liturgies. It always remained an area of rivalry between the Eastern and Western Churches. Most efforts to control local Christianity were strongly resisted and failed, despite papal and Franciscan efforts. By the 13th century, the Bosnian Church was in schism with Rome, but the details of all this remain obscure. Several military interventions were based on its removal, however.

In the 14th century, Bosnia developed economically and became tied to the cities, such as DUBROVNIK, on the Dalmatian coast. By the next century, the Bosnian economy, until then dependent on agriculture and sheep raising, benefited hugely from the booming silver mining recently started within its boundaries. It also profited from the east-west commercial trade that passed through it and from its artisan production of textiles, firearms, and metalwork.

By the 15th century, the OTTOMANS began intervening in its affairs along with all the old and accustomed outside powers. The Turks invaded with a large army in 1463 but could not drive out the Hungarians and could not settle into an occupation. The Ottomans, however, carried out a slow but successful conquest of the region over the next 60 years.

See also STEPHEN DUSHAN; VLACHS.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, "Bosnia" and "Bosnia Church," *DMA*, 2.334–343; John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

**Bosporus** See CONSTANTINOPLE.

**Bosworth Field, Battle of** At the end of the WARS OF THE ROSES, King RICHARD III (1452–85) was in

Nottinghamshire when news reached him that Henry VII TUDOR had landed near Milford Haven on August 7, 1485. To Richard's surprise he had marched unopposed through WALES. In the Midlands of England at Market Bosworth, the opposing armies met on August 22. Henry's forces numbered about 5,000 and Richard's about 8,000. Richard's subsequent defeat and death in battle were attributed to problems of geography: since some of his soldiers apparently could not position themselves to participate in the battle. A skillful and successful soldier, Richard had chosen a dominant position on Ambien Hill, but he was unable to take advantage of his larger numbers. He had to deploy them up in a column, one behind another. The front group then had to bear the brunt of the struggle. Seeing this, Richard launched a charge himself, but he was cut down. Henry Tudor then emerged victorious. This battle ended the Wars of the Roses with a victory for the house of Lancaster.

**Further reading:** Michael Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1985); Daniel Thomas Williams, *The Battle of Bosworth, 22 August 1485* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1973).

**botany** Medieval botany, the study of plants and herbs, was deeply influenced by the works of Greek scientists and by the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder from the first century C.E. These works laid the basis for medieval description and classification of plants and their properties. At the same time, there was a rich folkloric understanding of plants. In the early Middle Ages, botanical works classifying plants by their alleged characteristics and form were authored by ISIDORE of Seville, BEDE, and Pseudo-Apuleius, credited with the *Herbal* in the sixth century. Medieval botany also concentrated on the potential medicinal properties of plants and herbs.

Much more impressive progress was achieved by Arab botanists, who had produced by then valuable lexicographies on plants and herbs, building on the ideas and classifications of the ancient Greeks. With the recovery of many Aristotelian texts by the West in the 13th century, botany became more scientific and Scholastic. The Latin translation of a pseudo-Aristotelian *The Book of Plants or Vegetables* in 1217 set a standard for the field. Roger BACON and particularly ALBERTUS MAGNUS made botanical observations, which marked a distinct step forward in accurate representation of plants and herbs. Focus remained on the medicinal and pharmacological qualities of plants.

See also COSMETICS AND BEAUTY AIDS.

**Further reading:** Frank J. Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); A. G. Morton, *History of Botanical Sciences: An Account of the Development of Botany from Ancient*

*Times to the Present Day* (London: Academic Press, 1981); Karen Meier Reeds, *Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (New York: Garland, 1991); Jerry Stannard, *Pristina Medicamenta: Ancient and Medieval Medical Botany*, ed. Katherine E. Stannard and Richard Kay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

**Botticelli, Sandro** (Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi) (1444–1510) *Florentine painter*

He was born in 1444 into a large family as Alessandro di Mariano dei Filipepi. The name *Botticelli* was derived from a nickname of his elder brother and guardian, Giovanni. For a brief time he worked with his brother Antonio as a goldsmith's apprentice, and later in the workshop of Fra Filippo LIPPI. It was there that he gained his training as a painter. His association with Andrea del Verrocchio (ca. 1435–88) and the Pollaiuolo brothers gave him a strong interest in ornamental details, anatomy, and elegant figures. Working frequently for the MEDICI family, he made numerous portraits and paintings of classical subjects and earned renown for skill as a draftsman. He solidified his



*Primavera*, or Spring (detail), by Sandro Botticelli, Uffizi, Florence, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

reputation in FLORENCE as a painter of great skill through his fresco of Saint Augustine in the Church of the Ognissanti. His mythological subjects for the private residences of the Medici and other leading families, such as the *Primavera* in the Uffizi, were influenced by a contemporary interest in mythology and NEOPLATONISM. He painted, along with other artists in the early 1480s, scenes from the Old Testament on the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. On his return to Florence, he produced numerous religious and secular paintings and developed a large and skilled workshop. His private devotional paintings were in great demand in the late 15th century because of the popularity of the subject and the fine skill he displayed.

In later life he completed an increasing number of religious paintings marked by a deep emotionalism, drama, and mysticism. His adherence to the teachings of Girolamo SAVONAROLA in the 1490s influenced his concentration on religious subject matter in his paintings, which lasted until the end of his life. He died in 1510, spending his later years melancholically creating images for Dante's *Commedia*.

See also GHIRLANDAIO, DOMENICO.

**Further reading:** Rab Hatfield, *Botticelli's Uffizi "Adoration": A Study in Pictorial Content*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976); Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli's Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Ronald Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, 2 Vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Edward Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958).

**Bouvines, Battle of** The Battle of the Bouvines, on July 27, 1214, was a decisive event in the war between the French army of PHILIP II AUGUSTUS and the English army of JOHN LACKLAND, which had begun in Normandy in 1202. It also resulted in the end of the dispute between FREDERICK II of HOHENSTAUFEN and Otto IV of Brunswick (d. 1218) over the imperial Crown. The French defeated the army of King John on July 2 by using their topographical position to win a decisive victory. This victory allowed them to finalize the conquests of NORMANDY, ANJOU, and Touraine and led to domestic difficulties for John in ENGLAND. Upon his return he faced a rebellion by the barons and was compelled to issue the MAGNA CARTA in 1215. John's nephew, Otto of Brunswick, was dethroned; Phillip's ally, Frederick II from SICILY, inherited his father's position and became emperor.

**Further reading:** Georges Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines: War, Religion, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

**bows and arrows** See WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**boyar** *Boyar*, a Turkish word, was used to identify rich landholders or prominent officials, free but not necessarily noble, of a prince in eastern Europe. They could be living in the countryside or in a town and usually were expected to play a role in military affairs with bands of retainers. Their adherence to a lord was voluntary, and they could honorably switch allegiances, without loss of property or status, except during a war. Such betrayals could be punished with death, blinding, or imprisonment with loss of possessions. They were paid with booty from war, granting of titles, income from offices of state, or gifts of landed property.

In 14th- and early-15th-century Muscovy the boyars were usually members of certain families who were councillors of the prince. They served in a rotation of perhaps a dozen at a time. This group grew and changed in the 15th century as new men were appointed by the princes, who tried to ally them more closely with himself and avert the possibility of an individual family's surpassing his own in power and prestige. As this occurred, their ability to change their allegiances vanished as they became more and more the creatures of the ruling house.

See also DUMA; IVAN III.

**Further reading:** Robert Craig Howes, trans., *The Testaments of the Grand Princes of Moscow* (Ithaca, N.J.: Cornell University Press, 1967); Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980–1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959); George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953).

**Brabant, duchy of** Brabant was a territory formed from medieval Lotharingia, a frontier zone between East and West Francia, and is now part of central BELGIUM. In the late ninth century, in the first mention of the region the local aristocracy was asserting itself against a weakening Carolingian state. In the late 10th century, the counts of Louvain formed a new principality comprising Hainault and Brabant centered on their hometown of Louvain. From then on, the duchy of Brabant lay between FLANDERS in the west and Liège and the lands of the emperor in the east.

In the 12th century, they obtained the defunct title of duke of Lower Lorraine and the still viable title of marquis of Antwerp. The principality was soon called the duchy of Brabant. This family kept the duchy until it passed to the house of Luxembourg by marriage in 1355 and then to the dukes of BURGUNDY in 1388. A center of cloth production it included a network of rich commercial cities such as Brussels and Antwerp. These towns grew richer on the production of linen, luxury textiles, tapestries, and mercenary soldiers. It was among the

richest possessions of the dukes of Burgundy in the 15th century.

**Further reading:** Henry Stephen Lucas, *John III, Duke of Brabant, and the French Alliance, 1345–1347* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1927); David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (New York: Longman, 1992); Henri Pirenne, *Early Democracy in the Low Countries: Urban Society and Political Conflict in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, trans. J. V. Saunders (1915; New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

**Bracciolini, Poggio (Gian Francesco, Poggio di Guccio, Poggius Florentius)** (1380–1459) *Florentine humanist, famous for his reform of handwriting*

Poggio di Guccio was born in Florentine territory at Terranova in the upper Arno Valley. His later surname was never used during his life, and he was commonly called Poggius Florentius. By 1402 he was working as a NOTARY in FLORENCE. In stories told later in the century he was already at that time copying in a new cleared script that he had developed himself. This style of new script, actually basically a revival of Caroline script, was soon called *lettera antica*. It struck an immediately favorable cord with his contemporaries, who were looking for a new neat hand to allow them to read more easily the classical texts with which they were becoming fascinated.

In 1404, he had gained a position in the papal chancellery as secretary, he worked there for almost 50 years. He maintained his position in the papal administration despite the turbulence of the Great SCHISM (1378–1417) and multiple popes, wisely switching sides when need be. At the same time he spent time combing the libraries of Europe for manuscripts containing classical Latin texts. He was successful in locating and in bringing to light manuscripts of Cicero, Lucretius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Quintilian, and to a lesser extent those of the fathers of the church. These were the fundamental texts of interest in a revival of interest or renaissance of study of late antique learning and culture that was occurring at the time. His duties and travel for the papal curia searching for manuscripts took him to VENICE, northern Europe, and even for a short exile in England.

At the same time he himself started to write, producing interesting treatises in dialogue form on social and ethical questions. In 1435 at age 55 he married Vaggia Buondelmonti, member of an old but no longer wealthy Florentine family, while still comfortably employed in the papal court. They had six children. He wrote frequently of humorous and pretty women but always displayed a serious Christian morality, unlike many of his contemporary humanists and members of the papal household.

In 1453 he became chancellor of the city of Florence, following in the tradition of some of the most eminent humanists of the century. His later years were marred by

the deaths of his friends, laments over factional strife in Florence, a serious feud with Lorenzo VALLA, and a longing for leisure to study further the ancient world of Rome. He was not interested in Greek literature and deplored the growing interest in it near the end of his life. This was the era in which he wrote the pessimistic *On the Misery of the Human Condition* in 1455. After retiring in 1456, he moved near Florence and tried to continue a history of Florence begun by his friend Leonardo BRUNI. He also maintained a voluminous personal and official correspondence and continued to write joke books and ribald short stories. He died in 1459.

**Further reading:** Poggio Bracciolini (trans. Joseph S. Salemi), "Selections from the *Facetiae* of Poggio Bracciolini," *Allegorica* 8 (1983); 77–183; "Further Selections from Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae*," *Allegorica* 11 (1990): 38–58; Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan, trans., *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974); Iiro Kajanto, *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism: A Study in Early Italian Humanism* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987).

### **Bracton, Henry of** (d. 1268) *jurist, author*

Little is known of the early life of Henry of Bracton. His exact birth date is believed to be during King JOHN's reign, about 1210, in England. He is said to have attended OXFORD University as a youth and to have received a doctorate in civil and canon LAW.

#### CAREER

Bracton was made an itinerant judge in 1245, and from 1247 to 1250 he was an English judge of the *Coram rege* or "Before the monarch," later known as the King's or Queen's Bench. He held this position again from 1253 to 1257. From the beginning of his judgeship in 1245 until 1267, he served as a justice in Eyre, in his native Devon, or other neighboring counties or held court before King HENRY III. Although he continued his work on various benches, he never held a permanent place as a royal judge. He retired in 1257 but continued to serve on judicial commissions. In 1265 he became chief justiciar of England under Henry III. He was famous then and later for following the principle that "the king was under the law and God."

#### LEGAL TREATISE

Bracton has been credited with producing an important treatise on English jurisprudence, *On the Laws and Customs of England*. It is one of the oldest systematic works on English common law. He attempted to make sense of English law in terms of principles derived from civil or Roman and canon or ecclesiastical law. It was never completed, and there is doubt about Bracton's actual role in its compilation.

As were many lawyers of his time, Bracton was also supported by ecclesiastic benefices. In 1263 he was made archdeacon of Barnstable, but in that same year he left Barnstable to become chancellor of Exeter Cathedral, where he remained until his death in 1268.

**Further reading:** G. E. Woodbine, ed., *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*, trans. Samuel E. Thorne (London: Selden Society, 1977); H. G. Richardson, *Bracton: The Problem of His Text* (London: Selden Society, 1965).

**Brazil (Brasil)** This refers not to the largest South American country, but to an imaginary island in the Atlantic Ocean found on many late medieval and early Renaissance MAPS and charts. The word was likely Gaelic in origin. *Breas-ail*, meaning "blessed," was found in texts describing the voyages of medieval Irish monks in search of an "isle of the blessed" or a place where the blessed awaited entrance into HEAVEN. Maps placed it in the central north Atlantic Ocean, especially around 1500.

*See also* BRENDAN, SAINT; CABOT, JOHN; CABRAL, PEDRO ALVARES.

**Further reading:** William H. Babcock, "The Island of Brazil," in *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1922).

**bread** *See* FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

### **Brendan, Saint** (ca. 486–577/583) *fabled traveler known as the Navigator*

Brendan was born about 486 in Kerry. He was the founder and abbot of the Monastery of Clonfert in county Galway in IRELAND. The description of his voyage claimed that he sailed to western Scotland, the island of Iona, southern Britain, and BRITTANY. Irish monks of that era did undertake difficult sea voyages in visits to other monasteries and as acts of penitence. The story of his voyage was told by an unknown author of the late ninth or early 10th century. In it Saint Brendan and a group of monks set sail from Ireland in a small boat made of ox hides in search of a "Land of Promise of the Saints" or heaven, supposedly somewhere west of Ireland. Many of its details have been confirmed by archaeology and by other texts. Some scholars have even proposed that the monks reached North America. On the other hand, the story could represent an allegorical tale of a community of monks traveling in search of salvation, leading an exemplary monastic life on the voyage. Brendan was one of the most renowned Irish saints of the Middle Ages and died between 577 and 583.

**Further reading:** John J. O'Meara, trans. *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land* (1976; rpt. Mountrath: Humanities Press, 1985); Carl Selmer, ed. *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis from Early Latin Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame

Press, 1959); Tim Severin, *The Brendan Voyage* (London: Hutchinson, 1978).

**Brethren of the Common Life** (*Fratres communis vitae*) Brethren of the Common Life were an association of men formed in the 14th century to promote a higher level of commitment by the laity and the clergy to a Christian life and devotion. The founder was probably Gerard GROOTE, a canon of Utrecht. He resigned his prebend to travel through the NETHERLANDS, FLANDERS, and BRABANT to preach against clerical laxity and call all Christians to repent and reform their life. Groote did not impose vows on his disciples but often allowed them, whether clerical or lay, to continue in their accustomed livelihood. However, they were to live in common and could not hold private property. For their community activities, they stressed teaching and founded free, high-quality schools all over northwestern Europe. To support these schools and supply books, many brethren worked in the copying of manuscripts and later in the early printing industry.

On the death of Groote in 1384, the leadership of the Brethren was assumed by Florentius Radewijns (ca. 1350–1400). They soon continued an austere way of life and adopted a rule organizing themselves as AUGUSTINIAN CANONS. Among those influenced by the Brethren were Thomas à KEMPIS, Pope Hadrian VI (r. 1522–23), Gabriel BIEL, NICHOLAS of Cusa, and Rudolph Agricola (1443–85). The association disappeared in the 16th century.

See also DEVOTIO MODERNA.

**Further reading:** Albert Hyma, *The Brethren of the Common Life* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1950); Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the "Devotio moderna,"* 2d ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books 1965).

**Bretons** See BRITTANY AND BRETONS.

**breviary (brevarium, abridgment)** The medieval breviary was a book that contained the divine office for use by clerics in services or prayers. Before the 12th and 13th centuries, a breviary, not yet well standardized, contained miscellaneous collections of prayers and liturgical texts. By the 13th century, it had become a portable book containing all of the divine office, with readings shorter than those for the office celebrated in a church by a community or monks or clerics. Sometimes it included a PSALTER, but it was to be a memory text collected to help a cleric learn to recite most of it by heart. This portable breviary was especially adopted and spread by the traveling mendicant orders.

**Further reading:** Pierre Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, trans. Atwell M. Y. Baylay (London: Longmans, Green, 1898).

**brewing** See FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Bridget of Kildare or Cell-dara, Saint** (Brigid, Brigit of Ireland, Fochart) (ca. 453–ca. 525) *legendary founder of the double monastery of Kildare*

A historical Bridget has left almost nothing in the historical record. She has been linked to the Celtic goddess named Brigid in having the same feast day as a pre-Christian festival for the goddess. Both were supposed to be patronesses of poets and people of learning. Her biography was written in 680 by a certain Cogitosus more than 150 years after her supposed death around 525. It was among the first examples of Irish HAGIOGRAPHY. Besides the usual miracles of providing food and manipulating animals and the weather, she supposedly founded a rare double monastery for men and women at Kildare (Cell-dara) or church of the oak on the site of a pagan place of worship. In addition to being the monastery's first abbess, another source claimed, she was more or less accidentally consecrated a bishop. Eventually a male bishop joined the monastery. Such an establishment did exist, had a bishop attached to it, and was among the most important in Ireland in the seventh century. That it was a double monastery for a while made it unique. She might represent another Celtic, perhaps female, Christian tradition rivaling Saint PATRICK. She did not establish an order that lasted but a monastery for her nuns existed until the 12th century.

**Further reading:** Oliver Davies, ed., *Celtic Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), 121–154; Mary Low, *Celtic Christianity and Nature: Early Irish and Hebridean Traditions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996); James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide, Vol. 1, Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929); Joseph Falaky Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

**Brittany and Bretons** In Celtic Brittany, the Middle Ages was a time of migration and of the establishment of a Breton people and language. The Bretons of Britain settled what was called Armorica in western France from the fourth century, driven there from 450 on by the Scots of IRELAND and by the advance of the Angles and SAXONS. The Breton language, resembling Cornish soon evolved in the most densely colonized parts.

From the sixth century the Breton kingdoms managed to stop the advance of the FRANKS. The dukes of Brittany rejected any idea of subjection to FRANCE and refused homage, while trying to preserve their principality. They and their successors created a principality, sometimes a kingdom, which lasted until a military

defeat in 1488 led to a union with the French royal family in 1491.

See also HENRY II PLANTAGENET; HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; JOHN LACKLAND; LOUIS XI; NORMANDY AND THE NORMANS.

**Further reading:** Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969); Wendy Davies, *The Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany* (Oakville, Conn.: Celtic Studies Publications, 2000); Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Patrick Galliou and Michael Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Michael Jones, *Ducal Brittany, 1364–1399: Relations with England and France during the Reign of Duke John IV* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

**Bruges (Brugge)** Bruges is a city in FLANDERS, now BELGIUM. It was the chief port of northern Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the seventh century, the FRANKS built a stronghold and town there. From the ninth century this was an important castle of the counts of Flanders. This BOROUGH gained further importance in 867, when the count reinforced its walls. Its commercial activity expanded from the 10th century.

#### PROSPERITY

By the 11th century, Bruges had become the main center of the English wool trade with the Continent. This trade prompted the establishment of a huge textile industry. From the beginning of the 12th century, Bruges was an important trading and shipping center between the Middle East and northern Europe. Numerous Italian merchants were active there, conducting banking and trading activities between northern and southern Europe. The counts of Flanders encouraged this trade and granted merchants numerous liberties and privileges. In 1190 the city established its own municipal government. Bruges reached the peak of its prosperity in international trade toward the end of the 13th century, maintaining relations with the HANSEATIC LEAGUE and Italian cities.

#### POLITICAL CONFLICT

This patrician government was opposed by guilds formed by the artisans and workers involved in the textile industry. To preserve their dominance, the patricians allied themselves with PHILIP IV the Fair, king of France, and allied the city to him in 1301. This alliance produced, however, a successful revolt against French domination in 1302. The French monarchy never regained control over Bruges, and the city's merchants and artisans governed the city in an uneasy peace. Its economic prosperity continued until the beginning of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR in the 1330s and 1340s. It was during this era that

several beautiful Gothic municipal and private buildings were constructed. They were rebuilt in the 19th and 20th centuries and can still be seen.

#### DECLINE

At the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, the English king EDWARD III prohibited the exportation of wool to Flanders, transferring it to Antwerp. The textile industry of Bruges never really recovered from this. However, the city remained a commercial and banking center through the 15th century, resisting outside control until 1488. During the same period, its harbor and route to the sea became inaccessible because of silting.

See also ARTEVELDE, JACOB VAN; EYCK, HUBERT VAN, AND EYCK, JAN VAN; GHENT; MEMLING, HANS.

**Further reading:** Raymond De Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges: Italian Merchant Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948); Jeff Rider, *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001); Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985); Jean C. Wilson, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

**Brunelleschi, Filippo** (1377–1446) *sculptor, architect* Brunelleschi was born in FLORENCE in 1377, the son of an eminent notary Brunellesco di Lippi. He entered the SILK GUILD in 1398. The following year he was employed as goldsmith in Pistoia, where he made several silver figures for the altar of Saint James in the Cathedral. Brunelleschi entered the 1401 competition for a new set of portals for the baptistery in Florence. His trial piece, the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, lost to that of Lorenzo GHIBERTI, who was awarded the commission. Brunelleschi's relief was derived stylistically from the work of Andrea PISANO. In 1404 Brunelleschi was admitted as a master in the goldsmiths' guild in Florence, and later that year he was consulted about creation of a buttress of the cathedral.

During the next decade the details of Brunelleschi's life are vague. He made several trips to ROME to see its ancient monuments. In 1415 he repaired a bridge in PISA. Two years later he and other masters presented opinions on the design and construction of a great dome for the cathedral of Florence. Perhaps about then Brunelleschi came up with a new method of constructing linear perspective.

#### ARCHITECTURE

From 1418 Brunelleschi turned completely to architecture. In two small domed chapels in San Jacopo Soprarno and San Felicità Florence, he experimented with domical construction. That same year he started the design and building of the Church of San Lorenzo (1418–ca. 1470)



An interior view of the Church of Santo Spirito in Florence, designed by Filippo Brunelleschi (Courtesy Library of Congress)

in Florence. The Old Sacristy was built between 1418 and 1428. The church is a Latin-cross basilica with three arcaded aisles, side chapels, and a dome over the crossing. Its ornamentation was classical, with Corinthian columns, pilasters, and moldings. He designed a loggia of the Hospital of the Innocents in Florence in 1419, constructed between 1421 and 1451. Sometimes considered the first RENAISSANCE building in Florence, it has a graceful arcade.

In 1420 Brunelleschi began to erect the great dome of the Florentine Cathedral in collaboration with Ghiberti, who eventually withdrew from the project. This famous dome has a skeleton of eight large stone ribs closed by two shells, of which the lower portions were of stone and the upper parts of brick. It has a herringbone design probably derived from ancient Roman construction. Meanwhile he was in PISA during 1426 to work on a citadel and in Volterra in 1427 to give advice on the dome of the baptistery. He also worked on the Pazzi Chapel, built between 1429 and 1467. The interior is rectangular with a large umbrella dome at the center covered by a conical roof with a lantern. The glazed terracotta reliefs of the four evangelists in the pendentives of the dome were designed by Brunelleschi. In 1432

Brunelleschi went to Mantua and FERRARA on unknown commissions, and in 1433 he was again in Rome to study its antiquities.

On his return to Florence in 1434, Brunelleschi began a central-plan church, Santa Maria degli Angeli, which was never completed. It would have been the first central-plan church of the Renaissance. Octagonal on the interior with eight chapels, it was 16-sided on the exterior.

In 1436 Brunelleschi designed another basilica in Florence, Santo Spirito, built between 1444 and 1482, with a much greater concern for a unified composition than San Lorenzo. Arcaded side aisles around the transept arms and choir were planned but never executed. The church still created a very unified and harmonious, proportional, and centralized impression under the crossing dome. In 1440 Brunelleschi returned to Pisa for further work on the Florentine citadel. On April 15, 1446, he died at Florence and received the unusual honor of burial in the cathedral.

#### STYLE AND INFLUENCE

Brunelleschi was particularly adept in solving engineering problems. His architectural style was classical and inspired by Tuscan Romanesque and ancient Roman architecture. With his innovation in linear perspective and his adaptation of the classical style to architecture, he was one of the major architects of the early Renaissance period.

**Further reading:** Peter J. Gärtner, *Filippo Brunelleschi 1377–1446* (Cologne: Könemann, 1998); Isabelle Hyman, *Brunelleschi in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Ross King, *Brunelleschi's Dome: How a Renaissance Genius Reinvented Architecture* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000); Howard Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings* (London: Zwemmer, 1993).

#### Brunetto Latini (ca. 1220–1294) *Dante's teacher*

Brunetto Latini is mostly known through DANTE'S *Commedia*. In the circle of the Sodomites in *Inferno* 15, he and his *Book of the Treasure* were presented with respect and admiration. Brunetto was a member of the spice and herb merchants' GUILD of FLORENCE. Latini became a NOTARY and was employed in a variety of administrative positions for the commune.

#### TRAVEL ABROAD

Brunetto undertook a mission to SPAIN in 1260 to ask for help from King ALFONSO X against FREDERICK II's son MANFRED, and the Sieneese. The embassy failed, but Brunetto experienced firsthand the rich intellectual environment of that famous patron of scholars and scholarship.

On his return, he learned of the defeat of the GUELF forces at Montaperti and his own exile. He decided not to return to Florence, but to remain in FRANCE. He stayed

there for the next six years at MONTPELLIER, and later in Arras and Bar-sur-Aube. After the defeat of the Ghibellines and the death of Manfred at Benevento in February of 1266, he returned to Florence, where he held several important communal offices.

#### BOOK OF THE TREASURE

While in France, Brunetto wrote the *Book of the Treasure*, an encyclopedic ethical and political manual dedicated to CHARLES I OF ANJOU. Writing in Picard French, he presented basic knowledge such as is found in the encyclopedic collection of CASSIODORUS, BOETHIUS, and MARTIANUS CAPELLA. Added to this he made a translation of the *Nichomachean Ethics* of ARISTOTLE and Cicero's *De inventione*. He ended with an outline of the procedures and ideals of communal government. It was probably intended to be an intellectual, ethical, and rhetorical guide to understand and defend ideas about the laws and ideals of the Italian COMMUNES for Charles of Anjou or just to help his fellow citizens understand the commune better. It also contained much information on geography. Popular in France, Italy, and the Iberian Peninsula throughout the next two centuries, it was translated into Italian as the *Tesoro*. Brunetto died in 1294 and was buried in Santa Maggiore in Florence.

See also ROMAN DE LA ROSE; MANDEVILLE, JOHN, AND MANDEVILLE'S TRAVELS; NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIATE.

**Further reading:** Brunetto Latini, *The Book of the Treasure (Li livres dou tresor)*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin (New York: Garland, 1993); Brunetto Latini, *Il Tesoretto*, ed. and trans. Julia Bolton Holloway (New York: Garland, 1981); Julia Bolton Holloway, *Brunetto Latini: An Analytic Bibliography* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1986); Julia Bolton Holloway, *Twice-Told Tales: Brunetto Latino and Dante Alighieri* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); Richard Kay, *Dante's Swift and Strong: Essays on Inferno XV* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978).

**Bruni, Leonardo** (1370–1444) *Florentine humanist, political author, translator*

Bruni was born in Arezzo, which became part of the city-state of Florence in 1385. His career and thought revolved around the republic commune of Florence. One of his earliest treatises was written to honor the city and its civic traditions, *The Praise of the City of Florence*. From 1427 he was the chancellor of that city. At the urging of Coluccio SALUTATI, Bruni studied Greek with Manuel CHRYSOLORAS and began translating Greek texts.

Bruni's translations of some of the political and ethical works of Plutarch and Aristotle were widely circulated and promoted a higher standard of Ciceronian Latin. Some of his translations of Aristotle and Plato, whose ideas he did not like, were controversial. Aristotle's ideas and prose were translated in a Ciceronian Latin style, which implied that republican Rome and the Greek

city-state were similar. He further rejected as barbarous and inappropriate the Scholastic vocabulary that had been used by medieval Aristotelian translators.

Bruni's writings went beyond translations and were about, among other topics, communal military affairs and the ideas of Plutarch as represented in his morally attuned biographies and histories of ancient Greek and Roman politicians. His historical writing was far more analytical than the mere listing of facts common in contemporary and later chronicles. Bruni died much respected and honored on March 9, 1444.

**Further reading:** Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, and David Thompson, eds., *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987); Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, Vol. I, Books I–IV, ed. and trans. James Hankins (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Hans Baron, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni: Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Charles Calvert Bayley, *War and Society in Renaissance Florence: The De Militia of Leonardo Bruni* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Gordon Griffiths, *The Justification of Florentine Foreign Policy, Offered by Leonardo Bruni in His Public Letters (1428–1444): Based on Documents from the Florentine and Venetian Archives* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1999); Ronald G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

**Bruno, Saint** (925–965) *chancellor for the emperor Otto I, archbishop of Cologne*

Born about 925, Bruno was the youngest son of Henry I (ca. 876–936), king of Germany. In 941, already a deacon he was appointed abbot of the monasteries of Lorsch and Corvey by his brother, OTTO I. He reformed those abbeys and their schools, where he trained the future clerks of the imperial court. From 950, as arch-chancellor, he was Otto's closest political adviser. In 953 he was appointed archbishop of COLOGNE. He arranged Otto's imperial coronation in 962. Bruno sought a political and spiritual renewal of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Bruno dominated Lothair (r. 954–986) the king of France, and Hugh the Great (d. 956), the count of Paris, to maintain policies friendly to his brother the emperor. As a patron of learning he was at the center of the Ottonian Renaissance. He died on October 11, 965, and was soon venerated as a saint.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

**Bruno the Carthusian, Saint (Bruno of La Chartreuse)** (ca. 1030–1101) *founder of the Carthusian order*

Born at COLOGNE about 1030, Bruno was educated there and at the episcopal school at RHEIMS. He soon rose to

the position of a canon of that cathedral, and in 1056 he was appointed its head teacher, a position he held for nearly two decades, teaching theology and grammar. One of his numerous important students was the future Pope URBAN II.

#### EREMITIC LIFE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER

In 1081, Bruno was chosen as bishop of Rheims, but he had already resolved to lead an eremitic life. Bruno moved to a mountain near Grenoble in the Alps and founded a community there in June 1084. The brothers with Bruno as their leader lived alone in cells or cabins, gathering together only for the prayers of the monastic office. Lay brothers did the work and provided income for the community. In 1090 Pope URBAN II called him to Rome as an adviser. Bruno went but stayed only a few months, refusing all ecclesiastical appointments. In the autumn of that year he withdrew to establish a new isolated community similar to his first, at La Torre near Squillace in Calabria in southern Italy. Bruno never wrote an official rule but communicated to his brothers that his own life of prayer, poverty, contemplation, and solitude was to be their model. He died at La Torre on October 6, 1101. His cult was approved in 1514. His order still exists.

**Further reading:** Gordon Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno and Guigo I* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1988); John V. Skinner, *Hear Our Silence: A Portrait of the Carthusians* (London: Fount, 1995).

**Brut (Layamon's Brut)** (ca. 1200) According to his own testimony, the author Layamon, was a parish priest in Worcestershire. He wrote a rhymed version of the *Roman de Brut* by Robert or William WACE. It was a history of Brutus of Troy, thought to be the first legendary king of Britain. His romance-chronicle, the *Brut*, dealt with the legendary establishment of a Trojan dynasty in ENGLAND. The link to the Trojans was intended to give more importance and prestige to the early Britons. They were considered ancestors of the legendary King ARTHUR. The poem of 16,000 lines became part of the Arthurian cycle and a source for 13th-century ROMANCES.

**Further reading:** Layamon, *Layamon's Arthur: The Arthurian Section of Layamon's Brut (Lines 9229–14297)*, ed. and trans. W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Harlow: Longman, 1989); Layamon, *Layamon's Brut: A History of the Britons*, trans. Donald G. Bzdyl (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1989); Lister M. Matheson, *The Prose Brut: The Development of a Middle English Chronicle* (Tempe, Ariz.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998).

**bubonic plague** See PLAGUES.

**Buda and Pest** They were two important towns in central HUNGARY separated by the Danube. Pest was built in the 10th century by the newly arrived Hungarians on an old Roman and Hun fort controlling a convenient crossing point of the Danube. From the early 13th century it became a commercial crossroad and received in the 1230s a royal charter. After its destruction in the MONGOL invasion of 1241, King Béla IV (1235–70) in 1247 built a new fortress and royal residence at Buda on the other bank of the Danube. Pest became a suburb of Buda. The two united towns enjoyed commercial and cultural growth from the 14th century along with much architecture in a fine GOTHIC style as they became the capital of the kingdom of Hungary.

See also CORVINUS, MATTHIAS.

**Further reading:** László Gerovich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*, trans. L. Halápy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971); Martyn C. Rady, *Medieval Buda: A Study of Municipal Government and Jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Mátyás Sárközi, *Budapest* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Press, 1997).

**Bukhara, Uzbekistan (Bokhara)** First mentioned by Chinese sources in the seventh century, Bukhara was a major commercial city in Transoxiana, the region north of the Oxus River, now part of Uzbekistan. Bukhara dealt in locally made goods and foodstuffs from its oasis as part of a trading network among Russia, Scandinavia, Central Asia, China, India, and the Middle East. It attained its greatest prosperity in the 10th century and was famous for the high quality of its silver coinage, which contributed much to its role as a center of trade.

After the arrival of ISLAM in about 710 and the Arab conquest about 728/729, it became the capital of the Iranian SAMANIDS between 875 and 999 and of the Turkish Qarakhanids or Ilek Khans and later the SELJUKS between 999 and 1032. During that era, it was second only to SAMARKAND in importance as a center for SUNNI Islamic learning for the whole of western and Islamic central Asia. According to travelers in the 10th century, it was also important as a center of the slave trade and a rich market in manuscripts.

It suffered political and dynastic conflict and a general deterioration in its agricultural environment by 1200. In 1220, the MONGOLS sacked the city and massacred many of its inhabitants. Despite a short revival of trade involving the new Mongol capital of Karakorum, Bukhara suffered further devastation by various Mongol armies in 1273, in 1316, and later. It never recovered from those events.

See also TAMERLANE.

**Further reading:** Richard Nelson Frye, ed. and trans., *The History of Bukhara: Translated from a Persian Abridgment of the Arabic Original by Narshakhi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1954); W. Berthold and C. R. N. Frye, "Bukhara," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1293–1296; Richard Nelson Frye, *Bukhārā: The Medieval Achievement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965); Vadim Evgenevich Gippenreiter, *Fabled Cities of Central Asia: Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989); John Lawton and Francesco Venturi, *Samarkand and Bukhara* (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1991).

**Bulgaria and Bulgars** The Bulgars were originally central Asian pastoralists, who migrated westward first onto the steppe north of the Caspian Sea and moved south. In 681, Bulgaria in the central Balkan Peninsula was the first independent state to be recognized by the Byzantines. The Bulgars, their capital at Pliska, ruled over and united with a large indigenous population of SLAVS and Greeks. By the 10th century Bulgars and Slavs were a single people, called Bulgarians. They spoke a southern Blavei language.

#### RESISTANCE TO BYZANTINE INFLUENCE

Bulgaria was often a marginal country on Byzantium's northern border, dependent on the Byzantine economy and cultural influences. It was also an intermittent military threat, especially under Khan KRUM and Czars SIMEON I and SAMUEL. Byzantine cultural influence entered the country when, in 864, Khan BORIS I received baptism from Byzantium. After an unsuccessful revolt by the Bulgar nobility defending PAGANISM against Byzantine Christianity, Boris tried to steer a middle course between Eastern and Western Christianity. In 870 after failed negotiations with Pope Nicholas I (r. 858–67) broke down, he accepted Orthodox missionaries, who provided a Slavic-speaking clergy and liturgical texts.

Resistance to Byzantine cultural and ecclesiastical hegemony remained strong in Bulgaria. After the emperor BASIL II ended a series of campaigns in 1014 with a decisive victory over the forces of Samuel of Bulgaria, the Byzantines occupied the country from 1018 to 1185. After a revolt in 1185, a new state arose, called the Second Bulgarian Empire, with its capital at Tumovo. This new state expanded into Thrace and, after the Battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230, into western MACEDONIA. However, a century later at Velbuzd in 1330 SERBIA destroyed a Bulgarian army. In 1373 Bulgaria became a vassal to the OTTOMANS, and in 1393 the Ottomans under MURAD I conquered Bulgaria outright and occupied the region until the 19th century.

**Further reading:** Robert Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study across the Early Medieval Frontier* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975);

Alain Ducellier, "Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 779–795; Vasil Gjuzelev, *Medieval Bulgaria: Byzantine Empire, Black Sea, Venice, Genoa* (Villach: Verlag Baier, 1988); Oksana Minaeva, *From Paganism to Christianity: Formation of Medieval Bulgarian Art (681–972)* (New York: P. Lang, 1996); Charles A. Moser, *A History of Bulgarian Literature, 863–1844* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972); Jonathan Shepard, "Bulgaria the Other Balkan Empire," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 567–585.

**bulls, imperial and papal** These were official documents sealed with a lead seal or bull (*bullā* in Latin) to give them more prestige, public authority, and credibility. Princes, the papacy, and towns used them as well. Even private citizens sometimes adorned charters with lead seals or bulls. The king of Germany and the king of SICILY used a golden bull after the manner of the BYZANTINE emperors in the most solemn documents, as the Emperor CHARLES IV did in 1356 in the Golden Bull to regulate the election of the Holy Roman Emperor. In the papal chancery the bull designated a letter of the pope, less solemn than a privilege and more than a brief. According to the status of the addressee, a lead or gold bull was sealed with red SILK laces or simple hemp. The heads of the apostles Peter and Paul, and the name of the reigning pope were stamped.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; PALEOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Reginald Lane Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915); Jane E. Sayers, ed., *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); P. N. R. Zutshi, ed., *Original Papal Letters in England, 1305–1415* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990).

**Burchard of Worms, Bishop** (ca. 965–1025) *compiler of important canon law collection*

Born about 965 he was a member of the court of Emperor OTTO III. As bishop of Worms, Burchard reformed the clergy, imposed his authority on the local lay nobility, and founded a network of parishes to administer the sacraments. His *Decretum*, from 1012, was a huge canonical collection reflecting the government and pastoral efforts of the church before the GREGORIAN Reform and the increased study and appreciation of Roman secular law. It condemned SIMONY and control by lay princes over ecclesiastical institutions. It insisted on the authority of the bishop. It was the most authoritative collection of

canonistic material before those composed by GRATIAN and IVO of Chartres. He died on August 20, 1025.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

**Burgundians** On the basis of linguistic evidence and various written traditions from the early Middle Ages, scholars have determined that the Burgundians, a Germanic tribe, originated in Scandinavia and then migrated eastward toward the Vistula River during the first century of the Common Era. The reasons for the migration have been the subject of substantial speculation. By 359 they were established on the east bank of the Rhine and had had much experience with the Romans.

#### DEFEAT AND RESETTLEMENT

On the last day of 406, the Rhine froze and provided the opportunity for a large mass of barbarians to cross the river, among whom were the Burgundians. They were settled along the western bank of the Rhine in the region of Coblenz. In 436, after the Burgundians had been engaged in several plots, the Roman military commander in the West, Aetius, punished them for attempting to expand the area under their control. This led to their resettlement in the region around Geneva and LYON in 443.

#### RESETTLEMENT AND ASSIMILATION

After this, the Burgundians cooperated with the Romans, fought against the HUNS at Chalons in 451, and participated in imperial politics. Before the end of the fifth century the Burgundians dominated most of eastern Gaul from the southern limits of Champagne to the Alps.

Although the Burgundian rulers were ARIAN Christians, they maintained good relations with their Gallo-Roman subjects. Burgundian laws were written in LATIN and the Roman population continued to be well treated and not disarmed. Mixed marriages of Burgundians and Romans were not prohibited. The Burgundian king, who made his capital at Lyon, had a Germanic title of king and the Roman title of *patricius*.

This flourishing Burgundian kingdom of the later fifth century was weakened by dynastic conflict and by aggressive neighbors, such as the FRANKS and the Ostrogoths. The Franks led by Clotaire (r. 511–558) took advantage of this weakened kingdom to invade in 524. They captured and killed King Sigismund (d. 524). By 534 the Franks had destroyed the remnants of the Burgundian ruling family and integrated the kingdom of the Burgundians into the Frankish kingdom.

*See also* ODOACER; THEODORIC.

**Further reading:** Herwig Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (1990; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997 [1990]).

**Burgundy** The name Burgundy referred to a kingdom, a duchy, and a county in western Europe. After the division of the CAROLINGIAN Empire in 843, the ancient lands of the BURGUNDIANS became the duchy of Burgundy. When the line of dukes died out 1032, the principality of Burgundy became part of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. The kingdom continued as a separate entity within the empire. The emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA in the 12th century tried to consolidate the imperial control through the creation of an administration dependent on the emperor.

#### PROSPERITY

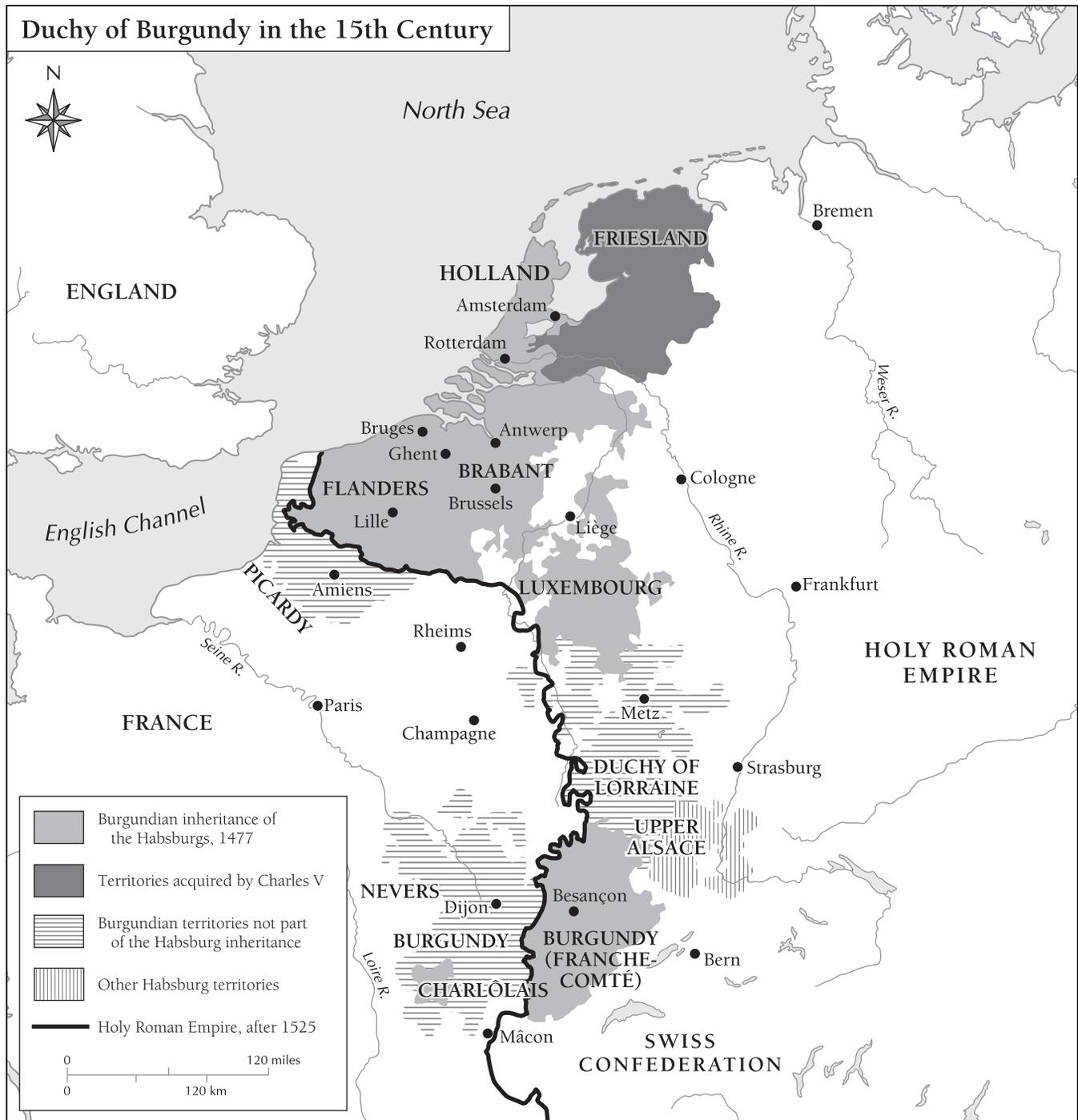
A revival of commerce, and ducal favors to the abbeys contributed a flourishing religious and intellectual life in the duchy. In the 11th century the monastic school of Dijon was among the most prominent in western Europe with such masters as LANFRANC. The order of CLUNY was particularly centered in Burgundy at the beginning of the 12th century. The CISTERCIANS also founded a monastery in the duchy. The whole duchy was an important center for ROMANESQUE and GOTHIC styles of art.

The duchy was taken over by the king of France, John II (r. 1350–64), in the mid-14th century. In 1363 he granted Burgundy to his younger son, PHILIP THE BOLD (r. 1313–1404). At his death in 1404 through skillful marriages and dynastic alliances, a major part of BELGIUM and HOLLAND was under Burgundian rule. Philip was a great patron of the arts, and the 40 years of his reign, the “Golden Age of Burgundy,” was marked by political peace.

#### INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION

The Duchy of Burgundy was outside the areas of combat, and was spared the devastation of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. Its nobility took an active part in the battles within the French army. Philip's son John the Fearless (r. 1404–19) was active at the French court, where he opposed the duke of Orléans and was accused of his murder in 1407. That event sparked the battle between the ARMAGNAC and Burgundian factions. John, after the Battle of AGINCOURT in 1415, tried to reconcile King Charles VI (r. 1380–1422) and King HENRY V. A dynastic union between the two crowns was intended to exclude the dauphin, the future Charles VII, from the royal succession. As a consequence of this John was murdered in 1419. This caused his son and heir PHILIP THE GOOD (1419–67) to switch his allegiance to the English, with whom it remained until the Peace of Arras in 1435. At the death in battle of Philip's son, CHARLES THE BOLD or Rash (r. 1467–77), King LOUIS XI of France (r. 1461–83) with some difficulty integrated part of the duchy into the kingdom of France. However, Charles's possessions in the NETHERLANDS and BELGIUM passed to the HABSBURG Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519) of AUSTRIA, splitting the old duchy in two.

*See also* VALOIS DYNASTY; VÉZELAY.



**Further reading:** Peter J. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); Willem Pieter Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Christopher Cope, *The Lost Kingdom of Burgundy: A Phoenix Frustrated* (London: Constable, 1986); Ian Dunlop, *Burgundy* (Lon-

don: Hamish Hamilton, 1990); Walter Prevenier, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975).

**burial rules and practices** In the Middle Ages, burial or interment in a parish cemetery was the most common form of Christian burial and disposal of the dead. Some

Germanic peoples had practiced cremation or exposure, but these customs were deemed pagan and suppressed, as was the inclusion of grave goods with the deceased, perhaps intended for use in the next life. From these graves Christians were to rise with their body restored on the day of LAST JUDGMENT.

**TOMBS, MONUMENTS, AND FEES**

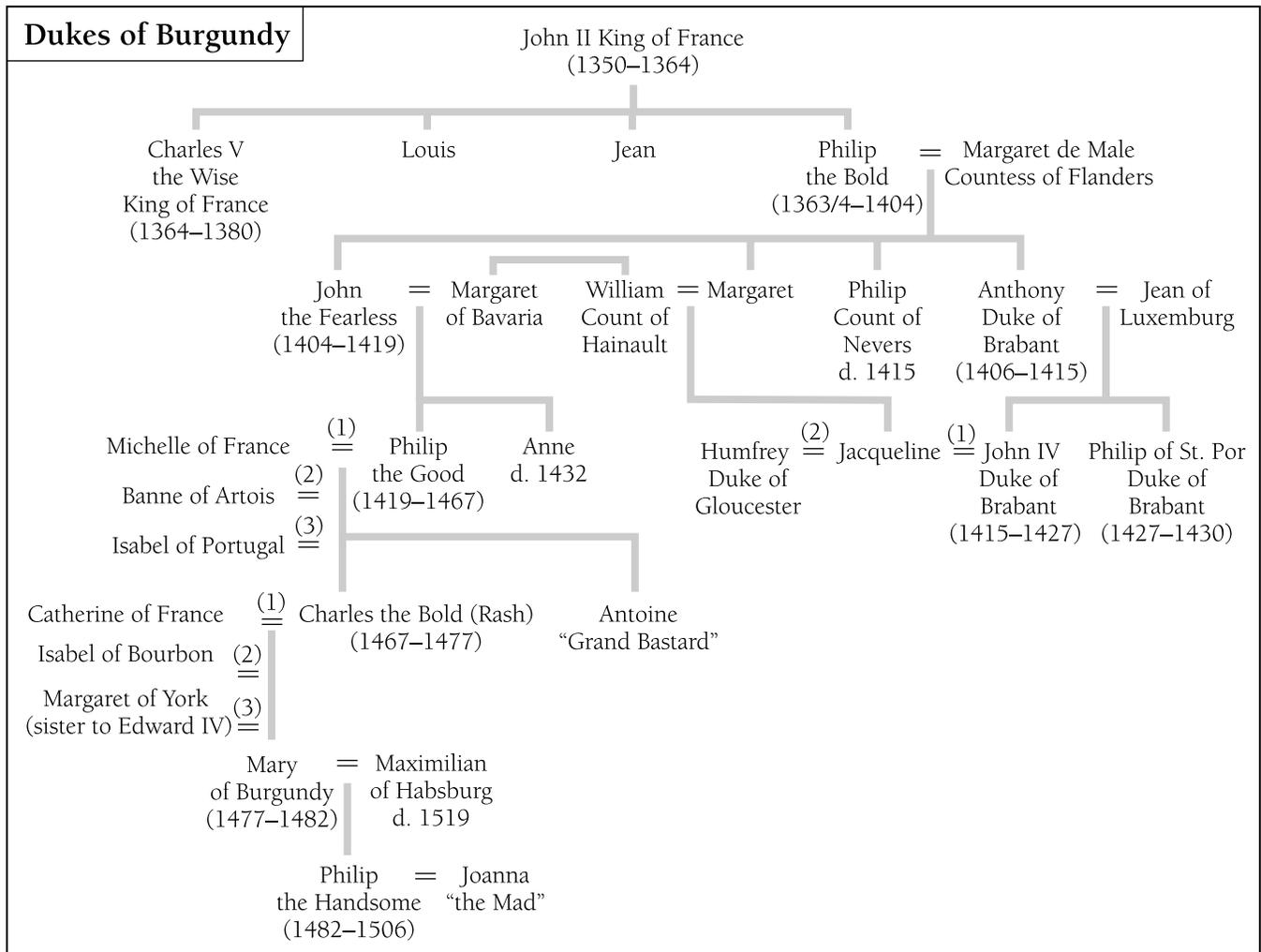
Over the course of the Middle Ages, the church evolved other options of disposal and commemoration, usually involving payments to the clergy. All this was complicated by the belief in the saving power of the bodies of the martyrs and eventually of all the saints. Christians in the late antique world and early Middle Ages asked to be buried as close as possible to a martyr's tomb or a reliquary in a church. They soon were erecting monuments or tombs in memory to themselves, which soon required inhumations and moving of tombs to the outside of a structure of the church. The clergy, however, were allowed to maintain the privilege of burial inside; occasionally was a great patron

of the church given a similar privilege. This practice caused many wealthier and more powerful families to support particular churches where their family could erect prestigious memorials to their ancestors. This in itself became a great source of clerical and ecclesiastical incomes when combined with the expected fees for a mere service and simple inhumation.

Monks, and later the mendicants, became particularly concerned with this activity and such patronage for the monasteries and huge new urban churches. The dead also had to be memorialized and prayed for by continuing masses and prayers by the clergy. Those services, too, required payment in addition to a fee for the funeral itself. All this financial activity caused considerable conflict about the income from such fees between the parish and the monastic and mendicant clergy.

*See also* CEMETERIES; GOKSTAD SHIP; PURGATORY; OSEBERG FIND; SUTTON HOO.

**Further reading:** Robert Chapman, Ian Kinnes, Klavs Randsborg, eds., *The Archaeology of Death* (Cambridge:





The burying of plague victims in Tournai, 1349, from the *Annals of Gilles de Muisit*, 1352, Ms. 13076–7, c. 24t, fol. 24v, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, Brussels, Belgium (*Snark / Art Resource*)

Cambridge University Press, 1981); Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites* (London: Alcuin Club/S.P.C.K., 1977).

**Buridan, John (Jean Buridan)** (ca. 1297–ca. 1358) *nominalist philosopher, teacher at the University of Paris*  
Born about 1297 in Béthune in France, John Buridan taught all his life at the arts faculty of the University of PARIS. A student of WILLIAM OF OCKHAM, he based his philosophy of language on an intransigent NOMINALISM and his logic on the analysis of language. He later condemned William of Ockham. In natural philosophy, he proposed a new theory of the cause of movement of projectiles or objects and formulated a hypothesis on an initial impulse by GOD to all the heavenly spheres, which continued then to move without resistance. He favored a concept of many efficient causes over an idea of any one final cause. He commented on ARISTOTLE'S *Ethics*, defending the human freedom of choice against determinism. His influence, though unorthodox, was great at

the University of Paris and in the newer universities of central Europe. He died about 1358.

See also LOGIC.

**Further reading:** John Buridan, *John Buridan on Self-Reference: Chapter Eight of Buridan's Sophismata, with a Translation, an Introduction, and a Philosophical Commentary*, trans. G. E. Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); John Buridan, *Jean Buridan's Logic: The Treatise on Supposition, the Treatise on Consequences*, trans. Peter King (Boston: D. Reidel, 1985); J. M. M. H. Thijssen and Jack Zupko, eds., *The Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy of John Buridan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

**Burids** See BUYIDS.

**Burley, Walter (Burleigh, Gualterus Burlaeus)** (ca. 1275–1344) *mathematician, scientific thinker*  
Born about 1275, Walter was educated at Merton College, at OXFORD, where he was much influenced by the ideas of Robert GROSSETESTE. He remained to teach at that college, then one of the most important centers for the study

of SCIENCE in western Europe. As did his contemporary John Buridan, Burley studied Aristotelian theories of physics, especially on the origins and physiological movements of animals. His commentaries on ARISTOTLE'S treatises, especially his theories on movement, served as an important basis for research and understanding. He died in June 1344.

**Further reading:** Walter Burley, *On the Purity of the Art of Logic: The Shorter and the Longer Treatises*, trans. Paul Vincent Spade (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

**Buwayhids** See BUYIDS.

**Buyids (Buwayhids, Banu Bayah, Banu Buwaih)** The Buyids were a Turkish dynasty and were among the most important of several dynasties established in the ninth, 10th, and 11th centuries in the Middle East. They were first established as mercenary foot soldiers from the Caspian provinces of IRAN, especially the mountainous province of Daylam. The Buyids themselves were the descendants of a common soldier, Bfiyih. Such soldiers were called Daylamis or men from Daylam and the Buyids were "the Daylami dynasty." Largely independent of the control of the caliphs of DAMASCUS and BAGHDAD, the peoples of these mountainous areas converted to Islam, in particular Shia Islam. This gave them an ideological opposition to the ABBASID caliphs in Baghdad. They first supported the Alids, but as they attained real power, they became much less concerned with such matters.

#### CREATION OF A STATE

In the early 10th century, the ABBASIDS were no longer able to field armies in western and central Persia. The Buyids quickly figured out that they could control the state. In 924 Imad al-Dawla (r. 934–949) overran the southwestern Persian province of Fars and established his own capital of Shiraz. From Fars he sponsored the conquest of central Persia by his younger brother, Rukn al-Dawla, and in 945 he sponsored the conquest of Iraq by his youngest brother, Muizz al-Dawla (r. 945–967).

Muizz al-Dawla established Buyid rule in IRAQ by taking Baghdad in December 945. This event made a Shi'ite family the guardians of the Sunni Abbasid caliphate. In 946 Muizz al-Dawla deposed the reigning caliph and replaced him with another member of the family. It then became clear that Buyid mayors of the palace or emirs were going to employ the Abbasid caliphs as instruments and fig leaves for their own power and policies.

Adud-al-Dawla (r. 978–983) pursued a successful expansionist policy, but on his death and for most of the next 70 years, members of the ruling dynasty engaged in much internal conflict. From 1029 the increasing weakness of the Buyid state encouraged outside intervention.

The SELJUKS established themselves in eastern Persia and extinguished Buyid rule completely in the 1050s.

#### BUYID RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL LEGACIES

The constitutional and religious problems created by the presence of the Shiites as effectively rulers over the Sunni caliphate required a reconsideration of politics in Shiism and Sunni. The Buyids found the Abbasid caliphs increasingly valuable, particularly after 969, when in accord with their activist version of Shiism, called Ismailism, they tried to revive the universal caliphate and remove or subordinate independent local dynasties and usurpers.

The Shiism of the Buyids was, however, doctrinally vague, and they soon became adherents of the less aggressive Twelver Shiism. With the varied cultural orientation of the Buyids, as patrons of Arabic humanities and the Persian royal tradition, and with tolerance required of Shiite rulers of a population primarily Sunni, the period of their domination in the 10th and 11th centuries made it a period of great cultural accomplishment in literature, science, and art, incorporating much of Iranian culture into the center of Islam.

**Further reading:** Herbert Busse, "Iran under the Buyids" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4, *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuks*, ed. R. N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 250–304; Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad, 334/946–447/1055* (Calcutta: Iran Society, 1964); Claude Cahen, "Buwayhids," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.1350–1357; Roy P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society*, rev. ed. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001).

**Byzantine Church** See CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX.

**Byzantine Empire and Byzantium** The conversion of Constantine and his foundation in 330 of the city CONSTANTINOPLE on the site of the classical city of Byzantium laid the basis for a future Byzantine Empire centered on that city. In 395 the division between an Eastern and a Western Roman Empire was made. It was still Roman but became Christian during the fourth century.

The history of the Byzantine Empire has traditionally been divided into three phases. The first era, from the fifth to the seventh century, has been called an early or proto-Byzantine Empire. The second was a medieval state that lasted until 1204, when Constantinople was sacked by western crusaders in the Fourth Crusade. The last period ran from then until the fall of the city to the OTTOMAN Turks in 1453. It witnessed a constant shrinkage of Byzantine-controlled territory. Throughout all of these eras it had to struggle militarily with outside invaders, sometimes advancing its frontiers, but far more often suffering a slow retreat. Before its fall it had spread its culture and religious doctrines and practices



throughout much of eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. The effects of that cultural colonization have continued to the present.

#### EARLY BYZANTINE STATE

Basically a continuation of the late Roman Empire during these centuries, the Byzantine Empire preserved and adapted those fundamental institutions and practices from the death of CONSTANTINE in 337 to the death of the emperor HERAKLEIOS in 641. Its army enabled it to maintain its eastern borders against the Sassanians and absorb much of the BARBARIAN migration and convert most of them fairly quickly to Christianity. The Roman administration and institutions of its government survived primarily intact despite dynastic conflict at the top and personnel losses through serious plagues. The economy remained prosperous because of the continued vigor of its urban life and agricultural productivity. Its main cities, such as ANTIOCH, ALEXANDRIA, and Carthage, and many smaller ones survived, somewhat diminished, but remained important regional capitals and markets.

There was almost continual conflict internally, and at times with the Western Church, slowly becoming centered on the PAPACY, over dogma, especially that of the substance of the persons of the Trinity. In 325, at Nicaea, the first council convoked and presided over by an emperor in person, Constantine as the "thirteenth apostle," the ARIAN position was rejected. At the Council of CHALCEDON in 451, an orthodox definition of the dual nature of Christ was rejected, but a large part of the population of the eastern provinces turned to MONOPHYSITISM and NESTORIANISM. At that same Council of CHALCEDON, the preeminence of five particular sees or bishoprics was maintained in the patriarchates of papal ROME, still tied to the east; Alexandria; Antioch; CONSTANTINOPLE; and JERUSALEM. Relations with the pope in Rome were never simple but did not yet entail open conflict or schism.

In the sixth century, the emperor JUSTINIAN tried to restore Byzantine control over the western provinces of North Africa and Italy. His best generals, BELISARIUS and the eunuch Narses (ca. 480–575), won numerous battles and restored Byzantine control, but those regions were

devastated by almost 30 years of destructive warfare. The longest-lasting result of these campaigns was the strong Greek religious and cultural presence in southern Italy for centuries afterward. This reconquest was beyond the resources of an empire also attacked by SLAVS in the Balkans and battered by major plagues and major earthquakes in its richest cities.

A century after Justinian, the emperor Herakleios I barely fought back the AVARS in the west and narrowly won a long, desperate, and debilitating war with the Persians, only to be faced by the Arabic invasions that immediately and apocalyptically deprived the empire of the rich provinces of SYRIA, PALESTINE, and EGYPT. From then for the next two centuries, the Byzantine Empire was under almost constant siege by Islamic armies and additional migrant peoples in the Balkans, perhaps only saved by its impregnable walls and by Muslim disunity. Many institutions and religious practices changed during this anxious period. In popular and official religiosity, the empire was troubled by a bloody dispute over the appropriateness of the worship of icons themselves or the images of holy people they represented. Many were killed as the result of this struggle over ICONOCLASM.

#### THE MEDIEVAL STATE

Over the course of the seventh and eight centuries the frontiers with Islam were slowly stabilized in eastern ANATOLIA. The military was reformed and became much more effective and began to dominate imperial politics and succession. In the western provinces, northern Italy was lost to the Lombards and all of Africa and southern Iberia to the Muslims. SLAVS and BULGARS established states just to the west of the city of Constantinople itself. More unified in religious orthodoxy but still almost constantly troubled by the dispute over icons, the empire's urban and rural populations continued to decline. The economy in general suffered as the once lucrative trade routes to the east were cut or became much less followed and prosperous.

There were considerable military successes, even as the reforms in supply and organization of armies were taking hold. Of the soldier emperors of the ISAURIAN dynasty, Leo III (d. 741) the Isaurian managed to defeat a Muslim siege of Constantinople itself in 718, and Constantine V (741–775) turned back a powerful Arab army in Anatolia in 741. At the same time they were still ardently persecuting dissidents in order to stop the worship of images and destroy icons. This trend lasted well into the ninth century.

From the late eighth century, and especially in the 10th century, a demographic revival, a revived rural economy, a reformed and trustworthy currency, an expansion of towns and trade, and an architectural building boom occurred. These events coincided with the rule of the MACEDONIAN dynasty, which for two centuries (867–1056) established political stability, religious peace,

and competent government. The empire's borders expanded again as the Bulgars (by BASIL II), Slavs, and the Muslims were defeated or pacified, even pushed back as far north as the Danube and as far east as the Euphrates.

After internal disorder and dynastic conflict at the end of the Macedonian period, a general, ALEXIOS I Komnenos, restored order and founded a new dynasty. This was also the era of the GREAT SCHISM OF 1054 between the Eastern and Western Churches. Since then differences about papal power have remained intense between the two churches. At the same time the empire was under attack from new quarters, such as the NORMANS now established in Italy, the nomadic Petchenegs in the northern Balkans, and the SELJUK Turks in eastern Anatolia. The Turks won an enormous victory at MANZIKERT in 1017 and poured into eastern Anatolia, never to be dislodged again. Alexios called for mercenaries to help him but got nearly uncontrollable and fanatic crusaders. These often large armies from western Europe over the next few decades had mixed success in the eastern Mediterranean and probably were of assistance in preserving a Byzantine Empire in the 12th century. The flood of Italian merchants traveling east also greatly assisted a revival in trade that produced economic benefit to the empire. This situation changed dramatically, however, when the city was sacked and looted during the Fourth Crusade. A Latin Empire temporarily took control of the city and many of the surrounding provinces. The city and empire were never the same again; nor were the seriously deteriorating relations with the West and the papacy.

#### THE LATE EMPIRE

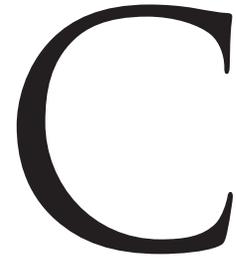
An empire was partially reconstituted from the provinces of western Anatolia in 1261, when Michael VIII (r. 1258/59), the founder of the last Byzantine dynasty, the PALAEOLOGI, retook Constantinople. This remnant state now faced ambitious and aggressive Latin states in Greece and the Balkans, and the OTTOMANS, pushed westward, and pursued into Anatolia by MONGOLS. This situation was made all the more difficult for these financially strapped emperors who ruled over small territories that produced little tax revenue. The economy of the empire was almost drained of wealth because commerce had passed almost completely into the hands of Italian merchants, especially those from VENICE and GENOA. The civil wars of the first half of the 14th century further doomed this now diminutive essentially small Balkan State, which had been set up around 1340, after the Ottomans nearly surrounded it by crossing in mass into Europe to establish their capital in ADRIANOPLE or Edirne behind the city of Constantinople. From the mid-14th century, Byzantium had become a small city-state doomed in many ways, disputed among Serbia, Czar STEPHEN DUŠAN, and the Ottomans. Attempts at compromise over dogmatic matters and papal authority in order to effect ecclesiastical unity and obtain military assistance from the

West failed, even when prompted by the threat of the Turkish and Islamic conquest. A western Crusade was assembled but met massive defeat at NICOPOLIS in 1396. In May 1453, Constantinople fell permanently to the assault of the Ottomans under the sultan MEHMED II. It became modern Istanbul. Many Greek scholars fled to the West and helped make possible the serious study of the Greek language and ancient Greek literature that the culture of the Byzantine Empire had so long preserved.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE; CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX; CONSTANTINOPLE, LATIN OCCUPATION

OF; CUMANS; DANDOLO, ENRICO; DURAZZO; FERRARA-FLORENCE COUNCIL OF; HAGIA SOPHIA; IRENE; ISLAMIC CONQUEST; MISTRA; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Cyril Mango, ed., *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2002); Thomas J. Mathews, *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998); George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, transl. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).



**Cabal** See KABBALA.

**Cabot, John** (Giovanni Cabotto) (ca. 1450–1499) *Italian navigator*

John or Giovanni Cabot was probably born about 1450 in the Italian port city of GENOA, although he was granted Venetian citizenship in 1476. Cabot worked as a sailor, merchant, and navigator. From 1490 to 1493 he probably lived in the Spanish city of VALENCIA and may have been present when Christopher COLUMBUS traveled there in April 1493, on his way to report on his successful voyage to the Western Hemisphere to the king and queen of SPAIN.

Cabot did not think that Columbus had reached Asia, believing the distance was greater than that traveled by Columbus. It was more possible to reach Asia, he believed, by sailing around the northern end of the body of land that Columbus had found. This idea led to the search for a Northwest Passage, sparking many voyages of exploration over the next 350 years.

Cabot traveled to ENGLAND to sell his plan of discovery to King Henry VII (r. 1485–1509), and on March 5, 1496, the king issued to him letters of patent that granted to “John Cabotto, Citizen of Venice,” the right to sail with five ships “to all parts, countries and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North” to “discover and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world they be, which before this time were unknown to all Christians.”

Cabot first attempted to sail to North America in 1496 but was forced to turn back because of shortage of food, bad weather, and problems with the crew. On May

20, 1497, he sailed again from the port of Bristol in a small ship, *The Matthew*, with a crew of 20 that included his son, Sebastian. They sailed past IRELAND for 35 days until they sighted land on June 24, Saint John the Baptist’s Day. Cabot went ashore and saw signs of human habitation but did not meet anyone. He then sailed on for 300 leagues from west to east before turning back and heading for Ireland. He took 15 days to cross the Atlantic to BRITTANY and sail from there to Bristol, where he landed on August 6. In London on August 11, he reported to the king, who gave him a reward, and sent him home to Bristol.

It is unclear where Cabot actually sailed; most likely he landed somewhere on the coast of Maine and then headed north along the coast of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island as far as Cape Race in Newfoundland, and from there back to Europe. Once Cabot proved that he had found land that was previously unknown to Europeans, he obtained support from the king for a new expedition, with five ships and a much larger crew. The ships sailed from Bristol in May 1498 but were never heard of again.

Evidence found by later explorers suggested that this second expedition reached the coast of Newfoundland. Perhaps some of the ships or survivors fell into the hands of the Spanish, because later Spanish explorers seemed to have had some knowledge of the discoveries made by Cabot.

**Further reading:** Clements R. Markham, trans., *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (during His First Voyage, 1492–93), and Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893); James A. Williamson and R. A. Skelton, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII with*

*the Cartography of the Voyages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1962); Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

**Cabral, Pedro Álvares** (1467–ca. 1520) *leader of the second Portuguese expedition to India*

Born to the noble Fernão and his wife Isabel de Gouveia, the Portuguese Pedro Álvares Cabral was sent to serve at the court of PORTUGAL at the age of 17 and rose rapidly on official offices. During Cabral's years at court, the Portuguese made the great discoveries that opened up the ocean routes between Europe and Asia. Bartolomew DIAZ had rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa in 1488, and VASCO da Gama reached India in 1498. On da Gama's return to Portugal in September 1498, the Portuguese king decided to send another expedition to India immediately to take advantage of the new trading opportunities. Cabral was chosen to lead the venture.

#### BRAZIL

Cabral left LISBON on March 9, 1500, at the head of a fleet of 13 ships, much larger than that of da Gama. They reached the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa on March 22. On da Gama's advice Cabral then sailed farther westward to avoid the doldrums and contrary currents that had plagued earlier expeditions. As a result, on April 22, the Wednesday before Easter, he sighted land—BRAZIL.

The next day, the Portuguese landed on what was to become the major colony of their empire. The explorers Alonso de Ojeda, Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), and Vicente Pinzón had previously sighted land along what is now the northern coast of Brazil. The land he found had already been given to Portugal by the papal Treaty of Tordesillas in June 1494. It divided any new discoveries; Portugal was given Africa and Asia, and SPAIN the Americas. The dividing line was set at a point 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, so Brazil was actually in the Portuguese sphere.

#### MOZAMBIQUE AND CALICUT

After Cabral left Brazil, he sailed south of the Cape of Good Hope and finally touched land in Mozambique with only three ships. He then sailed up the eastern coast of Africa and across the Indian Ocean. His fleet reached the great trading center of Calicut (Kozhikode) on September 13, 1500.

The Muslim merchants of Calicut were not pleased by the arrival of the Portuguese, because a new trade route threatened their monopoly on the spice trade with the West and Europe. The Portuguese built a trading post on land, but it was soon attacked and 50 men were killed. Cabral then seized 10 Arab ships and bombarded the city with his guns. Since he had still not traded for anything

he wanted, he sailed south to the port of Cochin, where he filled up his ships with merchandise then left in early January 1501.

The ships in Cabral's expedition landed in Lisbon harbor during June and July 1501. The merchandise they took back was extremely valuable; the expedition proved that there was a way to trade with Asia via the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The king sent out another expedition in February 1502, but this time once again under the command of Vasco da Gama. Forgotten, Cabral died about 1520 in Portugal.

**Further reading:** W. B. Greenlee, ed., *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937); James Roxburgh McClymont, *Pedralvarez Cabral (Pedro Alluarez de Gouvea): His Progenitors, His Life and His Voyage to America and India* (London: B. Quatrach, 1914).

**Cade, Jack** (d. 1450), **and Cade's or Kentish Rebellion**

Jack Cade's rebellion took place in England in the summer of 1450. It followed months of discontent in PARLIAMENT and throughout the kingdom, first sparked by the capture of NORMANDY by the French. This era also saw violence in the murder of a bishop, the impeachment and killing of the duke of Suffolk, and the forcing of reforms on the incompetent and reluctant King Henry VI (r. 1421–71). The early details of the uprising are not known. By June 5 the news had reached Leicester, where Parliament was meeting. Parliament was quickly dissolved and the king and his nobles marched on its epicenter LONDON to confront the rebellion.

As in the Peasant Rebellion of 1381, the center was in Kent, which had a large number of free peasants and independent cloth workers who were a volatile mix. Though primarily comprising peasants and artisans, it was likely encouraged by ambitious nobles, perhaps even Richard (1411–60) duke of York. By June 11 a large force had built a camp at Blackheath, southeast of London. Its leader took the name of "John Mortimer," presumably to signify gentle birth and a connection with the duke of York, who represented the Mortimer claim to the throne. His real name appears to have been Cade. He was probably Irish.

Several versions of the rebels' demands survive. They stressed misgovernment, both central and local. These manifestos do not resemble the broad social demands of the 1381 rebellion but sought only the return of the duke of York from IRELAND, the formation of a council controlled by the great magnates, and the trial of "traitors and extortioners."

#### COMBAT

On June 18 the rebels retreated from Blackheath, unwilling to face the advance of Henry VI's army. News

of the rising sparked outbreaks of violence in Essex and Wiltshire, where another bishop was murdered. The king's army collapsed after a skirmish at Sevenoaks on June 27 and Henry and his court had to withdraw to Kenilworth in the Midlands. Cade's forces were able to enter London unopposed. After a form of trial, they executed the treasurer of England, Lord Say and Sele (d. 1450) and several other unpopular officials. The elite of London, fearing further disorder, joined forces with royal troops in the tower under Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales (ca. 1442–83). On the night of July 5 there was fighting on London Bridge, but the next day a settlement was negotiated. There were general pardons for the rebels and a promise of an inquiry into their complaints. The rebels then dispersed. After his pardon was nullified, Cade died after being wounded and captured in Sussex, probably on July 12, 1450.

Unrest continued in Kent and Sussex for several years, the other pardons were honored and commissions were actually sent to investigate complaints of extortion and misgovernment. This was the beginning of decades of violence and dynastic changes at the beginning of the Wars of the Roses.

See also WARS OF THE ROSES.

**Further reading:** A. R. Myers, ed., *English Historical Documents, IV: 1327–1485* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969), 264–269; I. M. W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Benjamin Brogden Orridge, *Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion* (London: J. C. Hotten, 1869).

**Caedmon, Saint (Cedmon)** (d. 670/680) *English poet* Probably a Celt, Caedmon was a cowherd and a monk at the monastery of WHITBY, where, though supposedly elderly and illiterate, he learned the Scriptures. According to BEDE, the principal source on Caedmon, he was given a gift for verse in a vision from God and used it to convert scriptural texts into verse. He was mainly known, however, as a writer of popular and sacred poetry, meant to be read by the laity. Of all his poems quoted by Bede and other sources, only one hymn, which presented him as a poet inspired by dreams, has survived. He probably died between 670 and 680.

**Further reading:** Stephen Humphreys Villiers Gurteen, *The Epic of the Fall of Man: A Comparative Study of Caedmon, Dante and Milton* (New York: Haskell House, 1964); Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 23–46; Jeff Opland, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry: A Study of the Traditions* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980).

**Caetani, Benedict (Benedetto)** See BONIFACE VIII, POPE.

**Cairo (al-Kahira, al-Qahira)** Medieval Cairo was a city on the Nile River in northern Egypt. The name *Cairo* is from the Arabic *al-Qahira*, "the Victorious," the title given by the Fatimid caliph who founded it in 969. Cairo does not have ancient precursors. AL-FUSTAT, founded in 641 by the Muslim conquerors on the right bank of the Nile at the foot of a Byzantine fortress, was the original foundation that eventually became part of modern Cairo. Subsequent expansion tended to move northward. After al-Fustat, three more settlements were founded. The most southerly, al-Askar, was founded by an ABBASID governor in 750, then al-Qatai by Ibn Tulun in 879, and finally al-Qahira or Cairo, the last and northernmost, in 969. It was originally called al-Mansuriyya, but that was soon changed to al-Qahira.

Al-Qahira was a foundation with a political design. The Shiite FATIMID caliphs made it a princely capital with walls and monumental gates; palaces; large mosques; centers for the teaching of Shiite doctrine, such as al-Azhar (the Brilliant); markets or souks; workshops to produce luxury goods for the court; and special urban areas for the different ethnic groups of their army. Al-Fustat then became a commercial and industrial center with a port, sugar refineries, warehouses, and business quarters, all profiting from international trade. There was a period of toleration for Jews and Christians. An urban fabric grew to run from al-Fustat to al-Qahira in the north.

Along with returning it to Sunni Islam with the AYYUBID dynasty (1171–1250), SALADIN changed the city of Cairo by destroying the Fatimid palaces and building, between Cairo and al-Fustat, the Citadel, a sign of his dominance. New walls enclosed these three parts of al-Qahira, the Citadel, and al-Fustat to become late medieval and modern Cairo. It was around the linked urban center that the city developed under the next dynasty, that of the MAMLUKS (1250–1517). They were cut off from their lands of origin, were ardent Sunnis, and were occupying a town blessed with considerable revenue, so they erected new religious, economic, and place foundations in order to give themselves more legitimacy in the eyes of fellow Muslims. The city suffered terribly during the plague of 1348 and began a slow decline, accelerated by changes in the patterns of trade in the 15th century. The city was conquered by the OTTOMANS in 1517 and became a provincial capital.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Further reading:** Philip K. Hitti, "Cairo: The Dissident Capital" in *Capital Cities of Arab Islam* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 110–134; André Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. Willard Wood (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000); Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Max Rodenbeck, *Cairo: The City Victorious* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Gaston Wiet, *Cairo: City of Art and Commerce*, trans. Seymour Feiler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

**Calatrava, Order of** One of the first Iberian military orders, the order of Calatrava was founded in the 12th century after the recapture of a frontier enclave, Calatrava. The Castilian king Alfonso VII (1104–57) gave it in 1147 to the **TEMPLARS** to defend against the invading **ALMOHADS**. After that monarch's death and faced with the inaction of the lay nobility, Raymond, abbot of Fitero, a Navarrese **CISTERCIAN** monastery, traveled to Calatrava, where in 1158 he founded a new voluntary religious order composed of monks and **KNIGHTS** to resist Islamic expansion. The new order adopted the Cistercian Rule and was approved first in 1163 by Cîteaux, and then in 1164 by Pope **ALEXANDER III**. In the 14th century the seal of the order was transferred to Almagro. By the 15th century, it had become an association of nobles who involved themselves in internal Castilian politics. In 1489 **FERDINAND II** and **ISABEL I** annexed the order to the Crown.

**Further reading:** Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and Its Affiliates* (London: Variorum, 1975).

**calendars and the reckoning of dates** The calendar in use in the Latin West at the beginning of the Middle Ages evolved under the influence of Christian efforts to calculate liturgical feasts and remove pagan memories. Under the Roman Empire, three chronological reference points were the first Olympiad, the foundation of Rome, and the beginning of the Julian calendar. These different ways of dating had to be challenged in the early Middle Ages by Christians. They first chose as a reference point August 29, 284, the beginning of the era of the martyrs, also called the era of Diocletian. Dates then were calculated with reference to the office of the last serving consul. In the usual Roman calendar, three days each month were used to calculate dates. The first day of the month was the *Calends* or *Kalends*. The *Nones* was on the fifth or seventh day, varying month to month. The *Ides* also varied on the 13th or 15th day. This dating system persisted as late as 1300 in some documents, especially in Italy.

#### CHRISTIAN CALENDAR

About 532 the Roman monk Dionysius Exiguus (fl. 525) tried to set the starting point of the Christian era at the birth of Christ, the eighth day of the *Calends* of January of the year 754 from the founding of Rome, or December 25 of the year 1. This date was quickly shown at best to be approximate; it was calculated by using spotty information from the gospel of Luke that Jesus was about 30 years old at the time of his baptism. That supposedly took place in the 15th year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius (r. 14–37).

This system of dating was used only for events after the birth of Christ. Prior events were dated from the

creation of the world, so far as it could be determined by adding the years suggested by the Christian **BIBLE**. After **BEDE** accepted this system, it slowly passed into general use. It was first adopted by the **ANGLO-SAXONS**, then in **FRANCE** in the late eighth century, in **GERMANY** in the ninth, and by the **PAPACY** in the 10th century. However, it appeared regularly in the acts of the pontifical chancery only from the time of **EUGENIUS IV** in 1431. Not until the 17th century did the birth of Christ also become the chronological reference point for **B.C.E.**

#### JULIAN CALENDAR

Julius Caesar in 46 **B.C.E.** established the length of the year as 365 days and six hours, to be divided into 12 months. Every four years, a day was added after February 24. In the Middle Ages, this day was inserted between February 23 and 24. The beginning of the year might vary according to region. A Roman civil year and according to the Julian calendar the year began on January 1. Roman military used March 1. The Christian church introduced three more possible dates to begin the new year: December 25 (**INCARNATION** style), March 25 (**ANNUNCIATION** style), or the movable feast of **EASTER**. The church also gave a Christian meaning to the date of January 1, which coincided with Christ's **CIRCUMCISION**. These various options were not reduced to January 1 until the 16th century.

#### DAYS OF THE WEEK

From the eighth century, Christendom adopted the framework of a seven-day week. Going back to the Babylonians who had classified the seven "stars" or heavenly bodies in a fixed order: Saturn, Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus. One day was consecrated to each, according to a cycle that turned anew every seven days. Recalling these "stars," the Christians considered Sunday the first day of the week instead of Saturn's day, or Saturday.

Christianity recognized the close connection between the week and a divine model followed in the creation account in **Genesis** and followed in the Jewish calendar. In that tradition, people worked for six days then rested on the seventh. This seventh day, the Lord's day, the Christian Sunday, was substituted for the Jewish sabbath or Saturday. An edict to that effect was issued by the Council of **NICAIA** in 325 and was kept by most medieval Christians.

#### JEWISH AND ISLAMIC CALENDARS

The Jewish method for calculating the year was based on biblical information that yielded a date for creation of 3761 **B.C.E.**, so a year such as 2000–2001 **C.E.** was 5761. The year had 12 lunar months each with 29 or 30 days and a year of 354 days. Some years had a 13th month to maintain linking of the year to the Sun. Some holy days in this system then have to be calculated.

The Islamic calendar was also known as the *hijrah* calendar. Year 1 was the year in which Muslims migrated from MECCA to MEDINA or on July 16, 622 C.E., AL-HIJR. The month was lunar with 29 or 30 days in a 12-month sequence. The year was 354 days long. Holidays occur at different times each year on a 33-year cycle; days run from sunset to sunset.

See also BOOKS OF HOURS; CLOCKS AND TIME MEASUREMENT; LABOR; LAST JUDGMENT; TIME.

**Further reading:** A. Allan McArthur, *The Evolution of the Christian Year* (London: SCM Press, 1955); Azriel Eisenberg, *The Story of the Jewish Calendar* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1958).

**caliphate and caliph** (*khilafa* and *khalifa*) The term “caliph,” in Arabic *khalifa* or “successor,” was given to the head of the Muslim community. The first caliph, ABU BAKR, called himself *khalifa rasul Allah*, “successor of GOD’s messenger,” soon abridged to *khalifa* or caliph. The official title of these caliphs, from the second UMAR, was *amir al-muminin*, “emir of the faithful,” indicating that any caliph was both the spiritual and the temporal head of the Muslim community. Supposedly elected but without clear rules, the caliph was charged specifically with applying Islamic law, or the *sharia*, and suppressing doctrinal innovations. He was also required to lead Friday PRAYERS, to protect the pilgrimage route to Mecca, and to wage war or lead a JIHAD. UTHMAN (r. 644–656), the third caliph, assumed the role of deciding the official version of the QURAN. According to the theory of Sunni jurists, he was chosen by the free choice of the community who then swore an oath of allegiance to him. The caliphs designated their heirs by a practice called anticipated election. A dynastic system was thus established by the time of the Umayyads (660–749) and maintained through the time of the Abbasids (749–1258). It was also practiced by the Fatimids (909–1171), who tied their sovereignty to a designation by the Prophet, not to any choice by a community. During this period they took on roles as semidivine potentates distant from their subjects, but the head of a complex political structure. Military subordinates, called sultans, dominated the caliphate by the 10th century, with the caliphs serving more or less as their puppets.

**Further reading:** C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967); R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (New York: Longman, 1986).

**calligraphy, Islamic** (*khatt*) Islamic calligraphy was the art and science of writing and committing to paper various texts, sacred and secular, primarily in Arabic.

Arabic, a liturgical language and language of culture, was sacred since the QURAN was revealed to the Prophet in Arabic. Arabic writing hence had considerable prestige, which increased with the Islamization of the empire. The sacralization of the script explained why Arabic characters, adapted by Semitic languages, were used to write the non-Semitic Iranian (Persian and Afghani) and Turkish languages.

The calligraphy linked to this sacred script was an art and a science. It benefited from a general use of PAPER in Islam from the ninth century. In the 10th century the mutual proportions of the letters began to be codified. Numerous types of script developed according to their uses for archives, charters, the Quran, letters, or works of scholarship. Other types evolved according to region and finally according to writing instrument and medium. There were two common forms of Arabic script: an angular script for high-prestige manuscripts and noble use, the Kufic, and a rounded cursive script in various styles for more mundane documents.

**Further reading:** Martin Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976); Yasin H. Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Annemarie Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Janine Sourdel-Thomine et al., “Khatt,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 4.1113–1128; Anthony Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

**Cambridge and the University of Cambridge** Medieval Cambridge was a city in east central England with an important university. In the early Middle Ages it gained importance because of a bridge on the River Cam. In the latter half of the ninth century Cambridge was overrun by the Danes several times, and, after a short period of rule by ALFRED the Great, it remained part of the DANELAW and the administrative center of Cambridgeshire. In the years following the Norman Conquest in 1066 a castle was built near the town by WILLIAM I the Conqueror. The city was granted a charter of privileges by King HENRY I in 1122. During the period of anarchy under King Stephen (r. 1135–54), Cambridge was a field of battle. The town soon came to have an uneasy relationship with its famous university.

#### THE UNIVERSITY

Under HENRY II in the late 12th century the city flourished as commercial, monastic, and cultural center. Because of conflict among the scholars and students at OXFORD in 1209, a number migrated to Cambridge, where they founded a school. As did most medieval universities, Cambridge dated its existence from no formal act of foundation or certain date. In 1225 the *studium* or place of study at Cambridge had grown to

have a chancellor under a bishop. The number of scholars grew with the establishment in the town of a house of FRANCISCANS, and in 1238 by a DOMINICAN house to pursue study at the fledgling university. A bull of June 14, 1233, by Pope GREGORY IX recognized it as a university. Its solid basis as a corporation derived from its recognition by three royal writs granted by King HENRY III in 1231. From about 1250 the university had a set of statutes, a chancellor, proctors, beadles, regent masters, rules for assemblies, legal procedures, and a practice for the commemoration of benefactors. From the late 14th century, the affairs of the masters was handled by a senate consisting of doctors from each senior faculty, representative from the religious houses, a regent, and a nonregent master. They were all under the presidency of a chancellor or a vice-chancellor.

Royal grants soon increased scholars' rights and privileges in the town, and in 1401 a papal grant removed the bishop from the election of the chancellor. In 1433 Pope EUGENIUS IV freed the teaching masters from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Throughout this period there was constant tension between the students and faculty of the university on the one side and the townspeople on the other. In addition there was much conflict between the clerical and nonclerical masters and between the mendicants and the secular clergy. They were all competing for income.

#### COLLEGES, STUDENTS, AND SUBJECTS OF STUDY

Formally organized colleges developed during the later Middle Ages. Peterhouse, the first, was founded in 1278. By 1500 there were 12, each with a dining hall and a chapel or a place for worship in common. The lay founders of these colleges were especially anxious to ensure that masses for their souls were frequently said and that there was an adequate supply of educated bureaucrats for the administrative needs of the church and the state. Many students, however, were self-supporting and lived in unendowed and seedy hostels. The richest of the colleges was King's Hall, established by EDWARD II and further endowed by EDWARD III.

The faculties of divinity and canon law were traditionally dominant. Civil and common law was prominent in certain colleges. Medical studies were pursued by few students who often had to study outside England. Famous scientists and scholastics such as Robert GROSSETESTE and JOHN Duns Scotus taught there briefly, but no Cambridge college produced a scientific or philosophical tradition to rival that of Merton college at the University of Oxford. The alumni of Cambridge were fewer and infrequently attained the positions of power and prestige occupied by those of its rival Oxford.

See also BOLOGNA AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA; PADUA; SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

**Further reading:** M. B. Hackett, *The Original Statutes of Cambridge University: The Text and Its History*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); Alan B. Cobban, *The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Damian R. Leader, ed. *A History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 1, *The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

**Camelot** See ARTHUR, KING, AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE.

**camels** Camels are ruminants that have been used for centuries in trade and travel in the arid regions of Central Asia, the Arabian Peninsula, and North Africa. They are of two types: the lighter Arabian one-humped camel and dromedary, and the Bactrian two-humped camel. They could bear heavy loads and were able to travel and live for long periods on little water. Camels were known to Europeans through secondhand descriptions by crusaders, pilgrims, and merchants. A few were kept in private zoos in western Europe. There were literary references to them in Western literature, especially in romances with an Oriental setting. In bestiaries they were characterized by their ability to bear heavy loads. They were established in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Arabia in pre-Roman times. By the early Middle Ages they had replaced almost all wheeled transport and were fundamental in the expansion of Islam and in all transport among Europe, Asia, and Africa.

See also ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; BEAST EPICS AND FABLES; BERBERS; ISLAMIC CONQUESTS.

**Further reading:** Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers* (Oxford: Blackwell 1996); Richard W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

**Canary Islands (the Fortunate Islands)** The Canary Islands are an archipelago of seven large islands, Gran Canaria, Lanzarote, Tenerife, Gomera, Hierro, La Palma, Fuerteventura, and six smaller ones. They are scattered over 300 miles westward from the northwest coast of Africa off Cape Juby. They were known as the Fortunate Islands in the ancient world. Medieval Europeans knew little of them and believed the almost mythical islands were populated with large dogs, or in Latin, *canes*. The name of the archipelago derived from the idea. Rediscovered in the 14th century, they became in the 15th among the earliest targets of European Atlantic expansion and colonization and can be seen as the model for what occurred later as Europeans spread over the world.

The islands were rediscovered by Europeans around 1336 when a Genoese captain stumbled on three of them.

They were first recorded in a PORTOLAN chart of 1339. In 1341, an expedition explored the area further. Aragon and Castile had both claimed the islands in 1345, but there was yet little settlement. In 1351 missionaries established their first missions there. In the mid-15th century colonization began in earnest. After the conquest of Gomera in 1440, and the Treaty of Alcàçovas in 1479, the Castilian Crown began the conquests of Gran Canaria, La Palma, and Tenerife. Not until 1496 were the islands fully pacified as the conquests and establishment of permanent settlements proved difficult because of native resistance. However, after 1500 colonization was systematically completed as the local agricultural products proved desirable and financially lucrative. In the 16th century the native laboring population, the Guanches, had nearly died off and were, in great part, replaced by African slaves.

**Further reading:** Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands after the Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); John Mercer, *The Canary Islanders: Their Prehistory, Conquest and Survival* (London: Collings, 1980).

**canon and ecclesiastical law** See LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**canonization** See *individual names of saints*; HAGIOGRAPHY.

**canons and canonesses** See CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS.

**Canossa** Canossa was a CASTLE in northern TUSCANY, near Reggio Emilia, that belonged to the marquises of Tuscany. In 1077, Matilda of Tuscany took in Pope GREGORY VII on his way to GERMANY to join the rebels against the excommunicated emperor Henry IV (r. 1050–1106). Henry, in an effort to avoid this went to the castle in the winter and made a very public penance before the pope, perhaps even standing in snow for three days January 24, 1076. Gregory could not refuse to grant absolution to such a penitent, even an emperor. Thus, Henry repented his sins and regained authority over his rebellious subjects. The pope, deemed unreliable, was placed in an unfavorable light. The castle was destroyed in 1255.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Karl F. Morrison, "Canossa: A Revision," *Traditio* 18 (1962): 121–148; I. S. Robinson, "Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985): 439–83.

**Cantar de Mío Cid** See RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR (EL CID CAMPEADOR), HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF

### Canterbury, city, cathedral, and Episcopal see

Canterbury is a city in Kent in southeastern ENGLAND and the seat of the chief churchman in England. Existing from Roman times under the name *Durovernum Cantiorum*, it became the capital of the kingdom of Kent in the sixth century. In 597, St. AUGUSTINE of Canterbury settled to introduce the Christian faith in England. From 601, Canterbury was the diocese of an archbishop, with authority over all the bishops of the southern, and perhaps the northern, part of England.

Its ancient CATHEDRAL has often been rebuilt and enlarged in accordance with evolving styles of architecture, ROMANESQUE and GOTHIC. Another ancient building and shrine was the Monastery of Saints Peter and Paul. It was to provide BURIAL places for the archbishops and for the kings of Kent. The CLOISTER church of the monastery was dedicated in the eighth century to Saint Augustine, whose tomb is still venerated there. In the 12th and 13th centuries its monks challenged the privileges of those belonging to the order of regular canons of Christchurch. Canterbury remained the religious capital of England in the late Middle Ages; however, from the 13th century, the archbishops tended to reside in LONDON at Lambeth Palace to be near the Crown.

See also ANSELM OF CANTERBURY; BECKET THOMAS, SAINT; LANFRANC OF BEC.

**Further reading:** P. Collinson et al., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); William Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London: Athlone Press, 1967); Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

**Canterbury Tales** See CHAUCER, GEOFFREY.

### Canute II the Great, king of Denmark, Norway, and England (Knud in Denmark and Knut in Norway, Cnut, Lambert) (994–1035) Viking king who united the English and Danish people of England

Canute was born in 995, perhaps at a royal center in DENMARK, the son of the Danish king Svein Forkbeard (r. 987–1014). Canute's grandfather was Harald Bluetooth (d. 988) and his great-grandfather was King Gorm the Old (d. 958). In ENGLAND, in the year 1000, the Saxon king ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY plundered the Isle of Man and parts of the DANELAW to try to crush the independent-minded Scandinavians living there. Æthelred's fear of the Scandinavians caused him to make this serious mistake. In the year of his marriage to Emma (ca. 985–1052), the sister of the duke of Normandy, he over-confidently ordered the massacre of all the "Danish" men in England. Svein Forkbeard's sister and his brother-in-law were among those killed. Svein traveled to England to avenge their deaths and first raided southern and eastern England throughout the years 1003 and 1004. He took his army

back to DENMARK in 1005, since the Danes could no longer support themselves because of a FAMINE in England. Svein carried out raids for several years after this, each time extracting vast amounts of silver as DANEGELD.

#### CONQUEST BY DENMARK

In 1013 Svein returned with his son, Canute, to conquer England. Though he landed his forces in southern England, he made for the Danelaw, recognizing that this Scandinavian region would accept him as king. He then conquered the rest of the country. The ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES recorded that “all the nation regarded him as full king.” Æthelred fled to Normandy. Svein died the next year and Æthelred saw a chance to regain his kingdom. He returned from Normandy and managed to expel the Danish army, now under Canute.

In 1016 Canute returned and was victorious at the Battle of Ashingdon on October 18, 1016, over Edmund “Ironside,” Æthelred’s eldest son and recent successor. Canute and Edmund drew up the Treaty of Olney, which allotted the Danelaw and the English Midlands to Canute, and control of southern England to Edmund. Edmund died shortly after this treaty on November 30, 1016, and Canute became the first Viking king of all England.

When Canute’s brother, Harald, king of Denmark, died in 1018, Canute returned to Denmark to take that throne. Two years later, he laid claim to NORWAY, captured it, and had his son Svein and his mistress Ælfgifu govern it. In the meantime, he had married Emma, Æthelred’s widow. SCOTLAND submitted to Canute and, by the late 1020s, Canute was able to claim to be “king of all England, and of Denmark, of the Norwegians, and part of the Swedes,” a North Sea Empire.

#### ENGLAND UNITED

Canute was the first king to rule successfully over a united England, free of internal and external strife. He also ruled the Viking homelands so was able to protect England against attacks, maintaining 20 years of peace, during which commerce, art, and Christianity flourished. Canute had great respect for the old English laws, which he enforced with a strong sense of justice and a surprising regard for individual rights. As part of his desire to be accepted as an “English” king, he did penance for the wrongdoings of his Viking predecessors by building churches and making many generous gifts to others.

Canute died on November 12, 1035, aged about 40. He was buried in Winchester, the former capital of the Saxon kingdom of Wessex and a town where he often stayed. Because none of Canute’s children produced any heirs, one of Emma’s sons by Æthelred, EDWARD (later to be known as “the Confessor”), eventually returned from Normandy and ascended to the English throne in 1042.

**Further reading:** M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (New York: Longman, 1993); A. R. Rumble, ed. *The Reign of Cnut: King of*

*England, Denmark, and Norway* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994).

**Capet, Hugh** See HUGH CAPET, KING OF FRANCE.

**Capetian dynasty** The ruling house of FRANCE from 987 to 1328, the Capetians, or the Robertinians, as the early generations were called, were a noble lineage and a powerful family in the West Frankish kingdom. The Robertinians were among the upper nobility from at least the first half of the eighth century. Likely of Saxon origin, they might have migrated originally from the Rhine-Meuse region, where one was mentioned as the duke of Haspengau in 733. A few years later, some of them were established on the Rhine and Main Rivers. In 764 the widow and a son of a certain Count Robert I were instrumental in founding the abbey of Lorsch. For generations of the descendants of that same Robert were counts of Upper Lorraine or of Worms. The last of that series, Robert IV the Strong (d. 866), perhaps because of his support for LOUIS I THE PIOUS and CHARLES I THE BALD against Charles’s brothers, was deprived of holdings in the Rhineland in the 840s. From then on the family lived in the western kingdom.

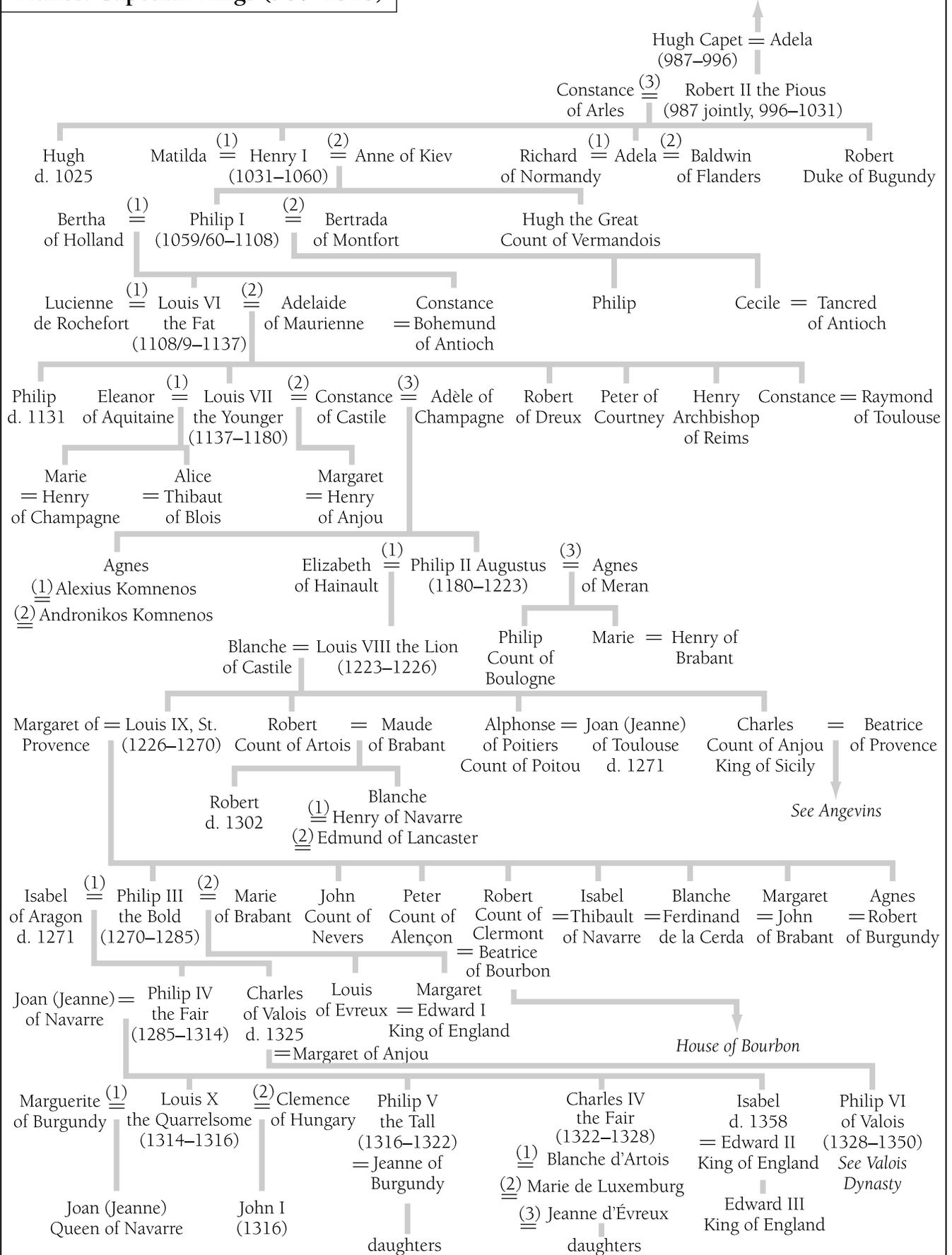
In Charles the Bald’s kingdom, Robert the Strong was part of a noble faction and developed marriage connections with several prominent lineages. By about 852, he was the count of Angers and the lay abbot of Marmoutier. In the 860s he was count of Blois and abbot of the rich monastery of Saint Martin at Tours. During the first half of the 10th century, the family followed a careful strategy of patrimonial descent that maintained their wealth and cohesiveness. At the death in 956 of Hugh



Heads of kings of Judah, once believed to be those of early Capetian rulers. At one time on the facade of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, they are now in the Musée National Thermes & Hôtel de Cluny du Moyen Âge in Paris (*Courtesy Edward English*)

# France: Capetian Kings (987–1328)

See Saxon and Salian Emperors



Capet the Great, who had been married to the sister of the emperor OTTO I, his son, another HUGH Capet, became the duke of the FRANKS, one of the most powerful positions in the country. He was elected king after the death of the last Carolingian king, Louis V the Sluggard (r. 986–987), in a hunting accident in 987. Hugh defeated his rival's followers. Though not really related to the Carolingians, the family began its rule, until 1328, of what was to become the kingdom of France. The name of the dynasty arose from Hugh's practice of wearing a distinctive cloak. It was not, however, until the reign of PHILIP II AUGUSTUS that they were well established on the throne and controlled more than the region around PARIS. They were succeeded by the VALOIS dynasty, when the direct male line failed.

See also LOUIS IX, SAINT; PHILIP IV the FAIR.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (London: Variorum, 1991); Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987–1328*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London: Macmillan, 1960); Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981).

**capitulary** A capitulary was a legislative act or ordinance promulgated at the Carolingian annual general assemblies. To these assemblies of the high officials, counts, bishops, abbots, and important vassals, the king submitted orally questions concerning the laws of the kingdom. They gave advice, which was formulated by the monarch into articles called chapters or *capitula* that when subsequently collected together formed the capitulary for that year or meeting. They were then promulgated and circulated in writing so that royal officials would have memoranda giving clear guidelines for policy and decision making.

#### CONTENT

Some 200 capitularies have survived from the Carolingian period, but the original manuscript copies have not survived. In 789, after a general assembly, a capitulary of 82 chapters, the General Admonition, was issued. It presented an important program of administrative and religious reforms, including specifics on the teaching of children and their subjects of study.

Most capitularies were entrusted to *MISSI DOMINICI* or royal envoys to be read and applied in territories entrusted to them or others. Others capitularies corrected, supplemented, or modified laws. There were particular capitularies concerned with general questions, such as the capitulary *De villis*, promulgated between 770 and 800. It sought to reform the administration of the royal estates, paying special attention to the upkeep of buildings, to furnishings, to women's workshops, to the

exploitation of woods, to the making of wine, to the preparation of food, and even to the plants to be cultivated in gardens and orchards. Charlemagne's successors continued this legislative work. In the reign of LOUIS I THE PIOUS, the capitularies were officially collected, but soon forgeries of numerous chapters abounded.

See also CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; FORGERY.

**Further reading:** Paul Edward Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1993); F. L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (London: Longman, 1971); H. R. Lyon and John Percival, eds., *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975).

**cardinal or natural virtues** A term used by the medieval church, which borrowed a classification from PLATO and ARISTOTLE. The four cardinal virtues, prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice, according to Saint AUGUSTINE, would lead the faithful to perfection. They complemented the four "theological virtues" of faith, hope, continence, and charity, which led to salvation.

**Further reading:** Josef Pieper, *The Four Cardinal Virtues: Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965).

**Cardinals, College of** The origin of the term *cardinalis* itself was unclear. In the Middle Ages *Cardinalis* seemed to have referred to bishops, priests, and deacons who held a church for which they had not been consecrated, but to which they had been appointed a cardinal. Cardinal clerics were present in the many dioceses, of ITALY, FRANCE, GERMANY, and ENGLAND and took part in liturgical worship alongside the bishop. The title *cardinalis* likely referred to their affiliation as cathedral clergy.

#### CLASSIFICATION, EVOLUTION, AND DEFINITION

By the middle of the 11th century, three groups of cardinals existed at ROME. These were the cardinal-bishops, who were present at Roman synods before the middle of the 11th century. There were the titulars of seven, then six dioceses situated near Rome, at Ostia, Albano, Palestina, Porto, Silva Candida, Gabii, and Velletri Sabina. They were to perform, once a week, a liturgical service at the basilica of Saint John Lateran. Other cardinal-priests were responsible for the fourth-century churches or basilicas of Saint Peter's, Saint Lawrence outside the Walls, Saint Paul's outside the Walls, and Santa Maria Maggiore. Around 1100, the cardinal-priests council number seven for each basilica. Cardinal-deacons were divided into

groups of seven palatine deacons and 12 regional deacons. They were to read the gospel at the church of Saint John Lateran and elsewhere. By 1100 they could have numbered 18.

A fundamental change began in the mid-11th century. The cardinals of the reforming papacy were placed under the jurisdiction of the pope. During the pontificates of Pope Leo IX (1049–54) and Pope PASCHAL II, the cardinals became one of the main instruments of government of the universal church. Leo IX decided soon after his election to appoint only candidates he could trust politically. The cardinal-bishops, then became the most important group in the pope's immediate household and entourage. They abandoned local liturgical service and took on important roles in the administration of the church.

In April 1059 Pope NICHOLAS II had promulgated a decree concerning the election of the pope. He mandated a procedure in three phases: The cardinal-bishops would begin the discussion, and the other cardinals would have the right to elect the pope. The rest of the clergy and the people could then only acclaim his election. If the Romans rioted and imposed a fundamental limitation of the freedom of election of the cardinals, the papal election could move outside Rome.

Between 1123 and 1153, the position of cardinal underwent further modification. The cardinals became the pope's privileged collaborators in the administration of justice. That they were allowed to sign pontifical privileges was indicative of their active role in the government of the universal church. During the remainder of the Middle Ages, the extent of the cardinals' power in the government of the church became a disputed topic, especially their role during a vacancy in the papal office, the question of whether they could call councils, and the determination of their real place in the metaphorical body representing the universal church. Constant and considerable tension characterized relations between the pope and the College of Cardinals throughout this era.

See also HOSTIENSIS, CARDINAL; HUGUCCIO.

**Further reading:** S. Kuttner, "Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept," *Traditio* 3 (1945): 129–214; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 33–120.

**Carmelites (White Friars)** The Carmelites had their origins as a mendicant and a religious order that traced its history back to the prophet Elijah and his supposed settlement of disciples on Mount Carmel in PALESTINE. In the 13th century, evidence multiplies of a group of Latin hermits who arrived with the first CRUSADES and who the Limousin Aymeric de Malifaye (1141–93), patriarch of ANTIOCH, first federated around a church dedicated to the Virgin MARY. Albert, a patriarch of JERUSALEM, drew up

the first rule for them in about 1209; confirmed by Honorius III (r. 1216–27) in 1226, it was wholly oriented toward continual prayer and the solitary life.

#### DEFINITION AND EXPANSION

After abandoning Palestine in 1291, when the LATIN Kingdom of JERUSALEM ceased to exist, the order migrated to Europe in about 1235. Thereafter it developed rapidly. In 1247, the election of a first prior general, perhaps Simon Stock (d. 1264), initiated the centuries-long consolidation of the order throughout the West. With its increasingly urban concentration, the development of a common life, and the softening of the rule of silence and fasting, it became a mendicant order alongside the Franciscan and Dominican. In the face of a prohibition on new orders from 1215, the order was only slowly accepted. A rule was made official by INNOCENT IV in 1247 and 1252. During this period the Virgin Mary appeared to Simon and handed him a scapular to be symbolic of the Carmelite family.

BONIFACE VIII in 1298 permitted the Carmelites new expansion. Over the course of the next century, the theological masters John Baconthorp (d. 1348) and Michael of BOLOGNA (d. 1400), and especially Saint Peter Thomas (1305–66), theologian, diplomat, defender of the faith, and finally Latin patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE, represented the success and accomplishment of the Carmelite Order.

#### TRIBULATION AND REFORM

The order fell on difficult times in the late 14th century. The Black Death killed many, the Great SCHISM divided the order, the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR destroyed a third of its convents, and poor recruitment led to defections and scandals. There were numerous attempts at reform of the order in the 15th century. Discipline and standards improved. Women were allowed to form an order of eremetical nuns that continues to exist.

**Further reading:** Patrick R. McMarie and Peter Thomas Rohrbach, *Journey to Carith: The Story of the Carmelite Order* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966).

**Carmina Burana** The *Carmina Burana* was a collection of poetic compositions dating from around 1300. First discovered in 1803, the German manuscript containing them was divided into four thematic sections: moral-satirical songs, amorous poems, hedonistic songs and poems, and spiritual dramas. The authors have remained anonymous but were probably the GOLIARDIC POETS, or clerics without incomes or benefices, at the margins of university circles. The *carmina* reflect a wide variety of linguistic and literary influences.

**Further reading:** E. D. Blodgett and Roy Arthur Swanson, trans., *The Love Songs of the Carmina Burana* (New York: Garland, 1987); Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen,

*Fortuna, Money, and the Sublunar World: Twelfth-Century Ethical Poetics and the Satirical Poetry of the Carmina Burana* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995); David Parlett, trans., *Selections from the Carmina Burana: A Verse Translation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986); P. G. Walsh, ed. and trans., *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

**Carolingian family and dynasty** Rulers of a large part of western and central Europe between the eighth and the ninth centuries. In the early seventh century, the Carolingians, named after CHARLEMAGNE, acquired political offices that gradually made them into a princely and ruling dynasty. With PÉPIN III THE SHORT, in 751, they became a royal house recognized and anointed by the church. In 800 Charlemagne expanded the concept and

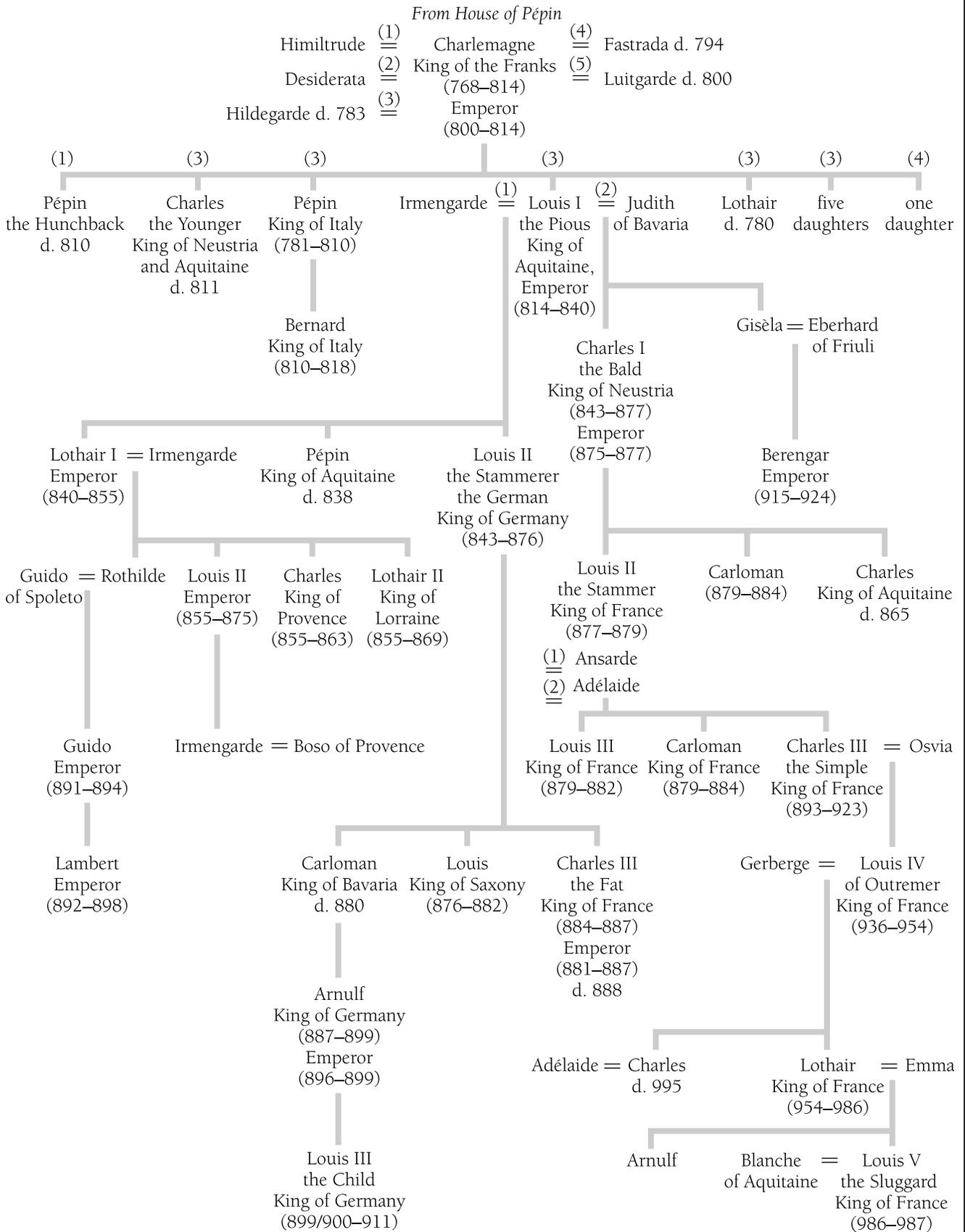
was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the pope in Rome. These titles and recognition gave the family a dynastic legitimacy. Their position and power, however, was never totally uncontested. Even those who had allowed that acquisition, the Frankish nobility and the church, resisted their exercise of power and eventually had eliminated it by the end of the ninth century.

**BEGINNINGS OF THE DYNASTY**

The Carolingians had their origins in a marriage between the son of Arnulf, the bishop of Metz, and the daughter of Pépin I the Old of Landon (d. 640), the powerful mayor of the palace of the progressively declining MEROVINGIAN dynasty in 614. This union drew together considerable patrimonies, important alliances, and networks of clients. Pépin II of Heristal (d. 714) defeated the Neustrians in 687 at Tertry, and from then on, he governed the whole of the kingdom of the FRANKS while



# Carolingian Family and Dynasty (768–987)



a Merovingian figurehead nominally ruled. Up to 714, he exercised the powers of a *princeps*. In 714 a hereditary succession to the office of mayor of the palace took place, when one of Pépin II's illegitimate but worthy sons, CHARLES MARTEL, became the mayor of the palace until his death in 741.

#### BIRTH OF AN EMPIRE AND CONSECRATION AS ROYALTY

Charles Martel expanded the kingdom, especially toward the south, taking control of AQUITAINE, Septimania, and PROVENCE. To accomplish this, he considerably expanded the number of vassals dependent on him personally. Such an expansion of clientage required the appropriation of some of the lands and privileges of the church, which soon denounced Charles. Lay rulers now commandeered property of the church. At the same time Charles campaigned against the Muslims and favored MISSIONS to the rest of Europe in conjunction with the PAPACY. This policy laid a foundation for future Carolingian alliances with the papacy. At Charles's death, the realm was partitioned between two of his sons, and his heirs were treated as receiving a normal inheritance.

The two sons, now mayors of the palace, Pépin III the Short (r. 751–768) and Carloman (d. 754), strengthened the alliance with the papacy. The papacy allowed Pépin to be consecrated king by BONIFACE and the Frankish bishops in 751, after his election by the Frankish nobility. In 754 Pope Stephen II (r. 752–757) traveled to Francia and again consecrated Pépin, recognizing as his successors his two sons, Carloman (d. 771) and Charles, the later Charlemagne.

Charlemagne became sole monarch on the death of his brother, Carloman, in 771 and began an expansion of his realm. In 774 he defeated the LOMBARDS in Italy and assumed their Crown, freeing the papacy of their influence. However, Charlemagne then put the Holy See under his authority and tried to confine the pope to exclusively ecclesiastical matters.

As the head of the CHRISTENDOM, Charlemagne attacked the Muslims in Spain in 778 with little success. On the other hand, between 772 and 797, he conquered pagan SAXONY and completed their forced conversion. The papacy crowned Charlemagne in Rome in 800, recognizing his special sovereignty. In 806 Charlemagne partitioned his kingdom into three for the benefit of his sons, but he did not pass on the imperial title. In 813 Charlemagne crowned as emperor LOUIS I THE PIOUS, his sole surviving son, at AACHEN; then died on January 28, 814.

#### DECLINE

The custom of partitioning patrimony and kingdom among royal heirs continued, but the imperial title was limited to one son and all the other sons sought it. In 817 Louis I the Pious associated his eldest son, Lothair I

(r. 840–855), with the imperial Crown and gave his other sons, Pépin (d. 838) and Louis II the German (840–876), subordinate kingdoms. The birth of a fourth son, CHARLES I THE BALD, by his second wife provoked fraternal and parental conflicts that lasted until their father's death. By that time Pépin had died, but Louis and Charles joined forces against the emperor Lothair I. In 843 the Treaty of VERDUN created two kingdoms. These were fought over, often divided, and often reunited, for the next half-century. These two kingdoms, linguistically different, became the cores of modern France and Germany. The wrangling and warfare of these dynastic conflicts freed the aristocracy and the church to restore their strong roles in politics, which in turn eclipsed in fortunes, legitimacy, and power the family's rule by 987.

See also CAPETIAN DYNASTY; CAPITULARY; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; FONTENAY, BATTLE OF; POITIERS, BATTLE OF; VIKINGS.

**Further reading:** B. W. Scholz, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles; Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972); Richard Gereberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the "Liber Historiae Francorum"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Rosamund McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983); Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, trans. Michael I. Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

**Carolingian Renaissance** This term encompasses the cultural changes and accomplishments started by CHARLEMAGNE in the eighth century. They centered at the palace school at his capital at AACHEN and were primarily an effort to improve the educational standards of both the clergy and the officials of his expanding government. Charlemagne and his regime were concerned about control and a more thorough Christianization of the newly subjugated peoples recently put under Frankish power. To accomplish this Charlemagne and his successors extended support to the most prominent scholars of the era and drew them together to work to promote the prestige of the Frankish Crown and to foster learning and better educational standards. The capitularies and ecclesiastical synods during the period 750 to 850 often dealt with educational reform and contained numerous admonitions for its improvement.

This movement and government program also involved the development and spread of a new form of handwriting, Carolingian minuscule or Caroline, which was much more readable. As part of the effort to improve education, monastic *scriptoria* all over the kingdom began to use this script in the ninth century. It made the copying of manuscripts easier and produced more accurate versions of texts. This effort to copy and disseminate texts also led to the discovery and preservation of many

important Latin classics. Most of the Latin classical literature and writings of the fathers of the late antique church that have been preserved were in the form of manuscripts from this era.

See also **ALCUIN OF YORK**; **CAPITULARY**; **CHARLES I THE BALD**; **EINHARD**; **FULDA, ABBEY OF**; **JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA**; **LOUIS I THE PIOUS**; **PALEOGRAPHY**; **PAUL THE DEACON**.

**Further reading:** John J. Contreni, "The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 2, c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 709–757; Peter Godman, ed. *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995); Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London: Methuen, 1969).

**Carthusian order** Founded by Saint BRUNO, the Carthusian order was actually organized under Guigo I (1083–1136), after the writing of the *Customs of Chartreuse*. This amounted to a rule and was adopted by several communities of hermits in the Alps and the Jura Mountains near Grenoble in present-day France. In 1140, the legislative and judicial authority of the new order was put under the authority of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, the original foundation.

Such a solitary life, the testing for a fervent and true vocation, and the small numbers that limited each Charterhouse to 12 monks and 16 lay brothers precluded quick and easy expansion. At the beginning of the 13th century, there were only 40 Charterhouses. They were situated in isolated, mountainous, forested, and deserted places, perfect for the life of solitude, austerity, and contemplation envisioned by Bruno.

Every Charterhouse has an inner domain whose exclusive occupants were the monks, bound to remain inside it. This was the monastery proper with the monks' individual cells on a CLOISTER surrounded by a church, a refectory, and a chapter house. Within its precincts, the monks were free of other concerns, cared for by the brothers who did the work necessary to support the community. These brothers were religious and obliged to maintain a spiritual life of their own.

#### EXPANSION AND WOMEN'S COMMUNITIES

The order finally grew rapidly in the 14th century. Charterhouses were founded all over western Europe. The actual numbers of monks remained small, however, since the rigorous life of solitude and prayer was not easy. The

first community for women was at Prébayon in PROVENCE. The nuns' day was also divided among prayer, meditation, and work for some, with solitude kept as strict as ever. Likewise, the lay sisters and oblates were charged with material support of the order. The relations of the women's houses with the male houses posed problems, since the male Carthusians were reluctant to have much contact with the nuns' necessary spiritual direction.

The order has continued to exist to this day and has boasted that it never needed a reform movement.

**Further reading:** Dennis D. Martin, ed., *Carthusian Spirituality: The Writings of Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997); Gordon Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno and Guigo* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1988); E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (New York: Macmillan, 1930).

**cartography** See GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY; MAPS.

**cartulary (chartulary)** A cartulary was a collection of copies of documents or CHARTERS, compiled in the form of a volume or sometimes a roll on the initiative of one of the principal actors in the documents. They were intended to preserve a mass of documents and made them more convenient to access. They were manuscript books in which institutions or individuals registered the transactions they were parties to and still valued.

Cartularies first appeared in the ninth and 10th centuries and consisted mainly of transcriptions of important documents involving donations or purchases. Their compilation grew and was fed by a desire for detail and exhaustiveness, along with the legitimacy conferred on their evidence by a new and growing respect for the written record. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the practice spread to secular ecclesiastical institutions, the new urban communes, and lay princes anxious about their property and privileges.

New legal sensitivities and requirements that developed in the 13th century reckoned the cartulary, as a collection of copies, lower in value than the original titles. Display or deluxe cartularies were still used for authentication of copies by notaries or scribes. They could, under specific circumstances, still be deployed as evidence in legal disputes.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; FORGERY; NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIAL ART.

**Further reading:** Paolo Brezzi and Egmont Lee, eds., *Sources of Social History; Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984); Godfrey R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longmans, Green, 1958); John H. Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud*

*Amalric of Marseilles, 1248* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981).

**Casimir III the Great (Kazimierz Wielki)** (1310–1370) *successful and respected king of Poland*

Casimir was born on April 30, 1310, in Kujawira in Poland and became king of Poland in 1333. He was the third son of the king Ladislas I the Short (r. 1314–33) and Princess Jadwiga of Kalisz and was to be the last ruler of the PIAST family. When Casimir attained power in 1333, the kingdom was besieged on all sides. Casimir wisely negotiated with his stronger neighbors. After arranging a peace with the TEUTONIC ORDER in 1343, he signed a treaty with the Luxembourg family of BOHEMIA. In it they renounced their rights over the Crown of Poland in return for Casimir's recognition of their position in Silesia. He then made an alliance with Charles Robert I of Anjou (r. 1308–42), the King of Hungary, in 1339. In the years 1340–66, he conquered Galician Ruthenia, or Red Ruthenia, doubling the size of his kingdom. He deployed his daughters and grandchildren in valuable marriage alliances.

Recognizing the importance of the Jews to Poland, he granted them commercial privileges in 1334. Casimir further promoted the country's economic development and security by fostering the creation of 500 agricultural villages and 70 towns, along with the building of 50 new protective strongholds. He reformed the judicial system by establishing new courts and reformed the administration and finances of his realm. In 1364 he founded the University of CRACOW. Through his economic, cultural, and social reforms, he led Poland to play a major, albeit temporary, role in the history of central Europe. He died on November 5, 1370, of injuries to his leg caused by a fall off a horse.

**Further reading:** Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 1, *The Origins to 1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); P. W. Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320–1370* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

**Cassian, John, Saint (Johannes Cassianus)** (ca. 360–ca. 432/435) *monk, writer*

Born in Scythia or Romania in about 360, Cassian became an expert in the monastic practices of Egypt and Palestine and introduced their ideas and customs to the West. He did this by writing the *Institutes* and the *Conferences* to guide the spiritual and daily life of monks. Numerous later authors and monks were influenced by his reasonable guidelines, as indicated by the many monastic rules that reflected his expectations for those living a monastic and coenobitic life. One rule, written about 650, the *Rule of Cassian*, was based on the first few books of the *Institutes*. Cassian expected monks to be ardent athletes of Christ, but also contributing members

of a community under a spiritual director. The customary reading at the evening meal in monasteries sprang from the habit of reading his *Conferences* then, so everyone would be aware of his ideals. In 415 he founded two monasteries at Marseille, where he wrote his famous treatises. He died there about 433.

*See also* BENEDICTINE ORDER; BENEDICT OF NURSIA OR NORCIA.

**Further reading:** John Cassian, *John Cassian, The Conferences*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Paulist Press, 1997); John Cassian, *John Cassian, The Institutes*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Newman Press, 2000); Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

**Cassiodorus, Senator (Flavius Magnus Aurelius)** (ca. 490–ca. 583) *Roman statesman, author*

Cassiodorus was born on his family's estate at Scyllacium or Squillace in southeastern ITALY about 490. He received the education in PHILOSOPHY and RHETORIC appropriate to the son of a noble family. By 511 he held the office of *quaestor* or royal secretary at the court of the Ostrogothic king THEODORIC the Great in RAVENNA. In 523 he was elevated to the post of master of the offices, in effect the head of the civil service. From 533 to 537 he held the powerful position of praetorian perfect.

Cassiodorus documented his career as public servant in his large *Variae* (Miscellaneous letters and official documents), which contained the correspondence and official documents he wrote in the names of the Ostrogothic rulers he served. Upon the successful invasion of Italy by the BYZANTINE emperor JUSTINIAN, Cassiodorus realized that he had to abandon his ideal of an Italy where Romans could live in peace and trust under GOTHIC rulers. He retired from public life about 540. Thereafter he devoted himself largely to religious and literary matters. In the early 550s Cassiodorus founded a monastery at his ancestral home in Calabria and named it VIVARIUM after some fishponds that he had constructed nearby. He probably never became a monk himself. His purposes were to educate his monks in both sacred and classical pagan learning and to transmit this learning to posterity. Cassiodorus and his monks copied biblical and classical manuscripts, edited and assembled a text of the complete Latin BIBLE, wrote commentaries and marginal annotations for particular books of the Bible, and made Latin versions of works of Greek church authors.

Cassiodorus's most important single work was the *Institutions*, a manual for monastic scholars and scribes. In it he promoted the development of their intellect more intensely than Saint BENEDICT did. This encyclopedic collection of sacred and profane learning was divided

into two parts. The first part was concerned with the interpretation of the Bible and the lives and works of eminent church fathers; the second was a manual for the study of the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS. Cassiodorus died between 575 and 585 at Vivarium, well in his 90s. His plan for preserving and copying manuscripts was followed by many later monasteries, and his *Institutions* was for many medieval readers their introduction to the liberal arts. His monastic establishments vanished soon after his death, but their copied manuscripts and his ideas survived.

**Further reading:** Leslie Webber Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946); James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), 17–189; James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 43–88.

**Castile, kingdom of** Castile or “the land of castles” was first mentioned in the ninth century, as a small frontier kingdom near Oviedo in the Cantabrian mountains north of Burgos and near the region of the BASQUES. It grew out of the kingdoms of ASTURIAS and LEÓN, whose rulers had built the castles and taken territory back from the Muslims. In 884 a Count Diego Rodriguez founded the town of Burgos. In the 10th century, the country of Castile was formed by means of the union of several small counties by Count Fernán González (930–970). He expanded the area and gained more independence for his territory, fought victoriously against Muslims, and moved the frontier farther south to the Duero River. He also founded monasteries, appealed for peace with the Muslim population, and created matrimonial alliances with the kings of NAVARRE and LEÓN.

#### FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM

At the death of Fernán González's last male descendant in 1029, Castile passed to the control of the house and kingdom of Navarre. Ferdinand I the Great (r. 1029–65), the second son of Sancho III (r. 1004–35) of Navarre, became count of Castile and defeated Vermundo III (r. 1028–37), the king of León, in 1037. Maintaining this union of the two kingdoms was consistently difficult until 1230, when Saint Ferdinand III (r. 1217–52) united them more permanently. It was further solidified in 1302 when the CORTES became one body for both kingdoms. From then on Castile grew in prestige over León. Epic poems celebrated Castile and Castilians in the genuine and legendary exploits of RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR, the Cid, the mythical early founders, and Count Fernán González.

King Alfonso VIII the Noble (r. 1158–1214) of Castile founded a university at Palencia in 1180 and won the important Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa 1212, which led to further conquests in Muslim AL-ANDALUS.

#### EFFECTS OF THE RECONQUEST

During the 12th century, medieval Castile merged with or took over León, GALICIA, and the cities of SEVILLE, CÓRDOBA, Murcia, TOLEDO, and Jaén. The RECONQUEST, a military undertaking linked by Pope PASCHAL II in 1102 to the concept of Crusade, promoted the development of a Castilian society with free men liable to military service, including peasants, merchants, and artisans. All were able and expected to bear arms. The Crown also had to undertake measures to repopulate the territories conquered from the retreating Muslims. The geographical and ecological features of the expanding kingdom favored the growth of ANIMAL husbandry as the basis for the rural economy.

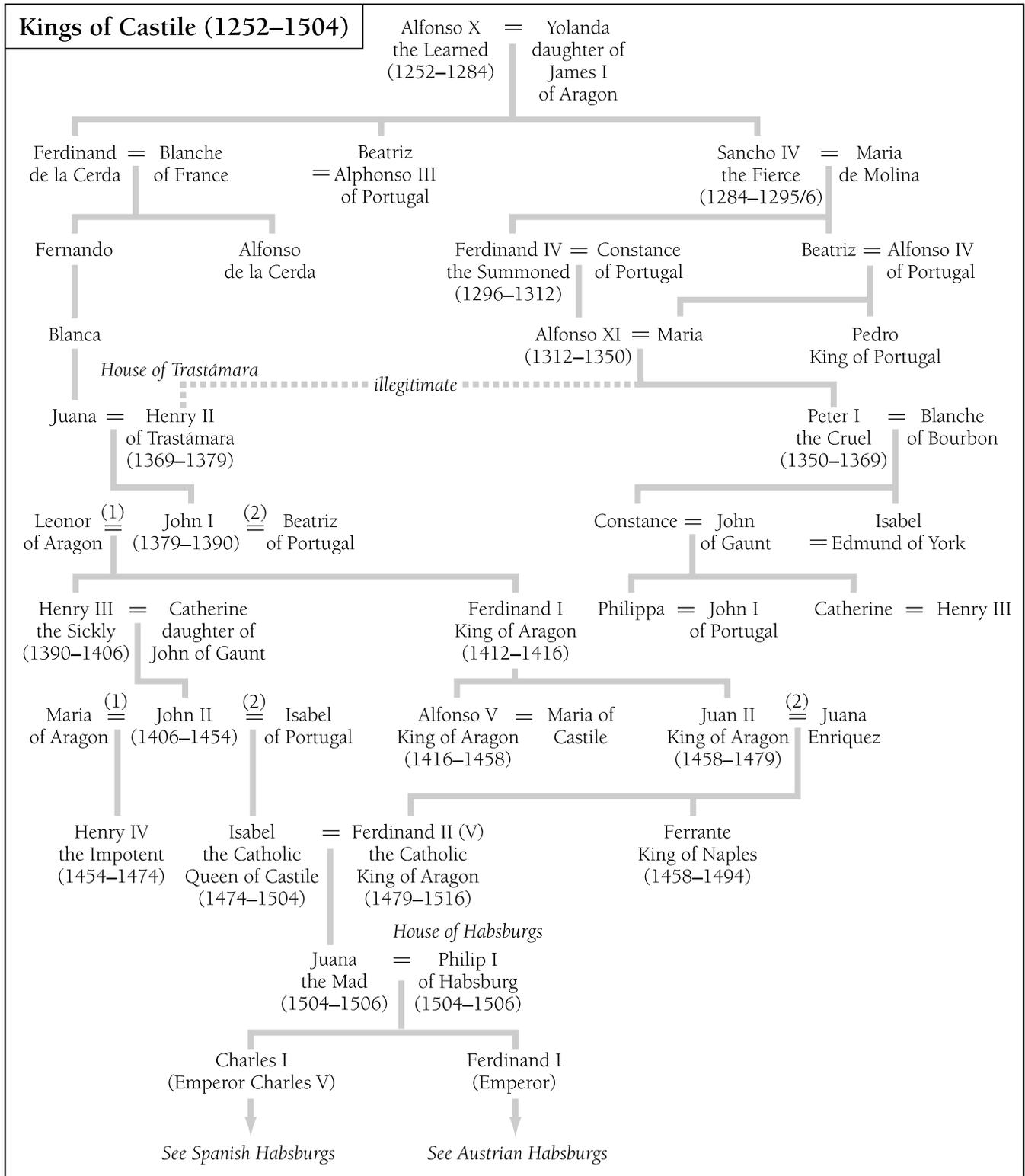
#### LATER MIDDLE AGES

The Reconquest slowed after the incorporation of the greater part of al-Andalus between 1230 and 1270. The first half of the 14th century was marked by famines, various calamities, plagues, civil war, and violence. From 1369, Castile enjoyed more peace and security under the new dynasty of the Trastámara family. However, the power of the nobility continued to grow at the expense of that of the Crown, and there were bloody pogroms against the Jews in 1391. The choice of Castilian as official language of his growing kingdom was made by King ALFONSO X THE LEARNED. As a result legal codes, chronicles, scientific texts, and some notarial and chancery acts were written in that language.

At the end of the 15th century, nevertheless, the kingdom of Castile had become the most populated realm in the Iberian Peninsula. Its commercial activity was strong and its king was theoretically the most powerful. Its center remained fixed in the northern region from which it developed in the 11th and 12th centuries. This core contained Burgos, Valladolid, Medina del Campo, and Segovia. The marriage in 1469 of the Catholic rulers, FERDINAND II of Aragon and ISABEL I of Castile, both related to King John II of Aragon (ca. 1458–79), led to the union of the two countries that formed the kingdom of Spain.

*See also* ALCÁNTARA, ORDER OF; ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS; CALATRAVA, ORDER OF; GRANADA; PORTUGAL.

**Further reading:** Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); Teófilo F. Ruiz, *Crisis and Continuity: Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).



**castles and fortifications** The castle has long been considered one of the most enduring symbols of the Middle Ages. Castles had a continuous history from Roman imperial forts to the massive complexes of the 15th century. In one of their myriad forms castles were

ubiquitous across Europe and represented the relative strength of public or private power and autonomy. There was no simple concept of what they were then; nor is there now. The most basic idea was that they were the symbolic and real strongholds of power, and often the

residences and the location of court life, of feudal and manorial lords. All states from large regional powers, such as the king of France, to small towns tried to control their building and built defensive structures to control territory or guard approaches to important centers. Some were built to protect new settlements of peasants sponsored by princes or towns. They ranged from essentially stately but defensible homes to rugged, primitive, but heavily fortified structures strategically located on desolate but important hilltops. They were also linked with the centralization of political and jurisdictional power, or the lack of it. Their architecture depended on the availability of stone or wood and the always changing technologies of building and needs and objectives of warfare. The development of siege engines, military engineering, and cannonry made them the far less secure havens than they had been in the central Middle Ages. By the end of the Middle Ages, they could be captured in days rather than through long sieges that depended on the ability to starve defenders into surrender. The fortifications around towns and cities were as vulnerable to



The castle of Buonconsiglio in Trent in the month of January, including a snowball fight (15th century) (*Scala / Art Resource*)

capture by the end of the Middle Ages as were smaller and sometimes privately owned castles.

See also ARMY AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION; FEUDALISM; FIREARMS; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY; WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR.

**Further reading:** Anne Curry and Michael Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years' War* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 1994); Jean-Denis Lepage, *Castles and Fortified Cities of Medieval Europe: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2002); N. J. G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); M. W. Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); M. W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

**catacombs** They were the places used for subterranean early Christian, pagan, and Jewish BURIAL. They were located in many cities of the Roman Empire; the most famous and largest were the 41 in ROME. Roman law considered burial places as inviolable, so Christians used the catacombs for ritual purposes, especially in times of persecutions and were rarely disturbed. Also according to Roman law, burial was prohibited within town walls so catacombs were situated along the roads leading to and from town. They were often decorated and did contain complex chambers for groups of related people. They consisted of labyrinths of galleries and rooms, generally arranged on at least two to seven levels, and were linked with the tombs of the martyrs. Families held commemorative meals there. During the fifth century, the use of catacombs withered away. Several tombs and their relics were transferred to churches. The catacombs were not used in the Middle Ages but they were sometimes replaced by the medieval tradition of the CRYPT burial under a church.

**Further reading:** Carole Cable, *The Catacombs of Rome: A Selective Bibliography* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1988); Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions*, trans. Cristina Carlo Stella and Lori-Ann Touchette (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 1999); Adia Konikoff, *Sarcophagi from the Jewish Catacombs of Ancient Rome: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1990); James Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).

**Catalonia** (Spanish March, Catalunya, Cataluña) Medieval and the present Catalonia came into being in the northeastern Iberian Peninsula after the Muslim conquests of the eighth century. Expeditions by FRANKS produced the annexation to the Frankish or Charlemagne's HOLY ROMAN

EMPIRE that would become Catalonia or the Spanish March in 901. However, the Carolingian kings of West Francia soon lost control. In 878, Louis II the Stammerer (d. 879) appointed a count, Wilfred I (870–897), to hold most of the Catalan counties. By the end of the 10th century, links with the king of FRANCE were gone.

#### EXPANSION

From the 1060s, Ramon Berenguer I (r. 1035–76) the Elder of BARCELONA and his wife, Almodis de la Marche, subdued the old aristocracy. The counts of Barcelona continued territorial expansion under Raymond Berenguer III (1093–1131). He annexed the counties of Besalú in 1111, PROVENCE in 1112, and Cerdagne in 1117. By his marriage with Petronilla the heiress of ARAGON, he linked his principality with hers, thereby obtaining a royal title for his descendants.

King JAMES I THE CONQUEROR (1213–76) by the treaty of Corbeil with LOUIS IX in 1258 renounced his rights over LANGUEDOC in southern France for legal exemption from the sovereignty of the kings of France. He went on to conquer the BALEARIC Islands (1229–35) and the kingdom of VALENCIA in 1238. In the 14th century, his successors successfully expanded their domains in the Mediterranean, intervening in the War of the Vespers. SARDINIA, SICILY, and the duchies of ATHENS and Neopatra came under their rule. BARCELONA and the other port towns of this realm or confederation enjoyed immense economic growth and prosperity in the early 14th century.

#### DECLINE

The 15th century was an era of a decline for Catalonia. The pursuit of glory through Mediterranean imperialism under King ALFONSO V THE MAGNANIMOUS attached NAPLES to this confederation. However, human and financial resources of the Catalan population were ravaged by FAMINE and epidemics. During a civil war between the Crown and nobles, the oppressed peasants of Catalonia revolted and obtained much better conditions through the Sentencia Arbitral de Guadalupe, granted in 1486 by FERDINAND II the Catholic. He also united the Catalan-Aragonese confederation with CASTILE by his marriage to Queen ISABEL I. In cultural and literary terms, the Catalan chivalric romance reached a peak with *Tirant to Blanc* by Joanot Martorell (1413–68). By the late 15th century Castile, strengthened by demographic recovery, took over the leadership of Iberia from a weakened Aragon and Catalonia.

**Further reading:** Donald J. Kagay, trans., *The Usages of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965); Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

**Cathars (Cathari, the Pure)** From the 10th century there appeared to have been a number of heretical communities with certain common characteristics, called ALBIGENSIANS in southern France and Cathars there and elsewhere. They always called themselves merely Christians in the west and BOGOMILS in the Balkans. They seemed to have a dualist view of the world and creation, and they rejected basic Christian ideas about GOD, Christology, the Incarnation, and salvation. The physical world could not have been created by an all-good god, similar to the DEVIL, but must have been added afterward by some evil force or being. They saw no need for the institutions of the church, its clergy, or its practices, such as the sacraments. They saw no need for human reproduction since it merely introduced evil matter into the world. They were divided into believers and the perfected ones or *perfecti*, who had taken the Cathar sacrament of absolution or the *consolamentum*, which everyone was to take before he or she died. The perfected ones were supposed to live extremely ascetic lives after taking that sacrament. People who were perceived to believe in these ideas were discovered in southern France and in parts of Italy by the INQUISITION.

*See also* BULGARIA AND BULGARS; DUALISM; DOMINICAN ORDER; INQUISITION; MANICHAISM AND MANI; MENDICANT ORDERS.

**Further reading:** William L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Michael Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (New York: Blackwell, 1998); Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

**cathedrals** They were churches that contained a bishop's cathedra or throne. In the Middle Ages, the cathedral was the main church of a DIOCESE of an archbishop or bishop. The bishops usually lived nearby. Each diocese contained only one central church or cathedral. During the early Middle Ages, cathedrals were often dedicated to the saint who had founded the Christian church in the diocese, or to a famous Christian martyr. By the year 1000, with the growth of the cult of the Virgin MARY, many cathedrals changed their original dedication to that of Mary, the Madonna, the Virgin, or Notre-Dame (Our Lady), including among the chapels one dedicated to the saint founder of the church. Many became the great monuments of ROMANESQUE and GOTHIC architecture, were built over decades, and still exist.

#### ADMINISTRATION

With the development of the economy, communities of canons, and episcopal households and the growth of political duties of the bishops in the eighth and ninth

centuries, the small earlier churches were replaced by impressive buildings. Bishops went to the cathedral only for the great feasts or processions. At the same time the cathedral was entrusted to corporations of priests and deacons, who formed chapters. Called canons, they were in charge of the liturgy and the practical administration of the cathedral. In the majority of cathedrals, these chapters were made up of secular clergy, but from the end of the 11th and until the 13th century, some chapters began to be composed of regular canons, such as the AUGUSTINIANS or PREMONSTRATIENSIS. The secular canons did not live in common as monks did; they lived independently. The cathedrals also had important schools associated with them, especially from the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE to the 12th century.

*See also* AACHEN; AMIENS, CATHEDRAL OF; CHARTRES, CATHEDRAL OF; CANTERBURY, CITY, CATHEDRAL, AND EPISCOPAL SEE; COLOGNE; GREGORIAN REFORM; HAGIA SOPHIA; PARIS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS; RHEIMS AND CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS; SALISBURY, CATHEDRAL; SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES; YORK.

**Further reading:** Ian Dunlop, *The Cathedrals' Crusade: The Rise of the Gothic Style in France* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*, transl. Martin Thom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jean Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, trans. Carl F. Barnes, Jr. (New York: Grove, 1961); Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956).

**Catherine of Siena, Saint (Caterina Benincasa)** (1347–1380) *politically active Italian mystic*

The 23d child of Jacopo Benincasa of SIENA, Catherine was born there on March 25, 1347. A cheerful, bright, and extremely religious child, she later said she vowed her virginity to Christ at the age of six or seven when she had her first visions. At 13 in 1360 she joined the DOMINICAN Third Order for the laity in Siena. By age 20, Catherine was widely known for her personal holiness, charitable activities with the sick, and personal ascetic practices. She attracted a group of spiritual disciples, clerics and laypersons, men and women. She advocated, in her dictated letters and writings, severe deprivation of the body in order to gain a mystical union with Christ.

#### POLITICS

Her interest broadened from the religious to the more specifically political after 1370. She had also received in 1375 the stigmata, a reproduction of the wounds of Christ on her own body. She traveled in 1376 to nearby FLORENCE to try to reconcile factional conflict. Her intervention was not welcome, and she was almost lynched by a crowd. Later that year Catherine traveled to AVIGNON to

try to persuade Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370–78) to return to Rome. Avignon had been the residence of the popes for more than 50 years by then. She claimed that peace would never resume in Italy until the pope returned to Rome. Gregory wanted to move back to ROME but was afraid of the disorder there. Tradition has exaggerated, claiming that she greatly influenced his decision to try later that year.

In 1377 the pope returned to Rome, but he died a year later. His successor, URBAN VI, was harsh, neurotic, unyielding, and irascible. Catherine tried to persuade him to control his temper and rash impulses. The pope did not follow her advice. His policies led to the election of another pope and the beginning of the Great SCHISM in 1378, during which there were two, then three popes. Catherine supported Urban anyway but persuaded few to support him. Worn out by this effort and her years of bodily abuse, she suffered a stroke and died in Rome on April 29, 1380, surrounded by her followers. Much promoted by her fellow Dominicans, she was canonized in 1461 by Pope PIUS II, a fellow Siennese, and was made a doctor of the church in 1970.

**Further reading:** Conleth Kearns, trans., *The Life of Catherine of Siena by Raymond of Capua* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1980); Catherine of Siena, *Catherine of Siena: The Dialogue*, trans. Suzanne Noffke (New York: Paulist Press, 1980); Catherine of Siena, *The Prayers of Catherine of Siena* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, projected 5 vols. trans. Suzanne Noffke (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000–); Suzanne Noffke, *Catherine of Siena: Vision through a Distant Eye* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1996).

**Catholic monarchs** *See* FERDINAND II (V); ISABEL I.

**cavalry** In Roman military tradition, cavalry, that is, combat on horseback, played a secondary role to infantry. It was to carry out flanking maneuvers on the battlefield, and pursue the enemy in flight. These remained its primary function during the Middle Ages, and it was combined with the charges of heavily armed KNIGHTS. The cavalry was not important in Germanic military usage, notably among the FRANKS. Some nomadic tribes such as the Huns exploited the mobility it offered. Only slowly, from the seventh and eighth centuries, did the role of Cavalry evolve. In the reign of CHARLEMAGNE, the heavy cavalry became the most reliable part of the Frankish army. Thereafter horsemen formed an elite class, both social and military, within society and the army. The support of such an expensive group of soldiers was important in the development of the feudal and manorial system. Military leaders and princes needed to ensure an endowment in land and

revenues to equip, arm, and horse these soldiers, whether they dismounted to fight or not.

From the 10th century, the stirrup and the high saddle made possible the use of heavy cavalry in a mass formation to break the opposing line by a frontal charge. This allowed OTTO I the Great to win the decisive victory of the LECHFELD over the Hungarians in August 955, and assisted WILLIAM I the Conqueror to win at HASTINGS in 1066.

#### RETURN TO INFANTRY

However, combat on horseback in a massed charge as a military option often backfired on medieval war leaders. The use of the impetuous charge favored by the French was more often defeated, in the 12th and 13th centuries, by infantry combined with defensive formations of massed pikemen and archers with arrows able to pierce armor. In the 14th century the role of the heavy cavalry declined further. The massacres of the French nobility by the infantry of the Flemish communes in the Battle of COURTRAI in 1302, and by the English longbow men of CRÉCY in 1346, led to combat on foot. Cavalry reverted to being used only for outflanking maneuvers, reconnaissance, and pursuit. In the late 15th century the duke of Burgundy, CHARLES THE BOLD, advocated a new system in which the force of the heavy cavalry was combined with the use of gunpowder and artillery. This tactic failed against mobile Swiss infantry and pikemen. The massed mounted charge was used only sporadically thereafter.

See also ADRIANOPLE; BOUVINES, BATTLE OF; HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** George T. Dennis, trans., *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection, 1985); Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); David Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare Source Book*, 2d ed. (London: Brockhampton Press, 1999); G. Rex Smith, *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship: A Fourteenth-Century Arabic Cavalry Manual* (London: British Library, 1979).

**Caxton, William** (ca. 1422–1492) *successful merchant, first English printer*

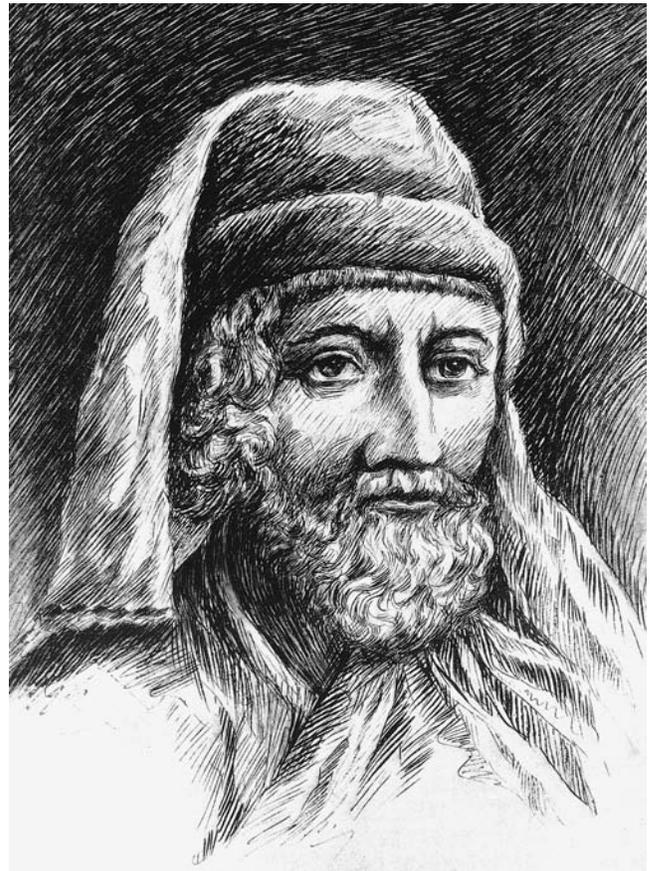
William Caxton said that he was born (probably about 1422) in Kent in southeastern England, but his exact birthplace is unknown. He may have been married to a Maude Caxton (d. 1490). In 1438 he became an apprentice to a prominent LONDON mercer and mayor in 1439, Robert Large. Shortly after Large's death in 1441, Caxton moved to BRUGES, where he worked as a MERCHANT for 30 years. His success won him wealth and an important place in the Merchant Adventures Company. He became governor of the English Nation of Merchant Adventurers, a company of English merchants, at Bruges.

In 1469 Caxton entered the service of Margaret (1446–1503), duchess of Burgundy and sister of King EDWARD IV of England. Margaret asked him to complete an English translation of Raoul le Fevre's *History of Troy*. Caxton finished his translation during 1471–72 at COLOGNE, where he also learned the trade of PRINTING.

#### WORK AS A PRINTER

When Caxton returned to Bruges, he and Colard Mansion set up a printing press. The first book printed in English was Caxton's translation of *Le Fevre*, called *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*. During his two years with Mansion, Caxton also printed his translation of the work of Jacobus de Cessolis, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, a moral treatise on government that he dedicated to the duke of Clarence George (1449–78). In 1476 Caxton returned to London, where he set up a printer's shop. Wynkyn de Worde became his foreman and, on Caxton's death in 1491 or 1492, his successor.

Among Caxton's early books was an edition of CHAUCER'S *Canterbury Tales*. He also printed Chaucer's translation of BOETHIUS in 1479. Dissatisfied with his text of the *Canterbury Tales*, he issued a second edition about 1484 and one of *Troilus and Criseyde*. About the



William Caxton (Courtesy Library of Congress)

same time he printed the *Confessio amantis* by John GOWER. MALORY'S *Morte d'Arthur* was issued by his press in 1485. King Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) asked Caxton to translate the *Faits d'armes et de chevalrie* of CHRISTINE de PISAN, which he printed in 1489. His prologues and epilogues were important for the comments or his choice of texts to print and language standardization. Many of Caxton's other books were religious. One of the most important of these was *THE GOLDEN LEGEND*, an enormous collection of legends of the saints. He died in 1491 or 1492, leaving perhaps one child, Elizabeth.

**Further reading:** Richard Deacon, *A Biography of William Caxton: The First English Editor, Printer, Merchant, and Translator* (London: Muller, 1976); N. F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (London: Deustch, 1969); N. F. Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991); Lotte Hellinga, *Caxton in Focus: The Beginning of Printing in England* (London: British Library, 1982).

**Celestine V, Pope, Saint (Pietro da Merone, Morrone)** (ca. 1209/10–1296) **and the Celestine order founder of the Celestine order**

Pietro da Morrone was born at Isernia in the Kingdom of NAPLES in about 1209/10. He became a BENEDICTINE monk in 1232 and chose to live as a HERMIT on Monte Morrone in the Abruzzi in central Italy. Small communities formed around him and were officially recognized in 1274 by Pope Gregory X (r. 1272–76) at the Second Council of Lyon congregation. Called by some “the angelic pope and pastor,” he was linked by some in medieval apocalyptic literature as the person who would inaugurate a new church and a world of perfect sanctity. Elected as a compromise and elderly pope, Celestine V, he held the papal office between July 5 and December 13, 1294, when he resigned and tried to live as a hermit. A new pope, BONIFACE VIII, however, had him imprisoned. He died on May 5, 1296, near Ferentino and was canonized in 1313.

#### THE MYTH

These ideas about a saintly pope who would transform the world appeared in the writings of JOACHIM of Fiore. In his *Book of the Harmony of the Old and New Testaments*, Joachim declares that, before the coming of ANTICHRIST, preaching of a “universal pontiff of the new JERUSALEM” would announce the coming of a new Christianity. Roger BACON wrote of a pope whose holiness would unite all the peoples of the world.

The election of the naive Celestine V in 1294, followed by his strange abdication and the election of Boniface VIII, triggered polemics on him, Boniface, and the subject of an angelic pope. Unlike Boniface, Celestine was held to be holy and austere. The figure of such an

angelic pope contrasted with that of a pope whom some called the Antichrist.

#### THE ORDER

The name of the Order of Celestines is from its founder, Saint Peter da Morrone, who, as Celestine V, established the constitution of the Celestines. They followed the Rule of Saint Benedict, to which they added periods of prayer, fasting, and harsh mortifications. The ordinary habit was a white tunic and a black cowl and scapular. The abbot general, elected every three years by a general chapter, sat at Morrone.

The order expanded throughout ITALY and was introduced into FRANCE in 1300 by PHILIP IV THE FAIR, who obtained canonization of its founder from Pope CLEMENT V, the first AVIGNON Pope. At the start of the 15th century, the orders numbered almost 120 houses in Italy and France.

*See also* SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** Peter Herde, “Celestine V” in *The Papacy: An Encyclopedia*, ed Philippe Levallain (London, Routledge, 2002), 1. 279–83; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Latter Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**celibacy, clerical** The Eastern and Western Churches have often been divided about the absolute need for the clergy to live a celibate life. The rules for both traditions evolved over the course of the Middle Ages. There has, however, been a strong ascetic streak in Christianity that expected abstinence from hetero- and homosexual activity, for both priests and the laity. Families and dynasties of clerics threatened the institutional fabric of the church by confusing ownership of and succession to property. However, in the early church there was minimal concern about the marriage of priest and bishops. The earliest councils did not forbid links with women, and many bishops and priests had a wife who was recognized and accepted by the community. With the rise and spread of MONASTICISM in the sixth century, however, those choosing the ascetic life were to be celibate. In Judaism marriage was a commandment and celibacy deplored. No known medieval rabbi was unmarried.

#### EASTERN CHURCH

In 528 the Emperor JUSTINIAN I ruled that bishops could not be married, because he thought that their property should be kept by the church rather than be inherited by their families. One hundred fifty years later, a council in 692 legislated that bishops were obligated to be celibate and that widowers were eligible for the episcopacy. A married priest, if elected a bishop, had to send his wife away permanently to accept the position. Married men could be ordained priests or deacons, but they could not marry after ordination. If widowed, a priest could not

remarry. Remarriage by the laity was also not encouraged. These have been the rules for the Eastern Church ever since.

#### WESTERN CHURCH

In the West the GREGORIAN REFORM, driven by monastic asceticism, was propagated from the 11th-century texts demanding the chastity of the clergy. This reform movement tried to turn the laity against priests who kept concubines or wives without formal marriage. It also sought to clarify the distinction between the laity and the clergy more distinctly and feared the development of family and dynastic succession for the property of the church. The First Lateran Council of 1123 accepted the ordination of married men, only if they abandoned their wife. The validity of sacraments from an unchaste priest, however, was constantly affirmed. The personal state of the priest could not be allowed to enter into the validity of the sacraments he might administer. The sacramental role of the priest, as such, could not be questioned.

#### QUESTIONING AND REALITY

There were questions about the necessity of clerical celibacy from the beginning among synods of the clergy, secular authors, and canonists. Heretical groups such as the LOLLARDS were ardently opposed to it. It was consistently on the agenda of reformers, such as John GERSON, who sought to increase the number of priests and clean up their reputation as fornicators, a common literary device. In practice, the rules were not consistently applied, but the majority of the clergy did not have regular female or male sexual companions. The number of illegitimate children fathered by clerics in the later Middle Ages was perceived to have been high, but we cannot be sure. The laity was not overly concerned about these situations if the priest was a respected pastor. Records documenting investigation of clerical discipline for diocesan and parish reform did turn up examples of clerical inconstancy, but there seemed also to be some decline in concubinage. At the same time there was more evidence for fornication and adultery. Many of the higher clergy, including several popes, were not setting good examples.

See also BASIL THE GREAT, SAINT; CHASTITY; CHRYSOSTOM, JOHN, SAINT; FAMILY AND KINSHIP; MARRIAGE; NUNS AND NUNNERIES; VIRGINITY.

**Further reading:** John Chrysostom, *On Virginity: Against Remarriage*, trans. Sally Rieger Shore (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1983); Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1982); Roman Cholij, *Clerical Celibacy in East and West* (Leominster, England: Fowler-Wright Books, 1988); Michael Frassetto, ed. *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York: Garland, 1998).

**Celtis, Conrad** (Konrad, Conrad Pickel, “the Archhumanist”) (1459–1508) *influential German humanist, poet* Born on February 1, 1459, in a peasant family near Würzburg, Celtis ran away at the age of 18 to study. He spent the next 20 years studying and teaching at a succession of universities: COLOGNE, Heidelberg, Erfurt, Rostock, Leipzig, CRACOW, NUREMBERG, and Ingolstadt, before settling at the University of VIENNA in 1497 to teach poetry, RHETORIC, classics, and literature. He wrote plays and poetry, rediscovered old and neglected German literary works, established debating societies, and edited classics, such as Tacitus’s *Germania* in 1500.

In 1487 he became the first German poet laureate. His travels involved two years in ITALY between 1487 and 1489, when he met many Italian humanists. Although generally disillusioned by Italy and its culture, he was inspired by an academy in ROME to start similar societies in GERMANY where humanists could meet and work together. Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) was among his friends and correspondents.

Celtis’s studies on the Greek and Hebrew languages, his editions of Latin authors, and his Latin dramas promoted a humanist movement based on his ideas of education and a revival of German culture. Another desire, to write a comprehensive geographical and historical book about Germany, was never fulfilled. He died in Vienna of syphilis on February 4, 1508.

**Further reading:** Konrad Celtis, *Selections*, ed. and trans. Leonard Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

**cemeteries and graveyards** Ancient necropolises or “cities of the dead” were situated by law outside inhabited places, either in open country or beside the roads approaching towns or cities, like the underground CATACOMBS. Medieval burial places were enclosed enclaves attached to a PARISH and moved into towns and villages. This practice reflected a change in the relations between the living and the dead, who needed to be assisted or capable of giving assistance in an afterlife or on earth. Cremation was no longer much practiced after the early Middle Ages. Christian cemeteries were reserved for believers only, not pagans, Jews, unbaptized infants, or the excommunicated. Along with parish churches directly subject to episcopal jurisdiction, monasteries and the convents of the new MENDICANT ORDERS from the 13th century also provided lucrative burial grounds for their members and, for a price, the laity.

In the Middle Ages there were simple internments in churchyards and later inside the church building either under the pavement or in more elaborate, or sometimes even artistically impressive and monumental, TOMBS. In antiquity, the dead by law had to be taken outside the walls of a city and then buried or put into catacombs. By the sixth century, burials were performed by a church in

CEMETERIES. That system associated the dead with objects and sites of piety whose benefits they might share. The bodies were left in the ground until only the bones remained. For reasons of space, the bones were then dug up and taken to a storage area or ossuary. The graveyard around a church was often used for village or neighborhood festivals and outdoor events such as sermons, though the church tried in vain to stop those practices.

With the development of belief in PURGATORY from the 12th century, interment inside the church building itself became more common. Graves within the sacred area of the interior of the church seemingly better enabled the deceased to benefit from PRAYERS, and especially from masses and liturgical ceremonies. These indoor sites were soon marked, first by signs on the floor and then by tombs resembling ALTARS, to demonstrate the prestige and power of the deceased or of his or her family. This arrangement required further donations to the clergy. Soon secular parish priests were in competition and conflict with the new mendicant orders, who were poaching deceased parishioners for lucrative burial fees and elaborate tombs in their new churches, which in part were specifically designed for just that. This practice led to a multiplication of the demand for elaborate marble altars with human effigies and painted altarpieces for the adjacent or surrounding chapels by the tombs of rich donors.

These areas near parishes were to provide places of refuge or asylum for accused criminals and those seeking shelter from violence. Cemeteries could serve for community activities such as festivals, dances, fairs, the administration of justice, and the signing of peace accords among feuding citizens or subjects. These uses were condemned in later medieval ecclesiastical legislation. During the great plagues of the 14th century mass graves had to be used, often outside the traditional graveyards, and people were buried with little or no ceremony.

See also BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; DEATH AND THE DEAD; PURGATORY.

**Further reading:** Philippe Aries, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Knopf, 1981); Steven Basset, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992); Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997); Philip Rahtz, Tania Dickinson and Lorna Watts, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979: The Fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1980); Sam Lucy, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000); Peter H. Sawyer, ed., *Names, Words, and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement: Lectures Delivered in the University of Leeds, May 1978* (Leeds: School of History, University of Leeds, 1979).

**Cereta, Laura (Cereto, Cereti)** (1469–1499) *essayist* She was born in 1469, the eldest of six children, to Silvestro Cereta and Veronica di Leno, aristocrats of Brescia in northern Italy. She was educated at home and at a nearby convent in mathematics, astrology, and Latin. At age 15, Laura married Pietro Serina, but 18 months later, he died of plague at VENICE.

Widowed, childless, and suffering intense grief, Cereta spent much of the rest of her life writing essays and letters to prominent churchmen, scholars, and fellow citizens of Brescia. She met with humanists and sustained friendships with other learned women. She was attacked for her views by her male and female peers, who claimed her father actually wrote her letters since women were incapable of such writing. She defended herself ardently.

When Cereta died she had produced a volume of her collected letters and an unpublished manuscript containing explicitly autobiographical material. She portrayed herself as a compliant daughter, denounced the violence of war, lamented the difficult place of women in search of fame in a male world, and reflected on the option to retreat to a convent. Defending women writers, she promoted principles of rationality as guides for the active female life and was skeptical of traditional views of sexuality and gender roles. She promoted the possibilities of the convent or urban residence as places where women could participate in literary culture without injury to their reputation. She was much mourned at her death at age 30 in 1499.

**Further reading:** Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, ed. Diana Robin. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil Jr., eds., *Her Immaculate Hand: Selected Works by and about the Women Humanists of Quattrocento Italy* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992); Albert Rabil, Jr., *Laura Cereta, Quattrocento Humanist* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1981).

**Chalcedon, Council of** Chalcedon was a city in northwestern Asia Minor, in the vicinity of CONSTANTINOPLE. It was famous for the assemblies of prelates of the Christian church held at its imperial palace. The most important of these assemblies was the Fourth ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, held in October 451 at the request of Emperor Marcian (r. 450–457). About 600 bishops, most from the East, attended the council. Its purpose was its definition of faith to deal with heretical movements in the church, especially those over the nature of Christ. Its main achievement was a definition of the FAITH, entitled the Chalcedon Creed, which condemned various HERESIES and established orthodoxy. The fundamental principle of all Orthodox Christology was that there was in Christ one person and two natures, the human and the

divine. The council also adopted a resolution concerning the patriarchates, establishing the primacy of five sees: ROME, CONSTANTINOPLE (equal to Rome), ALEXANDRIA, ANTIOCH, and JERUSALEM. Moreover, the council condemned MONOPHYSITISM.

See also EPHESUS, ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1, *Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 75–86; Patrick T. R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden: Brill, 1979); Robert Victor Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961); Iain R. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1988); Frances M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to Literature and Its Background* (London: SCM Press, 1983).

**chalice for the laity** See UTRAQUISTS.

**Champagne, fairs of** See FAIRS AND MARKETS.

**chansons de geste (Old French epics)** The chansons de geste were epic poems and songs of heroic deeds in Old French that celebrated the exploits of some ecclesiastical figures but mostly heroes and kings, especially CHARLEMAGNE and his companions. These epic poems were loaded with warlike action waged against the SARACENS or the rebelling enemies of a king or lord. They had a religious dimension, since their heroes fought for God against the infidels or the breakers of oaths. The most important of these were the *Song of Roland* and *Raoul of Cambrai*. GUILLAUME D'ORANGE, his brothers, and relations were a heroic family that was the subject of a group of epic narratives. Numerous such poems were written about the Battle of RONCEVAUX and its heroes. Others were written about personal rivalries and historic events such as the Crusades or, in the later Middle Ages, about the struggles of the French against the English.

See also CHIVALRY; EPIC LITERATURE; FEUDALISM AND FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS; RODERIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR, HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF

**Further reading:** William Calin, *The Epic Quest: Studies in Four Old French Chansons de Geste* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966); Jessie Raven Crosland, *The Old French Epic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951); Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984); Joseph J. Duggan, *The Chanson de Roland and the Chansons de Geste in European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Vol. I, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, eds. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 89–112; Sarah Kay, *The*

*Chansons de Geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

**charity and poverty** Medieval charity was primarily considered a desirable habit of loving God but also concern about the spiritual and physical state of one's neighbor. Medieval poverty or the lack of the wherewithal to live or support oneself at a level commensurate with one's social status was a common situation in the Middle Ages. It was increased by bad harvests and FAMINES, brigandage, wars, illness, old age, epidemics, and the oppression of the weak by the holders of wealth and power. Poverty was in part the inability to work. Distinctions were made between the active or working poor, whose unskilled and discontinuous labor was not sufficient to ensure subsistence, and the passive poor, who had suffered misfortune. Voluntary poverty was chosen by the religious to free themselves from earthly considerations and practice an ascetic and Christlike life, in imitation of Jesus.

The distress of the poor led to numerous charitable responses and initiatives by monks, clerics, laypersons, and institutions founded by them for that purpose. They distributed food, money, and clothing. They sheltered pilgrims, wayfarers, and the sick. This charity was not necessarily accompanied by true fraternity but could be prompted by concern over the state of one's soul and chance of gaining salvation. Such good works would certainly help when one was judged by God regardless of one's intention. The poor man might arouse compassion, also repulsion, contempt, and fear. Secular laws dealing with the poor became much harsher and judgmental in the later Middle Ages. The religious orders tended to become more self-involved and less concerned with the poor during the same period.

Prompted by the concern for the welfare of community in the Bible, Jewish communities almost all had funds to assist the needy. Contributing to them was to be done with happiness and with sympathy for the recipients. The funds were to be spent on the sick, education, wedding expenses for needy couples, provisions and shelter for travelers, and burial expenses.

For Islam there were *Sadaqah* (alms), which was to be a voluntary practice and taken from a surplus over that necessary for one's family to live. One of the Pillars of Islam, *Zadat* or *Zakah* (alms), was an obligation placed on all Muslims. Everyone was to give about 2.5 percent of his or her primary or real and liquid forms of wealth for the needy in an Islamic state. It was considered a path to purity.

See also CONFRATERNITIES; ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICES; HOSPITALS; PURGATORY; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** Sharon A. Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Life of the*

*Poor* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002); David Flood, ed., *Poverty in the Middle Ages* (Westphalia, Germany: D. Coelde, 1975); Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978); Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); Brian S. Pullan, *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1994); Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959).

**Charlemagne (Charles the Great) (742–814) king of the Franks, emperor of the West**

Charles was born between 742 and 747 into a powerful family of the Frankish aristocracy, who ruled part of the kingdom of the FRANKS from 751. His father, PÉPIN III THE SHORT (d. 768), linked by his wife, Bertrade, to the MEROVINGIAN aristocracy, took care to have his sons, Carloman (d.771) and Charles (Charlemagne), consecrated as legitimate rulers by the pope in 754 at the same time he was. On Pépin's death in 768, Charles and his brother each inherited part of the kingdom, but at Carloman's death in 771 Charles became the sole ruler.

Charlemagne, now king of the Franks, undertook military operations on the borders of the kingdom. He eventually exercised control over the SAXONS, the LOMBARDS, parts of SPAIN, BAVARIA, and the AVARS by 796. This vast territorial state underwent an administrative reorganization as the aristocracy became linked to the monarch by a network of VASSALAGE, BENEFICES, and fiscal rights, in exchange for services, primarily military. All free men came to be tied to the Crown by OATHS of loyalty and were under the justice of the king or his representatives. Marches or military regions able to repulse outside invasions were established in border regions.

The drive toward restoration of the Roman Empire and of its legitimacy and power was carried out from the end of the eighth century. The construction of the palace of AACHEN around 790 and the activity of scholars such as ALCUIN and PAUL THE DEACON promoted this idea. The weakening of the authority of the Eastern emperor and the appeal of Pope LEO III, threatened by the Roman aristocracy, made Charlemagne a supreme arbiter of power in the West, a position symbolized by his coronation as emperor at Rome in December of 800. Charlemagne thereafter presented himself as a new Augustus and a new David thus uniting the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres.

At the risk of conflict with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, he legislated in all his domains, intervened in the definition of dogma, and had the main legal texts of peoples of the empire set down in writing, all exclusively imperial pre-



A 19th-century statue of the great medieval French hero Charlemagne near the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris (Courtesy Edward English)

rogatives. He maintained diplomatic relations with rulers in the British Isles, the Asturian princes in Iberia, patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the caliph of BAGHDAD. After his death on January 28, 814, his son, LOUIS I THE PIOUS, initially peacefully succeeded him.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Charlemagne was regarded as the personification of the good Christian prince, a unifier for Christendom, and a symbol of a universal and imperial idea. He was canonized by the effort of the emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA in 1165.

See also CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; MISSI DOMINICI.

**Further reading:** Donald Bullough, *The Age of Charlemagne* (London: Elek Books, 1965); Allen Cabaniss, *Charlemagne* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972); Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Steward C. Easton and Helene Wieruszowski, eds., *The Era of Charlemagne: Frankish State and Society* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1961); H. R. Loyn and John Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975).

**Charles I of Anjou** (1226/27–1285) *king of Sicily and Naples*

Born in March of 1226 or 1227, the younger brother of King LOUIS IX, Charles I was a much tougher character than his elder brother. He gained a reputation as thoughtful, clear-headed, bold, and tenacious; these traits were combined with strong ambition. From his father, Louis VIII (r. 1223), he received the counties of Maine and ANJOU. From 1246, BLANCHE of Castile persuaded her son, Louis IX, to arrange Charles's marriage with Béatrice, the countess of PROVENCE. He then had land in northern and southern France. He governed Provence with French administrators and used feudal law that regulated the county of Anjou. This was a regime that did not fit well with the liberties customarily possessed by the many towns in the south.

On his return to FRANCE from crusade, Charles was asked by the French popes Urban IV (r. 1261–64) and his successor, Clement IV (r. 1265–68), to seize the crown of SICILY. The popes wanted to take southern Italy away from the HOHENSTAUFEN family, heirs of FREDERICK II. Charles at first refused, distracted by his ambitions in Provence and Piedmont. In 1265, he embarked at Marseille for Rome. He was crowned king of SICILY by five CARDINALS in Saint Peter's Basilica and attacked Frederick II's illegitimate son, MANFRED, who had been proclaimed king by the barons of the kingdom of Sicily in 1258. Manfred lost and was killed in battle near Benevento in 1266. The Hohenstaufen regrouped around the young Conradin (1252–68), Frederick II's legitimate grandson, who had traveled down from GERMANY. Beaten near the defile of Tagliacozzo on August 23, 1268, Conradin was captured, judged as a rebel against the Holy See, and beheaded at NAPLES.

**FURTHER CONQUEST**

Charles organized a French-style feudal hierarchy and state in southern Italy. He developed a fiscal system and sought control of any economic asset he could. He extended his influence over central Italy, especially Tuscany. As head of the Guelf party he enjoyed the favor of the popes and financial backing by Florentine bankers. He took part in the Crusade of his brother, LOUIS IX, against TUNIS in 1270. When Charles arrived in Tunisia, his brother had already died. Charles managed to extract the remnants of the Christian army by an agreement with the emir of Tunis.

By 1272 he had taken control of ALBANIA but was prevented from moving against CONSTANTINOPLE by a Ghibelline revival in northern Italy, fueled by the election of RUDOLF OF HABSBURG as emperor in 1273. Charles decided to buy the title of king of JERUSALEM from Marie of Antioch in 1277 and continued military and naval preparations for a campaign against CONSTANTINOPLE. The king of Aragon, Peter III (1239–85), promoted a plot based on the hatred of the Sicilians for

the exploitive administration of the Angevin government. On March 30, 1282, Angevin agents were massacred all over Sicily in a rising called the SICILIAN VESPERS. Peter of Aragon invaded and took over the island. Charles's his nephew, Philip III (1245–85), king of France, and a papal army were defeated. Charles lost control of Sicily but kept the kingdom of Naples. Charles I died on January 7, 1285, at Fossia in Apulia.

**Further reading:** Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth Century Europe* (New York: Longman, 1998); Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

**Charles I (II) the Bald** (823–877) *king of West Francia, king of France, emperor*

Charles the Bald was born in Frankfurt-am-Main June 13, 823, the son of LOUIS I THE PIOUS and his second wife, Judith of Bavaria (800–843). In the imperial Ordinance of 817, Louis the Pious had decided that his eldest son, Lothair (795–855), would become sole emperor while his other sons, Pépin (d. 838) and Louis (ca. 804–876), would receive the lesser kingdoms of AQUITAINE and GERMANY. The birth of Charles and his mother's insistence that he be similarly well endowed ended these arrangements. From 829 at the Diet of Worms to the death of Louis the Pious in 840, conflicts among the brothers and with their father were continuous. Numerous efforts to partition the empire failed.

After the death of Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald and Louis the German formed an alliance against their elder brother, Lothair, whom they defeated at the Battle of FONTENAY in 841. On February 14, 842, they confirmed this alliance by the Oaths of Strasbourg. The next year, at VERDUN, an agreement divided the empire into three kingdoms and gave West Francia to Charles the Bald.

**CULTURAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

Charles had benefited from the first CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE and received a good education. At his court at Compiègne, arts, letters, dialectic, and THEOLOGY were appreciated and cultivated. From 845 to 867 the famous JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA, the most original thinker of the Carolingian era, taught there.

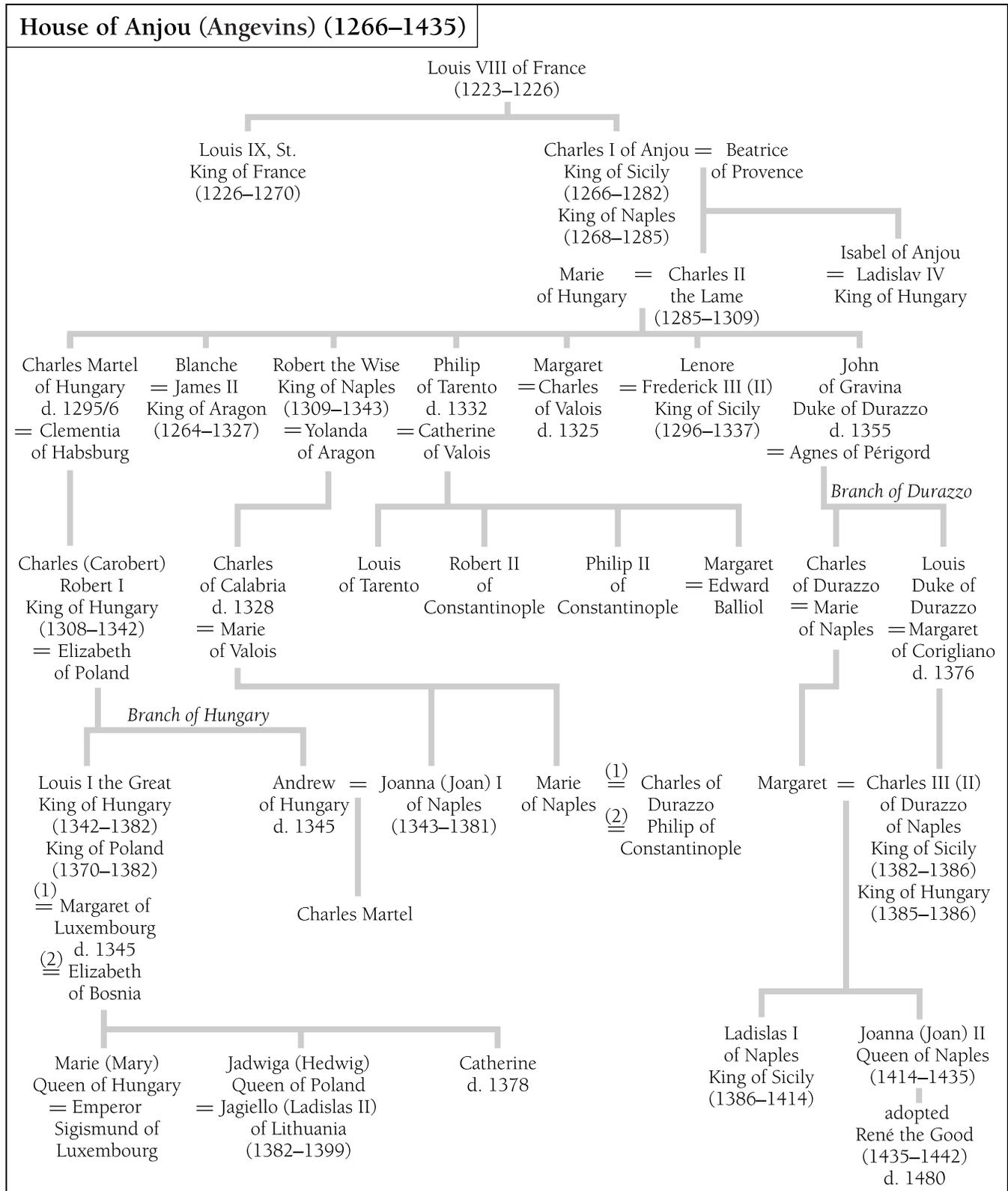
**POLITICAL PROBLEMS**

Charles the Bald's reign was taken up with a struggle to impose his authority on AQUITAINE, the Bretons, and the Vikings, all with inconsistent support from the aristocracy of the kingdom.

In 845, he had had to abandon Aquitaine to his nephew, Pépin II (ca. 832–865). But in 848 he had himself crowned king of Aquitaine at Orléans, invaded, and resumed control of that region in 851. As the raids of the

Vikings on the Seine and Scheldt Valleys intensified, Charles was obliged to entrust command in NEUSTRIA, a region between the Seine and the Loire, to Robert the Strong (d. 866), an ancestor of the CAPETIANS.

In the meantime the magnates of regions of Neustria and Aquitaine revolted and appealed to Charles's brother Louis the German, who invaded in 858. But resistance led by Archbishop HINCMAR of RHEIMS obliged Louis to



withdraw. Other revolts were led by Charles's own sons, Louis the Stammerer (846–79) and Charles the Child (847–66). Despite this, Charles the Bald held the throne and continued to govern.

On the death of Lothair II in 869, he took possession of Lotharingia and was crowned king at Metz by Hincmar. He tried to occupy AACHEN but was scared off by Louis the German and had to withdraw to Western Lotharingia. In 875, at the death of the emperor Louis II the Stammer, he took over PROVENÇE. Pope John VIII (r. 872–82) crowned him emperor on December 25, making him master in ITALY. When he wanted to take possession of Eastern Lotharingia on the death of his brother Louis the German, he was defeated at Andernach. Despite the opposition of the aristocracy and Bishop Hincmar, Charles crossed the Alps but was forced to retreat. He died on the way back at Avrieux on October 6, 877.

**Further reading:** Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, eds. *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990); Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (New York: Longman, 1992).

### Charles IV of Luxembourg (Wenzel) (1316–1378) *king of Bohemia, Holy Roman Emperor*

Born in Prague on May 14, 1316, the well-educated son of John Luxembourg (r. 1310–46) king of BOHEMIA, he was regent on behalf of his blind father, whom he succeeded in 1346. He married Blanche, the sister of Philip VI (r. 1328–50); the king of France. He was the leader of the opposition to Emperor Louis IV the Bavarian (r. 1314–47). Charles was elected emperor in 1346 but gained power only after Louis's death in 1347 and was crowned in Rome as emperor on April 5, 1355. He consolidated his power on Bohemia. He founded the University of PRAGUE, annexed Silesia to it, and proclaimed a new constitution. He tried to restore order and peace in GERMANY and fought against the powerful family of WITTELSBACH, the dukes of BAVARIA and marquises of Brandenburg. His reign encompassed the consequences of the Black Death in Germany and was not able to prevent anti-Jewish riots.

Crowned emperor of ROME in 1355, he profited in the short term from his journey to ITALY to sell imperial titles to local adventurers. His most important achievement in Germany was the issue in 1356 of the GOLDEN BULL, which was to function as the empire's new constitution. It dealt with the procedures for imperial elections, creating a body of the seven prince-electors, including the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the prince of the Rhine Palatinate, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the archbishops of Mainz, COLOGNE, and Trier. The electors were granted many privileges, making them nearly independent within the empire. His moves against the independent free cities were unsuccessful, though some were severely damaged and forcibly annexed to

principalities. He died on November 29, 1378, and was buried in PRAGUE.

**Further reading:** Bede Jarrett, *The Emperor Charles IV* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1935); Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2000); Gerald Groveland Walsh, *The Emperor Charles IV, 1316–1378: A Study in Holy Roman Imperialism* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1924).

### Charles V the Wise (1338–1380) *king of France*

He was born at Vincennes, January 21, 1338, the son of King John II (r. 1350–64) the Good and Bonne of Luxembourg, the daughter of King John of BOHEMIA (r. 1310–46). At the Battle of POITIERS on September 19, 1356, he was taken prisoner by the English but released. As the captured king's lieutenant and agent, he faced the opposition of the Estates General, agitation led by Charles the Bad (1332–87) the king of NAVARRE, the JACQUÉRIE, and the Parisian revolt of Étienne Marcel in 1358. The treaty concluded at Brétigny on May 8, 1360; it gave EDWARD III, the king of England, the province of AQUITAINE and part of the neighboring provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, Agenais, Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, Bigorre, Angoumois, as well as Ponthieu, Calais, and the county of Guines. His father's ransom was fixed at 3 million gold écus or 500,000 pounds sterling. Becoming king on his recently released father's death on April 8, 1364, Charles V inherited a shrunken realm that had lost a third of its lands and been seriously ravaged by unemployed mercenary soldiers.

#### CONFLICT AND INNOVATION

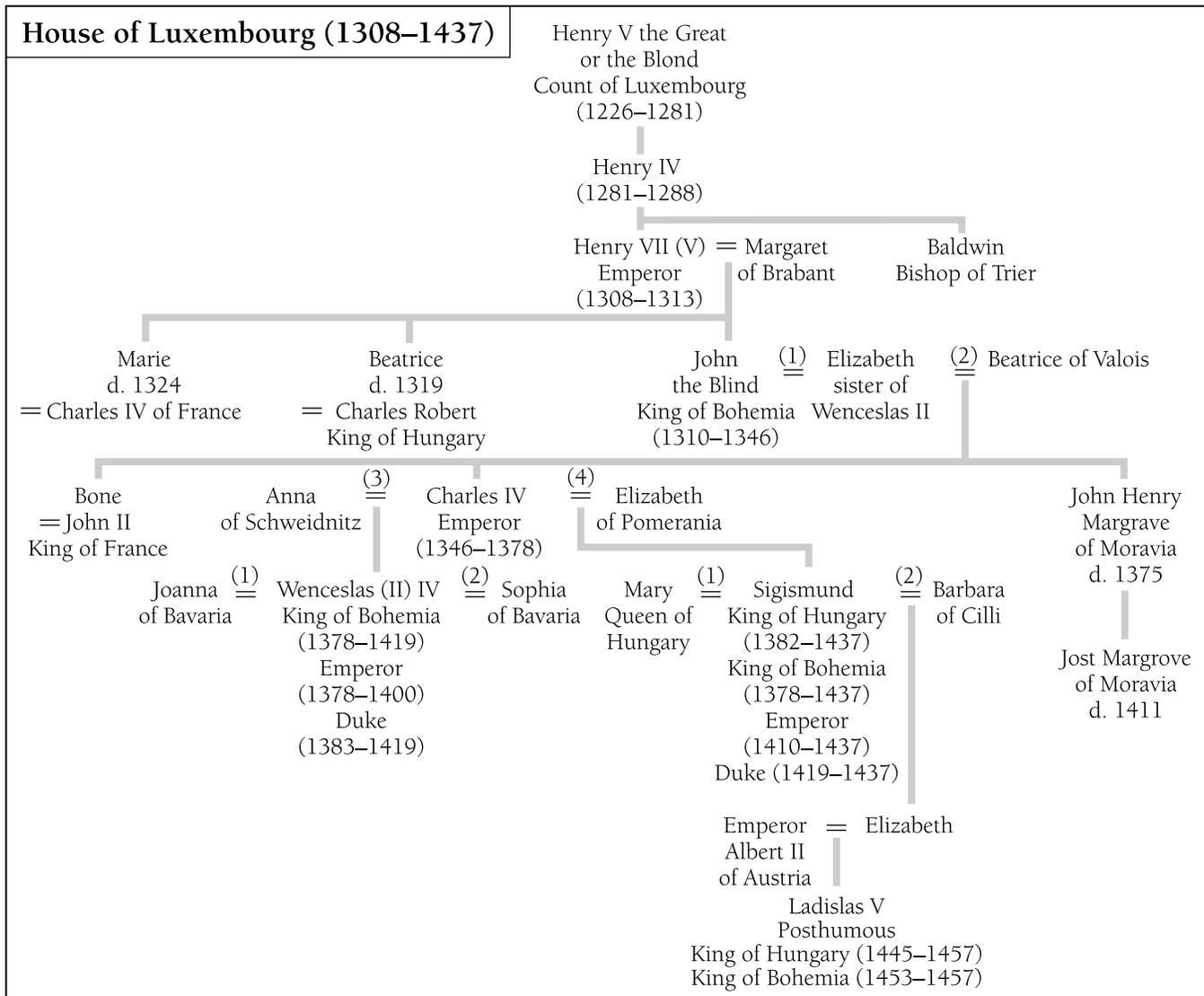
His first objective was to raise the money necessary to rid the kingdom of mercenaries and recover lost provinces. A small army of professional soldiers, under the leadership of the constable, Bertrand du Guesclin (ca. 1320–80), retook much territory from the English all the while avoiding battles. By the time of the king's death in 1380, the English had been reduced to Calais, Gascony, and fortresses in BRITTANY. In 1378 he intervened unsuccessfully in Brittany and was distracted by the Great SCHISM of 1378 in which he supported stubbornly one of the candidates.

Charles V's reign was dominated by the requirements of warfare. His regime was a decisive step in terms of regular taxation. These taxes were uneasily accepted as the only way to defend the country against the marauding companies and obtain some peace.

Charles V and his counselors strengthened the functioning of the various institutions, especially the PARLEMENT OF PARIS.

#### CULTURE

Charles V was supportive of political thinkers, jurists, and philosophers. He founded the royal library of the



Louvre and ordered translations of ARISTOTLE (the *Politics*, *Ethics*, *Economics*) and Augustine (*The City of God*), all to promote royal authority. He built numerous structures in Paris, such as the Louvre, Bastille, Hôtel Saint-Pol, and fortress at Vincennes. He commissioned histories and art for the glory of the Crown such as the *Grandes chroniques de France* and their illuminations. Never in good health he died aged 42 on September 16, 1380. Married to Jeanne de Bourbon, he had eight children, of whom only Charles VI (1368–1422) and his brother, Louis (1372–1407), the duke of Orléans, survived him.

See also HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; ORESME, NICHOLAS.

**Further reading:** Susan M. Babbitt, "*Livre de Politiques*" and the France of Charles V (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985); John Bell Henneman, Jr., *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth-Century France: The Captivity*

and Ransom of John II, 1356–1370 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976).

### Charles VII (le Bien Servi, the Well Served) (1403–1461) *king of France*

Born on February 22, 1403, in Paris he was the fifth son of Charles VI (r. 1380–1422) of FRANCE and Isabeau of Bavaria (ca. 1370–1435). He was betrothed in 1413 to Marie of Anjou. He was made count of Anjou and became the dauphin or successor to the throne after the unexpected deaths of his elder brothers. The Armagnacs took him away to his land in Poitou, where he organized a possible government. The assassination of the duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless (r. 1407–19), at Montereau on September 10 always weighed on his conscience. After the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 and the Treaty of Troyes on May 21, 1420,

between the duke of Burgundy and the king of ENGLAND, the English king, HENRY V, became the heir to the Crown of France. Charles was disinherited and banished.

#### COMBAT AND RECONQUEST

On the death of Charles VI in 1422, Charles could become an alternative king. Charles VII's army was defeated at Verneuil in 1424. JOAN OF ARC saved Orléans from the besieging English and took Charles to RHEIMS, where he was consecrated king on July 17, 1429. In the meantime Henry V had died and was succeeded in France and England by the boy Henry VI (r. 1422–71). Charles did nothing to help Joan of Arc in her trial and execution by the English.

Charles negotiated a reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy, PHILIP THE GOOD, in the Treaty of Arras in 1435 and retook Paris in 1436. Charles made a solemn entry in 1437 into the city but did not reside there. After eight years of fighting in the Île-de-France, Gascony, and especially NORMANDY; the Truce of Tours in 1444; and the Battles of Formigny in 1450 and Castillon in 1453, Charles regained Normandy and Gascony from the English.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE AND MILITARY REFORMS

The reform of the army in 1445 was based on 15 regularly paid military companies. A permanent army grew out of a Scots company, the king's guard, a modernized artillery, and reformed infantry divisions. The military effort required fiscal extractions bargained from provinces and towns.

This restoration of royal authority after the years 1440–45 triumphed over princely revolts and the separatist ambitions of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy. Charles VII died on July 22, 1461, at Mehun-sur-Yèvre.

**Further reading:** R. C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392–1420* (New York: AMS Press, 1986); P. S. Lewis, ed. *The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Harper-Row, 1971); Malcolm G. Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

#### **Charles Martel (the Hammer)** (ca. 688–741) *founder of the Carolingian dynasty*

Charles Martel was born near Liège about 688, the illegitimate son of Pépin II of Herstal and his mistress Alpaide. In his youth, he showed impressive military and leadership abilities. When his father died, he fought against his legitimate half-brothers and other members of the Pépin family, who disputed his heritage, but he succeeded despite the handicap of illegitimacy in imposing his rule. In 716, he defeated the Neustrians and united the three MEROVINGIAN kingdoms of Austrasia, NEUSTRIA, and BURGUNDY. He later forced AQUITAINE into submission.

To consolidate his power and authority, he reorganized the Frankish army, creating units of CAVALRY. He

based military service on feudal reciprocity, granting lands as lifetime benefices to the fighters, or vassals. These lands were often confiscated from the churches' estates. His new army proved itself in 732 when it defeated a Muslim invasion from Iberia at the Battle of POITIERS on October 25.

The Battle of Poitiers gave him great prestige as the exaggerated greatest victory of Christianity over ISLAM since the time of MUHAMMAD and as halting Muslim progress in Europe. He profited from this to conquer PROVENCE and advance into southern FRANCE. He refused to respond to the papal invitations to travel to ITALY to protect the papacy. He died on October 22, 741, and was buried in Saint Denis near Paris.

*See also* CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar and Its Continuation* (London: Nelson, 1960); Bernard S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972); Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (New York: Longman, 2000); Edward James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982).

#### **Charles the Bold or Rash** (1433–1477) *duke of Burgundy*

Charles was born in Dijon on November 10, 1433, the eldest son of Philip the Good (r. 1419–1467) and Isabella of Portugal. Though count of Charolais, Charles the Bold rarely lived in his BURGUNDIAN dominions. Known for his aggressive temperament, he engaged in the War of the Public Good against King LOUIS XI of FRANCE.

Burdened with ruling a collection of principalities, Charles tried to unify his states with a reformed administrative structure to integrate the two principal parts of his Burgundian state, FLANDERS and BURGUNDY. He frightened many of his neighbors in the kingdom of France as well as SWITZERLAND by this attempt. Between 1471 and 1473 he organized a permanent army of regular companies with artillery. He was not able to complete the organization because of fiscal problems.

Charles the Bold clashed with towns such as GHENT, Beauvais, and Liège, the latter encouraged in its hostility by King Louis XI. Attacking Louis XI he invaded Picardy, failed before Beauvais, and then before ROUEN, in 1472. In 1473 he absorbed Lorraine, obliging its duke, René II (1409–80), to sign the treaty that gave it to him. In January 1474, at Dijon, the duke revealed his ambition to re-create the Kingdom of Burgundy, which included much of western Switzerland.

The Swiss towns joined together against him. Louis XI formed an alliance against him with the Swiss, René II, and the emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–93). After the reconquest of Lorraine in 1475, he was beaten in the 1476 by the Swiss at Grandson on March 2 and at Morat on June 22 and lost control of Savoy. In October 1476 he

left the Franche-Comté for Lorraine to lay siege to Nancy. There he was killed in battle on January 5, 1477. The marriage of his daughter Mary of Burgundy (r. 1477–82) to Maximilian of Austria (1459–1519) united Burgundy with the Holy Roman Empire.

**Further reading:** Joseph Calmette, *One Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and Their Courts*, trans. Doreen Weightman (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1962); Richard Vaughn, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London: Longman, 1973).

**charms** Medieval charms were descended from ancient pagan oral incantations, magical and ritualistic. They were aimed against physical entities such as sudden pain in the side, witches, insects, or unproductive land. They could also be invoked against enemies, mice and rats, and unknown thieves, or used to make women dance naked. Some had religious aims, invoking angels at various moments. Such actions as making a sign of the cross while reciting Greek letters and the names of Christ were done to ensure a safe journey.

**Further reading:** Bill Griffiths, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1996); Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Library Editions, 1975).

**charters** A medieval charter was a written document recording, authenticating, and constituting a transaction between two or more parties. It initially designated a private document as opposed to a document involving a political entity. Completed in the proper form they conferred validity and authenticity on a transaction. They were usually written on parchment and later were copied and collected into manuscript books to demonstrate the possessions and rights of secular and ecclesiastical institutions. They were the initial field of study for the discipline of diplomatics.

*See also* ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CARTULARIES; FORGERY; NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIATE; SEALS AND SIGILLOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Leonard E. Boyle, "Diplomatics" in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, 2d ed., ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 82–113; David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell, 1993); C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100–1250* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950).

**Chartres, Cathedral of** CHARLES THE BALD'S donation of the RELIC of the Virgin MARY'S veil in 876 to Chartres CATHEDRAL helped to restore the church, recently

destroyed in the VIKING invasions of 858. In 1007 when FULBERT became bishop, he began building in an innovative style, the GOTHIC. At the same time he laid the foundation for a later brilliant intellectual tradition all through the 12th century. Such important thinkers as IVO, Bernard (d. 1130) and THIERRY of Chartres, GILBERT of Poitiers, William of Conches (d. ca. 1160) and JOHN of Salisbury all spent time teaching at the cathedral school in this prosperous town.

#### BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL

In 1134 a fire destroyed part of the town and damaged the cathedral. This stimulated another new beginning for restoring and rebuilding the cathedral. A new façade was added that included sculptured processions of kings and Old Testament prophets, a Last Judgment, and an Apocalypse. Yet another fire in 1194 prompted further reconstruction, which included flying buttresses and changes in the walls. These innovations permitted the construction of complex and beautiful STAINED GLASS windows that are extant. They included three ROSE WINDOWS dedicated to the Last Judgment, the Apocalypse, and a genealogy of Christ. The town and the famous cathedral remained a goal of PILGRIMAGE throughout the Middle Ages.

*See also* FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

**Further reading:** Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1926); Robert Branner, *Chartres Cathedral* (New York: Norton, 1969); George Henderson, *Chartres* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); John James, *The World of Chartres* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1990); Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959); Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (London: Blackwell, 1995–2001).

**chastity** In the Middle Ages this was the virtue that was supposed to be cultivated in order to make one capable of subjecting the promptings of CONCUISCENCE to the authority of reason. According to Thomas AQUINAS, it was one of the virtues that Christ suggested to institute the mark of salvation in human relationships. As part of their profession Christians in religious orders usually made a vow of chastity in their entry into the religious life, but everyone was expected to understand this counsel and put this virtue into habitual practice in life.

*See also* CELIBACY; CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).

**Chaucer, Geoffrey** (ca. 1343–1400) *author; courtier; poet* Chaucer was born between 1340 and 1343 the son of a LONDON vintner, and in his youth served as a page at

the court of EDWARD III, whom he followed in his campaigns in FRANCE. Taken prisoner in France in 1359, he was ransomed by the king. After his return to ENGLAND, he resumed his service at Edward's court under the patronage of JOHN OF GAUNT in various capacities, especially diplomatic missions. He served in minor posts under RICHARD II. His greatest work, *The Canterbury Tales*, written in English between 1386 and 1390, gave him only posthumous fame. It consisted of stories suggesting a realistic representation of English life in the second half of the century and focusing on a pilgrimage to Saint THOMAS BECKET's shrine at CANTERBURY. On the way typical representatives of various classes met and told stories. The *Tales* emphasized a new lay spirit of the times and constituted a mild criticism of clericalism. He wrote several other important literary works including: *The Book of the Duchess*, *The House of Fame*, *The Parliament of Fowls*, *Legend of Good Women*, and *Troilus and Criseyde*. He died on October 25, 1400.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3d ed., ed. L. D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987); Geoffrey Chaucer *Troilus and Criseyde*, trans. Nevill Coghill (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970); Donald Howard, *The Idea of the Canterbury Tales* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); V. A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984); Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); D. W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962); Paul Strohm, *Social Chaucer* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

**chess** See GAMES, TOYS, PASTIMES, AND GAMBLING.

**children and childhood** In the western Middle Ages there were interest in and concern for children as children. Despite the preconceptions and ideas of some modern scholars, children were not generally considered to be or treated as small and deficient adults. Scholars have found much evidence of care and love for offspring. However, considerable evidence has simultaneously been found that infanticide, neglect, and abuse took place. Children in the Middle Ages certainly had different levels of care according to the resources, social status, and economic activities of their parents. Childbirth was very dangerous for both the child and the mother; many children died of disease or accidents before they reached the age of two.

In theory childhood was divided into three periods, all with vague boundaries. From birth to the age of two, the dangerous period of *infantia*, the child did not speak and was totally dependent. From two to seven years, now able to speak and walk, the child was still viewed as incapable of much reflection on or responsibility for

actions. The third, *pueritia*, lasted from age seven to 12 years, when the child attained better rationality and reached the age of reason, or "legitimate age." In canon law, girls were permitted to marry at 12 and boys at 14. At the onset of puberty marking *adolescencia* or adolescence, sympathy was often replaced by antagonism toward a new behavior viewed as troublesome, disrespectful, and dangerous.

Some in the Middle Ages, however, were influenced by AUGUSTINE. For him children were sinful from conception, when the soul was marked by original sin. They must be baptized or suffer the privation of salvation. They were infirm beings, comparable to the mentally ill, who were deprived of reason until they reached a certain age. For many other people, children at very young ages might have exceptional positive qualities, above all innocence and even a certain purity. A pure and innocent child might even function as an intermediary between God and humankind. All of this might vary by class or social position.

See also AGING; FAMILY AND KINSHIP; GAMES, TOYS, PASTIMES, AND GAMBLING; MARRIAGE; SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

**Further reading:** John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998); Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); James Schultz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990); Valerie A. Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Jacques Gélis, *History of Childbirth: Fertility, Pregnancy, and Birth in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Rosemary Morris (1984; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991); Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001).

**chivalry** (French, *chevalerie*; Spanish, *caballeria*; Italian, *cavalleria*; German, *Rittertum*) Medieval chivalry was a vague code of honor and a manner of life followed by some in the Middle Ages and long afterward. It permeated the upper levels of society and literature from the 11th through the 15th century, but its meaning was rarely consistent or clear. Moreover, there have been shifts of meaning attached to *chivalry* according to medieval, regional, and modern usage. The concepts of the later

Middle Ages were different from those of the 11th to the 13th centuries, just as the 13th-century concepts differed from those of the 11th.

#### SECULAR CHIVALRY

Chivalry was originally based on the evolution of the mounted warrior (the *miles* in Latin) or KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD in France from the later decades of the 10th century. It was then that knights became dominant military and political figures supported by the institutions of what has been called FEUDALISM. This exercise of power by knights was based on their military training, wealth, and possession of an adequate horse, all essential for mounted shock combat. This soon led to the development of a lawless and arrogant class only too often contemptuous of the rest of society and the church. From the 12th century onward, secular literature, rulers, and institutions tried to promote chivalry as a moral, religious, and social code of knightly conduct upholding the virtues of courage, respect for women, honor, and service to lords. At the same time these ideals were always based on the possession of military prowess as a cavalry man with the necessary horse and equipment.

#### CHRISTIAN CHIVALRY

Chivalric virtues were deeply influenced by Christianity; that influence tended to coincide with secular efforts to control the behavior of the warrior class. In promoting the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD in the 11th century, the church sought to limit and redirect the violence of the then-dominant knightly and warrior class. It tried to place limits on warfare within Europe and demanded respect for the institutional church, the clergy, and vulnerable members of the laity. At the same time the church became more tolerant of certain kinds of warfare and violence, developing further AUGUSTINE'S ideas about the JUST WAR in defense of the faith. The virtues of the new Christian knight were supposed to be fidelity, piety, obedience to the clergy, and service to God. All this was linked to the promotion of the Crusade. These secular and religious ideals were reflected in, if they did not dominate, literature.

See also ARTHUR, KING, AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE; ARMIES AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION; CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS; CAVALRY; CHANSONS DE GESTE; COURTLY LOVE; EPIC LITERATURE; HERALDRY AND HERALDS; MILITARY ORDERS; ROMANCES; TOURNAMENTS; TROUBADOURS; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY; WOMEN, STATUS OF.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984); Sidney Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1940); Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1981).

#### Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1140–ca. 1191) author

Born about 1140, the writer Chrétien de Troyes was active in the last 30 years of the 12th century. His patrons were MARIE DE CHAMPAGNE and Philippe d'Alsace, the count of FLANDERS (r. 1168–91). Chrétien's writing was fundamental in the founding of medieval ARTHURIAN ROMANCE. The five romances that can be attributed to him certainly made the "matter of Britain," or King Arthur and his court, the basis for narrative fiction for centuries.

The transition from earlier romantic tradition, using sources derived from antiquity, to the Arthurian domain did not occur all at once: Chrétien's five surviving romances were entitled *Cligés*, *Érec et Énide*, *Le Chevalier de la Charrete* (The Knight of the cart), *Le Chevalier au Lion* (The Knight of the lion), *Yvain*, and the *Conte du Graal*. He died about 1191.

See also COURTLY LOVE; GAWAIN AND THE GAWAIN ROMANCES; PERCEVAL; ROUNDTABLE; WACE.

**Further reading:** Chrétien de Troyes, *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, trans. David Staines (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Sandra Hindman, *Sealed in Parchment: Rereadings of Knighthood in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Douglas F. Kelly, *Chrétien de Troyes: An Analytical Bibliography* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1976); Donald Maddux, *The Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes: Once and Future Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Lacy Norris, Douglas Kelly, and Keith Busby, eds., *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987–1988).

**Christendom** The term *Christendom* had its origins in a concept of community of European Christians linked to a particular church and under the guidance of the PAPACY. From the disappearance of a Roman Empire in the fifth century and the chaotic collapse of the Carolingian Empire in the 10th, there was little to serve as a center of culture and political authority. One ideal for the unity and community of this world arose in the promotion of ecclesiastical centralization on the papacy during the GREGORIAN REFORM movement of the 11th century. A renewed and self-aware PAPACY then sought universal allegiance and authority. This coincided with increased awareness and contacts with Europe's neighboring and different cultures and societies—ISLAM and the Orthodox worlds of the Byzantine Empire and Eastern Europe. This contact suggested that such religious self-consciousness was possible and even desirable. Aspiring to a universal authority, the papacy tried to play a leadership role in this idea and dominate ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Christian Europeans did feel some common bonds through this hierarchized Christianity, but emerging secular states after 1200 were not willing to submit to papal authority beyond a certain point. At the same time there



LOMBARD, PETER; MONOPHYSITISM; NESTORIANISM; TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE.

**chronicles and annals, Christian** Chronicles have been among the main sources for medieval history and were one of the most popular forms of historical writing in the Middle Ages. The term, of Greek origin, meant a history presented in chronological form in a style suggested by books of the BIBLE such as Chronicles I and II. From the beginning of the Middle Ages, both Byzantine and western European chroniclers borrowed earlier material, usually beginning with short summaries of sacred and Roman history. In most cases only a portion of these chronicles was original and corresponded to events that took place during the lifetime of the writer. These chronicles could be divided into universal, national, and local. Annals listed events by date.

In Byzantium, the *Chronicle* of PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA dealt with the period of Justinian and concentrated on the imperial court. In western Europe, the *Chronicle* of GREGORY OF TOURS in the late sixth century and of BEDE in the seventh century provided models for later ones. Most of these earlier histories were written by churchmen or monks not especially dependent upon the royal courts. Though concerned with uncritically protecting and justifying the interests of the church, the chroniclers enjoyed considerable freedom in their didactic evaluations and criticisms of political events and the character of prominent personalities. However, they often were not well informed and relied heavily on hearsay; they had little interest in economic and social matters, rarely using or quoting documents that might be more objective about events or people. During the course of the Middle Ages and in the early Renaissance, chronicles sometimes became more objective in their judgments and certainly more sophisticated in their use of sources and analytical methods of history writing. As opposed to the Latin of the earlier period, by the late Middle Ages many were written in the vernacular.

See also ADAM OF BREMEN; BRUNI, LEONARDO; FROISSART, JEAN; FULCHER OF CHARTRES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERALD OF WALES; KOMNENE, ANNA; MATTHEW PARIS; OTTO OF FREISING; PSELLOS, MICHAEL; VILLANI, GIOVANNI AND MATTEO; WILLIAM OF TYRE.

**Further reading:** William J. Brandt, *The Shape of Medieval History: Studies in Modes of Perception* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966); Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1996); Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1977); Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974); John Taylor, *The Use of Medieval Chronicles* (London: Historical Association, 1965).

**Chrysoloras, Manuel** (ca. 1350/53–1415) *diplomat, scholar*

Born about 1350 in Constantinople, Manuel Chrysoloras greatly influenced the humanists of FLORENCE, where he taught from 1397 to 1400. The leading Florentine Hellenizing humanists of that era, including GUARINO of Verona and Leonardo BRUNI, were his pupils in the study of Greek and the classics. He taught them the skills for translation and textual analysis, imparting a love of Greek literature. The texts they used were frequently taken from Manuel's own important library, which he had transported with him to Florence. His skills as a diplomat were appreciated and used by the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391–1425), who became a friend and adviser. After converting to the Latin church and toward the end of his life, he lived in VENICE and ROME; he died on April 15, 1415, while at the Council of CONSTANCE.

**Further reading:** John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969); Roberto Weiss, *Medieval and Humanist Greek: Collected Essays* (Padova: Antenore, 1977).

**Chrysostom, John, Saint (John of Constantinople, the Golden Mouthed)** (ca. 345–407) *bishop of Constantinople, renowned orator*

Born at ANTIOCH in SYRIA in the 340s, John became a monk and studied there as a young man with eminent teachers of RHETORIC, PHILOSOPHY, and THEOLOGY. Adopting the life of Christian asceticism, as a desert recluse he practiced austerities so severe that his health collapsed, forcing him to return to his native city at about age 33.

At Antioch, John was ordained a deacon in 381 and a priest five years later. As a preacher, he drew the enthusiastic approval both of his bishop and of the LAITY. His sermons were notable for their exposition of the historical meaning of Scripture as opposed to a more obscure allegorical interpretation, for their concern with problems of everyday life, and for their acerbic criticism of the loose morality of the city.

#### BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The fame of John's preaching spread to CONSTANTINOPLE. In late 397 he was kidnapped and taken there by military escort. Under pressure from the government and the church he reluctantly agreed to be consecrated bishop of that city in 398. His personal simplicity, his determination for the moral reform of the clergy, and his bombastic and caustic comments on life at the court created enemies, the most powerful of whom was the empress Eudokia, the wife of Arcadius (ca. 377–404). She found a convenient ally in Theophilus, bishop of ALEXANDRIA (d. 412), who had long harbored resentment of John's elevation over his own candidate to the bishopric of

Constantinople and wanted to promote his own see over trial of Constantinople. Arriving in Constantinople ostensibly to defend his expulsion of a monk expelled from Egypt and being protected by Chrysostom, Theophilus gathered 36 bishops hostile to John at a synod in the Palace of the Oak at Chalcedon. There in 403 John was condemned in absentia on charges that included supporting the heretical teachings of ORIGEN and making treasonable statements about the empress, even calling her a Jezebel.

The Synod was followed by an edict of banishment from the emperor, which in spite of a temporary recall immediately after the Council of the Oak eventually led to John's exile in 404 to a tiny village near Antioch. His continuing, almost universal support, kept alive by correspondence from his place of exile, prompted the government to order him marched on foot to a more remote and desolate place, Cucusa in Armenia on the BLACK SEA. The hardships of the march killed him at Komana in September 14, 407, before he could reach his destination. A new emperor, Theodosios II (r. 408–450), as penance for the injustice of his parents, had John's body taken back to Constantinople in 438.

**Further reading:** John Chrysostom, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations*, ed. Elizabeth A. Clark (Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1979); *On Virginity, against Remarriage*, trans. S. R. Shore (Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1983); Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

**Church, Eastern Orthodox** The Eastern Orthodox or Byzantine Church has continued to exist to this day in the various and interrelated forms of the Greek, Russian, and other Slavic and western Asiatic churches. All have had difficulty in accepting the ultimate authority of the bishop of Rome, the pope. From the first centuries of Christianity, the principal churches of the universal church were organized around five patriarchates, of ROME, ANTIOCH, JERUSALEM, ALEXANDRIA, and CONSTANTINOPLE. The Islamic conquests of the seventh century effectively reduced the five to Rome and Constantinople, though Alexandria and Antioch remained centers for survival and of local expressions of Christianity. Each patriarch administered his territory but was supposed to act in communion with the other patriarchs. The traditional equality of all of the patriarchs to the primacy of the papacy was asserted even more vigorously by the Byzantines after the Great SCHISM of 1054. The sack of Constantinople in 1204 by western and Latin crusaders closely linked to the Holy

See made later reconciliation more difficult, even in the face of conquest by the OTTOMAN Turks.

#### BYZANTINE ECCLESIOLOGY AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

For the Byzantines, the church was not a separate society parallel to secular society, obeying carefully codified laws, but a spiritual reality whose real home was in heaven with GOD. The institutional church on Earth was the community of Christians around their bishop and local church. The bishops in turn were linked with their patriarchs. The patriarchs were all intertwined among themselves and with councils. Such a conception was definitely incompatible with the hierarchical structure of the Western Church. There the pope was the prime source of unity and authority.

The internal organization of the Byzantine Church was closely tied with imperial power. The law of the church and the law of the state were supposed to be in agreement. There were always further tensions between monasteries and patriarchs about such issues as the hierarchical organization of the church and its relationship with the Byzantine Empire.

#### COUNCILS

For the Byzantines, only an ECUMENICAL COUNCIL could decide a question of dogma. The main complaint against the Roman church made by the Greek was that the papacy added the *FILIOQUE* CLAUSE to the formula of faith defined by a council, without the problem's being further examined by another council. This was one of the most vehement points of opposition between Byzantine and Roman ecclesiology, since the latter assigned a role in defining the faith to the pope that the Byzantines acknowledged only to the councils.

**Further reading:** Aziz Suryal Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968); Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955); Philip Sherrard, *Church, Papacy, and Schism: A Theological Enquiry* (London: S.P.C.K., 1978); Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963).

**church fathers** See FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

**Cid, El** See RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR (EL CID CAMPEADOR), HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF

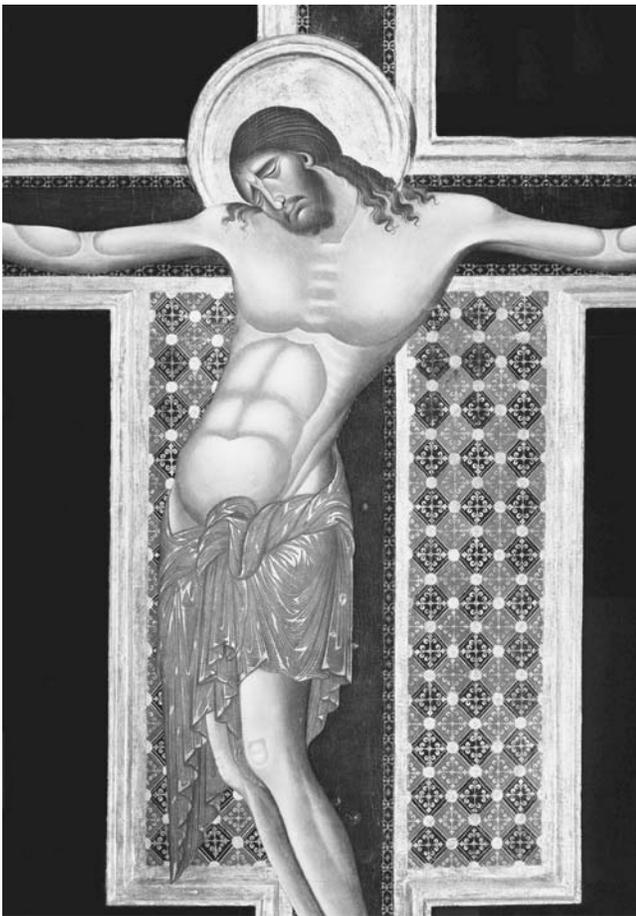
**Cimabue, Giovanni (Bencivieni, Cenni di Pepi, Bull-headed)** (ca. 1240–ca. 1302) *innovative painter*  
Cenni di Pepi, called Cimabue, has been only slightly documented from 1272 to 1302. He was mentioned as

present in Rome in 1272. In 1301–02 he received payments at PISA for the mosaic of Saint John in the cathedral apse and a Maestà at the hospital of Santa Chiara. He probably died soon after with a reputation for arrogance but blessed with great talent.

His work elaborated Byzantine modes, without wholly breaking with them. In his wooden CRUCIFIXES, he created a new sense of space and volume in his influential FRESCO in the basilica of San Francesco at ASSISI.

Among his other important works were the fresco in the lower church of the Assisi basilica, the image of Saint FRANCIS painted for Santa Maria de degli Angeli at FLORENCE, an image of the Virgin Mary in majesty at Bologna and in the church of San Francesco at Pisa. The Francis at Florence influenced GIOTTO, whom legend has he discovered.

**Further reading:** Eve Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany: From Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Monica Chiellini, *Cimabue*, trans. Lisa Pelletti (Florence: Scala Books, 1988); Robert Gibbs, "Cimabue," *Dictionary of Art*, 7.314–319; Alfred Nicholson, *Cimabue: A Critical Study* (1932; reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972).



Cimabue, *The Crucifixion*, Church of San Domenico, Arezzo, Italy (Scala / Art Resource)

**Ciampi revolt** Often considered the best known of the urban revolts of the late Middle Ages, it took place in Florence in the summer of 1378. The uprising was named after its main protagonists, the Ciampi or wool carders, who were among the poorest-paid workers in the important Florentine cloth industry. The catalysts and circumstances of the revolt were divisions among the GUELF and merchant ruling oligarchy, a difficult war with the pope, great differences in the distribution of wealth, an unfair tax system, the harshness of working conditions arising from exploitative guild regulations, and the widespread hideous living conditions of the working population.

#### THE REVOLT

The revolt of the textile workers and the artisans of the lesser corporations broke out in June 1378. It quickly became a rebellion against the dominance of the cloth merchants so influential in the regime then ruling the city. In July, this expanded into violence in the streets and attacks on government buildings. The rebels succeeded in imposing a regime friendly to their complaints presided over by a carder, Michele di Lando, and in creating a guild or union of wool carders, dyers, and doublet or jacket makers. These people formed the core workforce of the lucrative cloth industry. This "revolutionary" experiment lasted six weeks. The hardship resulting from the owners' shutting down the cloth industry and depriving people of income, and the further radicalization of their demands, weakened solidarity among the rebels. Some became even more radical; others were cowed into passivity. At the end of August there was another insurrection by the unsatisfied cloth workers, but it was put down by other groups of wool workers, the butchers, and the tavern keepers. Executions and expulsions followed. Most of their gains, especially the creation of a guild of wool carders, were quickly annulled, and another regime of merchant oligarchs soon returned to power.

See also LABOR.

**Further reading:** Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Gene A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962); Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Michel Mollat and Philippe Wolff, *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages*, trans. A. L. Lytton-Sells (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973); Richard C. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).

#### circumcision, and the Christian feast of the Circumcision

Circumcision (in Hebrew, *berit milah*), the removal of the male foreskin, has been a ritual practice among the Jews, traditionally since the time of Abraham. It signified

membership in the community and was considered a rite of integration. It was to take place on the eighth day after the birth of a male child and was considered a physical sign of covenant with God. It was an entry into the life of the people who participated in the everlasting covenant between God and Abraham. According to the infancy gospel of Luke, Jesus was circumcised according to the law on the eighth day after his birth and received his name. Judaism has never countenanced female circumcision. In Islam circumcision (in Arabic, *khitan*) was linked to Abraham, or Ibrahim, and has been a widespread, but not a universal, practice. It has been identified with the growth of wisdom, self-discipline, and recognition of God's hegemony over the passions and as a sign of commitment to Islam. Female circumcision has not been a usual part of the Islamic tradition.

#### CHRISTIAN FEAST DAY

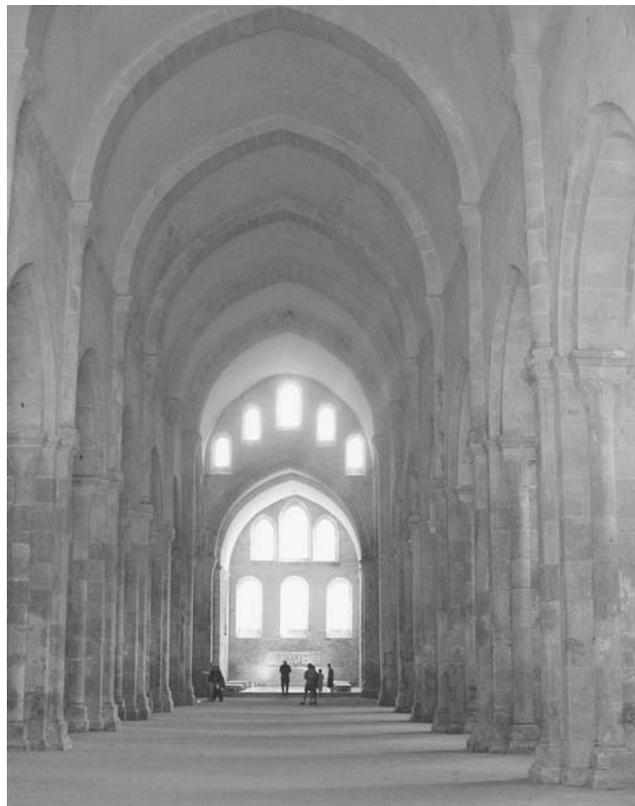
Recognized from at least the sixth century, January 1, the Christian feast of the Circumcision, was celebrated eight days after Christmas and corresponded to the Roman feast of the New Year. It was a way to begin the year well and a day of rejoicing. In the Middle Ages it was a carnival feast when one was to give and eat lavishly, though for some Christians in the early church it was to be another day of penance in memory of pagan festivities.

**Further reading:** David Gollaher, *Circumcision: A History of the World's Most Controversial Surgery* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

**Cistercian order** The Cistercians were a monastic order in western Europe named after the Abbey of Cîteaux or Cistercium from 1098 and firmly established by Stephen Harding about 1120. The order, originally French, spread rapidly in western Europe, soon attaining its strongest influence under BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX in the middle of the 12th century. Representing a revived ascetic trend in MONASTICISM, the Cistercians founded their monasteries in deserted places and stressed land reclamation. Noted for their white mantles, they were named the white monks.

The Cistercians succeeded in placing their monks in episcopal chairs, and in 1145 Saint Bernard's disciple, Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–53), became pope. The order was governed by an annual assembly of the abbots of all its houses, who formulated appropriate provisions for its administration. They were presided over by the abbot of the founding monastery of Cîteaux. The Cistercians actively fostered the authority of the church, especially in conflicts against HERESIES. The order was richly supported by kings and feudal lords, especially in BURGUNDY.

Under the influence of Saint Bernard, new chivalric orders affiliated with the Cistercians were established. These included the TEMPLARS, and the Knights of CALATRAVA, ALCÁNTARA and SANTIAGO, all of whom adopted



The simple 12th-century interior of the church of the Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay in Burgundy (Courtesy Edward English)

their rules from the Cistercian constitution and *The Charter of Love* (1119) by Stephen Harding, and the basic rule of the order. In the 13th century the Cistercians began to weaken their ascetic manners, and the order, although still influential in the church and in western European society, began to decline. Many abbeys were destroyed in the Hundred Years' War.

The art of the Cistercian order was a particular style of GOTHIC architecture and simple ornamentation. Opposed to the richness of Gothic and Cluniac structures and ornaments, the order developed a style of abstract decoration emphasizing light.

*See also* BENEDICTINE ORDER; CLUNY, CLUNIACS; FONTENAY, ABBEY OF; ISAAC OF STELLA.

**Further reading:** Pauline Matarasso, ed., *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993); Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca: N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977).

**Cîteaux, Abbey of** *See* CISTERCIAN ORDER.

**cities, and urban life** See INDIVIDUAL CITIES.

**civic ritual** See RITUAL.

**Clarendon, Constitutions of** This was a document containing 16 royal decrees issued in January 1164, after a dispute between King HENRY II of England and Thomas BECKET about royal authority over the church. Most of the provisions reiterated the legislation first issued by WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR and HENRY I. These included articles that required royal consent before the excommunication of royal vassals. They also restricted appeals to ROME by requiring a preliminary approval by the king. The document contained an innovation concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction over criminal clerics: Investigations were to be conducted by royal officers. Although ecclesiastical law and justice would continue to be exercised, the hearing was to be conducted in the presence of a royal justice who controlled the procedure. If convicted the cleric had to be handed to royal justice for punishment. This was not accepted by Becket and led to further confrontation and eventually his murder.

**Further reading:** David C. Douglas and George W. Greenway, ed., *English Historical Documents, II: 1042–1189* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), 718–722; David M. Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London: A. and C. Black, 1970).

**Clare of Assisi, Saint (Chiara Offeduccio di Favarone)** (1194–1253) *founder of the Franciscan order of the “Poor Clares”*

Born on July 16, 1194, in 1212, inspired by the teachings of Saint FRANCIS, Clare gave up all her possessions in central ITALY to lead a life of poverty following FRANCISCAN ideals. Followed by a group of women (the Poor Clares or Clarisses), she joined Saint FRANCIS and became abbess of the separate community of Franciscan nuns at ASSISI in 1215. They were not to be mendicants actively begging in the community, but an enclosed group of nuns. The order spread rapidly with the founding of many daughter houses. In 1229 it was recognized by Pope GREGORY IX. Clare wrote the first rule for women in 1253 and promoted a life of contemplation as prayer. Clare died on August 11, 1253, and was buried in the CRYPT of the Franciscan cathedral of Assisi. Her body is displayed there to this day, undecayed. Her cult rapidly spread all over Europe.

**Further reading:** Regis J. Armstrong, ed. *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents* (St. Bonaventure: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1993); Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius century Brady, eds., *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982).

**Clarisses and Poor Clares** See CLARE OF ASSISI, SAINT; FRANCISCAN ORDER.

**class** See SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**classical antiquity and classical scholarship** See RENAISSANCE AND REVIVALS IN ART AND CULTURE.

**Clement V (Bertrand de Got)** (1264–1314) *first pope of the “Babylonian Captivity”*

Bertrand de Got was born about 1260 and was a nobleman from Gascony, FRANCE. Trained as a lawyer, he became archbishop of Bordeaux in 1299. His election to the papacy on June 5, 1305, in Perugia followed the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII and after the brief rule of Benedict XI (r. 1303–04). It came after a long quarrel between France and the papacy culminated in Boniface's capture and mistreatment by representatives of the French king, PHILIP IV, at Anagni, ITALY, in 1303. The French had humiliated the papacy, and the cardinals chose de Got as a compromise candidate who had neither opposed Boniface nor displeased Philip. Clement V, the name Bertrand took as pope, was not a mere tool of France, although throughout his reign he was under pressure from Philip IV. At Philip's request Clement was crowned at LYON; he suffered a fall from his horse that may have permanently affected his health, for chronic illness perhaps contributed to his frequent weak submission to royal demands.

Philip IV proposed a posthumous HERESY trial for Boniface VIII. It was probably to prevent this embarrassing situation that Clement agreed to settle in AVIGNON in 1309. Clement approved of Philip's suppression of the TEMPLARS; withdrew Boniface VIII's bull on taxation, *CLERICIS LAICOS*, and withdrew his support of the emperor Henry VII's (ca. 1275–1313) activities in Italy.

#### PAPAL ADMINISTRATION

Clement V took important financial and political actions as pope. He introduced the annates, a lucrative papal tax. He spent the money on his relatives and on loans to the monarchs of France and England. He created 24 CARDINALS, of whom 23 were French and Gascon, including four of his nephews. He thus produced a large French majority in the college. In the meantime he was condemned for his nepotism, accused of SIMONY, and disliked for his luxurious style of living. A scholar, he ordered for missionary purposes the study of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic languages at the universities of PARIS, BOLOGNA, OXFORD, and Salamanca. He collected canonistic material and produced a sixth book of the Decretals, named the *Clementines* after him.

Clement's reputation today is predominantly unfavorable because of his submission to French domination and his role in moving the papacy to Avignon. It was always his wish to return the papacy to Rome, but poor health and fear of Philip kept him in Avignon. After long suffering stomach cancer, Clement died on April 14, 1314, in Provence.

**Further reading:** Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (1949; reprint, New York: T. Nelson 1963); Norman P. Tannes, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1: *Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 333–401.

**Clement VI (Pierre Roger)** (ca. 1291–1352) *French pope* Pierre Roger was born about 1290 in the castle of Maumont in the parish of Rosiers-d'Égletons in southern France and studied theology at Paris. He became abbot of Fécamp in 1326, bishop of Arras in 1328, archbishop of Sens in 1329, then of Rouen in 1330, then a cardinal in 1338, all the while enjoying the favor of the French Crown.

#### HIS PAPACY

Elected pope on May 7, 1342, and crowned on the following May 19, the new pontiff quickly became known for his affability, nepotism, fiscal extravagances, and sale of offices in the church. He named six cardinals from his own family and his Limousin compatriots. He tried to centralize further the administrative machinery of the church and increase the collection of taxes to pay for the sumptuous court he headed. He completed and enlarged the palace begun by his predecessor Benedict XIII (r. 1335–42). He purchased the city of AVIGNON for 80,000 florins from the penurious queen of NAPLES Joan I (r. 1343–82), who had recently been expelled from Naples by the Hungarians. He was unable, despite vast military expense, to restore papal control over the PAPAL STATES or even ROME itself. His policies encouraged the development of INDULGENCES sold for the benefit of the papacy and other ecclesiastical institutions. The sale of indulgences was to continue to grow over the course of the Middle Ages and to cause much animosity over their spiritual value and flow of funds to the papacy.

The end of his reign was dominated by the great plague of 1348 and 1349. He was powerless to stop the attacks on the Jews, whom as pope he was supposed to protect, when they were blamed for causing the plague. Although disapproving of the extravagant penances of the FLAGELLANTS, he was unable to control them, though he issued condemnations of such practices. Though a friend of the new emperor, CHARLES IV, he was unable to influence his policies. His favorable loans to King Philip VI (r. 1328–50) were known to the English, so his efforts at negotiating a peace between them failed. In fact, the English began to oppose more ardently the collection of papal taxes in England.

At his death on December 6, 1352, the papal treasury was empty. As he had requested, his body was buried at the monastery of La Chaise-Dieu, which he had rebuilt.

**Further reading:** Robert Coogan, trans. *Babylon on the Rhone: A Translation of Letters by Dante, Petrarch, and Catherine of Siena on the Avignon Papacy* (Potomac: Studia Humanitatis, 1983); Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avi-*

*gnon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (New York: T. Nelson 1963 [1949]); Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

**clergy and clerical orders** From the third century, male clerics formed an ordered hierarchy, and the different tasks of the service of the ALTAR and administration of the sacraments were confided to this specialized corps. These included, in ascending order, porters, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, and priests. All of these levels of office were entered in a public and ritualized ceremony. CELIBACY was expected for the higher orders of the clergy, such as bishops.

In the classic period of the Middle Ages, the term *clerics* covered all those individuals whose hair had once been cut by a barber in the form of a crown in the presence of their bishop. This entry into the clergy by TONSURE could occur from the age of seven, but also much later. The candidate was presented by his parish priest; he had to be of legitimate birth and free and to have rudiments of learning and literacy. The cleric was only subject to the JUSTICE of the church courts. He could possess an ecclesiastical BENEFICE, without care of souls, if he remained celibate and took orders at the requisite age. The head of clerics had to be shaven in a visible manner, so that the tonsure remained visible. He had to wear a long, modest habit; marry a virgin if he was not a priest and decided to marry; and not remarry if widowed. He could not possess certain physical or mental defects, be guilty of bigamy, carry out certain civic functions, be a surgeon, or have attempted SUICIDE or self-mutilation. The custom of saying the daily office was encouraged. The Byzantine clerical system was mostly centralized around the imperial administration and the patriarch of Constantinople.

**Further reading:** Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

**clericalism** See ANTICLERICALISM.

**Clericis laicos** A decretal of BONIFACE VIII dated February 24/25, 1296, that vehemently informed the lay powers that they had no right to tax the CLERGY and forbade the clergy to provide any financial contribution to rulers without authorization from the Holy See. The measure aroused strong reactions in ENGLAND and especially in FRANCE. PHILIP IV THE FAIR of France replied by forbidding the sending of any funds out of France without his consent. In a series of letters of February 1297, Boniface was forced to mitigate his prohibition, but he reinstated it later, furthering the confrontation with France.

**Further reading:** Brian Tierney, ed., *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1964), 172–179; Charles T. Wood, ed., *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII: State and Papacy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), 29–46.

**Clermont, Council of** This council was summoned by Pope URBAN II for the reform of the church and the PREACHING of the First Crusade. It met at Clermont in the Auvergne in France between November 18 and 28, 1095, and was attended by some 300 CLERGY, overwhelmingly southern French. Besides proclaiming a remission of all penances for those who traveled to JERUSALEM to free the holy sites, it passed numerous other laws and confirmed the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD and many matters of clerical and lay discipline. King Philip I (r. 1060–1108) of France was excommunicated for ADULTERY. No genuine documentation of its legislation survived. Its canons must be pieced together from many later collections. Urban II preached the Crusade in an open field on November 27 to a great crowd of clergy and LAITY. This event formed the starting point for the First Crusade.

**Further reading:** Edward Peters, ed., *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998 [1971]), 25–46; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

**clocks and time measurement** The use of a clock as an instrument for measuring time dates from antiquity. The caliph AL-HARUN AL-RASHID presented one to CHARLEMAGNE in 802. By the 10th century, water clocks were used in churches and monasteries. A monk was appointed watchman to check it according to the position of the stars. Until the 14th century, the sundial or canonical clock remained the most common and popular device used for measuring time.

The canonical hours were unequal and varied with the seasons. The measurement of time began with the morning sunrise, with the ninth hour linked with lunch. From the 12th century on, bells announced the working hours for the laity.

Mechanical or weight-driven clocks appeared in the 13th century. A mid-13th-century manuscript, written for ALFONSO X of CASTILE, described a clock operated by a falling weight controlled by the passage of mercury through small openings. Mechanical clocks, were soon introduced in CATHEDRALS. Kings and feudal princes introduced mechanical clocks in their courts. Towns placed clocks on their civil centers that were supposed to indicate official time for work and wage payments.

**Further reading:** Ernest L. Edwardes, *Weight-Driven Chamber Clocks of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*

(Altrincham: J. Sherratt, 1965); David Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Herbert Alan Lloyd, *Some Outstanding Clocks over Seven Hundred Years, 1250–1950* (London: L. Hill, 1958).

**cloister or claustration** A cloister was an enclosed space called a garth in the Middle Ages and in modern times. It formed the central part of a monastery and most religious buildings. It consisted of an open plot or courtyard surrounded on all four sides by covered paths with roofs supported on their inner sides by arcades facing the open space and on their outer sides often enclosed by the walls of a church or another major monastic building. Members of the monastery or house could not leave its confines without the permission of the abbot. The term was also used in general for a religious house, or the religious life.

**Further reading:** Noëlle Deflou, “Cloister” in *EMA*, 1.321–2; Daniel Faure and Véronique Rouchon Mouilleron, *Cloisters of Europe: Gardens of Prayer*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (New York: Viking Studio, 2001).

**clothing and costume** Examples of medieval clothing have not survived in great numbers. What has been discovered about it has been derived from archaeological work, depictions in manuscripts, and documents concerning the cloth trade. These sources primarily described upper-class clothing and costume. Some records concerning cutting and sewing can be found. The primary textiles and natural products that were used in the better and more expensive kind of clothing were LINEN, SILK, and FURS, from squirrel to sable. Leather and animal skins were of varied quality and used for shoes, headwear, bags, whole garments, and



The cloister of the Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay in Burgundy (Courtesy Edward English)

belts. Wool and material from vegetable fiber of various degrees of excellence and comfort were used by all classes. Along with great differences related to class, the use of all these materials varied according to occasion, age, gender, season, occupation, and climate. The color and dyes used in clothing varied according to price and accessibility by social and economic status. SUMPTUARY LAWS were written to prevent ostentatious displays by social climbers and to limit the expenditure of citizens on clothing. The JEWS and other groups were required to wear distinctive clothing at various times and in several places during the Middle Ages. The cloth trade and manufacture were among the most important commercial and industrial activities of the Middle Ages. Various fashionable looks dominated courts during the later Middle Ages.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; CLERGY AND CLERICAL STATUS; HERALDRY AND HERALDS; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** C. Willet Cunnington, *Handbook of English Mediaeval Costume*, 2d ed. (London: Faber, 1969); Joan Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); Karel C. Innemee, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); James Laver, ed., *Costume of the Western World: Fashions of the Renaissance in England, France, Spain and Holland* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951); Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years, 1340–1365* (1980; reprint, Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1999); Alfred Rulens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1957); Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (1995; reprint, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).

### Clovis I (Chlodovechs, Clodovic) (ca. 465–511) Frankish and Merovingian king

The Frankish king Clovis I founded the MEROVINGIAN kingdom of Gaul, the most successful of the Germanic states of the fifth century. Born in 465/456, he has been regarded as the founder of the French nation. The son of Childeric I (d. 481) and Basina, Clovis inherited the kingship of the western FRANKS in 481/482, at the age of 15. In 486 he led his army against Soissons, the last of the Gallo-Roman strongholds, and defeated the Roman governor, Syagrius. He then engaged in a series of campaigns against other barbarian kingdoms. During one of these military ventures Clovis converted to non-ARIAN Christianity. According to GREGORY OF TOURS, almost the only source on him, Clovis was at a disadvantage in his fight against the Alamans and sought the aid of the GOD of his Christian wife, Clotilde (ca. 470–545), promising that if he were given victory he would become a Christian. In 506 Clovis inflicted a crushing defeat on the Alamans at Tolbiac, and he took this as a sign to convert.

### CONVERSION AND CONSOLIDATION

After the battle Clovis adopted Christianity and in so doing won the support of the Gallo-Roman bishops, who controlled a significant portion of the wealth of Gaul and were exceedingly influential with the population. His conversion made his wars holy wars against HERETICS or Arians and nonbelievers. Many historians have seen Clovis's conversion as a shrewd political move.

Within the Frankish portion of his kingdom Clovis, who was ruthless in his desire for power, gradually eliminated the other kings who had previously been his allies, and by a combination of military success and treachery he emerged as the supreme ruler in Gaul and was recognized by the Eastern emperor as consul in Gaul.

### DOMESTIC POLICIES

This period of Frankish expansion, begun in 486, climaxed with a battle against the VISIGOTHS at Vouillé in 507 when he took control of most of southern Gaul. Clovis then turned to the government of his newly conquered territories. His reign, which combined elements of Germanic kingship with the support of traditional Roman fiscal and administrative systems, owed much of its success to the cooperation of Clovis and his regime with the Gallo-Roman episcopate. His policy toward the church was essentially overlordship tempered with consideration



Clovis, king of the Franks, 16th-cent. engraving (Courtesy Library of Congress)

for ecclesiastical needs and privileges. In the latter years of his reign, Clovis devoted much energy to the promulgation and codification of the Salic Law, the customary unwritten laws of the Franks, and thus he provided a legal unity for his kingdom. Baptized a few years earlier, Clovis died at PARIS on November 27, 511, at the age of 45. In keeping with Frankish tradition, his four sons, Chlodomer (d. 524), Childebert I (d. 558), Clothar I (d. 561), and the illegitimate and eldest Theuderic (d. 533), divided his kingdom.

**Further reading:** Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Books, 1974); John W. Currier, *Clovis, King of the Franks* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1997); Edward James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings: And Other Studies in Frankish History* (London: Methuen, 1962); Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kings* (London: Longman, 1994).

**Cluniac reform** See CLUNY AND CLUNIACS.

**Cluny, Abbey Church of** See CLUNY AND CLUNIACS.

**Cluny and Cluniacs** On September 11, 910, William III the Pious (r. 909–918), the duke of AQUITAINE and count of Mâcon, made a gift to Berno (d. 926), then the abbot of Baume-les-Messieurs, of a group of lands situated near Mâcon in BURGUNDY. William renounced any rights over the new Benedictine monastery and left the election of the abbot to the community. The monastery, now called Cluny, was thus outside the control of any feudal lord and ultimately directly under the protection of the papacy. Its monks did little labor and devoted themselves famously to an elaborate liturgy.

In 926, under the second abbot, Odo (927–942), the monastery expanded quickly. In 931, a privilege of Pope John XI (r. 931–935/936) gave Cluny a right to reform monasteries that allowed the abbot to reform and take charge of any institution at the request of an abbot and to accept any monk whose monastery refused to be reformed. From this Odo launched the Cluniac tradition of reform.

#### SUCCESS AND MONASTIC REFORM

On the occasion of the consecration of its second church in 981, the monastery acquired relics of the apostles Peter and Paul and was transformed into a major pilgrimage site on the road to Rome. Cluniac monks were further granted a rare status that exempted them from all lay and ecclesiastical control, except that of the abbot and the pope. Cluny continued to become a regional power in Burgundy, the Auvergne, and PROVENCE and extended its power into Italy along the route to Rome. During the



A view of the ruins of the Abbey of Cluny from the anti-church, or narthex, through the nave to the still-standing right side towers and belfry (Courtesy Edward English)

12th century, a huge ROMANESQUE church, the third building in less than a century and a half, was built and was among the largest and most elaborate in western Europe. Under the abbacy of Hugh of Semur of Cluny (1049–1109), Cluniac foundations spread over much of Europe; and they became the instruments of the GREGORIAN REFORM movement and participants in the INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY. They were important agents of the papacy. Cluny continued to play an important, but steadily more marginal, role in Benedictine monasticism throughout the rest of the Middle Ages as its members and order became better known for their great wealth and extravagant liturgical practices than their austerity, learning, and asceticism. The order and the great church at Cluny were dismantled during the French Revolution.

See also CISTERCIAN ORDER; PETER THE VENERABLE.

**Further reading:** Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989); *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968).

**Cnut the Great** See CANUTE II THE GREAT.

**coats of arms** See HERALDRY AND HERALDS.

**Cockaigne, land of** See FAMINE; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Code of Justinian (Codex justinianus)** See CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS; JUSTINIAN I.

**codex** See CODICOLOGY AND THE BOOKS; PALEOGRAPHY.

**Codex iuris canonici (CIC)** See LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**codicology and the book** Codicology is the discipline relating to the material study of the manuscript book, called by some the archaeology of the book. It has involved the physical aspects of manuscripts, the history of libraries and collections, the present condition of manuscript books including conservation, medieval catalogues, and the production of and trade in such manuscripts. It also has been concerned with how, when, and where such a manuscript was made and by whom, for whom, and for what purpose it was used. These aspects can be viewed as the study of the production and distribution of knowledge as expressed in the content of handwritten books.

#### FROM THE ROLL TO THE CODEX

In antiquity, the book was a roll of PAPYRUS leaves pasted together to form long strips on which writing was arranged in columns and done from left to right. These were rolled between two sticks that the reader unrolled. This arrangement was neither easy nor practical if one wanted to move around in the texts themselves as Christians, Jews, and later Muslims might read the BIBLE or the QURAN. The *volumen*, or the rolled book, prevailed until the appearance in the first century C.E. of a book formed from a collection of leaves held together at one side. This style allowed easy turning of pages to see any part of the text. This form of the book or the *codex* was a collection of leaves folded in two and grouped in one or more small fascicles or quires, formed from sheets folded in two to yield eight leaves. This form became dominant by the fourth century. It remained the standard manuscript book form throughout the Middle Ages, survived the introduction of PRINTING, and has lasted to today.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; BOOKS OR CODICES, HISTORY OF; ILLUMINATION; LIBRARIES; PALEOGRAPHY; PAPER, INTRODUCTION OF; PARCHMENT.

**Further reading:** Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Toward a Comparative Codicology* (London: British Library, 1993); Yasin Dutton, ed., *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation 4–5 December 1993* (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995); Albert Gruys, *Codicologica: Towards a*

*Science of Handwritten Books*, 4 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976–1980).

**Coeur, Jacques** (ca. 1395–1456) *rich merchant, royal treasurer*

Born about 1395 in Bourges in France, he married Macée de Léodépart, the daughter of a city official, in about 1422. By 1438 he had established himself in the luxury trade with the eastern Mediterranean and was appointed royal treasurer, with the responsibility for supplying CLOTHING, FURS, jewels, and armaments, SPICES, and art objects to the French court. He became a major creditor and banker to King CHARLES VII of France. At the same time his commercial activities had spread all over Europe. His agents were conducting business in the commercial centers of France, at ROUEN, La Rochelle, Limoges, LYON, and AVIGNON, and in the major foreign markets of BRUGES, Geneva, Genoa, Naples, Palermo, Barcelona, and Valencia. All this success allowed him to build for himself in his hometown of Bourges one of the most beautiful palaces of 15th-century Europe.

#### THE DANGERS OF HIGH FINANCE

Jacques Coeur's political and financial enterprises were based on the success and confidence of Charles VII. As a member of the King's Council, he lent the money to retake NORMANDY from the English in 1450, after successfully reforming the currency in 1447. All this risky business had a shaky foundation with few liquid resources actually backing it. Many of his debtors became his enemies when they could meet their obligations to him only by ceding their pledged lands and patrimonies. After the king decided it was easier to imprison and disgrace Coeur than to repay him, he was arrested on July 31, 1451. The ensuing investigation and testimony took almost two years and the sentence was pronounced by a special commission on May 29, 1453. Linked to strange charges involving the poisoning of the king's mistress, he was dubiously convicted of high treason, condemned to banishment, and forced to pay a fine equal to the value of all his possessions. In the meantime, he had escaped from prison and fled to Rome, where the pope took him under his protection; there he was able to continue some of his business activities. He joined a papal fleet sent against the TURKS and died in the island of Chios near Greece, perhaps in battle, on November 25, 1456.

**Further reading:** Albert Boardman Kerr, *Jacques Coeur: Merchant Prince of the Middle Ages* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971).

**coinage and currency** The production of instruments of exchange such as coinage with a standard value and ready availability in a functioning economy of monetary

exchange was difficult in the early Middle Ages. Such coinage, then and later, could, however, be a somewhat reliable measure of all forms of wealth. The basic unit from the late seventh century was the silver penny or denier, later standardized and produced by the government of CHARLEMAGNE. They were counted by the dozen, as shillings, and then by the scores of dozens, as pounds. Gold was difficult to obtain in western Europe and gold coins were rarely produced until the appearance of the gold florin and coins of the mercantile cities of FLORENCE and GENOA in the mid-13th century. In the meantime gold coins were used in the BYZANTINE EMPIRE and in Islam in the form of bezants and dinars. By the later Middle Ages, Europe was a highly monetized economy; that was not the case until the 13th century.

Everywhere, minting was usually supposed to be the prerogative of a monarch, but what coinage there was in circulation was made by local powers and was not especially reliable in its real value as determined by its silver content. This pattern produced a market for exchange rates for coinage that lasted through the Middle Ages. This problem was compounded by manipulation of the currency by several late-medieval kings and princes who lowered the amount of bullion in their coinage. The quality and reliability of all coinage during this period have to be viewed in their local context and role in particular regional agricultural, industrial, and commercial activity.

See also ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; METALSMITHS AND METALWORK, METALLURGY.

**Further reading:** Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, Vol. 1; *The Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1986).

**Cologne (Köln)** Cologne, a prosperous medieval Rhineland city, was founded in 49 C.E. by the Romans. During the Middle Ages its bishops enjoyed political importance and it benefited from its location at the crossroads of trade in northern Europe, especially between Saxony and Flanders. An episcopal see from the fourth century, Cologne was an important center of Frankish kingship.

CHARLEMAGNE elevated Cologne to the status of archiepiscopal see in 794–95. Under the rule of Bishop BRUNO (953–65), the son of the emperor OTTO I, the archbishop of Cologne became one of the major princes of the realm, with full rights over the town. The CATHEDRAL, built from 1245 in a GOTHIC style close to that of AMIENS cathedral, became an international pilgrimage center from 1164 because of the presence there of the relics of the Three Wise Men. Attempts by the town's business class to gain autonomy from the archbishop

began in 1074, but it was only in the 12th century that they had much success. By the later Middle Ages the town's patricians dominated the city and its local and imperial politics. They remained wealthy and the city became a free imperial city in 1475. The archbishop of Cologne had been an elector of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE from the 13th century and head of a principality called the Electorate of Cologne, but its capital was at Bonn. The Electorate declined in political importance throughout the 15th century.

See also ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Benjamin Arnold, *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study of Regional Power, 1100–1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); F. R. H. Du Boulay, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983); Paul Strait, *Cologne in the Twelfth Century* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974).

**colonialism and colonization** See CRUSADES.

**Columba of Iona, Saint** (Colm Cille [Dove of the Church]) (ca. 521–597) *abbot of Iona, Irish monk, preacher, missionary*

The son of a tribal chieftain of the Uì Néill born about 521, Columba was given the name Crimthann when he was baptized shortly after his birth in Gartán, county Donegal, in IRELAND. According to legend, he was so often found praying as a boy in the town church that his friends called him Colm Cille or the Dove of the Church. It was as Colm, or in its Latin form Columba, that he was known for the rest of his life.

In the 540s while in his early 20s, Columba, strongly influenced by one of his teachers, Finnian of Clonard the abbot (d. 549), was ordained a priest. When a rich cousin gave him land at Derry, he founded a monastery. His foundation of another monastery at Durrow a few years later was the beginning of an extraordinary decade during which he traveled through northern Ireland teaching about Christianity and establishing monasteries: He founded at least 30 monasteries in 10 years.

#### MOVE TO IONA

Columba was accused in 563 of starting a war and was sentenced by the high king never to see Ireland again and spend the rest of his life in exile. With 12 companions he left Ireland and settled on a bleak island called IONA off the coast of SCOTLAND. The monks made occasional visits to the Scottish mainland, where they preached. Soon their community had 150 members.

Columba spent the rest of his life on Iona, praying, fasting, and teaching monks to read and copy Scriptures. He provided inspiration for their missionary efforts

among the PICTS and became influential in the politics of Scotland. Long before his death on Iona on June 9, 597, he was regarded as a saint.

**Further reading:** Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St. Columba*, trans. Richard Sharpe (London: Penguin, Books, 1995); Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955); James F. Kenney, ed., *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, An Introduction and Guide*; Vol. 1 *Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929); Anna Ritchie, *Iona* (London: Batsford, 1997); Ian Finlay, *Columba* (London: Gollancz, 1979); Dáibhí Óróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (New York: Longman, 1995).

**Columban, Saint (Columbus, Columbanus, Columba the Younger)** (ca. 543–615) *Irish monk, pastoral writer, abbot, missionary*

Born about 543 Columban became a monk at Leinster in IRELAND under the direction of Saint Comgall (d. ca. 601). He received a monastic education. A pioneer among Irish missionaries to the Continent, Columban landed in Gaul in 590. Welcomed by the king of BURGUNDY, Guntram (d. 592), he settled in the frontier forest between Burgundy and Austrasia, founding monasteries at Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines. By the strength of his personality and faith, he influenced rulers, the clergy, and many of the laity. He criticized the moral state of the Gallic clergy and tried to preserve Celtic practices for the date of EASTER and the independence of monasteries from bishops.

Columban soon was in conflict with Brunhild (ca. 534–613), the queen of the FRANKS. Her grandson had produced several illegitimate children, whom she wanted to have blessed by Columban. He refused absolutely and further criticized the court. In 610, Brunhild had him expelled. Proceeding by way of the Moselle and the Rhine, he reached Lake Constance, where his disciple Saint Gall (ca. 550–ca. 645) established a hermitage that became the abbey of Saint Gall. After he crossed the Alps, the Lombard queen, Theodelinda (d. 628), helped him to found the monastery of Bobbio in the Ligurian Apennines. There he died on November 23, 615. Columban left letters, sermons, and perhaps some poems; a very harsh monastic rule; and a penitential presenting a list of sins and corresponding fiscal penalties.

See also MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES; PENITENTIALS; SIN.

**Further reading:** James F. Kennedy, ed., *The Source for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide*, Vol. 1, *Ecclesiastical* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 186–205; H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, eds., *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981); Michael Lapidge, ed., *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1997); Johannes Wilhelmus Smit, *Studies on the*

*Language and Style of Columba the Younger (Columbanus)* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1971).

**Columbus, Christopher (Cristóbal Colón, Cristoforo Colombo)** (1451–1506) *Genoese sailor, navigator*

Born at GENOA between August 25 and October 31 in 1451 to a family of weavers, Columbus acquired the practical education common among 15th-century MERCHANTS and sailors. He first went to sea in the service of Genoese businessmen, to LISBON from 1476, then along the African coast, to Madeira, the CANARY ISLANDS, and the AZORES. He married Felipa Moniz, a Portuguese, in 1478 or 1479. In the meantime his reading, his experience of the sea, and the information he gathered persuaded him that it was possible to sail westward to China and Japan. Early in 1484, he presented his project to the king of PORTUGAL, who did not take it seriously. Columbus then left for Palos in SPAIN, where he gained the support of the FRANCISCANS, as well as some nobles and Genoese and Florentine businessmen established at SEVILLE. He completed his reading and was introduced to court but had to wait for the capture of GRANADA before Queen ISABEL I would consider and accept his project.

#### THE VOYAGES

With two caravels and a ship manned by sailors from Palos, Columbus sailed westward on August 3, 1492. He made for the Canaries to profit from the trade winds favoring travel westward. After a long voyage on unknown seas, on October 12 he reached the little island of Guanahaní in the Bahamas. He thought he had reached the lands of the great khan, Cipango, or Japan. He searched farther from island to island, as far as Cuba and Hispaniola.

Columbus claimed these lands in the name of the Catholic kings FERDINAND and Isabel I and was impressed with the nature and physical characteristics of the peoples he encountered. He dreamed of converting them to Catholicism. The search for gold, spices, perhaps slaves, and ways to finance Crusades encouraged his search for the riches of the East. His dramatic return to Spain was followed by a triumphant reception (March–April 1493).

He made three further voyages, in 1493–96, 1498–1500, and 1502–04. He explored the Antilles, other islands in the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Orinoco River delta, and parts of the coasts of Central America. For a while he was the governor of the Indies, but he was eventually removed from that post. Returning ill from his fourth voyage, he died on May 20, 1506, at VALLADOLID, without having fully understood that he had found two continents, not Asia.

See also NAVIGATION.

**Further reading:** Christopher Columbus, *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, ed. and trans. J. M.

Cohen (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969); Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Heritage, 1963); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus*, 2 vols. (1942; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University, 1983); Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

**commerce** See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**common good** See POLITICAL THEORY.

**Common Life, Brethren of the** See BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE.

**commune (communitas)** In the early Middle Ages, the term *commune* usually meant groups of clerics, such as communities of canons. By the 11th century it referred to sworn associations created for almost any common purpose including maintaining the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD. By the late 11th and 12th centuries the term was applied to the associations of townsmen seeking self-rule within a town from ecclesiastical and feudal lords. During the 12th century, such communes bought or bargained for by contractual agreements or treaties a territorial ruler's, most often the emperor's, recognition of their privileges and self-government. Such communes were sworn associations from then on in control of the institutions of a town, including its fiscal and defense systems and personnel. Only certain people, usually rich men, in the town were actually sworn associates of the controlling clique or commune. The privileges they sought involved personal liberty for members, freedom of tenure, and authority to regulate local trade, levy tolls and taxes, and control judicial procedures and practices. This type of urban commune developed in FRANCE, ENGLAND, FLANDERS, BRABANT, the Rhineland, and ITALY.

#### ITALY AND FRANCE

In Italy, these communes profited from the struggle between the papacy and the empire to bargain for recognition of their essential independence. They soon created regional city-states, which, at the end of the 13th century, often fell under the rule of local oligarchies or even particular families. In France, the growth of royal authority in the 13th century, and especially during the reign of LOUIS IX, weakened these communes. The royal government capitalized on the commune's frequent internal dissent and the jockeying for dominance by its members. The economic and fiscal importance of such

urban regimes forced King PHILIP IV to call them to the assemblies of the Estates General as the third estate; there they did influence royal taxation policies.

See also BOLOGNA; BOURGOGNE; BRUGES; COLOGNE; FLORENCE; FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA; GHENT; LONDON; MEDICI; PISA; PODESTA; ROME; SIENA; VENICE; VERONA.

**Further reading:** J. K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000–1350* (London: Macmillan, 1973); Charles Petit-Dutailles, *The French Commune in the Middle Ages*, trans. Joan Vickers (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1978); Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1925); Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3d ed. (1969; reprint, London: Longman, 1988).

**communion** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**Commynes, Philippe de (Philip de Comines)** (ca. 1447–1511) *author, statesman*

Born in 1447 of a French-speaking, aristocratic-Flemish family, Commynes received an excellent education and then went to work for the dukes of BURGUNDY, PHILIP The Good, and CHARLES the Bold. He fought on the Burgundian side, at the Battle of Monthéry in 1465. In 1468 he was present at the famous interview of Péronne between Charles of Burgundy and Louis XI. He changed sides in 1472 and was from then on a faithful servant of the king of France. Commynes was a statesman and diplomat who served King LOUIS XI and, to a lesser extent, the kings Charles VIII (r. 1483–98) and Louis XII (r. 1498–1515). By 1476 he was Louis XI's main adviser. In the meantime Commynes had become one of the richest men in the realm, thanks to his properties in Poitou and the royal wages, gifts, and pensions he received. After the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, his favorite place of residence was ITALY.

In 1484 he backed a losing side in dynastic disputes in France. This error led to his disgrace and a period of imprisonment (1487–89). He finally obtained his freedom but recovered only a small part of his wealth. Still he was entrusted with long and important diplomatic missions to VENICE (1494–95), GERMANY (1506), and Italy (1507). He began to write his *Memoires* to provide information for Angelo Cato, archbishop of VIENNE in France.

#### POLITICAL IDEAS

The work of this widely experienced and cultured man contained balanced political and moral observations. His admiration for Louis XI did not prevent him criticizing him. He showed expertise in war and was conscientious and attentive to public finances. His information was

usually accurate, without being excessively opinionated. Although he served a king of absolutist tendencies, he expressed a political philosophy in his *Memoires* toward a moderate government and a dialogue between king and subjects. He died on October 18, 1511, at Argenton-Château in France.

**Further reading:** Philippe de Commines, *The Memoirs of Phillippe de Commines*, ed. Samuel Kinser and trans. Isabelle Cazeaux, 2 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969–1970); *Philippe de Commines: Memoirs, The Reign of Louis XI, 1461–83*, trans. Michael Jones (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972).

**Comnena, Anna** See KOMNENE, ANNA.

**companies** See CONDOTTIERI, COMPANIES, AND MERCENARIES.

**compass, magnetic** The medieval compass was a navigational instrument, based on the use of a magnetized needle, that, when suspended freely, pointed toward the magnetic North and South Poles. It was suspended in water or freely in the air. Of Chinese origin, such a compass was adopted by Muslim sailors and became known in western Europe in the 12th century. Its existence was mentioned by Alexander Neckam (1157–1217) in his *On the Nature of Things*. Physical and astronomical advances in the 13th century produced a description of magnetic qualities by Petrus Peregrinus (fl. 1261–69) of Maricourt in 1269. During this period and until the end of the Middle Ages, the compass was used by sailors for navigation and cartographers for map drawing.

**Further reading:** J. A. Bennett, *The Divided Circle: A History of Instruments for Astronomy, Navigation, and Surveying* (Oxford: Phaidon, Christie's, 1987).

**Compostela** See SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

**computus** The medieval computus was an art and a science that involved arithmetic to establish the church CALENDAR, from the feast of EASTER, which was movable. From the third century, the Christians reached an agreement to celebrate Easter on the Sunday following the Jewish Passover on 14 Nisan. However, there were disagreements about the day when 14 Nisan fell. In 325, at the council of NICAEA, the fathers invited all the churches to celebrate Easter on the Sunday after the full Moon after the spring equinox, or between March 22 and April 25. The possible variation was within five weeks. The rules for calculating this were the object of the computus.

See also ABBO OF FLEURY; BEDE THE VENERABLE; HRABANUS MAURUS; SYLVESTER II, POPE.

**Further reading:** Arno Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer*, trans. Andrew Winnard (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Georges Declercq, *Anno Domini: The Origins of the Christian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Charles Williams Jones, *Bede, the Schools, and the Computus*, ed. Wesley M. Stevens (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); Reginald Lane Poole, *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. Austin Lane Poole (1934; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

**conciliarism and conciliar theory (conciliar movement)** Conciliarism was a body of doctrines devised to improve and restore the government of the church and especially to end the leadership vacuum created by the Great SCHISM between 1378 and 1417, when there were two then three competing popes. These ideas gave a fundamental place to the calling of councils in the regular life of the church and make them permanent instruments of reform of the ecclesiastical institutions and clerical morals. In their most extreme form they would have replaced the pope as the ultimate authority for doctrine and discipline within the church. The rise in importance of these conciliarist principles was linked to the failure of all the bungling attempts to end the Great Schism.

To end the animosity between the rival factions and partisans of the two claimants to the papacy, scholars at the University of Paris proposed as early as 1380 to bypass the papacy's power by referring to Christ's intentions for his whole church. If Christ had entrusted any particular authority to Peter and his successors as the bishops of Rome, he did so because he wanted the church to have some source of ultimate authority and doctrinal unity. The successors of Peter, the popes or bishops of Rome, could not impede this fundamental law or concept without betraying their mission.

The idea of a council representing the universality of believers and called to restore the popes to the right path became influential after 1400. Then a new generation of theologians and canonists, such as Pierre d'Ailly, John GERSON, and Francesco ZABARELLA, sought to put an end to the scandalous divisions in the church by suggesting a more elaborate ecclesiological doctrine. Most conciliarists recognized the pope as the head of the church but were opposed to his unlimited hegemony. Any supreme pontiff was incomplete without the universal church behind him and possessed no power that had not been delegated to the whole or universal church. This led to the conclusion that a council could judge and correct the pope. Councils represented the whole church and held their authority even more directly from Christ.

Following these ideas, the Council of CONSTANCE proclaimed the deposition of Pope John XXIII (d. 1419) and restored the unity of Christendom by electing a

legitimate successor, Martin V (r. 1417–31). The participants in this council adopted in 1417 the decrees *Haec sancta* and *Frequens*, which asserted a council's ultimate authority over a pope. Popes were now to summon councils frequently to maintain good practice and to proceed with the reform of the church. At the Council of BASEL between 1431 and 1449, the proponents of conciliarism were in open conflict with the pope and his supporters. Some advocated the idea of the near infallibility of councils. Not only were such meetings, when fully attended and properly carried out, were not only competent in times of schism or crisis, but their decisions were also to prevail over those of a particular pope. The papacy finally managed to mute these ideas in the 1450s, but they have long remained influential within the Catholic Church and unpopular with the papacy.

See also AVIGNON AND THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY; EUGENIUS IV, POPE; PIUS II, POPE.

**Further reading:** Antony Black, *Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Controversy, 1430–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); J. H. Burns and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds., *Conciliarism and Papalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Christopher M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy, and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); Brian Tierney, *Foundations of Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955); "Andre" Vauchez, "Conciliarism," *EMA*, 1.348–49.

**Concordia discordantium canonum** See LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; GRATIAN.

**concupiscence** In the Middle Ages concupiscence was considered any desire toward a sensual object contrary to the control to be exercised by reason. It was a natural consequence of original sin. In the Middle Ages those reflecting on ethics insisted that this sin was not the mere existence of desire, but a desire that became a habitual disorder that no longer submitted to the authority of the higher powers of the soul such as informed reason. For Thomas AQUINAS, concupiscence could be applied to all desires of the sensual appetites, but this idea was later usually defined as sexual desire.

See also CHASTITY; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

**condottieri, companies, and mercenaries** The companies or great companies were bands of mercenaries led by a captain or *condottiere* in Italian. Appearing first in Europe after the year 1000, they were composed of

numerous nationalities and participated in nearly every war up to and after 1500.

## ITALY

In the 14th century, such bands became widespread in ITALY, where communal and lords of cities needed armed troops and were unable to recruit and train from within urban population and resources available. In the 14th century, however, alongside mercenaries, there were still feudal and citizen armies.

These mercenary forces became real corporations led by private individuals, who hired themselves out to towns or lords of towns. They were formed by a leader, often a younger son of a local feudal family who gathered around himself men of varied origins, generally poor and determined to make their way in the world by the profession of arms. They served whoever offered most compensation. Their captain was called the *condottiere*, as the one who dealt with the contractual employment or *condotta* of the company. Germans, English, Swiss, Bretons, and Gascons soon came into Italy. Many mercenary soldiers, mostly foreigners, entered Italy to serve with the emperors Henry VII (r. 1308–13) and Louis IV of Bavaria (r. 1314–47) and remained there, to become the first mercenary companies. Toward the end of the 14th century, primarily Italian companies came into being. These mercenary militias eventually formed standing armies for the European monarchical states, thus making rulers independent of the military support of their subjects and vassals. In Italy the companies caused disturbance and instability by fiscal exactions and terror. The *condottieri* quickly aspired to play an ever greater role in the political life of the various states and some, such as Francesco Sforza (d. 1466), made themselves rulers of cities and states.

## FRANCE

In 1360, the conclusion of the peace of Brétigny-Calais between the king of FRANCE, John II (r. 1350–64), and the king of England, EDWARD III, had as a consequence a massive number of unemployed soldiers. Some grouped together under the orders of captains to continue the marauding war for their own benefit. From 1360 to 1362, they successively attacked Champagne, the Barrois, and BURGUNDY; they then reached the Rhone Valley, ravaging the region of LYON and Forez. They soon spread through the rest of the kingdom. A quasi-permanent state of war in France kept armies in the pay of the Crown, so the companies eventually found enough employment to deter them from devastating the countryside to survive. One major employer, the pope, could not afford a more or less standing army, so that employment was irregular and more frequently in Italy. In monarchical France mercenary captains were unable to seize control of whole towns or regions and become princes in their own right.

See also ARMIES AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION; HAWKWOOD, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, Vol. 1, *The Great Companies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); John Larner, *The Lords of the Romagna: Romangnol Society and the Origins of the Signorie* (London: Macmillan, 1965); Michael Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London: The Bodley Head, 1974); Geoffrey Trease, *The Condottieri: Soldiers of Fortune* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970).

**confession, auricular** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**confirmation** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**confraternities (fraternities)** Confraternities began as prayer groups and mutual aid societies formed by lay believers. They played major roles in religious life alongside more clerically dominated structures such as the PARISH. Each confraternity invoked one or more patron saints, whom the confraternity celebrated at an annual feast with both religious and convivial ceremonies to promote the group's identity and solidarity.

By the late 11th century, groups designated by the unspecific word *confraria*, "fraternity" or "confraternity," were under the jurisdiction of BENEDICTINE monasteries. Confraternities of clerics were founded in cathedral chapters to help poor priests. At the same time, the LAITY, anxious to contribute personally to their salvation, were supportive of and began practicing the confraternities' penitential renunciation and fraternity.

The confraternities reached their high point the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, when they proliferated in both towns and the countryside. Primarily religious but with some political and social implications, these large confraternities called on the saints and the practice of charity to contribute to the salvation of members. They jointly and especially concentrated on prayers, visits to the sick, and funeral arrangements, later expanding their activities to promoting peace within communities and financing hospitals and poverty relief.

The attitude of political and ecclesiastical authorities was ambivalent. As autonomous groups bound by oath and as possible factions feared by the ruling regime, confraternities aroused suspicion and were regularly but ineffectively condemned. The church granted them official recognition if they confined themselves to charitable and liturgical activities under the careful guidance of the clergy.

#### ISLAMIC CONFRATERNITIES

In ISLAM confraternities (*tarlgat*) arose in SUFISM. Every confraternity or order was tied to a sheikh or a master whose disciples assembled to submit to a discipline of

prayer and teaching. After a master's death, his teaching was passed down orally and through hagiographical accounts. The meeting place of the confraternity was generally near the founder's tomb, to which a PILGRIMAGE might be made. These different orders were varied in structure and hierarchy. The religious life of a Muslim confraternity was organized around vigils, fasting, prayers reciting the names of GOD, and particular spiritual and mystical practices. A novice entered the confraternity by initiation and, after a period of apprenticeship, had the right to wear the distinctive cloak of the Sufis and the headwear of the particular order. Some confraternities or extremist branches of the official orders showed open contempt for social and religious conventions. Some became wandering dervishes in the later Middle Ages, especially in areas of more recent Islamization, including the border regions of the Balkans, the Caucasus, central Asia, and black AFRICA.

See also AL-GHAZALI; RUMI.

**Further reading:** Michel Bâlivet, "Confraternities, Muslim" in *EMA*, 1.353–354; Andrew E. Barnes, *The Social Dimension of Piety* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994); Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989); Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**Conrad of Marburg** (ca. 1180–1233) *preacher, zealous inquisitor*

Born about 1180, Conrad of Marburg, after study in Bologna, was appointed the first inquisitor in Germany in 1231. He collaborated with two other figures, Conrad Dorso and John the Blind. Conrad was not a member of a religious order. This "triumvirate" of inquisitors acted with cruelty and publicly humiliated heretics, especially in the Rhineland, from 1231 to 1233. Opposition to Conrad of Marburg and his fanatical associates soon arose. On July 30, 1233, he was killed with Conrad the Franciscan near Marburg; Conrad Dorso was killed at Strasbourg and John the Blind was hanged near Friedberg.

See also ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY.

**Further reading:** Albert Clement Shannon, *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century* (Villanova, Pa.: Augustinian, 1949).

**consanguinity** See FAMILY AND KINSHIP; MARRIAGE.

**Constance, Council of** Summoned to end the Great SCHISM, this ecumenical council was convoked on November 5, 1414, by the antipope, John XXIII (d. 1419), at the insistence of the future emperor SIGISMUND of Luxembourg. This 16th ecumenical assembly drew together nearly 400 prelates and dignitaries of the

church, surrounded by a crowd of clerics and LAITY. Among these bishops, abbots, and scholars from the university, there were ardent defenders of the doctrine of conciliarism or limiting papal power. On the council's agenda, along with ending the schism, were the defense of the faith against the heresy of John WYCLIFFE and John HUS and the badly needed reform of the church.

John XXIII considered himself the legitimate pontiff, and came quickly into conflict with the assembly, in particular with Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly. Voting by national groups for the decree *Haec sancta* in 1415, the council affirmed its sovereign authority, to which even the pope had to submit. The Council of Constance deposed Pope John XXIII in May 1415 as well as the AVIGNON pope, Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417, d. 1423), and accepted the abdication of the Roman pontiff Gregory XII (r. 1406–15, d. 1417) in July 1415. The council thus restored the church's unity, at least in terms of the papacy.

The council was actually dominated by moderates, among them the canonist Francesco ZABARELLA and the chancellor of the University of PARIS, John GERSON. They believed the pope and council should govern the church in a complementary association. A decree was passed in October 1417 for conciliar meetings at regular and fixed intervals to ensure the continuation of the plan to limit the powers of the pope.

The council then decided to hold a conclave in which six members of each nation would elect a new pope. On November 11, 1417, the choice fell on Oddo Colonna, who took the name MARTIN V, finally ending the Great Schism. Martin closed the assembly on April 22, 1418. Despite having condemned 45 propositions of John WYCLIFFE and burned two heretics, Jan HUS in 1415 and Jerome of PRAGUE (ca. 1365–1416) in 1416, the Council of Constance failed to carry out a great moral reform of the church or change the control of church government from a papal monarchy to a wider base. It ended on April 22, 1418.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1.403–451; Christopher M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy, and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); Louise Ropes Loomis, *The Council of Constance, the Unification of the Church*, ed. and annotated by John Hine Mundy and Kennerly M. Woody (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

**Constance of Hauteville** (1154–1198) *daughter of Roger II, king of Sicily; wife of Emperor Henry VI*

Constance was born in 1154. After the death of her nephew WILLIAM II THE GOOD in 1189, she helped her husband, Henry VI (1190–97), the HOHENSTAUFEN emperor, whom she had married in 1186, to assert their rights over the kingdom of SICILY. The rule there was

contested by Tancred of Lecce (d. 1194), who even took her prisoner in 1191. After the death of Tancred and on the day after her husband's coronation as king in 1194, she became, in a more or less public way, the mother at age 41 of the future FREDERICK II at Iesi on December 26, 1194. On Henry's death on September 28, 1197, she kept the title of empress but was interested solely in Sicily. She died on November 27–28, 1198, before concluding an agreement with Pope INNOCENT III to clarify Sicily's dependence on the Holy See, but she had had time to gain the pope's protection of the rights of her young son. There was a long period of chaos until Frederick reached his majority in 1208. She was buried in the cathedral at Palermo.

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Penguin, 1988); Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198–1216* (New York: Longman, 1994); Mary Taylor Simeti, *Travels with a Medieval Queen: The Journey of a Sicilian Princess* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002).

**Constantine I the Great (Flavius Valerius)** (ca. 280–337) *first Christian emperor of the Roman Empire*

Born about 280 in the Roman province of Moesia, Constantine was the son of the emperor Constantius I Chlorus (ca. 250–306) and Helena (ca. 250–ca. 330), the daughter of a Christian innkeeper. After growing up mostly in Britain, at the death of his father, he took command of a Roman army there in 306. On July 15, 306, he was given the title Caesar and became one of the four imperial rulers of the empire, the tetrarchy. In 312 he defeated one rival, Maxentius (r. 307–312), in a battle at the Milvian Bridge over the Tiber River in Rome. This was a decisive point in his political career and an important event in the history of Christianity.

#### EMPEROR

His biographer, Bishop EUSEBIOS of Caesarea, related the story that at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine's whole army had a vision of a cross in the sky and a voice declared, "With this sign, you shall conquer." Constantine then ordered that the sign be put on the soldiers' shields and he won the battle. Some of his army had already adopted Christianity, which he had tolerated in the regions he controlled, but he himself still adhered to the cult of the Sun. In 313 he issued the Edict of Milan, which made Christianity a legal religion within the empire. Whether sincere about Christianity himself, he exploited his Christian sympathies to win the support of the large Christian population in the eastern provinces of the empire; that support enabled him to defeat his last rival, Licinius (r. 308–324), his onetime ally and the coemperor in the East. Constantine was now the sole emperor. He consolidated this power further by making Christian bishops imperial officials. Christianity became an ardent pillar of his regime that helped him keep track

of his enemies. Soon after his defeat of Licinius, he embarked on the construction of a new capital away from Rome and closer to the center of the wealth of the empire. He settled on Byzantium, an old Greek city surrounded on three sides by water and on the passageway between the Mediterranean and Black Seas. It was his city, CONSTANTINOPLE.

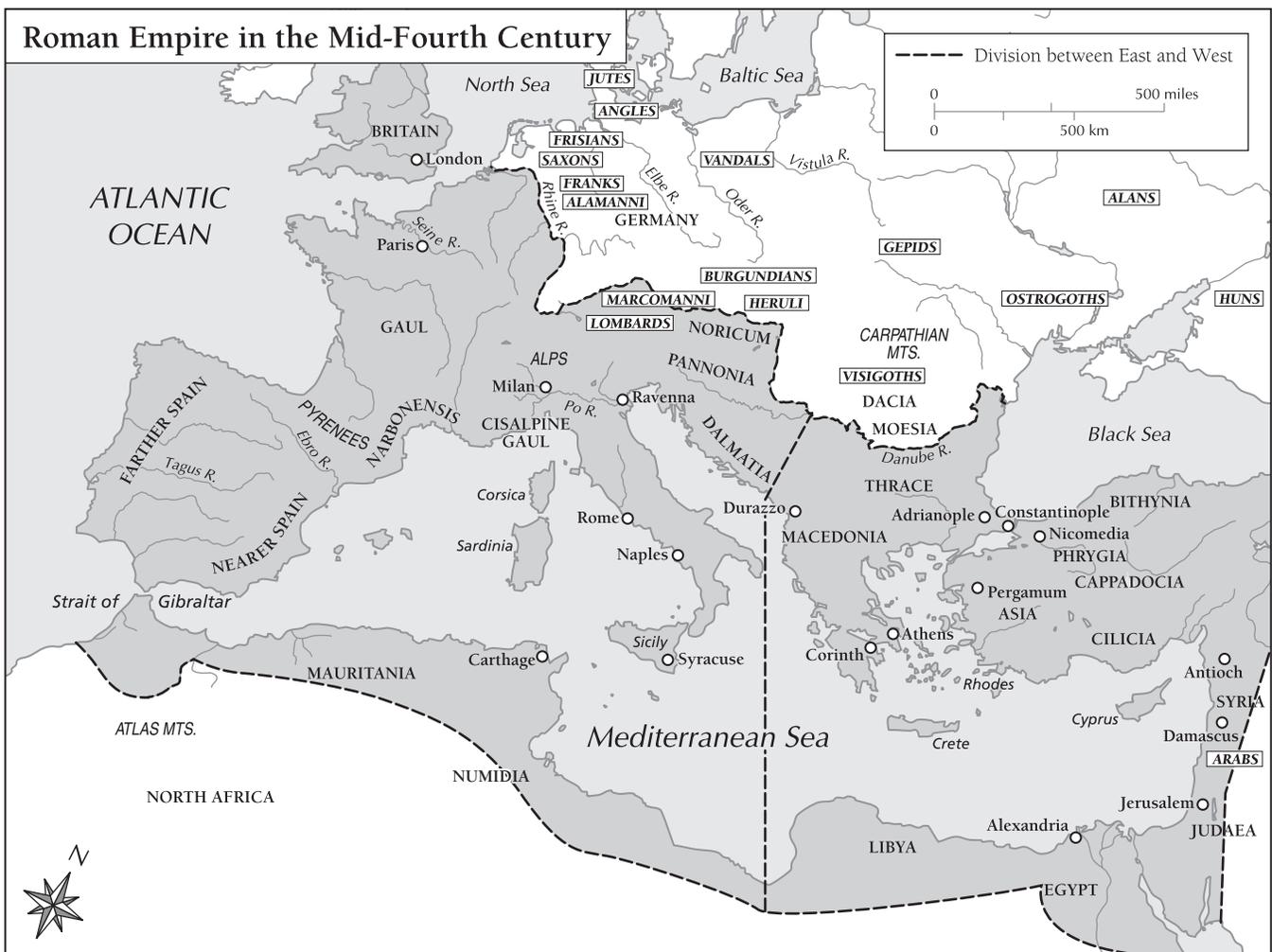
**THEOLOGICAL INTERVENTIONS**

For Constantine, order, discipline, and hierarchy were necessary and more important than theological discussion or definitions. He intervened in the theological conflict between the bishop of Alexandria, ATHANASIUS, and the priest ARIUS by convening the Council of NICAEA in 325. The council included bishops from all over the empire and was presided over by Constantine, who even intervened in the discussions. It condemned the heretical doctrine of Arius and adopted an official creed drafted by Athanasius. However, Constantine tolerated Arians after seeing that their ideas had some support among the bishops. Under the influence of

Helena, his mother, he supported the building of a church on the supposed site of the tomb of Christ, the Church of the HOLY SEPULCHER, in JERUSALEM. He also built the old basilica of Saint Peter's in Rome and other churches in ANTIOCH and PALESTINE. He later sponsored the Christian idea of Sunday as a day of rest and peace and confiscated some of the treasuries of pagan temples.

**ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIAL REFORMS**

After reorganizing the army in 326, he made professions, offices, and trades hereditary, assuming this capacity would ensure the functioning of institutions and economic activity. He legislated that free peasants and serfs now be tied to the soil and under the control of the owners of large estates. This stemmed migration, provided food for the army, and produced local labor to repair roads and bridges. Recently accepting baptism, he died on May 22, 337, and was buried among the monuments in his new church of the Twelve Apostles in Constantinople.



See also *DIOCLETIAN*; *DONATION OF CONSTANTINE*; *EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA*; *PAPACY*; *PAPAL STATES*; *VALLA, LORENZO*.

**Further reading:** Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, ed. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. G. A. Williamson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965); Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, ed. and trans. J. L. Creed (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 24–48; A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (1948; rev. ed. 1962; reprint, Toronto: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978); Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Timothy D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Ramsay MacMullan, *Constantine* (New York: The Dial Press, 1969); Hans Pohlsander, *The Emperor Constantine* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

### **Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos** (905–959) *Byzantine emperor, promoter of artistic and scholarly projects*

Born May 17/18, 905, Constantine VII, at first coemperor with Leo VI (r. 870–912) in 908, was not allowed actually to rule for almost 40 years. At first, because of his illegitimacy and youth, his uncle, Alexander (d. 913), handled affairs of state. Subsequently the regency was headed by Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (r. 901–907, 912–925), then by the dowager empress Zoë Karbonopsina (d. after 920), who was forced to yield to Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944).

Romanos's term as sole ruler was dominated by *WARFARE* with the *ARABS*, with mixed results. His attempt in 949 to dislodge the Arabs from *CRETE* failed. *Germanikeia* in *SYRIA* was captured in the same year, only to be recaptured in 953 by Sayf al-Dawla (916–967), the lord of Aleppo. The generals and future emperors Nikephoros II Phokas (ca. 912–969) and John I Tzimiskes (ca. 925–976) won numerous victories from 954 to 958.

Constantine VII did not modify Romanos I's attempts at agrarian reform. He tried unsuccessfully to require the powerful officials of the state to restore peasant lands acquired since 945 without compensation. He also ordered that soldiers' properties not be alienated. For land sales made between 934 and 945, peasants had to pay again the purchase price, a concession to the magnates. He made diplomatic contact with Olga (d. 969), princess of Kiev. Embassies were exchanged with the court of OTTO I THE GREAT and with the Muslim court at CORDOBA.

### LITERARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Constantine VII is best known for his own literary works, which include *On Imperial Administration*, *On the*

*Themes*, and *On Ceremonies*. His support of the minor arts lead to fine manuscript illustration, carved ivories, scholarly treatises, and encyclopedias such as the *Geoponik*, a fulfillment of his chief interest, the cataloguing of information. His own court poet and encyclopedist Constantine of Rhodes (ca. 870–ca. 931) described the Church of the Holy Apostles in CONSTANTINOPLE by carefully cataloguing its features and contents. In the realm of historical writing, which had declined during the preceding century, he sponsored enduring results. He appointed intellectuals as state officials and as professors in the revived palace school. Constantine VII remains Byzantium's most accomplished scholar-emperor, as well as one of its great patrons of learning. He died on November 9, 959.

See also *MACEDONIAN DYNASTY*.

**Further reading:** Arnold Joseph Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitos and His World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

### **Constantine the African** (ca. 1020–ca. 1087) *Muslim convert to Christianity, translator of medical treatises, physician*

He was probably born at Carthage or North Africa about 1020 and made numerous journeys in his youth, perhaps as a merchant, but also for training in various disciplines such as medicine to *CAIRO*, *India*, and *ABYSSINIA*. Arriving in Italy he aroused jealousy among some by his learning and opinions and had to flee to Salerno in southern Italy. Tradition also has it that he arrived in Italy with important manuscripts. He converted to Christianity and soon entered the monastery of Monte Cassino, probably to work as a translator. He lived in the monastery under the abbacy of *DESIDERIUS* when it was an important center of learning and near the medical school at Salerno.

### TRANSLATIONS

Constantine's translations were loosely adapted into Latin from Arabic models and texts. These were based on the medicine practiced at *AL-QAYRAWAN* from the ninth and 10th centuries and the doctrines of Galen, an important Greek physician and writer, who lived at Rome in the second century C.E.

Among the Arabic works translated by Constantine was the *Royal Book* of the Persian scholar Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Majasi or Haly Abbas (d. 994). It was a compilation of Galen's thought as it had been revised in the fifth and sixth centuries at *ALEXANDRIA*. Dedicated to Abbot Desiderius, under the title of *Pantegni* or *The Whole Art*, this work was much read and cited by diverse authors in the 12th and 13th centuries. It treated medicine as a part of natural philosophy and divided it into the theoretical and practical. Medicine was intended to be understood and practiced rationally. Constantine himself seems to have translated only the theoretical part and some of the

practical, with the rest probably done by disciples or students. He died about 1087 at Monte Cassino.

**Further reading:** Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, eds., *Constantine the African and Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Magusi: The Pantegni and Related Texts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* eds. Benson, Robert and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 421–462.

**Constantinople (Byzantium)** Modern Istanbul, Constantinople was the capital of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE from 324 to 1453, except in 1204–61, when it was the capital of a LATIN EMPIRE founded by the Fourth Crusade. Constantinople's importance for every aspect of the history of the Byzantine Empire cannot be overstated.

The emperor CONSTANTINE I's motives in establishing the new capital in 324 were not clear at the time; he may have viewed it initially as a new imperial residence, similar to those in MILAN and to that of DIOCLETIAN at nearby Nicomedia or perhaps as a new Christian capital, separated from Rome's paganism. It was obviously closer to the richer eastern part of the empire. In any case, he called it "New Rome," though it soon became Constantinople, or the "city of Constantine."

#### STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Constantinople's strategic position was clear. It was at the end of the Roman road the Via Egnatia, which linked to Italy in the west and crossed over to ANATOLIA in the east. On the west or European side, Constantinople had access through straits, to the north through the Bosphorus to the BLACK SEA and to the south through the Hellespont to the AEGEAN SEA. After being fortified with a massive land wall, it would be very difficult to capture, since it would have to be besieged by sea as well. It had a superb natural harbor called the Golden Horn usually fortified by a chain across its entrance. The impressive land walls built by the emperor Theodosios II (r. 408–450), stretching about six kilometers, were given additional protection by a deep ditch and a system of outer and inner walls. These defenses survived several sieges by the Persians, AVARS, Muslims, and BULGARS, only to fall to the Christian crusaders and a Venetian fleet in 1204.

After the huge building program of the emperor JUSTINIAN I in the first half of the sixth century, little was added to the city until the revival of the empire in the 10th century. Much damage to the fabric and population of the city was done during the capture, sack, and occupation by the crusaders in 1204. Only a part of the destruction and the population was ever restored after the Greeks retook the city in 1261. It was described in the 15th century as a series of villages enclosed by massive walls instead of the old continuous urban complex.

Robert of Clari's (ca. 1216) description of the early 13th century demonstrated a sense of wonderment at a city whose population even then may have been as high as 300,000. At the same time VENICE, the largest city in the West, may have had a population of around 80,000 at most. Constantinople's central street, the Mese, led to the heart of the city, the Great Palace, near which were the HIPPODROME, the Augustaion, the baths of Zeuxippus, the underground Basilike cistern, and the important churches of HAGIA SOPHIA, Saint Irene, and Saints Sergios and Bacchos.

The city had long been a bastion of resistance against Islamic expansion. With the advances of the OTTOMAN Turks into Europe and Anatolia at the end of the 14th century, Constantinople became a real frontier city. Constantinople was conquered by the Ottomans and their huge siege artillery on May 29, 1453. The Turks made it their capital.

*See also* ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE; BASIL I THE MACEDONIAN; BASIL II THE BULGAR SLAYER; CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX; CRUSADES; KOMNENE, ANNA; KOMNENOI DYNASTY; MACEDONIAN DYNASTY; PALAIOLOGI IMPERIAL DYNASTY; SCHISM, GREAT (1054); SELJUK TURKS OF RUM.

**Further reading:** Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Rome, Constantinople, Milan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971); Dean A. Miller, *Imperial Constantinople* (New York: Wiley, 1969); Jean-Michael Spieser, "Constantinople," *EMA*, 1.300–362.

#### Constantinople, Latin occupation of (1204–1261)

*See* BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND BYZANTIUM: CONSTANTINOPLE; CRUSADES.

**contraception and abortion** The actual process of fertilization was not understood in the Middle Ages, at which time, and probably before, abortion was known to be induced by the ingestion of certain herbs. It was also clear that some kind of physical intervention led to the same result. In the Middle Ages for Christians, abortion of a fertilized embryo or fetus after 40 days of gestation was perceived as potentially a homicide. The PENITENTIALS progressively assigned to it only a year of penance, three years after 40 days, and seven years, the same as for homicide. This had to be after the detection of animation or movement by the fetus. That movement was taken as the definite moment of ensoulment when the fetus became a human. Judaism and Islam regarded abortion in similar ways. However, they were more explicit that it could not be done for economic or social reasons, but only for danger to the mother's life. Ensoulment for some rabbis meant that the soul became present, thus a fetus

became a human being, on the 41st day of the pregnancy. Some Muslims thought this occurred on the 120th day. Vaguely condemned as depriving the female of the pleasure due her, in Islam coitus interruptus, condoms of animal skins, or similar practices were used by the elite for contraception. The poor employed abortion and infanticide.

*See also* CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD; PROSTITUTION.

**Further reading:** Peter P. A. Biller, "Birth-Control in the West in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Past and Present* 94 (February, 1982): 3–26; Basim F. Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam: Birth Control before the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); John T. Noonan, Jr. *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1966); John M. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Angus McLaren, *A History of Contraception: From Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

**contrition** *See* SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**cooking and cookery** Medieval collections of recipes overwhelmingly have preserved the practices of cooks in the service of the upper clergy and princes. Medieval cooking used a variety and abundance of SPICES and sweeteners when they were available, such as ginger, cinnamon, sugar, and SAFFRON. Diet was also dependent on season and latitude; there was an extensive trade in grain and luxury foodstuffs from the 13th century. Variety of condiment was supplemented by abundance and the combination of what was available. Religious obligations required the eating of fish by Christians on a regular basis according to a calendar and forbade the eating of certain foods by Jews and Muslims. Meat was usually accompanied by sauces of varied richness and fat content. There were few fried dishes except along the Mediterranean. By the end of the Middle Ages, the ancient Roman tradition of using fish sauce as a condiment was limited to that coastline. Butter tended to be commonly used in more northern areas, and southern cuisines deployed olive oil. Without many options in cooking utensils, peasants were rarely able to cook anything but boiled or stewed dishes. A spit was a sign of luxury and the eating of meats on a regular basis a mark of social distinction. Diners during this period no longer reclined on their sides at table, but sat upright the better to taste roasted meats in particular. The implements for eating were primarily fingers and some knives and spoons.

*See also* COURTESY BOOKS AND COURTESY LITERATURE; FASTING AND ABSTINENCE; FEASTS AND FESTIVALS; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; WINE AND WINEMAKING.

**Further reading:** Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays* (New York:

Routledge, 2002); Phyllis Pray Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Odile Redon, Françoise Sabban, and Silvano Serventi, *The Medieval Kitchen: Recipes from France and Italy*, trans. Edward Schneider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1995).

**Copts and the Coptic language** The word *Copt* was employed by the ARABS to designate the Christian Egyptians, who formed the Coptic "nation" for taxation purposes. They remained the majority of the population of EGYPT from the Arab conquest in the seventh century until the 11th century, when the pressures and advantages of conversion cut their numbers. Between the 12th and 14th centuries, they became a minority of 8 to 10 percent of the population.

The Coptic form of Christianity (some presently recognize the authority of the pope, whereas others do not) was usually centered on the city of Alexandria, a constant rival to the bishops or patriarchs of ROME, CONSTANTINOPLE, JERUSALEM, and ANTIOCH. Since the fifth century, MONASTICISM has also played an important role in the survival of the church. The Byzantine Empire centered at Constantinople was often in dispute with the various Coptic churches over theological questions such as the relationship of Christ with the rest of the Trinity. This led to frequent persecutions of supposedly heretical believers in Egypt, the predecessors of the Coptic Church of today.

#### COPTIC LANGUAGE

The Coptic language is descended from an old Egyptian language and was used in preference to Greek for worship. There were important liturgical and theological works in Coptic in the seventh century, but literary output in that language has continued to decline since. Arabic was imposed for administrative acts in 705. Under the sultan BAYBARS I in the 13th century there was a strong effort to exclude literate Copts from roles in the Islamic government. Many Coptic manuscripts were copied in monasteries where Coptic culture and religious ideas were kept alive in the 11th and 12th centuries. However, new works tended more and more to be written in Arabic, the learned language of their surrounding population. In the 14th century, there was an effort to preserve the language so grammars and dictionaries were composed.

*See also* ABYSSINIA; ANCHORITES AND ANCHORESSSES; ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, SAINT; CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF; CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA; DHIMMI; EPHEBUS, ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF; FATIMIDS; GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, SAINT; MONOPHYTISM; PACHOMIUS; TULUNIDS.

**Further reading:** Alexander Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology: The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978); John Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture, 300–1300* (London: A. Tiranti, 1963); Christian Cannuyer, *Coptic Egypt: The Christians on the Nile* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001); Otto Friedrich August Meinardus, *Christian Egypt, Ancient and Modern*, 2d ed. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1977); Mark Smith, “Coptic Literature, 337–425” in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 13, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337–42*, eds. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 722–735.

**Córdoba (Cordova, al-Qurtuba al-Wadi)** Córdoba was an important Christian and Muslim city in southern Spain in AL-ANDALUS. It was home to Bishop Hosios (ca. 256–357/358), one of the most influential and orthodox members of the emperor CONSTANTINE I's court. Attacks on the city by the Visigoths were begun in 550, prompting the emperor JUSTINIAN I to send an army to protect the city. Córdoba, nonetheless, fell to the VISIGOTHS in 572 and was later conquered by the Arabs in 711, when they overran the Visigothic kingdom of TOLEDO.

#### MUSLIM CÓRDOBA AND THE RECONQUEST

From 756 to 1031 it was capital of the Umayyad Caliphate of Córdoba and became one of the largest cities in the world. In the early Middle Ages it was a major place of interaction among Christians, Muslims, and Jews. One of the best preserved and most interesting architecturally medieval MOSQUES, La Mezquita, begun in 768 in the Islamic world, has survived as a Christian church there. The city fell into decline in the 11th century under the ALMORAVIDS. It was retaken and repopulated by the Christians under Ferdinand III the Saint (r. 1217–52) in 1236. By the 15th century its population was perhaps as high as 70,000, making it still one of the largest cities in Europe. The Spanish Inquisition was later established there in 1482 to investigate whether the religious beliefs of the population were truly Christian.

See also ABD AL-RAHMAN I; ABD AL-RAHMAN III; AL-MADINAT AL-ZIHIRA; MOZARABS.

**Further reading:** John Edwards, *Christian Córdoba: The City and Its Region in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Godfrey Goodwin, *Islamic Spain* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1990); Philip K. Hitti, “Cordova: The European Capital,” in *Capital Cities of Arab Islam* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 135–163; Peter C. Scales, *The Fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba: Berbers and Andalus in Conflict* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

**coronation ritual and ideology** See KINGS AND KINGSHIP, RITUALS OF



Interior of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, begun 786 (Werner Forman / Art Resource)

**Corpus iuris canonici** (Collection or body of canon law) See LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**Corpus iuris civilis** (collection or body of civil law, Code of Justinian) The *Corpus iuris civilis* was a collective legislative work compiled under JUSTINIAN I. It consisted of the Codex (*Codex justinianus*), the Digest (*Digest* or *Pandectae*), the Institutes (*Institutiones*), and the Novels (*Novellae constitutiones*, “new laws”). The work was begun by a commission of 10 legal experts assembled in 528 and headed by one of the best legal minds of the era, TRIBONIAN. Working quickly, they issued in 529 the *Codex justinianus*, a collection of 4,562 imperial edicts from Hadrian to Justinian I that replaced the older *Codex gregorianus*, *Codex hermoenianus*, and *Codex theodosianus*. This was revised, with additional work by Tribonian, and reissued in 534. The Digest, a harmonizing compendium and distillation of legal opinions by famous Roman jurists, was issued in 533, as were the Institutes, a handbook and primer to assist scholars and students to navigate through the Codex and Digest. The *Novels*, the last part of Justinian I's collection to appear, consisted of imperial edicts issued after 534 and ultimately down to the end of Justinian's reign in 565. Unlike previous legal works that were written in Latin, the *Novels* were issued in Greek, the daily language of most of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire. The *Corpus iuris civilis* preserved Roman law and provided the basis for the reemergence of that law in jurisprudence in the 12th and 13th centuries.

See also BARTOLO DA SASSOFERRATO; IRNERIUS.

**Further reading:** S. P. Scott, trans., *The Civil Law*, 17 vols. (Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932); Alan Watson, trans., *The Digest of Justinian*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985);

J. A. C. Thomas, trans., *The Institutes of Justinian: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1975); Manlio Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000–1800*, 2d ed., trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (1991; reprint, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995); Walter Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages: An Introduction to the Sources of Medieval Political Ideas* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), 51–116.

**Corsica** Corsica is an island in the Mediterranean Sea, north of SARDINIA and west of Italy. Once a province of the Roman Empire, Corsica was taken in 430 by the VAN-DALS. In 552 it was conquered by the BYZANTINES. In the eighth century, Corsica became part of the Lombard kingdom of Italy. PÉPIN III THE SHORT later gave the island to the pope. Papal protection was ineffective and the island became a base for Muslim attacks on the surrounding coasts in the ninth and 10th centuries.

In the 11th century control of Corsica was contested by GENOA and PISA. In 1077, Pope GREGORY VII gave it to the archbishop of Pisa. Despite the religious authority of the Pisans, Corsica was divided in 1133 between Genoa and Pisa. The Genoese victory at the Battle of Melloria in 1284 gave Genoa sole rule of the island. While towns and peasants remained faithful to Genoa, the rural nobility sought the intervention of King James II (r. 1291–1327) of ARAGON. In 1296 with the consent of Pope BONIFACE VIII, he conquered the island. Corsica was soon divided between the Genoese and Aragonese. In 1420 a new war broke out, in which the Aragonese initially won control. However, in 1434 the Genoese expelled the Aragonese army. In 1453, the Genoese gave their bank, the Bank of Saint George, control of the island. This created stability and some prosperity.

**Further reading:** Marco Tangheroni, “Sardinia and Corsica from the Mid-Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Century,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 1, C. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 447–457.

**Cortes** A parliamentary assembly that arose out of the extraordinary *curia regis* or the court of the king. The Cortes originated in 1188 at LEÓN, where the representatives of towns were called to sit and consult the monarch with noble and ecclesiastical counselors. The Cortes of the kingdoms of CASTILE and León was called together from 1302, always on a royal call to convocation. It was called to approve taxes and swear an oath to the acknowledged heir to the throne. One hundred towns initially sent delegates to present grievances in the early 14th century. Elsewhere, a Cortes of PORTUGAL was periodically convened from the mid-13th century. In the Crown of ARAGON, each Cortes of Aragon, CATALONIA, VALENCIA, and the BALEARIC Islands met separately. For these there

were four constituents, those representing an upper nobility, a middle nobility, the clergy, and the towns. The Cortes of Aragon managed to impose more control on the king than that of León. Their power and influence varied according to the ability and circumstances of the crown.

**Further reading:** Marie Regina Madden, *Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1930); Evelyn S. Procter, *Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072–1295* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

**Corvinus, Matthias (Mátyás Hunyadi)** (1443–1490) *king of Hungary*

Born on February 24, 1443, in TRANSYLVANIA Matthias was the younger son of John HUNYADI. Corvinus was a humanist nickname. He received a humanist education and showed an excellent gift for languages and frequently functioned as his father’s interpreter. He competed for the Hungarian throne with the emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–93) and was finally crowned on March 29, 1464. He was proclaimed king of BOHEMIA in 1469, but he ultimately failed to hold the crown. During a later war with Frederick, Matthias captured VIENNA in 1485 and held it until his death.

#### CULTURAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

He enhanced this military and political fame with his image as a learned king and enlightened patron of the arts, especially of Italian humanism. Matthias’s court, in BUDA, was a prominent center for humanists from all over Europe.

His beautification of the capital, PRAGUE, was remarked upon by the foreigners visiting his court. His cultural landmark was his library, the Corviniana, a collection of more than 2,000 books and five hundred illuminated manuscripts, which contributed to the preservation, transcription, and translation from Greek into LATIN of classical literature and science for all of central Europe.

#### POLITICS

Matthias’s rule has been divided into three periods. Until the 1460s, he successfully worked with the lesser nobility and secured geographical unity and independence for Hungary. Then Matthias reformed the army, the institutions of government, taxation, and the courts of law. After his marriage to Beatrix of Naples and Aragon in 1476, the third period of rule was dominated by wars of expansion in the Balkans and dynastic ambition. The mixed success and failure of the projects led to an unsuccessful coup in 1472 to replace him with Casimir IV (r. 1446–92) of POLAND. He died without a legitimate heir on April 6, 1490, in Vienna, with the question of succession left unsettled.

**Further reading:** Ilona Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus*, trans. Susan

Horn (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1964); Marianna D. Birnbaum, *The Orb and the Pen: Janus Pannonius, Matthias Corvinus and the Buda Court* (Budapest: Balassi, 1996); Rózsa Feuer-Tóth, *Art and Humanism in Hungary in the Age of Matthias Corvinus*, trans. Györgyi Jakobi and ed. Péter Farbaký (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990).

**cosmetics and beauty aids** In the Middle Ages and early Renaissance cosmetic preparations were used to alter natural appearance. These included many preparations such as breath deodorizers, tooth-cleaning preparations, shampoo, soap, hair bleaches and dyes, preparations for hair growth, preparations for the skin or removal of skin defects, nail coloring, lice removers, eye liner and shadow, powder, and perfume. There were also implements such as razors, combs, scissors, tweezers, false teeth, mirrors, toothpicks, toothbrushes, false hair, wigs, curling irons, hairpins, and ornaments for hairnets and braids. Perfumes were widely used, made from aromatic woods, gums, resins, oils, frankincense, myrrh, cassia, spikenard, cedar and cypress wood, sesame, olive, and almond oils.

**Further reading:** Sharon Romm, *The Changing Face of Beauty* (St. Louis: Mosby Year Book, 1992); John Woodforde, *The History of Vanity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

**costume** See CLOTHING AND COSTUME.

**councils, general and ecumenical (oecumenical)** Seven ecumenical or universal church councils have been accepted by the Eastern Church and Roman Catholicism (325–787). We know little about the debates and procedures of most of them. Many councils were convened to deal with attacks on orthodoxy. Their decisions and definitions often became part of canon law. Among the many issues that concerned the church, the First Ecumenical Council at NICAIA in 325 condemned ARIANISM. The Second Ecumenical Council at CONSTANTINOPLE in 381 condemned those who believed that the HOLY SPIRIT was a created being. The Third Ecumenical Council at EPHESUS in 431 condemned NESTORIANISM. The Council of CHALCEDON in 451 condemned MONOPHYSITISM. The Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553 condemned the Three Chapters. The Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople at 680–81 condemned monotheletism. The Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 787 condemned ICONOCLASM and restored the veneration of icons.

The Roman Catholic Church had accepted 14 additional councils, from that of Constantinople in 869–70 to the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). These include the four Lateran councils, those at LYON, and those in the 15th century at CONSTANCE and BASEL/FLORENCE. There were also smaller meetings at the diocesan and provincial levels.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1, *Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990); Norman P. Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York: Crossroad, 2001).

**Courson, Robert of (Robert Courçon)** (d. 1219) *English theologian, cardinal*

Of English origin, Robert of Courson was a pupil of Peter the Chanter at the University of Paris, between 1190 and 1195. From 1204 he taught there and often acted as a judge delegate. Promoted to a cardinalate in 1212 by Pope INNOCENT III, he was charged with promoting a CRUSADE. He presided over the councils held at Paris in 1213, Bordeaux in 1214, and ROUEN in 1214. He confirmed SIMON DE MONTFORT THE ELDER'S conquests of the Albigensians. He reorganized the course of studies at Paris and issued a prohibition on teaching the *Metaphysics* of ARISTOTLE but gave authorization to use the *Ethics*. He was present at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. He died on February 6, 1219, on crusade before Damietta in EGYPT, where he was the adjutant of Cardinal PELAGIUS, the spiritual leader of the Fifth Crusade. Written between 1204 and 1210, his *Summa theologica* has not been edited. His commentary on PETER LOMBARD'S *Sentences* has been lost.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *Master, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

**courtesy books and literature** Courtesy books were primarily written to inform the uncultivated about proper comportment, especially at courts and among groups of people. They were read by the ambitious and opportunistic and were perceived to reflect aspects of aristocratic codes of conduct, even CHIVALRY. Knights, ladies, pages, squires, court servants, and aspiring gentlemen could learn from them numerous points of etiquette and be properly socialized. They appeared in English and Anglo-Norman in the 12th and 13th centuries and soon were written in German, Italian, French, and Castilian.

See also CAXTON, WILLIAM; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; PISAN, CHRISTINE DE; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**Further reading:** F. J. Furnivall, ed., *The Babees Book* (New York: The Greenwood Press, 1969); Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1983); J. D. Burnley, *Courtliness and Literature in Medieval England* (London: Longman, 1998).

**courtly love (amour courtois, höfische Minne)** Modern scholarship coined this term in 1883 for a set of social, erotic, religious, and philosophical conventions

around which medieval love literature was written. Courtly love was considered essentially chivalric and a product of 12th-century France, especially of the TROUBADOURS. The conventions of this poetry involved the idealization of a beloved woman, whose love, as did all love, refined and ennobled her lover. The male lover existed to serve the female. This adulterous union of their minds or bodies was not to be apparent to others and allowed them to attain a higher excellence of character. Upper-class marriage was considered to be contracted for economic and social reasons, not for love. These ideas were to permeate much of European literature.

*See also* ALIGHIERI, DANTE; ALLEGORY; CAPELLANUS, ANDREAS; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CHIVALRY; ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE; GOTTFRIED OF STRASSBURG; MARIE DE FRANCE; ROMAN DE LA ROSE; ROMANCES; PETRARCH, FRANCESCO; WILLIAM IX, DUKE OF AQUITAINE; WOMEN, STATUS OF.

**Further reading:** Peter L. Allen, *The Art of Love: Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the Romance of the Rose* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936); F. X. Newman, ed., *The Meaning of Courtly Love* (Albany: State University of New York, 1969); Roger Boase, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977).

**Courtrai, Battle of (Battle of the Golden Spurs)** Courtrai, now in BELGIUM, became famous in the 14th century when a French army, sent by PHILIP IV to discipline the nearby towns of BRUGES and GHENT, among others, was defeated on July 11, 1302, by urban militia. The French knights were unable to break the defenses of massed Flemish infantry and suffered huge losses. As a result of this humiliating defeat, the French monarchy lost control of FLANDERS to more pro-English sentiments. The increased tensions that resulted from Flanders's economic links to England later contributed to the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. The name Battle of the Golden Spurs referred to the capture of the spurs of the fallen French knights.

*See also* CAVALRY.

**Further reading:** Hilda Johnstone, trans., *Annales Gandenses* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957); J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs (Courtrai, 11 July 1302): A Contribution to the History of Flanders' War of Liberation, 1297–1305*, ed. Kelly De Vries and trans. David Richard Ferguson (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2002).

**courts and court system, ecclesiastical and secular**  
*See* CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS.

**covetousness** *See* SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS.

**Cracow (Kraków)** Medieval Cracow was a city situated on the left bank of the Vistula, in a place where a legendary founder, Krak or Krok, traditionally defeated a dragon. Founded in the ninth century by SLAV settlers, the city became a major political and religious center under Great MORAVIA. In the 10th century it was disputed between the dukes of BOHEMIA and Poland, but from the reign of BOLESLAV I, Polish domination was maintained.

#### GROWTH AND REBIRTH

Under Boleslav III (r. 1102–38), Cracow became a commercial center connecting GERMANY with Slavic countries. The city was the seat of one of the four principalities of Poland. Its development in the late 12th century was interrupted by conquest in 1241 by the MONGOLS. In the beginning of the 14th century, Cracow was rebuilt with a new GOTHIC cathedral, churches, and palaces. The development of commerce attracted German and JEWISH settlers, and Cracow became the capital of Poland during the reign of CASIMIR III in the mid-14th century. The high court of the realm was moved to Cracow and the city was granted the status of an urban free COMMUNE. In 1364 Casimir founded the university at Cracow, making the city a cultural center of the kingdom. In the 15th century it became a center of a growing trade with Italy and was influenced by Italian culture.

**Further reading:** Jan Bialostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1976); Samuel Fiszman, ed., *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

**Crécy, Battle of** The Battle of Crécy was the first major land battle of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, and was fought on August 26, 1346. King EDWARD III and EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE defeated the numerically superior French forces of Philip VI (r. 1328–50) of France. The success of the English longbow men, who probably fired more than a half-million arrows from a good defensive and surrounding position, and a lack of competent leadership on the French side, led to more than 10,000 French casualties, compared with approximately 500 English. The English went on to lay siege to Calais and take control of much of western and southwestern France.

**Further reading:** Alfred Higgins Bume, *The Crécy War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955); Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War, Vol. 1, Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War, Vol. 2, Trial by Fire Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

**Crete** Medieval Crete was an island in the eastern Mediterranean located almost equidistant from mainland GREECE and AFRICA. The island was successively

raided by the GOTHs in 268, the VANDALS in 457, and the SLAVS in 623. ARABS occupied it briefly in 674, and in about 827 Arabs expelled from CORDOBA and resettled in ALEXANDRIA made their way to Crete. They took over the island, establishing Chandax as their capital. Crete became a base of operations for raids throughout the AEGEAN until 961, when it was taken back by the future Byzantine emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969). The island remained in Byzantine possession until the Fourth Crusade's conquest of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1204, when it was awarded to Boniface of Montferrat (ca. 1150–1207). He sold it to VENICE, which had some difficulty in taking over the island, but eventually it became a source of a significant amount of income for Venice.

There were numerous revolts against the Venetian and Latin or Catholic administration by the Greeks on Crete. Eventually a rapprochement allowed Venice to hold the island until 1669.

**Further reading:** David Holton, ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Elisavet A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia per tutti i paesi del mondo, 1983).

**crime, punishment, and the courts** The administration of JUSTICE in terms of crime, punishment, and the courts in the Middle Ages was carried out in several ways and forms. This was because of the multiple and divided nature of justiciary power and its exercise. Civil jurisdiction was not the same as that of criminal. There were courts that could exercise either high or low justice. There were secular or lay courts and ecclesiastical courts. High justice could administer the death penalty and much higher fines than courts of low justice could apply. From the 12th century, there was a great increase in the professionalization and learned study of the law in universities and at the INNS OF COURT.

The individual could be subject to ecclesiastical, seigniorial or manorial courts, and royal or princely courts. Trials would be adjudged according to the status of the culprit or on political connections or circumstances. The procedures and conceptualizations of crimes and punishments of these courts would be governed by barbarian, customary, common, Roman, canon, manorial, and feudal law. These laws, their interpretations, and procedures changed over time during the Middle Ages. The administration of justice could be delegated by a monarch or pope. It could be fiscally lucrative, thus linked with political status or patronage. For a secular holder of a delegated right of administration of justice, to

be able to condemn people to death was considered a reflection of status and even of nobility and a place in the true hierarchy of power.

#### JURISDICTIONAL CONFLICT

Exact jurisdictions for specific crimes were not clear and were much debated, giving ample space for conflict among monarchs, popes, urban societies, and princes throughout the Middle Ages. The jurisdiction of these overlapping courts was dependent in part on the nature of the crime but also on the relative strength of those in political control of a society. If a town or a prince had more control of a locality, ecclesiastical courts might see considerably fewer cases. The clergy were supposed to be tried only in ecclesiastical courts, but some regimes were able to exert jurisdiction over them for serious crimes. Ecclesiastical courts could not administer the death penalty, even in cases of unrepentant heresy. Those judged guilty of capital offenses would be turned over to the lay courts for the dispensing of capital punishment. Throughout the Middle Ages there was constant tension between powerful people who were merely exercising private revenge and the intervention of the state to control the law and sometimes to protect the interests of those of lesser status and relative power.

*See also* BRACTON, HENRY OF; CLARENDON, CONSTITUTIONS OF; CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS; FEUDALISM AND FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS; JUSTICE; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; NOBILITY AND NOBLES; OUTLAWRY; PARLEMENT OF PARIS; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES; POLITICAL STRUCTURE.

**Further reading:** John Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); David Chambers and Trevor Dean, *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997); John H. Langbein, *Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance: England, Germany, France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Laura Ikins Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

**Crimea, khanate of** The khanate of Crimea was founded between 1426 and 1430 by a descendant of JENGHIZ KHAN. His successors ruled as Turkish vassals over the Crimean peninsula and the vast steppe territory north of the BLACK SEA between the Dnieper and the Don until 1783, when the khanate was annexed by the Russians.

The first issue for the earlier survival of the khanate was its relationship with the GOLDEN HORDE and later the Great Horde. In the period 1430–1502 the khanate had to

defend itself against the khans of the Golden Horde, their successors, the rulers of the Great Horde, and the encroachments of the Italian colonies of Caffa and Tana on the Black Sea. The second issue was OTTOMAN expansionism. In 1475 the TURKS conquered the Genoese colonies in the Crimea and later extended their domination over the entire southern coast of Crimea.

**Further reading:** Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1978).

**Croatia** Croatia in the Middle Ages was a Slavic state in the northwestern Balkan Peninsula. The origin of the Croatians, the Hrvati, has been controversial. According to CONSTANTINE VII Porphyrogenitos's *On Imperial Administration*, the Croats migrated in the early seventh century into the Balkan Peninsula at the invitation of the emperor HERAKLEIOS, who sought their aid against the AVARS. Having defeated the Avars, they settled down and converted to Christianity, becoming nominal subjects of BYZANTIUM. The lordship of CHARLEMAGNE was accepted in 803, but in 879, when it was obvious Frankish power had declined, the Croats switched their loyalty to the PAPACY and so, in effect, then became independent of the Eastern Empire.

At various moments, when advantageous, Croatia later allied itself with Byzantium, as did Prince TOMISLAV, for fear of SIMEON of Bulgaria. Byzantine influence declined in Croatia especially after 1060, when the liturgy in Church Slavonic came to be prohibited. By this time Croatia's orientation had shifted permanently to central and western or Roman Catholic Europe, usually under the lordship of HUNGARY, then the Angevins, then the HABSBURGS. VENICE was able to control its coastline on the Adriatic Sea.

See also DALMATIA; DUBROVNIK.

**Further reading:** Stanko Guldescu, *History of Medieval Croatia* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964); Francis Ralph Preveden, *A History of the Croatian People from Their Arrival on the Shores of the Adriatic to the Present Day, with Some Account of the Gothic, Roman, Greek, Illyrian, and Prehistoric Periods of the Ancient Illyricum and Pannonis*, 2 vols. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955–1962); George J. Prpic, *Croatia and the Croatians: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography in English* (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Associated Book Publishers, 1982).

**crossbow** See WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**crucifix and Crucifixion** The representation of the cross or the Crucifixion with Christ on it developed and changed in Western and Byzantine art over the course of the Middle Ages. During the second and third centuries, most crosses were bare. The bare cross was intended to be a sign of sacrifice for human salvation, rather than a

concrete reminder of the actual Passion of Christ. Sometimes it was depicted in preference to an explicit image of Christ. There was reluctance to show straightforward image of GOD, let alone the suffering of God on an ignominious instrument of torture. At the time crucifixion was reserved for especially vicious bandits and thieves. This attitude and artistic taste favored triumphal forms of God such as Christ in majesty and his ASCENSION, so crosses were represented alone, and often with no iconographical context or embellishment. In the apse of his new church of Saint Irene, under the emperor CONSTANTINE in the fourth century, there was a great cross that did not bear Christ. Christ was depicted in majesty either on the ceiling, between the Sun and the Moon, as in Saint John Lateran in Rome, or in a medallion, as in San Stefano Rotondo. Crosses in the time of JUSTINIAN continued to be bare.

From the fourth to the 12th century, crucifixes and Crucifixions celebrated the majesty of Christ. The idea of majestic kingship explicitly changed to that of Redemption by the sacrifice on the cross. After the first third of the 12th century, crucifixes became graphic to tell the story of Christ's Passion. Theologians by the 12th century saw the supposed shame of the cross as the sign of Christ's saving glory. The church and the state began to appreciate the depiction of a suffering Christ crucified between two hideously tortured thieves as an opportunity to demonstrate the consequences of sin, capital punishment, and crime to the faithful. These had become the common themes of pastoral care, especially with the advent of the MENDICANT ORDERS.

**Further reading:** Peter Harbison, *The Crucifixion in Irish Art: Fifty Selected Examples from the Ninth to the Twentieth Century* (Dublin: Columbia Press, 2000); Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (London: Reaktion, 1999); Barbara Catherine Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ellen M. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols., trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1971–1972).

**crusader states** See CRUSADES.

**Crusades** The Crusades were a historical movement primarily between 1096 and 1291 that arose in western Europe to liberate the HOLY SEPULCHER from the Muslims and restore Christian possession of it. The name, which evolved in the 13th century, derived from the sign of the cross, worn by participants. Various motives were behind the Crusades for individuals and groups, but the

movement as a whole resulted from the combined effects of religious, political, social, demographic, and economic factors.

### MOTIVATIONS

One religious prompting was connected with the spread of clerical and lay learning and preaching in Catholic Europe. This emphasized a spiritual and historical link to the holy places in PALESTINE, as the land of Israel, where the life and Passion of Christ took place. These feelings had earlier been expressed through pilgrimages that familiarized places like JERUSALEM, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Galilee, and Judaea to a lot of people in western Europe.

The political reasons behind such a movement were prompted by the spectacular and humiliating conquests by the SELJUK TURKS, who, in 1071, had captured Jerusalem and defeated the Byzantines at MANZIKERT, conquering much of ANATOLIA. These events led Byzantium to turn to the West in a cry for help. In the INVESTITURE controversy, both the PAPACY and the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE had claimed universal hegemony. Their conflicts motivated Pope URBAN II, compelled to flee ROME by the emperor Henry IV (r. 1056–1106), to seek support to fight a holy war against the infidels under papal leadership. By leading a universal military expedition, the papacy hoped to add secular power to its claim to a universal spiritual hegemony.

As for social and demographic factors underlying the Crusades, the military aspects of feudalism had brought about anarchy and the creation of policies that resulted in almost continual war. Thousands of knights were in search of land, fortunes, and lucrative adventures, while a great number of peasants lacked the means to obtain basic nourishment. There was seemingly little opportunity in what was perceived as an overcrowded Europe. Settlement elsewhere looked inviting.

Economic factors related to the policy of the Italian naval powers, such as PISA and GENOA already interested in commerce with the Orient, induced them to seek political backing for their ambitions in the East. Italian fleets and merchants had already become important factors in the Mediterranean Sea. They depended on political stability in the Middle East. That had been upset by some Seljuk expansion.

### FIRST CRUSADE

Nine Crusades have been given numbers, but in fact they were almost a continuous activity in the 12th and 13th centuries. The First Crusade was the result of Pope Urban II's appeal at the Council of CLERMONT in 1095. The speech at Clermont that initiated the Crusade had a larger appeal than intended and led to an immediate organization of a popular crusade preached by PETER THE HERMIT, full of fanatical and ill-prepared participants. On their way to the Holy Land, this rabble attacked JEWISH

quarters in French and German cities. After their arrival in Constantinople, they were transported by the Byzantine emperor ALEXIOS I to Anatolia, and were massacred by the Seljuks at NICAEA.

The Crusade of the barons, however, was better planned. RAYMOND of Saint Gilles, count of Toulouse, led the Provençal knights. GODFREY OF BOUILLON headed those from Lorraine, Germany, and Belgium. BOHEMOND of Taranto and TANCRED commanded the southern Italians. Robert (d. 1111), count of FLANDERS; Hugh (d. 1125), duke of Vermandois; and Robert II (d. 1124), duke of NORMANDY led contingents from other regions in northern and western France. This group arrived in 1097 at Constantinople, where Emperor ALEXIOS I demanded that they swear him fealty. A crusader victory at Dorylaeum in Anatolia over the Seljuks soon allowed the Byzantines to control western Anatolia and weaken the sultanate of Konya. Despite monumental difficulties, the crusaders crossed the Anatolian peninsula and in 1098 attacked and took ANTIOCH. At the same time another army conquered the province of EDESSA, on the Euphrates. There BALDWIN of Boulogne, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, founded an independent county. The major part of the army continued on to PALESTINE and took Jerusalem in July 1099, infamously slaughtering many innocent inhabitants. The kingdom of Jerusalem was established along with minor principalities all along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.

### SECOND THROUGH FIFTH CRUSADES

The Second Crusade was proclaimed by Pope Eugenius III after the capture of Edessa by Imad-al-Din Zengi (d. 1146) in 1144. It was preached by Saint BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX and led by the emperor Conrad III (r. 1138–52) of Germany, and Louis VII (r. 1137–80), king of France. After a difficult overland passage to the East in 1148, at an assembly held at ACRE, it was decided to attack DAMASCUS, but the crusaders could not conquer the Syrian city and dispersed in failure.

The Third Crusade was a European reaction to the disastrous Battle of the Horns of HATTIN in 1187. The Christians lost control of Jerusalem. Under the leadership of Emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, King PHILIP II AUGUSTUS of France and King RICHARD I LIONHEART of England, an extremely imposing army left Europe to restore the LATIN kingdom of Jerusalem. Frederick chose the terrestrial route and died in a river in Anatolia in 1189. The Western kings, on the other hand, sailed via the Mediterranean under the shadow of an Anglo-French rivalry. Richard conquered CYPRUS on his route eastward. The island became a new crusader kingdom established in 1192 under Guy of LUSIGNAN, the former king of Jerusalem. In 1191 Acre was besieged and conquered by the crusaders; subsequently the kingdom was partially restored but linked to a coastal strip with access to Jerusalem.

The Fourth Crusade was begun by Pope INNOCENT III to assist the threatened city of Acre. The crusade was led to Constantinople by the Venetians instead. In 1204, the crusaders attacked the capital of the Byzantine Empire and sacked it. The outcome was the establishment of the LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE and of the Frankish principalities in GREECE. It also assured Venetian economic and political hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Fifth Crusade, called again by Innocent III with the hope of accomplishing his goals for the Fourth Crusade, was complex. King Andrew II (r. 1205–35) of HUNGARY traveled to Palestine in 1217 and fought for a crusader state there. Others, led by Cardinal Pelagius (d. 1224) and the kings John of Brienne (ca. 1148–1237) of Jerusalem and Hugh I (r. ca. 1205–18) of CYPRUS, invaded EGYPT in 1218 and captured Damietta. They were defeated by the Egyptians while en route to try to take CAIRO and therefore accomplished nothing.

#### FURTHER CRUSADES

The crusade of the emperor FREDERICK II, the Sixth Crusade, begun in 1228, was planned from 1216 after a long diplomatic negotiation between the courts of SICILY and Egypt. The crusaders were granted access to the city of Jerusalem. Frederick, who had been excommunicated by Pope GREGORY IX, used his crusade as an opportunity for his coronation as king of Jerusalem. Although diplomatically, the crusade resulted in the return of and pilgrim crusader access to Jerusalem, it also provoked a civil war among the local nobility, which led to the kingdom's further decline.

A crusade by Thibault IV of Champagne-NAVARRE (1201–53) and Richard the earl of Cornwall (1209–72) included the expeditions of this French prince and this brother of King HENRY III of England between 1241 and 1242. These expeditions by great feudal lords gave little help to the weakened kingdom of Jerusalem.

The crusade of King LOUIS IX of France took place between 1248 and 1252: the Seventh Crusade. Louis mobilized a great army to attack Egypt to alleviate pressure from there on the Christians in Palestine. After initial success on the coast, the French army was defeated at Mansurah in 1249 and Louis himself was captured. After his release, he went to the city of Acre with what was left of his army and built fortifications for the cities of the crusader kingdom, meant to establish a true defensive system. He was not able to do anything about Jerusalem. Louis, in a vain attempt to capture TUNIS, died there while on crusade in 1270.

After the shocking fall of Acre in 1291, the idea or dream of the crusade lived on in western Europe. No great project, however, was ever realized. Particular crusades were undertaken against the Turks by the Knights HOSPITALLERS, who settled at RHODES. Among numerous disastrous crusades, the most important was that of NICOPOLIS in 1396. The kings of HUNGARY and

BOHEMIA together with several French and Burgundian princes and nobles attacked the Ottoman sultan BAYAZID. They were severely defeated and the Balkans were soon overrun in consequence by the Turks.

The term *crusade* also denoted military expeditions against heretics, such as the ALBIGENSIANS in the 13th century and the Hussites in the 15th century. The popes of the 13th century proclaimed crusades against their enemies, including Catholic monarchs, such as Frederick II. In northern Europe numerous crusades were launched and preached to foster expansion into northeastern Europe against pagans. The politics of many of these efforts weakened the spiritual values of crusading in the eyes of many.

See also DANDOLO, ENRICO; PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD; PILGRIMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE SITES; RECONQUEST; SALADIN.

**Further reading:** Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (1980; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1997); Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (1935; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); Elizabeth M. Hallam, ed., *Chronicles of the Crusades: Nine Crusades and Two Hundred Years of Bitter Conflict for the Holy Land Brought to Life through the Words of Those Who Were Actually There* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989); Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Thomas F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2d ed., trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*; Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*; Vol. 2, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187*; Vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–1954).

**crypt** The crypt was an architectural structure, vault, cellar, or subterranean complex situated beneath the choirs and sometimes the transepts of churches. It was usually reached by steps inside the building and intended for the cult of RELICS as well as the BURIAL and tombs of important people. The term had its origins in the caverns or galleries dug in the rock, in which places of worship were built in the fourth century, such as in the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Church of the HOLY SEPULCHER at JERUSALEM, Saint Peter's, and Saint Paul's outside the walls in Rome. By the sixth and seventh centuries, this type of structure was widespread. Pope GREGORY I the Great built a semicircular crypt under Old Saint Peter's Basilica. These

crypts were attempts to accommodate a growing influx of pilgrims and prevent them from disturbing liturgical activities. As a solution to those problems, the crypt was a wide and enduring success. Its use for burial purposes grew in the ninth century. Carolingian crypts were extensive spaces for the now more common practice of burying important people along with their monuments. The 10th century saw a standardization of these spaces by providing several aisles, separated by columns, and leading to an apse, much like the churches above. They became lower churches for the recitation of prayers said near relics or for the dead. During the GOTHIC period, chapels around the ambulatory around the main altar in upper levels of churches were more used for relics and burials.

See also BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; CATACOMBS; PILGRIMAGES AND PILGRIMAGE SITES.

**Further reading:** Stephen Heywood, "Crypt," *The Dictionary of Art*, 8.222–225; Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200* (1959; reprint, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978); Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

**Cumans (Kumans, Kun, Kipchaks, Polovtsy)** Cumans were a Turkish-speaking confederation of nomads from central Asia who served as standing troops for BYZANTIUM in the 12th through 13th centuries. Known as skillful archers, the Cumans moved into the southern Russian steppe or Ukraine in the mid-11th century and attached themselves to Byzantine armies as mercenaries. In 1091, ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS employed them to annihilate the Petchenegs at the battle of Mount Lebounion. In the 12th century they were enrolled in large numbers into the army, in which their skill as mounted archers was valued. They also began to settle Byzantine territory, where some were given grants of land. Many Cumans served Byzantium, but others remained threats. Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) crushed a Cuman raid across the Danube after the Second Crusade. Some Cumans assisted the revolt of the Bulgarians Peter (d. 1197) and Asen I (d. 1196) against Byzantium in 1186. They served in the army of the Bulgarian ruler Kalojan (r. 1197–1207) that in 1205 destroyed a LATIN army from Constantinople, capturing BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. They were decisive in the victory of the Bulgarian czar John Asen II (ca. 1195/96–1241) at the Battle of Klokotnitsa in 1230 against a Greek invasion.

Around 1241 the MONGOLS defeated what was left of the Cumans, driving the remnants into Byzantine territory. Some settled along the frontiers of Thrace and MACEDONIA, and in MOLDAVIA and ANATOLIA. Others fled to HUNGARY and BULGARIA; others were captured and converted to Islam eventually becoming MAMLUKS. In their last appearance in history, Cumans were in the army of the future emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos (r. 1261–82)

in his victory at the Battle of Pelagonia in 1259 against the Latin occupiers of Greece.

See also BULGARIA AND BULGARS.

**Further reading:** Andras Paloczi-Horvath, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Hungary*, trans. Timothy Wilkinson (Budapest: Corvina, 1989); Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia* (New York: Saypedon, 1997); Jean Richard, "Cumans" in *EMA*, 1.396–7.

**currency** See COINAGE AND CURRENCY.

**Cyprus, island and kingdom of (Kibris, Qubrus)** Medieval Cyprus was an island located in the eastern Mediterranean. The island's importance was its strategic location near the coasts of SYRIA and southern ANATOLIA dominating the eastern Mediterranean. Beginning about 647 the Byzantine-controlled island was attacked by ARABS, resulting in the abandonment of some coastal cities. A treaty of 688 with ABD AL-MALIK divided Cyprus in two and made it a neutral zone with tax revenues divided between the ABBASIDS and BYZANTIUM. The Byzantine emperor BASIL I held the island for a few years, but only with the conquest of the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (ca. 963–969) in 965 was it moved more permanently into Byzantine control again.

Its location on the way to Palestine made Cyprus a place of retreat and a source of food and supplies for the crusader kingdoms. However, this closeness allowed Reynald of Châtillon (d. 1187) to attack it in 1157. In 1184 the self-proclaimed ruler of the island, Isaac Komnenos, declared Cyprus independent. However, in 1191 Isaac was captured when RICHARD I LIONHEART conquered Cyprus during the Third Crusade. Cyprus remained a feudal monarchy in crusader hands under the LUSIGNAN family until 1489, when VENICE acquired it. The OTTOMANS took it from the Venetians in 1571.

**Further reading:** P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); George Hill, *History of Cyprus*; Vol. 1, *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*; Vol. 2, *The Frankish Period, 1192–1432* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–1972); Charlotte Roueché, "Asia Minor and Cyprus," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 19, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 570–587.

**Cyril, Saint (Constantine) (the Philosopher)** (ca. 827–869), and **Methodios, Saint (Michael)** (ca. 825–884/5) and **apostles of the Slavs** *Greek missionaries, apostles of the Slavic peoples*

Methodios was two years old when his brother, Constantine, the future Cyril, was born in THESSALONIKI in north-

eastern GREECE in 827. Methodios entered the service of the BYZANTINE emperor and worked faithfully, if without distinction, for a number of years. Constantine, a brilliant linguist, studied at the imperial university in CONSTANTINOPLE but refused the offer of a governor's post and asked instead to be ordained a PRIEST. More intellectually inclined than Methodios, he was the official librarian of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople. He taught PHILOSOPHY for a time at the imperial university and was sent by Patriarch Ignatios (r. 847–853, 867–877) to the CALIPH's court as a member of a delegation to debate THEOLOGY with the Muslims.

In the meantime Methodios left government service and entered a monastery in Bithynia outside Constantinople. In 856 Constantine also decided to withdraw from the active life of a scholar-churchman and joined Methodios in the same monastery. In 860 they were sent by Patriarch Ignatios to preach Christianity to the KHAZARS, north of the Black Sea. There, Constantine discovered what he believed to be the bones of an early martyred pope, Saint Clement of Rome (r. 91–101), and kept them with him for the rest of his life.

#### THE SLAVIC HERITAGE

From the time they were young in Thessaloniki, the brothers were familiar with Slavic dialects. The Moravian king, Ratislav (r. 846–870), unhappy with the Latin Christianity preached in his country by CHARLEMAGNE's German missionaries, asked Constantinople for help. Constantine and Methodios were summoned from their monastery and were sent by Emperor Michael III (r. 842–867) to Moravia. In 863 the brothers began teaching and preaching in the vernacular Slavonic language of the people. They started a school to train young men for the priesthood. They conducted the liturgical services in Slavonic and eventually developed Slavonic alphabets, the GLAGOLITIC and CYRILLIC, for the BIBLE and for the liturgy. While doing this, they inevitably came into conflict with German missionaries, who were propagating the rival Latin form of Christianity.

The two brothers were invited to Rome in 868 by Pope Nicholas I (r. 858–867) to justify their work. Impressed by their success, the pope made them bishops and authorized them to carry on their ministry in the vernacular. Constantine had no further desire for the active missionary life and entered a monastery in Rome in 869, taking a new name, Cyril. Some 50 days later he died between February 14 and 24.

Methodios returned to Moravia and continued proselytizing for 16 more years. An incident in 871 further extended his influence. Despite his papal ties, Methodios's rivalry with the Latin clergy plagued him, even causing him to be imprisoned. He was summoned again to Rome in 878 by Pope John VIII (r. 872–882). The pope decided that Methodios must first read the MASS in Latin and then translate it into Slavonic. Methodios gave in.

Latin remained the language of the church. The new alphabet became the basis for numerous written Slavic languages. He died in Moravia on April 6, 884/885. Cyril and Methodios were formally recognized as saints of the Roman Catholic Church in 1881.

See also PHOTIOS THE GREAT.

**Further reading:** Marvin Kantor and Richard S. White, eds. and trans., *The Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius* (Ann Arbor: Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of Michigan, 1976); Matthew Spinka, *A History of Christianity in the Balkans: A Study in the Spread of Byzantine Culture among the Slavs* (1933; reprint, Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968); Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970); A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

**Cyril of Alexandria, Saint** (ca. 376–444) *patriarch of Alexandria, doctor of the church*

Nothing certain is known concerning Cyril's early years except that he was born in ALEXANDRIA or Mahalla about 376 and was the nephew of Theophilus (ca. 345–412), his predecessor as bishop of that city. He oppressed Jews, the remaining pagans, and rivals to his ecclesiastical authority. He likely employed violence and intrigue to overcome them. He was in his uncle's household at the infamous Synod of the Oak in 403, when Theophilus was successful in bringing about temporary removal of John CHRYSOSTOM from his post as bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE. Having become bishop of Alexandria in 412, Cyril seized the property of the Novatianists, an austere Christian sect, and began the destruction of the JEWISH community in Alexandria.

About 430 Cyril began his efforts to bring down NESTORIUS, the bishop of Constantinople. The bishops of Alexandria had always resented the rising prestige of the See of Constantinople. In addition, Nestorius represented theological ideas, ANTIOCH, rival to Alexandria. According to Cyril, belief in the Incarnation required the acknowledgment that GOD the Word, the second "person" of the Trinity, was himself the one and only subject, or agent, in every deed and word acted and spoken by Jesus Christ. This meant that MARY, the mother of Jesus, was to be called *theotokos* or "she who bore God." This was later to become the orthodox position for both the Eastern and Western Churches.

Nestorius had dissented from this concept, fearing that it lessened the full humanity of Jesus and detracted from the dignity of God. The emperor summoned the third ecumenical council of EPHESUS in 431. Cyril himself convened the council and quickly gained the condemnation of Nestorius before the bishops friendly to Nestorius's ideas had arrived. They deposed Cyril soon after their arrival.

After these irregular proceedings, Nestorius resigned voluntarily. Under government pressure in 433, however, Cyril, restored to office, made concessions, reconciling with the more moderate of Nestorius's allies through a *Formula of Reunion* in 433. Cyril's other writings included letters, exegetical books, apologetic treatises, and commentaries on books of the BIBLE. He died on June 27, 444.

See also CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF; CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY; MONOPHYSITISM.

**Further reading:** Cyril of Alexandria, *Cyril of Alexandria: Select Letters*, ed. and trans. Lionel R. Wickham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Alois Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, trans. J. S. Bowden (London: Mowbray, 1965), 329–452; R. L. Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian*

*Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1971).

**Cyrillic** Cyrillic is the name of the alphabet invented by Saint CYRIL, the "Apostle of the Slavs," and based on the adaptation of Greek symbols to Slavonic phonetics. Cyrillic was used in the liturgical writings of the Slavonic peoples of the Orthodox Church. The modern Slav alphabet is derived from it.

See also GLAGOLITIC ALPHABET AND RITE.

**Further reading:** Sharon Golke Fullerton, *Paleographic Methods Used in Dating Cyrillic and Glagolitic Slavic Manuscripts* (Columbus: Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Ohio State University, 1975).

# D

## **Dafydd ap Gwilym** (ca. 1320–ca. 1380) *lyric poet*

He was born about 1320, probably in the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr, and died at and is reportedly buried in Ystrad Fflur, or Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire in WALES. Little has been discovered about his life; his family seemed to have included officials of the English Crown. Through his uncle, Dafydd received an education, was trained in the bardic recitation or singing tradition, and picked up cultural influences from the Anglo-Norman world, such as the TROUBADOUR genre. He essentially drew Welsh poetry and elements of its bardic tradition into the mainstream of European literature, at the same time introducing Continental literary elements into Welsh poetry.

Dafydd was famous for use of meter, love poetry, and descriptions of real nature. In his work he usually played the role of a wounded poet, of a lover at first rejected, of a suitor frustrated by conventionally jealous husbands, and of the successful lover of initially unattainable women. He described the joys of pursuit and his overcoming of obstacles in vivid detail. This was done in a comedic tongue-in-cheek style. His personal imagery was natural, imaginative, and innovative. He wrote *awdlau* or odes and *cywyddau* or rhymed couplets that demonstrated his familiarity with the Welsh native tradition. He died about 1380.

**Further reading:** Huw M. Edwards, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: Influences and Analogues* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996); Dafydd ap Gwilym, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: The Poems*, trans. Richard Morgan Loomis (Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982).

**da Gama, Vasco** See VASCO DA GAMA.

**Dalmatia** The land on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and its hinterland, from the region of Istria to Kotor, bounded by the Dinaric range and parallel to the coast. Although briefly occupied by ODOACER, then by the OSTROGOTHS, it was one of the few parts of the Western Empire that generally escaped domination by Germanic peoples in the fifth century. Invasions by SLAVS and AVARS in the early 7th century destroyed the older inland cities and made more important the coastal cities of Zara, Split, DUBROVNIK, and DURAZZO, which were to keep their Byzantine and later Venetian, ties throughout the Middle Ages.

However, Byzantine political and ecclesiastical control and influence were unstable and overturned briefly by CHARLEMAGNE in 805. After the FRANKS restored Dalmatia by treaty to BYZANTIUM in 812, it was attacked by Muslims. Dubrovnik had to be saved in 868 from an ARAB siege by a Byzantine fleet. Sometime toward the end of the ninth century, much of Dalmatia was incorporated into the Byzantine province of Longobardia. Durazzo, the most important center of Byzantine power on the Adriatic coast, became the capital of that province, which also had authority over parts of southern Italy.

Influence of VENICE, HUNGARY, and BULGARIA grew during the 10th century. The Bulgarian czar SAMUEL held Durazzo until the emperor BASIL II retook it in 1005. The 11th century saw added threats from the north, CROATIA, and the NORMANS in Italy, who seized Durazzo briefly in 1081. In the 12th century, Venice simply occupied the northern part of the coast. Croatia, then united with HUNGARY, took the middle section, while Byzantium kept Dubrovnik until that city was captured by the Venetians in 1205. Venice ruled Dalmatia until 1358, when, except for Dubrovnik, which was self-governing from 1358 to 1526, Dalmatia was under the control of Hungary, which

held it until the early 15th century when it passed under Venice again.

See also *DIOCLETIAN*; *ILLYRICUM AND THE ILLYRIANS*.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), Franjo Šanjek, "Dalmatia" in *EMA*, 1,4034; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1969).

**Damascus (Dimashk al Sham, ash-Sham, "the Northern")** Damascus was the capital of the *UMAYYADS* from 661 to 750 and was well situated between the Mesopotamian and Syrian parts of the first Islamic caliphate. The city, located in southwestern SYRIA on the eastern edge of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, was part of the *BYZANTINE* Empire until 612, held by the Persians in 612–628, and restored to Byzantine possession until the Arabs conquered it in 635. It was the center of Muslim arts and learning under the Umayyads and contained the greatest Muslim building of the eighth century, the Great Mosque, built in 706 by the caliph *AL-WALID*. It was decorated with wall mosaics probably produced by Byzantine artisans. The Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976) managed to force the city to pay a tribute in 975 during a campaign in Syria. In the 12th century the city was the stronghold of *NUR AL-DIN* and then of *SALADIN*, who died there.

The *MONGOLS* sacked and temporarily occupied the city in 1260. The Mamluk sultanate retook the city after defeating the Mongols at the battle of *AYN JALUT* that same year. It was sacked again by an army sent by *TAMERLANE* in 1401. The city had a reputation for internal disorder in the 14th and 15th centuries. Its population might have reached 50,000 in the 1340s; it was severely struck by plague in 1347 and never recovered such a population until modern times. The Ottoman Turks took over the city from the Mamluks in 1516.

See also *AYYUBIDS*; *MADRASA*; *SELJUK TURKS OF RUM*.

**Further reading:** Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Philip K. Hitti, "Damascus: The Imperial Capital" in *Capital Cities of Arab Islam* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973), 61–84; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977); Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Damascus under the Mamlūks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

**Damian, Peter (Peter Damiani)** (ca. 1007–1072) reformer, critic

Peter Damian was born of poor parents about 1007 at *RAVENNA* and educated at Faenza and Parma. He took on

the eremitical life, probably after being ordained priest. In about 1035, he moved to Fonte Avellana near Gubbio in central Italy, whose prior he became in 1043. He encouraged more eremitical foundations in *TUSCANY* and central *ITALY*.

Damian has left 180 letters, about 50 sermons, seven Saints' Lives, and devotional poetry. His influence can be seen particularly among canonists, such as *GRATIAN*. He became especially influential in the 1040s in the 11th-century *GREGORIAN REFORM* Adviser and friend to Hildebrand, the future Pope *GREGORY VII*, Damian denounced *SIMONY* and the sexual depravity of the clergy. He did not promote a radical separation of powers between the papacy and the empire, as Gregory would later. Made against his will the cardinal bishop of Ostia in late 1057 or early 1058, Damian led delicate papal missions to *MILAN*, *FLORENCE*, *Ravenna*, *CLUNY*, and the emperor. Later freed from the duties of a cardinal, he lived the last years of his life with his fellow hermits.

#### MONASTIC REFORM

In terms of monastic reform he proposed a way of life made up of asceticism and discipline, combining *BENEDICTINE MONASTICISM* with the eremitism of John *CASSIAN*. For him the life of the hermit was the highest expression of the monastic ideal. Though made a doctor of the church in 1828, Peter Damian produced little important theological work. Peter Damian preached a radical contempt for the world, especially with regard to sexuality and marriage. He died in 1072.

**Further reading:** Peter Damien, *Letters*, 3 vols., trans. Owen J. Blum (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1989–1990); Jack Lord, *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources: A Preliminary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1956); Irvén Michael Resnick, *Divine Power and Possibility in St. Peter Damian's "De divina omnipotentia"* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992).

**dance and dance regulation** Most of what we know of dance through most of the Middle Ages can be found essentially only in condemnations of it. Councils, episcopal statutes, and *PENITENTIALS* repeated numerous condemnations. Dances were considered pagan and temptations to sin. In the early Middle Ages, the first of January gave rise to riotous festivities, as in antiquity. To the ancient dances and masquerades on January were added the German ones at the winter solstice. The summer solstice was also a time of dances. Some were done to allegedly diabolical songs. Rites such as *MARRIAGE* or *BURIAL* were customarily accompanied by dances. The church warned the *LAITY* against such sinful practices and condemned clerics who took part in marriage feasts and such festivities.

In the central Middle Ages to answer the popular taste for dancing, the church sought to incorporate dancing into the liturgy and pastoral activities. Eventually the church denounced dancing in front of or inside places of worship. However, round dances enjoyed great popularity until the Council of Trent suppressed them in the 16th century.

**Further reading:** Antonio Cornazzano, *The Book on the Art of Dancing*, trans. Madeleine Inglehearn and Peggy Forsyth (London: Dance Books, 1981); Pierre Riché, “Dance” in *EMA*, 1.406.

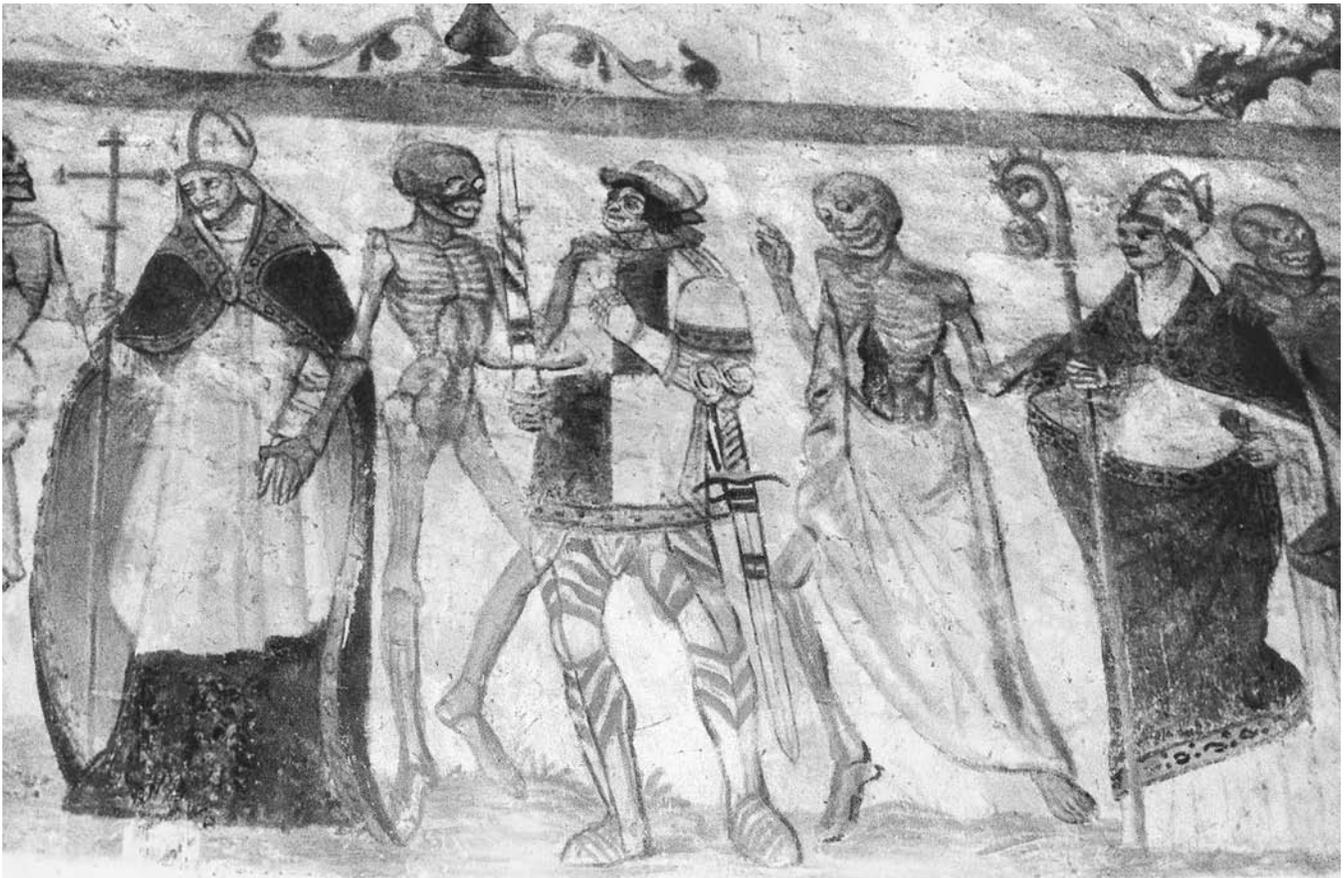
**dance of death (danse macabre)** This was a representation of a dance of people from all social levels illustrating the concept that death affects all. In the later Middle Ages the dance of death or *danse macabre* was expressed in literature, iconography, and music. The first traces of this motif date from the late 14th century after the numerous visitations of the PLAGUE. A typical image showed a hierarchical succession of 30 male couples representing all estates of society, from the pope, the emperor, and the king to the laborer and the child. They were painted for the benefit of those who passed by as a

lesson of the future that awaited everyone. Throughout the 15th century, such sinister dances were depicted in the form of frescoes or wood carvings in France, England, and Germany.

**Further reading:** J. M. Clark, *Death and the Visual Arts* (1897; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1977); Edelgard Du Bruck, *The Theme of Death in French Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964); Leonard Paul Kurtz, *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 1934).

**Dandolo, Enrico** (ca. 1107–1205) *doge of Venice, participant in the sack of Constantinople*

Born about 1107 in VENICE, Enrico Dandolo held a number of public offices for the Venetian Republic throughout his life. It was not until he became doge in 1192 at the age of 85 that his career was of major historical importance. In his first years as doge, though blind, he reformed the coinage, updated Venetian legal statutes, defeated a fleet from PISA, and broke their blockade. Dandolo’s most significant political achievement, however, was his arranging the hiring of Venetian ships for the Fourth Crusade in



Fifteenth-century fresco of a danse macabre from a parish church in La Ferté-Loupière between Burgundy and Paris in France showing authorities of the church dancing with skeletons taking them off to their just rewards (Courtesy Edward English)

1202. Venice's interest in this endeavor was tied to receiving half of the spoils of any victory. Nonetheless, when the crusaders could not pay for their transport, as had been half-expected, Dandolo refused to allow them to sail. Instead, in 1202 Dandolo led the crusaders to attack the city of Zara on the coast of DALMATIA, which was in rebellion against Venice. For this attack on their fellow Christians, Pope INNOCENT III excommunicated Dandolo and all the Venetians.

The crusaders wintered in Zara, confronting Dandolo with dealing with needy, fanatical, and desperate armed men. In the following spring of 1204 he employed them in an alliance with Alexios IV Angelos (d. 1204), son of Isaac II (r. 1185–95, 1203–04), the emperor of Constantinople, against Isaac's brother, Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195–1203), who had deposed and blinded Isaac. In return, Alexios IV Angelos, though he had little support in the city of Constantinople, had promised assistance from Byzantine forces in a crusade and the prospect of unification of the Greek and Latin churches. The Venetians at the same time would also receive lucrative commercial privileges within the Byzantine Empire. Dandolo took the crusaders to CONSTANTINOPLE.

A siege of the city provoked an internal revolution, which ousted Alexios III and resulted in the return of the blind emperor Isaac and appointment of his son, Alexios IV Angelos, as emperor. When the crusaders demanded the expected union of the Greek and Latin churches, a revolt by the Greeks took place, leading to the imprisonment of the aged emperor and the death of his son.

In revenge Dandolo encouraged the crusaders, his willing accomplices, to take and sack the city. In April 1204 Constantinople fell and the Latins established the LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Dandolo played a major role in all these operations and was offered the Crown of this new empire, which he declined. Venice nonetheless did keep the commercial privileges the conquest brought.

From April 1204 until his death little can be found about the elderly Dandolo's activities. He died on June 14, 1205, and was buried in Constantinople. When the Greeks retook the city, they dug up his body and threw it to dogs, which supposedly refused to eat what was left.

See also CRUSADES; VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFROI.

**Further reading:** Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); Alfred J. Andrea, trans., *The Capture of Constantinople: The "Hystoria constantinopolitana" of Guenther of Paris* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Thomas Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, eds. *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia:

University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Jan Morris, *The Venetian Empire: A Sea Voyage* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980); John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982).

**Danegeld** This was a tax imposed by Anglo-Saxon kings in the late 10th century as a means of financing the tribute owed to Danish invaders since the days of King ÆTHELRED II. The Danegeld consisted of two shillings per hide or area of taxation; in some periods four shillings or more were required. The tribute had been paid at least since 991. The term *Danegeld*, however, was unknown before 1066.

The Danegeld should not be confused with the *Heregeld*, an annual tax imposed between the years 1012 and 1051 to pay Danish mercenaries and a standing army. The Anglo-Norman kings, WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR and HENRY II, levied the Danegeld until 1162. They used the revenues to finance war or extraordinary expenses.

**Further reading:** F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

**Danelaw (Danelagh, Danelaga)** Danelaw was an area of ENGLAND colonized by Danes in the ninth century and distinguished in legal terms from areas subject to Mercian and West Saxon law. It roughly comprised Yorkshire, East Anglia, and the central and eastern Midlands. Although no part of it was precisely coterminous with a modern area, it had features that distinguished it from "English" areas. Shires were divided into wapentakes, not hundreds. Taxes were assessed in carucates, not hides. It had a duodecimal counting system, slightly different legal procedures, and many place-names of Danish origin.

**Further reading:** F. M. Stenton, *The Danes in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927).

**Daniel (Daniil Aleksandrovich, Daniel Nevsky)** (r. 1263–1303/04) *Founder of the principality of Moscow and dynasty of the Moscow grand princes*

Daniel was the youngest son of Alexander NEVSKY, who had in his time obtained from the MONGOL khan of the Golden Horde the title and office of deputy in RUSSIA. Daniel also secured his appointment from the khan, as prince of MOSCOW in 1280. There he established his prestige against rival Russian princes and avoided conflict with Mongols. He recruited colonists and MERCHANTS to develop the local economy, well positioned for trade near the Moscow River. From a small settlement, Moscow then grew into a prosperous and important center. He died in 1303/04.

**Further reading:** Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: One Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian*

*History* (Bloomington: Indiana Universal Press, 1987); Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980–1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**Dante Alighieri** See ALIGHIERI, DANTE.

**Datini, Francesco di Marco** (ca. 1335–1410) *successful merchant*

Born at Prato about 1335, son of an obscure family of shopkeepers, orphaned by the PLAGUE of 1348, Francesco di Marco da Prato traveled as a young man to AVIGNON, where he gained commercial success. He returned to settle in TUSCANY in 1383 but continued his business activities all over the Mediterranean and northern Europe. Though feeling guilty about the morality of his businesses, he expanded and diversified them until about 1400, even gaining a foothold in FLORENCE. Lacking an heir, he left his fortune to a lay charitable institution. Centuries later, by chance his singularly rich fund of archives and correspondence was discovered, including 150,000 letters of a business and personal nature. He died without legitimate offspring on August 16, 1410, in Prato.

See also USURY.

**Further reading:** Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990); Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini* (1957; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1963); Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

**David I** (1080/85–1153) *king of Scotland*

Born in SCOTLAND between 1080 and 1085, the sixth and youngest son of King Malcolm III (1058–93) and Saint Margaret of Scotland (1046–93), he grew up at the Anglo-Norman court of HENRY I of ENGLAND, who was married to his sister. On the death of his brother Edgar (r. 1097–1107), king of the Scots, David received the southern parts of Scotland, while another brother, Alexander I (r. 1107–24), held the north. From his supposedly chaste marriage to the Anglo-Saxon Matilda in 1113, he gained the earldom of Huntington in England. In April 1124, when Alexander I died, David succeeded him as king of Scotland. Bound by an oath of fealty in 1127, he recognized Matilda (ca. 1102–67) as the heir of King Henry I. When Stephen (1135–54) took the throne in 1135, David invaded England and fought a series of battles for Matilda. In 1136 David was granted in return the earldom of Cumberland and in 1139 of Northumberland for his son. In 1141 David again fought Stephen on behalf of Matilda and her son, the future HENRY II, whom David later knighted in 1149. During this conflict David was captured at the Battle

of the Standard and held for a short period; but he eventually escaped.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS FOR SCOTLAND

From then on he stayed in Scotland and established a competent government. He promoted the growth of towns, such as EDINBURGH. David expanded his feudal ties by receiving into his service an evolving Anglo-Norman aristocracy, which was from then on to play a role in the political and cultural history of Scotland. David was a patron who reorganized the church according to continental models, established five bishoprics and numerous churches, and founded 12 abbeys. His reign was considered an era of greatness for Scotland. Regarded as a saint by some, he died on May 24, 1153, at Carlisle in Cumberland in northern England.

**Further reading:** Alan O. Anderson, ed., *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500–1286* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1922) 1.169–222; A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

**David II the Bruce** (1324–1371) *king of Scotland*

David was born on March 5, 1324, in Dunfermline, the son of ROBERT I THE BRUCE. In accordance with an Anglo-Scottish treaty, he was married on July 17, 1328, at the age of four to Joan (1321–62), the sister of the future king EDWARD III. He was anointed king on November 24, 1331, but spent most of his reign outside SCOTLAND, in exile or in prison. David first left his country as the result of the success of a rival who was a vassal of Edward III. David spent seven years (1334–41) in FRANCE. He fought with the French against Edward III in the early campaigns of 1339–40 in the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

In 1341, after gaining the upper hand in Scotland with French help, David returned, where he became engaged in a series of wars with England. In 1346 while King Philip VI (r. 1328–50) of France was fighting the English at Calais, David invaded England. However, he was defeated and captured at Neville's Cross on October 17, 1346. He spent the next 11 years in a LONDON prison. On October 7, 1357, he was released for a promised enormous ransom of 100,000 marks, which was well beyond Scotland's resources. David, who was childless, agreed to recognize Edward or a descendant as his successor, in return for the cancellation of the ransom. This proposal was opposed by his nephew and successor, Robert II (r. 1371–90). It was also rejected in 1364 by the Scottish parliament; but ultimately the entire ransom was paid. David's last years were marked by his unpopularity and by opposition to his extravagant expenditures. About to marry again, he died February 22, 1371, in Edinburgh.

**Further reading:** A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ronald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1974), 123–83.

**David of Wales, Saint** (Dewi, Dafydd, Water-Drinker) (ca. 520–ca. 601) *patron saint of Wales*

Of Saint David, whose Welsh name was Dewi, we know almost nothing except what was contained in much later hagiographical accounts. David could have lived at any time during the fifth or sixth century. Our earliest literary references to him were found in ninth-century Irish manuscripts with his feast day on March 1. Names used for the dedications of churches indicate that there was a cult focused on him in southwestern WALES, Cornwall, and IRELAND. Traditionally identified as a noble and a bishop, he was described as a monk only later; those descriptions were sponsored by monastic establishments.

In the earliest source for David as a saint, he was identified as a typical saint by wonders from before his birth, an ascetic monk, an orthodox Christian, and a miracle worker. These attributes are found in *The Life of David* by Rhygyvarch ap Sullian (1056–99), a bishop of Saint David's in Wales. With probably some elements of a true tradition, it was written as propaganda to support the independence of this Welsh see against Norman Canterbury. Rhygyvarch patterned his David on Saint Benedict and the hagiographical conventions of Pope GREGORY I the Great in his *Dialogues*. David's cult was approved by Pope Callistus II (r. 1119–24) in 1120. He is the only Welshman universally recognized as a saint in the Western Church and is the patron saint of Wales.

See also HAGIOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Rhygyvarch, *Life of St. David: The Basic Mid-Twelfth-Century Latin Text with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Translation*, ed. John W. James (Cardiff: Wales University Press, 1967); Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982).

**deacon and deaconate** See CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS.

**death and the dead** The dead in the Middle Ages played no direct role in the affairs of the living. Medieval Christians honored their dead, prayed for them, offered a cult to some of them, the saints, but never created a genuine “ancestor cult.”

In his *On the Care Due to the Dead*, the first Christian codification of any cult of the dead, AUGUSTINE denied the practical utility of most of the traditional funerary practices. He separated funerary rites from the Christian practice of intercessory or supplicatory prayers for the dead, which were inspired by a FAITH in ultimate redemption. Funerary customs, rites performed over the mortal remains, ritual BURIAL, and the upkeep of tombs, in no way helped the deceased. Intercessory prayers for the souls dead, such as MASSES, and alms, could comfort and help ease the suffering of those who deserved to benefit from them.

During the very early Middle Ages, the institutional church was little interested in rites for the death of ordinary Christians. Funeral ceremonies and burial were “private” ceremonies, officiated usually by a priest. The church condemned manifestations of grief that were too doubtful of a fundamental Christian faith in salvation.

#### THE QUICK AND THE DEAD

On the other hand, according to a tradition shared by the majority of the LAITY, the living had to attend to their dead. Only after the family rites of passage were performed could the deceased join a community's “ancestors.” Soon the “cares due to the dead” became the business of all Christians, who prayed for all the faithful departed. The church, in place of families and communities, was in charge of the deceased, thus of the relations between the living and the dead.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the church maintained close control over this relationship. One used the liturgy and prayer of the church to intercede for the deceased, especially through masses commissioned for that purpose. The church administered the formal memorialization of the deceased through tombs near or in churches. All of these practices or memorials generated income for the church in that the clergy were paid to act as intermediates among GOD, the dead, and those still alive.

In the eighth century were formed the first clerical associations to celebrate the memory of the deceased, by having “special” masses recited for their spiritual benefit of men's souls. Religious houses created lists of names of members and benefactors, living and dead, and recorded them in a *Book of Life* to be remembered by prayer.

In the ninth century CAROLINGIAN authorities exploited these rites of remembrance of the dead. From the ecclesiastical establishments founded for the care of the souls of the deceased, rulers required prayers for the general salvation and safety of the kingdom, as well as for the celebration of commemorative services for the deceased members of their family. The lists of dead of such dynastic monasteries reflected networks of alliance underlying the state.

These relationships connecting the living to their deceased relatives were incorporated into a spiritual community controlled by churchmen. The clergy became the only intermediaries between the living and the dead. For upper levels of society, by perpetuating the glorious memory of their ancestors, they legitimized their own inherited right to power. Cultivating the memory of the dead was a main task of ecclesiastical communities. In exchange, these ecclesiastical establishments received numerous gifts. That the dead could intercede anywhere for the living was unclear officially but a popular hope for some Christians. This was not an issue for Judaism or Islam.

See also *ARS MORIENDI* (THE ART OF DYING); CONFRA-  
TERNITIES; BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; GHOSTS; GRAVE-  
YARDS; HELL; PURGATORY; WILLS AND TESTAMENTS.

**Further reading:** Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981); Steven Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600* (London: Leicester University Press, 1992); T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgment and Remembrance* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972); Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998).

**Decameron** See BOCCACCIO.

**decretalists, decretists** See LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIA-  
STICAL.

**decretals, false** See FALSE DECRETALS.

**decretum** See GRATIAN (FRANCISCUS GRATIANUS); LAW,  
CANON, AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**Defensor pacis** See MARSILIUS OF PADUA.

**demons and demonology** See DEVIL (SATAN).

**Denmark** The Danish Middle Ages traditionally began in the eighth century, when great commercial centers such as HEDEBY were founded. Christianization of the country began in about 940. At the same time, the Danes were among the most aggressive of the VIKINGS and settled permanently in England in the DANELAW and NORMANDY. Denmark sponsored expeditions to ENGLAND and other areas of Scandinavia by Svein Forkbeard (r. 986/987–1014) and his son, CANUTE the Great. These conquests proved temporary, though they left a deep impression on the Danish consciousness. An earlier king built a defensive wall to keep the Carolingians out around 800. About the same time Christian missionaries such as Saint Ansgar (ca. 801–865) made several journeys into Denmark.

Much of the rest of the medieval history of Denmark can be seen in part as a struggle between the monarchy and the church, with the latter always maintaining a strong position. The era of the Waldemar dynasty (1157–1241) was the most successful and accomplished period of the Danish Middle Ages, despite wars with the WENDS and SLAVS. They established Denmark's commercial success and were the kings of Denmark when it was considered among the most important powers in northern Europe. Denmark earned

this impression by its control over NORWAY, ICELAND, the Faeroe Islands, and southern Sweden. During the Middle Ages its kinship-based society changed to one of nobles, clergy, townspeople in booming towns, and peasants. Its economy turned from grain growing to cattle and dairy production. Its political history in the later Middle Ages revolved around dynastic ambitions for control of Scandinavia.

See also ADAM OF BREMEN; HANSEATIC LEAGUE; MARGARET OF DENMARK, NORWAY, AND SWEDEN; SAXO GRAMMATICUS; WALDEMAR I THE GREAT; WALDEMAR II THE CONQUEROR.

**Further reading:** Karsten Friis-Jensen, ed., *Danish Medieval History and Saxo Grammaticus: A Symposium Held in Celebration of the 500th Anniversary of the University of Copenhagen*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1981); Klavs Randsborg, *The Viking Age in Denmark: The Formation of a State* (London: Duckworth, 1980); Else Roesdahl, *Viking Age Denmark*, trans. Susan Margeson and Kirsten Williams (London: British Museum Publications, 1982); Niels Skyum-Nielsen and Niels Lund, eds., *Danish Medieval History: New Currents* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1981).

**Desiderius of Montecassino (Daferius, Danferi)** (ca. 1027–1087) *reforming abbot of Monte Cassino, pope* Born in about 1027 at Benevento, he was a member of a noble LOMBARD family and became a monk at Cava dei Tirreni, near AMALFI and then at Santa Sophia in Benevento. In 1055/56 he moved to MONTE CASSINO and became provost of the Cassinese monastery at Capua. When the reforming Frederick of Lorraine, the abbot of Monte Cassino from 1055, became Pope Stephen IX (r. 1057–58), he chose Desiderius as his successor and in 1059 made him the cardinal priest of Santa Cecilia. Having decided to rebuild Monte Cassino, Desiderius imported artists and art from CONSTANTINOPLE, as well as columns, capitals, and early Christian models from ROME. He completed construction of a palace, a library, a house for the abbot, a dormer, a chapter house, and a CLOISTER. In 1066 he began the construction of a new church, which was solemnly consecrated on October 1, 1071. Desiderius's building was destroyed by an earthquake in 1349, so little remains except bronze doors. Under his abbacy, Monte Cassino remained an intellectual center with an important SCRIPTORIUM. Desiderius wrote on the miracles of Saint BENEDICT, following the model created by Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT.

A supporter of the papacy in 1059 he organized the Council of Melfi where Pope NICHOLAS II recognized the Norman conquest in southern Italy. Under his influence, Monte Cassino supported church reform and provided monks to occupy important episcopal sees. After the death of GREGORY VII, Desiderius was elected pope

against his will as Victor III on May 24, 1086, and held a reforming council at Benevento in August shortly before his death on September 16, 1087 at Monte Cassino.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM.

**Further reading:** Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1986); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

**devil (Satan, Beelzebub, Lucifer, Iblis)** The devil as the embodiment of evil appeared seldom in the Hebrew BIBLE but frequently in the New Testament in the Christian Bible. There was more than one fallen angel; the chief angel was the devil or Satan. He was a spiritual being whose object after his own fall from grace was to tempt and induce people to sin. According to some, demons were his helpers and the offspring of the fallen angels or of devils and human females. His chief sin was envy of GOD or excessive pride; he was expelled from heaven to HELL because of his overweening ambition to seize divine power and be like God.

In the Middle Ages the devil and the concept of evil was omnipresent and preoccupied Scholastic speculation, with his qualities and powers intensely debated in the schools. ALBERTUS MAGNUS and Thomas AQUINAS believed that the devil as an angel was created in a state of grace but chose to sin. This belief removed the responsibility of creating evil from God. The devil was portrayed in popular thought, dramatic presentations, and art as an ugly, terrifying, and disgusting creature with horns and a tail. He was always menacing and a treacherous creature bent on leading humankind to HELL. The church claimed to be able to control the devil and strengthen human resolve against his temptations in particular by means of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

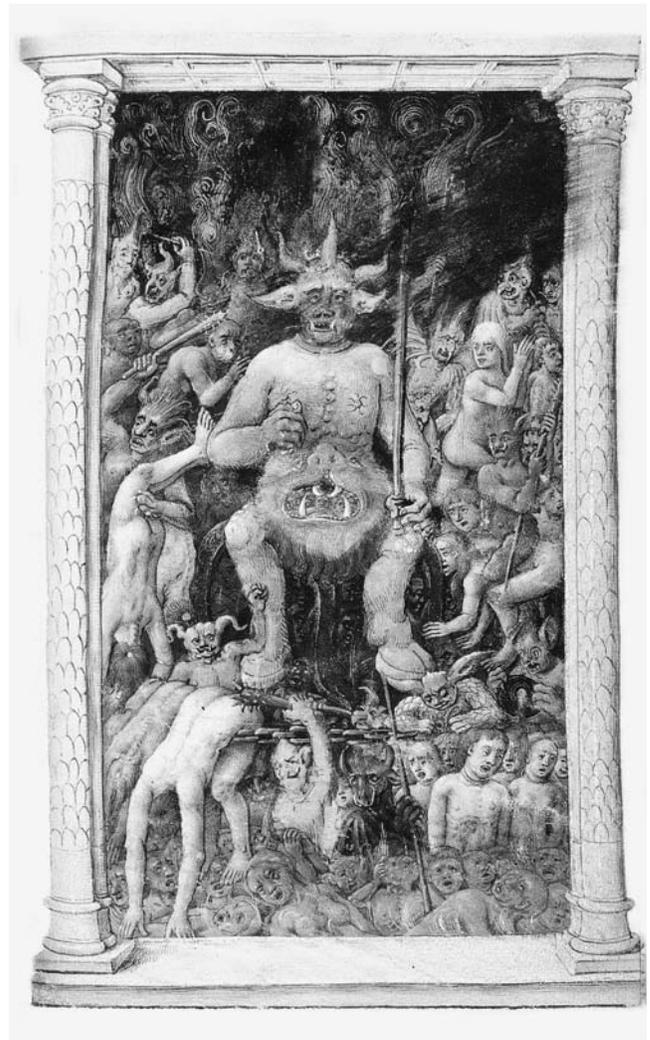
In JUDAISM, his rare appearances in the Hebrew Bible were essentially the same as that of the Christian devil and with the same intentions. In Islam, the devil, or Iblis, or Shaytan, was made of fire and was expelled from Paradise for refusing to acknowledge Adam, or the first person made by God, who was made only of clay. He later tempted Eve and Adam in the Garden. He was either a fallen angel or a jinn who represented or personified the principle of evil.

See also ANGELS AND ANGELOGY; CHARMS; DRAMA; DUALISM; EXORCISM; MANICHAISM; SIN.

**Further reading:** Arturo Graf, *The Story of the Devil*, trans. E. N. Stone (New York: Macmillan, 1931); Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkers, 1988); Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in*

*the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell University Press, 1984).

**Devotio Moderna (Modern devotion)** The Devotio Moderna was a late medieval reform movement in northern Europe that promoted a new spirituality aimed at fostering an evangelical and apostolic way of life for the LAITY as well as the CLERGY. It had its roots around 1375 as a reaction to ecclesiastical abuses such as SIMONY, declines in the standards of monastic life and the practice of CELIBACY, and crushing ecclesiastical TAXATION. The Devotio Moderna movement was initially closely related to the movements of the BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS. It really grew greatly after the scandals of the Great SCHISM between 1378 and 1419 and was popular in the towns of the modern-day NETHERLANDS and GERMANY.



Satan and the lost souls of hell, from a book of hours, France, probably Tours, ca. 1495–1500, Ms. M.356, fol. 64, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (*The Pierpont Morgan Library / Art Resource*)

In about 1374, Gerhard GROOTE of Deventer, a master at the University of PARIS, had a spiritual conversion and began to found autonomous communities of “religious women.” He moved to a CARTHUSIAN house in Arnhem in modern Holland and from 1379 devoted himself to preaching and penitence. The house in Deventer, the first house of the Sisters of the Common Life, was composed of unmarried women and widows who consecrated themselves to the service of God and the poor, promising to live by the work of their own hands. A converted friend of Groot’s Florent Radewijns (ca. 1350–1400), founded the first house of BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE, collecting together priests, clerics, and members of the laity in Deventer. Both men and women in these houses were supposed to live an austere life, in celibacy, without vows, without a rule, and without an identifying religious habit. These houses formed the basis for the expansion. Many were to have excellent reputations for providing educational opportunities in their attached schools. They were to acquire episcopal approval in 1401 and begin following the models of spiritual life similar to those of the third or lay order of the Franciscans. They were also centers of a rich MYSTICAL emphasis in Christianity.

See also RUYSBROECK, JAN VAN; ECKHART, MEISTER; JOHN TAULER; HENRY SUSO; KEMPIS, THOMAS À.

**Further reading:** John Van Engen, trans. *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988); Ross Fuller, *The Brotherhood of the Common Life and Its Influence* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the Devotio Moderna* (New York: Century, 1925); R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden E. J. Brill, 1968).

**dhimmi** This is an Arabic word meaning the concept of “covenanted” or an agreement of protection. It was to be applied by Muslim law to the “people of the Book,” Jews and Christians, “the people of protection.” They were allowed to live within the abode or house of Islam, or Dar al-Islam, as the result of this “covenant” or *dhimma*. This covenant guaranteed Christians and Jews the safety of their person and property on condition of payment of an annual and personal tax on land. The rate of this tax was tied to the production of the land and was due at harvest.

### RESTRICTIONS

In spite of this covenant and tax, there were restrictions, which had no basis in the Quran but were developed by the caliphs between the seventh and 11th centuries. The first restriction was the requirement to wear signs on clothing to distinguish Christians from Muslims. The second series of restrictions involved prohibitions on aspects of public worship such as building new churches or restoring old ones, exhibiting crosses or banners at

processions, playing music except during certain hours, or singing publicly at funerals. The third restriction to evolve later was the eviction of the “covenanted” from public office.

See also ABBASIDS; FATIMIDS; AL-HAKIM BI-AMR ALLAH; Umayyads.

**Further reading:** Uri Rubin and David J. Wasserstein, eds., *Dhimmi and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1977); Arthur S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of Umar* (London: F. Cass, 1970); Bat Ye’or, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide*, trans. Miriam Kochan and David Littman. (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002).

**Dhuoda** (ca. 803–843) *known only for the advice manual she left for her son*

Born about 803, on June 29, 824, she married Bernard of Septimania (d. 844), a cousin of CHARLEMAGNE who was later executed for treason. When Bernard became a counselor to the emperor LOUIS THE PIOUS and friend to the empress Judith (800–843), Dhuoda had settled at Uzès, where she decided to give her teenage sons, William and Bernard, advice as part of their education. Dhuoda wrote the book supposedly between November 30, 841, and February 2, 843. It was an accessible manual that could also serve as a mirror that the boys could contemplate for advice on the salvation of their souls and suppression of faults. In Dhuoda’s book life was a perpetual struggle to oppose vice and to acquire virtue. Dhuoda reminded her sons that they must remember and pray for their ancestors. They were to be devoted and loyal to their father and the king, CHARLES THE BALD, to whom William was soon to be sent as a hostage. They must avoid the great fault of the aristocracy, pride, and be charitable to the poor. They were to cultivate these virtues by study and contemplation. We know nothing about Dhuoda after she wrote the *Manual*. Her son William betrayed Charles the Bald and was beheaded in 849. The other son, Bernard Plantevelne (d. 885), was a self-seeking warrior and baron from the midninth century who was killed in battle. Dhuoda died in 843.

See also CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** Dhuoda, *Dhuoda, Handbook for Her Warrior Son: Liber manualis*, ed. and trans. Marcelle Thiébaux (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); James Marchand, “Dhuoda: The Frankish Mother” in *Medieval Women Writers*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 1–29; Marie Anne Mayeski, *Dhuoda: Ninth Century Mother and Theologian* (Scranton, Pa.: University of Scranton Press, 1995); Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992).

**Diaz, Bartholomew (Bartolomeu Dias)** (ca. 1450–1500) *Portuguese sea captain who sailed around southern Africa*

The date, about 1450, and place of birth, as well as the early life, of Bartolomeu Diaz or Dias are a mystery. He was a respected navigator and trusted at court. In 1487 he was commissioned by King John II (r. 1481–95) to continue the Portuguese voyages down the West African coast seeking a route around it. Diaz sailed with a group of three ships, including a supply ship and 50 to 60 men. He also carried a good MAP compiled by a Portuguese spy. The supply ship was abandoned at Angra das Aldeias on the coast of modern Angola and the other two caravels sailed on south along the coast. Encountering strong headwinds, Diaz sailed into the open Atlantic, where he expected to find southerly winds. After two weeks, Diaz turned north and west toward Africa again, unaware that he had sailed far south of it. Encountering no land after days, he turned north and, on February 3, 1488, sighted the coast of Africa.

Since the coastline was headed east and north, he guessed that he had rounded Africa. The ships reached the Keiskama River and turned back as a result of near-mutiny. On June 6, 1488, they returned to the tip of Africa, which Diaz then named Cape of Storms. King John later changed that to Cape of Good Hope.

Diaz returned to LISBON in December 1488, having sailed approximately 16,000 miles in 15 months. He opened a way by sea to the Indian Ocean that would free PORTUGAL of Venetian and Islamic MERCHANTS, an advantage in international TRADE. Diaz's trip also disproved Ptolemy's theory that Africa was linked to Asia. The Indian Ocean was actually an inland sea. Diaz later joined the expedition of Pedro Álvarez CABRAL and was present at the discovery of BRAZIL. He died when his ship later sank during a storm near the Cape of Good Hope on May 23–29, 1500.

See also PORTUGAL; VASCO DA GAMA.

**Further reading:** Eric Axelson, *Congo to Cape: Early Portuguese Explorers*, ed. John Woodcock (London: Faber and Faber, 1973); J. W. Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1454–1578* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1937); Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London: Black, 1933).

**Dictatus papae** This consists of a manuscript text from the registers of Pope GREGORY VII on the duties of the reformed papal office. Under the title *Dictatus papae*, or *The Seventy-four Titles*, these letters of Pope Gregory VII dated from March 3–4, 1075. They list 27 propositions concerning the aspirations, privileges, and duties of the PAPACY, assembling together texts asserting the rights and prerogatives of the papacy over LATIN CHRISTENDOM.

As a platform of action and intervention, the *Dictatus* bore Gregory's ambitious personal stamp. Its clauses stip-

ulated that the Roman church cannot err, and anyone not a member of the Roman church could not attain salvation. The pope could not be judged by anyone and his sentences were irrevocable. The pope alone had a universal jurisdiction and could "create" new law. He could depose or absolve bishops and send legates to preside over councils, even if their status was below that of the bishops present. He had a right to a series of privileges, such as the unique control of the imperial insignia. The pope could depose an emperor and release his subjects from any oaths of loyalty. Such ideas formed the disputed basis of papal pretensions to power for the rest of the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Eamon Duffy, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); Walter Ullman, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1972).

**diet** See FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; FAMINE; FASTS, FASTING, AND ABSTINENCE.

**digest** See CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS.

**Dimitri of the Don (Dimitrii Ivanovich Donskoi)** (1350–1389) *grand duke of Vladimir and Moscow*

Dimitri was born in 1350, the son of Ivan II Ivanovich (r. 1353–59), and succeeded his father at the age of nine. In 1362 he was acknowledged duke of the region of Vladimir by the TATAR khan. Fortifying MOSCOW, he built the KREMLIN. Dimitri's reign was marked by an ultimately successful struggle to establish Moscow's hegemony over the other Russian principalities. Dimitri encountered the opposition of the town of Tver and the Lithuanians, who had attacked Moscow in 1368 and 1370. He was able to force their withdrawal. In 1371 he won the support of the Tatar khan and soon defeated the Lithuanians.

By 1375 Dimitri was recognized as leader by the Russian princes. After successful campaigns against the Tatars, who had been raiding Russian lands, he turned his efforts to MONGOL domination. In 1380, on the plain of Kulokovo, Dimitri defeated the allied armies of the Lithuanians and the Tatars. However, his victory was soon avenged in 1381 by a general of TAMERLANE, who invaded Russia, captured Moscow, and restored Mongol power and authority. Dimitri was compelled again to accept Mongol suzerainty, but he maintained local control and bequeathed the foundations of a powerful dukedom to his son, Basil I (r. 1389–1425). He died in 1389.

**Further reading:** Robert O. Crummey, *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304–1613* (New York: Longman, 1987); Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980–1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**dioceses** These were the territorial administrative units of medieval bishoprics. Originally, the diocese was a secular entity in the Roman administrative reforms of **DIOCLETIAN** and **CONSTANTINE I**. The church adopted this division and placed a bishop at the head of each diocese. He was assisted by a curia or court made up of various officials and clergy. A province was made up of several dioceses and governed by a metropolitan. Such terms were not entirely exclusive, and became fixed only in the 13th century. Dioceses, which only the pope could establish, divide, combine, or abolish, were divided into parishes.

See also **CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES**; **PARISH**.

**Further reading:** Roy Martin Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Published for the Church Historical Society, 1965); B. R. Kemp, ed. *Twelfth-Century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001); R. L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century* (London: St. Anthony's Press, 1972).

**Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius, Diocles)** (245–316) *Roman emperor dominate*

Born in 245 in **DALMATIA**, and originally named Diocles, he was the son of a freedman, a Dalmatian of humble birth; little is known about his family. He married Prisca and had a daughter, Valeria.

Diocletian was best known for his persecution of Christians and his reform and stabilization of the office of emperor and fiscal returns. Rising through the ranks, he was commander of Emperor Numerian's (r. 282–284) bodyguard. When that emperor was murdered by a praetorian prefect, the troops chose Diocletian on November 20, 284, to succeed and avenge his master. By early 285 Diocletian had crushed all opposition and was determined to end immediately the 50 years of economic decline and military anarchy that had seen 26 emperors and scores of unsuccessful pretenders. He therefore decided to appoint as his caesar (successor-designate) a man of his own age, his old fellow soldier Maximian (r. 286–305). The wisdom of this policy was immediately demonstrated by Maximian's military victories in Gaul or France, **GERMANY**, and North **AFRICA** between 286 and 290. Diocletian, meanwhile, controlled the Danubian and eastern frontiers. His satisfaction with the arrangement led him in 286 to raise Maximian to the rank of co-emperor and add two caesars, forming the tetrarchy. He retired in 305 and died a retired emperor on December 3, 316, having reformed the entire structure of the Roman Empire after years of civil war, social strife, and barbarian invasion.

See also **CONSTANTINE I**; **EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA**.

**Further reading:** Timothy Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

University Press, 1982); Stephen Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1985).

**Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-)** (fl. 500) *unknown author of Neoplatonic and mystical writings*

Dionysius is only a pseudonym for an unknown author who wrote in Greek in the late fifth or early sixth century. Various individuals have been suggested for the author, including Peter the Fuller (d. 489), Peter the Iberian (ca. 413–491), John Scholastikos, and Severos of **ANTIOCH** (ca. 465–538). His **THEOLOGY** showed a union of Christian thought with **NEOPLATONISM** that viewed **GOD's** relationship to believers as expressed through a set of abstract and ecclesiastical hierarchies, rather than real and immediate. The *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, supposedly authored by him, presented the liturgy as an earthly mirror of heavenly reality and as a possible intermediary between the individual and God. Dionysius's insistence on the unity of God made his writings popular among believers in **MONOPHYSITISM**. Nevertheless, his writings were recognized as orthodoxy in the seventh century by Maximus the Confessor (580–662).

By a ninth-century translation, **JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA** introduced Pseudo-Dionysius to the West, where he was to have an enduring influence on medieval mystical thought and **PHILOSOPHY**.

See also **MYSTICISM**; **VALLA, LORENZO**.

**Further reading:** Colm Luibheid and Paul Rorem, eds., *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987); Stephen Gersh, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Andrew Louth, *Denys, the Areopagite* (London: G. Chapman, 1989); Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

**diplomats** See **ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS**; **PALEOGRAPHY**.

**distilled liquors** See **FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION**.

**Divine Comedy** See **ALIGHIERI, DANTE**.

**Divine Office** Divine Office in the Middle Ages consisted of the solemn hours of **PRAYER** in common that the church celebrated every day. It included the night office (vigils or matins), lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. Offices were to consecrate by prayer a particular moment of the day. Prayers were said at night, sunrise, the beginning of work, midmorning, midday, midafternoon, sunset, and a time for rest. The Divine Office was to be celebrated by clerics living in a

community. It was celebrated in churches, often with significant participation by the LAITY. However, its specialization of function of communal society made it principally the proper duty of clerics.

**Further reading:** Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study of the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office* (London: Published for the Alcuin Club by SPCK, (1981); Roger E. Reynolds, "Divine Office," *DMA* 4, 221–231; Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1986).

**divorce** See FAMILY AND KINSHIP; MARRIAGE.

**documents** See ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CODICOLOGY; PALEOGRAPHY.

**Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra, Mosque of Umar)** Sometimes mistakenly called the Mosque of Omar, the Dome of the Rock was a Muslim shrine in JERUSALEM, or al-Quds, on the Temple Mount, known in Arabic as Haram ash-Sharif, "the noble temple." It was built over the sacred rock that religious tradition considers the center or heart of the world. The Jews

believed the place to be the stone on which Isaac was to be sacrificed by Abraham, and the Muslims claim it to be the rock from which MUHAMMAD ascended to heaven. Actually not a mosque, it was erected as a shrine by Caliph ABD AL-MALIK in 691 to replace the wooden structure built 50 years earlier by Caliph UMAR II. The great golden dome is raised by a drum, is pierced by windows, and rests on columns arranged in a circle that forms the center of a double octagon. The Dome of the Rock, one of the earliest Muslim shrines, was richly decorated and ornamented by colorful non-figural MOSAICS and has been considered one of the great monuments of Islamic art.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Further reading:** K. A. C. Creswell, *The Origin of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock* (London: Issued by the Council, 1924); Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

**Domesday Book** *Domesday Book* was the name given to a set of manuscripts preserved in the Public Record Office in London. They contained the results of a survey of property and tenures in England in the 1080s. Besides a large manuscript, related volumes of surveys have also survived, such as the Exon Domesday, covering



Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, or al-Quds, 1860–80 (Courtesy Library of Congress)

southwestern England; a draft return for Cambridgeshire; a more complete copy of the Domesday results for Ely; and the so-called Little Domesday, the draft copy for East Anglia.

The *Domesday Book* was a survey of land to establish the lands and rights of the king and his revenues according to two principles. First the land of the king was listed geographically according to vill, shire, and hundred. These were the Anglo-Saxon administrative and regional units according to which taxes were levied and justice dispensed. Second, the lands of tenants were listed according to type of tenure by shire. Tenants were listed with all their properties in a shire. For each property three dates were generally established: the owner at the time of King EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S death in January 1066, the owner at the time of the Norman Conquest by WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR in the autumn 1066, and the owner at the time of the compilation in the 1080s. The many cases of disputed ownership noted reflected the major changes in land ownership over the two decades after the conquest.

Traditionally the inquest and the survey were carried out in 1086. It was mentioned in the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES as occurring when William I was threatened by an imminent invasion from DENMARK. Requiring assessment of his English military resources, he ordered a compilation of his own land and the rights owed him by his tenants in chief. Commissioners spread out over the country to inquire into who owned what land and under what taxation and obligations. The final results were compiled not later than 1088 and were preserved in the present *Domesday Book*, considered one of the greatest administrative achievements of the entire Middle Ages in England. The chief compiler was Rannulf Flambard (d. 1126), one of the most hated government officials of medieval England.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Martin, trans., *Domesday Book* (New York: Penguin, 2003); Vivian Hunter Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Vivian Hunter Galbraith, *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

**Dominican order** (*Ordo praedicatorum*, **Order of Preachers, Blackfriars**) An order founded by Saint DOMINIC, whose main objectives were PREACHING and study in the service of the church, it was founded at the time of the ALBIGENSIAN heresy in southern FRANCE. This heresy was perceived as a serious threat to the unity of the church. The order, its name, rule, and purposes, were formally recognized by Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–17) in the bulls of 1216 and 1217. Two general chapter meet-

ings, held at BOLOGNA in 1220 and 1221, determined the order's ultimate character.

The Dominicans adopted the rule of Saint Augustine. They accepted the principles of poverty, mendicancy or begging for their living, and the owning of no property other than their churches and houses. The founders of the order also promoted a humble life, wandering, and preaching the true FAITH. The Dominicans abandoned physical work, stressing the importance of study, education, and teaching. They were mainly active in urban centers.

The order spread rapidly throughout Europe during the 13th century, and the Dominicans set up schools, which soon became centers of study and education. The highest ranking school of the Dominican system was attached to a university whose teachers also served as professors of theology. The Dominicans were known throughout the Middle Ages as university teachers. The contributions of ALBERTUS Magnus, Thomas AQUINAS, and Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279) to SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, and THEOLOGY were enormous. The achievement of the canonist RAYMOND of Peñafort was also important.

The Dominicans were directly subordinate only to the pope and served the PAPACY in various missions. They were appointed to preach in favor of the CRUSADES, to collect and levy papal taxes, to undertake diplomatic tasks, and to preach against heretics. The Dominicans soon extended their ministry to include missionary activity directed against JEWS, Muslims, MONGOLS, and others. They also filled the ranks of the INQUISITION, earning their nickname the *Domini canes*, "the Lord's watchdogs."

The Dominicans had a Second Order, which consisted of nuns who lived in convents and adopted a rule similar to that of the friars. There was also a Third Order of LAITY, people who were to live in accordance with the Dominican spirit.

See also CATHERINE OF SIENA.

**Further reading:** Simon Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982); Rosalind B. Brooke, ed., *The Coming of the Friars* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975); William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols. (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1966).

**Dominic de Guzmán, Saint (Domingo)** (ca. 1170–1221) *Spanish founder of the Dominican order*

Dominic was born about 1170 to the noble Guzmán family in the town of Caleruega in CASTILE. As a young man, he studied the liberal arts and theology at Palencia. After he was ordained a PRIEST, he joined the CATHEDRAL canons of the city of Osma, who lived a community life under the rule of Saint AUGUSTINE. In 1201 he was elected subprior of the cathedral chapter.

When he was about 30, Dominic accompanied his bishop on several diplomatic missions in northern Europe. During these travels he became aware of the religious ideas of the ALBIGENSIANS, a heretical dualist movement in southern FRANCE. INNOCENT III sent legates to counteract the movement, but with their luxurious clothes, fine horses, and numerous servants they succeeded only in reinforcing the Albigensians' beliefs about the material corruption of the clergy. Dominic saw that the only way to preach effectively to these heretics was to be poor and to be knowledgeable in Christian THEOLOGY. He stayed in southern France for several years and, together with a small group of followers, tried to put his ideas into practice by PREACHING, studying, praying, and living in POVERTY.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER

After the Albigensian Crusade crushed the heretics, in 1215 Dominic and his group were welcomed by the bishop of Toulouse and established as the official preachers of that diocese. Dominic then went to ROME, where he obtained Pope Innocent III's approval for the establishment of a religious order dedicated to preaching and based on the study of the Scriptures and the defense of Christian truth and belief. Dominic, however, conceived of an order living in the world who would be dedicated primarily to preaching. Living together in an urban convent they would be able to go wherever they were needed and would substitute disciplined theological study for the traditional manual labor of monks.

In 1217 Dominic sent some of his friars to PARIS to study theology, some to BOLOGNA to study LAW, and others to Rome. Wherever they went, they attracted others, and soon there were hundreds of followers of Dominic's ideal, many of them students and masters at universities.

During the next two years Dominic himself traveled more than 3,000 miles on foot, visiting and encouraging his friars in Toulouse, Paris, MILAN, Rome, and Spain. In 1220 the first meeting or general chapter of the friars took place in Bologna, where they decided that the order would have a representational system of government, with the friars in each house electing their superiors for fixed terms. These representatives met again in 1221 and divided the order geographically into provinces. Shortly after this meeting the charismatic Dominic died and was buried in Bologna on August 6, 1221, and was canonized in 1234.

**Further reading:** Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1982); Bede Jarrett, *The Life of St. Dominic* (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1947); Vladimir Koudelka, *Dominic*, trans. Consuelo Fissler and Simon Tugwell (London: Longman and Todd, 1997); Marie Humbert Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and His Times*, trans. Kathleen Pond (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).



Dominic de Guzmán, Carlo Crivelli, 15th century (Courtesy Library of Congress)

**Donatello di Niccolò** (Donato di Niccolò di Betto di Bardi) (ca. 1386–1466) *Florentine sculptor, influential artist*

Donato di Niccolò Bardi, called Donatello, was born about 1386 in Florence. Little precise biographical information has come down to us, although many anecdotes about him were preserved by Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) in his *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Donatello was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti; in 1403, at the age of 17, Donatello worked for his master on the famous bronze reliefs of the doors of the Baptistery at Florence. By 1407 he had moved on to the workshops of the cathedral.

#### EARLY WORK

One of Donatello's earliest known works was the life-sized marble David in the Bargello Museum in Florence in 1408/9. It was intended to adorn the cathedral, but around 1415 it was reworked and moved to the Palazzo Vecchio, or town hall, as a symbol of the Florentine republic. Donatello soon produced an original and dynamic style in two works: the large marble figures of Saints Mark and George and the Dragon in a niches on the exterior of the chapel of Orsanmichele (1411–13) and a seated Saint John the Evangelist (1415) for the facade of the cathedral, now in the Museo dell'Opera. He also did the famous low-relief of George killing the dragon underneath the St. George. These figures established his reputation. Between 1415 and 1435 Donatello and his pupils completed eight marble prophets for niches in the campanile, or bell tower, of the cathedral.

#### MID-CAREER

After this Donatello received many commissions, some executed in collaboration with other artists. One unusual work was the Marzocco, the symbolic lion representing the Florentine state ordered in 1418 for the papal apartments in the church of Santa Maria Novella. Donatello's optical ideas and vigorous low-relief sculpture reached a high point in the gilded bronze *Feast of Herod* in 1427 for the baptismal font in the Baptistery at the SIENA cathedral. About 1425 Donatello entered into partnership with Michelozzo di Bartolomeo (1396–1472), sculptor and architect, with whom he produced the wall tomb of the antipope John XXIII (r. 1410–15) in the Baptistery at Florence and the tomb of Cardinal Brancacci in Sant' Angelo a Nilo in Naples, both in 1427. Using marble and mosaic, Donatello presented a classically inspired frieze of dancing angels, or putti, for the singing gallery for the cathedral in Florence. It was begun in 1433, completed in 1439, and installed in 1450.

#### LATER WORK

Donatello's later work was heavily based on his study of classical art, for example, the bronze David in the



Donatello di Niccolò, 19th-century sculpture (Courtesy Library of Congress)

Bargello, a boy clothed only in boots and a pointed hat, who was probably the first freestanding nude since antiquity. From 1443 to 1453 Donatello was in PADUA, where he produced a bronze equestrian monument, the first successfully cast since antiquity, of the Venetian mercenary Gattamelata (1370–1443), for the Piazza del Santo. Back in Florence soon thereafter, the aged Donatello carved an expressive and strange statue, almost romantic, of a penitent Mary Magdalene from poplar wood for the Baptistery. In 1456 Donatello made in bronze a statue of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes as a fountain for the courtyard of the MEDICI Palace. Extremely influential, Donatello left two unfinished bronze pulpits in San Lorenzo, Florence at his death on December 13, 1466.

**Further reading:** Frederick Hartt, *Donatello, Prophet of Modern Vision* (New York, 1973); H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957–1963); R. W. Lightbown, *Donatello and Michelozzo: An Artistic Partnership and Its Patrons in the Early Renaissance*, 2 vols. (London: H. Miller, 1980).

**Donation of Constantine (Constitutum constantini)**

It was a document forged by the PAPACY in the eighth century to bolster its claims to political and ecclesiastical supremacy. It stated that after CONSTANTINE I was baptized by Pope Sylvester I (r. 314–335), Constantine moved his residence to CONSTANTINOPLE, leaving the pope with full political and spiritual authority over the church and over the western provinces of the empire. The document may have been produced as a justification of papal policy toward the FRANKS, including the papal coronations of the Frankish ruler PÉPIN III THE SHORT in 751 and of CHARLEMAGNE in 800. There is no sure evidence of its use before the midninth century. In the 11th century, it figured in the dispute between Patriarch Michael I Keroularios (r. 1043–58) and Cardinal HUMBERT of Silva Candida that resulted in the church SCHISM of 1054. The RENAISSANCE humanist Lorenzo VALLA proved that the document was a papal forgery.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM.

**Further reading:** Lorenzo Valla, *The Profession of the Religious and the Principal Arguments from the Falsely-Believed and Forged Donation of Constantine*, trans. and ed. Olga Zorzi Pugliese (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1985); Jean Gaudemet, “Donation of Constantine” in *EMA*. 1.445; Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

**Donatism** Donatism was the fourth- and fifth-century heretical idea that the moral character of the PRIEST influenced the value of the sacrament he administered. Donatists of North AFRICA argued that the sacraments given by priests who had deserted and betrayed the faith during the Great Persecution under DIOCLETIAN in 303, including sacraments given by priests who had been ordained by such bishops or priests, were invalid. The controversy began with the refusal of the Donatists in 311 to recognize a bishop of Carthage because he had been ordained by a bishop accused of having surrendered liturgical items during the Great Persecution. They consecrated a Numidian, Donatus (r. 313–347), in his place.

The controversy faded but persisted even after Constantine I and a commission headed by Pope Miltiades (r. 311–14), rejected the Donatist claims, a decision confirmed by a council at Arles in 314. Donatism grew to be a separatist and a native African church that rejected the foreign, state-imposed, and state-supported church. Despite the opposition of AUGUSTINE, who affirmed the principle that the validity of the sacraments does not depend on the moral character of the priest administering them, and despite every attempt to persecute them, the Donatists seemed to have maintained their church up to the ARAB conquest of the seventh century. They can be seen as keeping alive values from

the earlier church such as personal integrity, ideas of community, and the value of poverty.

**Further reading:** Optatus, Saint, Bishop of Mileve, *Optatus, Against the Donatists*, trans. and ed. Mark Edwards (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997); John Anthony Corcoran, *Augustinus contra Donatistas* (Donaldson, Ind.: Graduate Theological Foundation, 1997); W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

**dowry** See MARRIAGE.

**drama** Unaware or suspicious of classical drama, medieval drama originated in the monastic orders in the ninth century, as a form of liturgical drama and part of religious rite. It began as performances of the “Easter story,” the death and Resurrection of Christ, immediately after the MASS. It included the recitation or chanting of psalms and hymns, as well as dialogues performed by monks or PRIESTS. Gradually the repertoire included events and feasts other than Easter. A fuller type of liturgical drama developed for Christmas, EPIPHANY, and colorful stories of the Nativity, such as the Adoration of the Magi. Performed in LATIN until the 13th century, these liturgical dramas evolved into vernacular MYSTERY plays by 1175. These plays became more elaborate, stressing secular aspects, comical elements, and skillful mimicry. They were performed by the LAITY in public squares outside the churches, still associated with religious feasts, but not with Christmas and Easter.

From the 13th century on, these plays were generally associated with the Corpus Christi procession, part of a feast commemorating the Holy Eucharist. Officially instituted by Pope Urban IV (r. 1261–64) in 1264, the performance gradually developed into a cycle of 30 to 40 plays, covering the entire story of SALVATION. They included scenes of the Garden of Eden, the Fall of Man, the Nativity, the Passion of Christ, the Resurrection, the ANTICHRIST, and the LAST JUDGMENT. Corpus Christi cycles differed slightly from country to country. Later, nonbiblical subjects and stories were introduced to these plays, such as the *Invention of the Holy Cross* and the legends and miracles of the saints. This new material paved the way for the MORALITY PLAYS of the late Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Richard Axton and John Stevens, trans., *Medieval French Plays* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1971); Richard Axton, *European Drama of the Early Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1974); E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903); Joseph A. Dane, “Medieval Drama,” in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 451–474; William Tydeman, *The Theatre in the Middle*

*Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800–1576* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

**dreams** See VISIONS.

**Druzes (Druses, Duruz, Muwah nidun, monotheists)**

The Druzes comprised a group that originated from the ISMAILI sect of the SHIITES and first appeared in EGYPT and SYRIA in the 11th century. The first person associated with the Druze faith was al-Darazi (d. 1019), a missionary of the Ismaili FATIMID caliph AL-HAKIM BI-AMR ALLAH (996–1021). Responding to frustration in waiting for the coming of the Ismaili Mahdi, al-Darazi in 1017 publicly called for al-Hakim's recognition as the Ismaili Universal Intellect, an IMAM above even the Prophet. This was met with riots, and in 1019 al-Darazi was killed, accused of fostering sexual excess and wine drinking. Another missionary, Hamza ibn Ali, took over the movement and developed it into an organized Hakim cult, thus becoming the real founder of the Druze faith and producing their canonical work, *Letters of Wisdom*.

Eventually the Druze community became secretive about its beliefs, permitting neither conversion nor apostasy. Only the sages, the Uggal, have complete knowledge of the faith. The Druzes developed their own aristocracy and cultivated a culture of belligerence, harshness, hospitality, and discipline. In the presence of non-Druzes, they adhered to strict secrecy about their faith. They were allowed to deny their faith publicly if their life were endangered (the *taqiyah*). The Druzes have followed a set of seven commandments instead of the five pillars of Islam, emphasizing especially the pilgrimage to Mecca and the profession of faith. The sect still exists in Lebanon and Syria.

**Further reading:** Robert Brenton Betts, *The Druze* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988); Philip Khuri Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion, with Extracts from Their Sacred Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

**dualism** This religious doctrine posited that there were two independent and antagonistic principles in creation: that of all good and that of all evil. There were always problems in monotheism about how an all-good god was involved with the creation of an evil principle or force (a demiurge) or how such a deity could allow such evil to run rampant in the world. In Greek and Latin medieval Christianity, there were heterodox communities that were perceived to profess some form of dualism. In the East, the BOGOMILS remained vaguely dualists, and in the West, the CATHARS' dualism was perceived as fundamental for the majority of its adherents in the 13th century.

These medieval dualisms were more likely the products of the tenets and ideals of Christianity and probably

owed little to ancient Oriental dualisms. Christianity tended to define this world as an arena in which the agents of the Church or GOD vied with the agents of evil or demons. This idea was based on the dualism contained or that could be discerned in the New Testament of the Christian BIBLE: God is good and the world is evil. Orthodox Christians in both the East and the West were aware of the ancient dualist traditions and applied them to many species of heretics whether they actually held them or not. For many in the legal administration of the church, dualism was a convenient way to classify heretical ideas.

See also ALBIGENSIANS AND ALBIGENSIAN MOVEMENT; AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; DEVIL; HERESY AND HERESIES; MANICHAISM AND MANI.

**Further reading:** Janet and Bernard Hamilton, eds., *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650–c. 1405* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Yuri Stoyanov, *The Hidden Tradition in Europe: The Secret History of Medieval Christian Heresy* (London: Arkana, 1994).

**Dublin (Dubh-linn, Dyffin [Norse, “the Black Pool”])**

Dublin, called in Old Irish Áth Cliath, or “ford of the wattles,” now Baffle Atha Cliath, is the capital of the Republic of Ireland today. Probably a small settlement in the early medieval period, it later became prominent because it was the site of the most important Viking and Danish settlements in IRELAND. It was established in 841 near the *dubh-linn* or black pool from which it eventually got its modern name. The first Viking fortified town was at Island Bridge (Kilmainham), about two miles upriver from the mouth of the Liffey river. This site had to be abandoned in 902, after a sound defeat by the locals. A second more secure and defensible settlement at the present site of Woodquay was established in 919, after a Norse victory over a high king of Ireland, who was killed in the battle.

Around 1000, the flimsy ford was replaced by a more permanent wooden bridge. By 1100 stone fortifications had been erected to defend what had become a prosperous town. The wealth of its Irish and Danish inhabitants had been accumulated by success in raids and war, widespread commercial activity, and lucrative hiring out of their fleet of ships. This rich Dublin became the main objective for any claimant to the kingship of Ireland and thus soon attracted the attention of the Anglo-Normans, who took the town in 1170. It soon passed under the direct control of the English king, HENRY II, in 1171–72. It remained the English administrative, but not altogether peaceful, capital of Ireland for the rest of the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Seán Duffy, ed., *Medieval Dublin, I, Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 1999* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000); Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms* (Dublin: Templekieran Press, 1975).

**Dubrovnik (Ragusa)** Called Ragusa in Italian, Dubrovnik was a stronghold on the coast of DALMATIA founded on an island in the seventh century by Croatian refugees from SLAV and AVAR tribes. In 868 the BYZANTINE emperor BASIL I, answering an appeal from the city, broke an ARAB siege that had lasted two years, after which the city provided ships for his counterattack on Muslim conquests in APULIA. Thereafter, rule of Dubrovnik passed back and forth among BYZANTINES, Venetians, and NORMANS. The Venetians held it from 1205 to 1358; it subsequently paid tribute to the Ottomans in the 15th century and became a protectorate of HUNGARY until 1526, when it fell under Ottoman domination. It is still known for its strong fortifications built by the Venetians.

**Further reading:** Francis W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa): A Classic City-State* (London: Seminar Press, 1972); Barisa Krekic, *Dubrovnik in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A City between East and West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); Barisa Krekic, *Dubrovnik, Italy and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Variorum, 1980); Susan Mosher Stuard, *A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

**Duccio di Buoninsegna** (ca. 1260–1318) *Siene painter*  
Born at SIENA about 1260, Duccio likely began to paint in the 1270s, though almost nothing has survived of his work before 1285. He was married to a woman named Taviana and had six children. In Siena until 1295 he mainly decorated chests to store the archives of the commune of Siena and now-lost account book covers for the Biccherna, or treasury. The only work before 1285 that can be attributed to him with certainty is the *Virgin of Crevole* painted about 1280 in the Byzantine style, now in Siena in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. In 1285, he painted the very large *Rucellai Madonna* (10 feet high) for the confraternity of the *Laudesi* in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, now in the Uffizi. In the latter, Duccio combined the solemnity and formality of the Byzantine style with the new adventurous and decorative ostentation of the new GOTHIC.

Duccio might have worked with CIMABUE at Assisi from about 1279 to 1280. In 1302, he was documented as working on a now lost predella for a chapel in the town hall at Siena. Despite some legal difficulties in Siena, between 1308 and 1311, he created his masterpiece, the great double-sided ALTARPIECE intended for the high altar of Siena cathedral. On the front part he painted a *Virgin in Majesty* (Maestà) surrounded by choirs of angels, saints, and the 40 holy protectors of Siena. On the other side, he didactically told the full narrative of the Passion in 26 small panels. This altarpiece was initially decorated with a predella on which were shown scenes from the life of Christ and the life of his earthly mother. The work was carried in a great

procession from his studio to the cathedral on the feast of the Assumption of Mary, the patroness of Siena, in 1311. It was dismembered in 1771, but has been mostly put back together in Siena. Duccio has traditionally been associated with several other works including cartoons for the cathedral windows, a *Deposition in the Tomb*, an *Assumption*, a *Coronation of the Virgin*, a *Virgin with Franciscans*, and a *Virgin and Child*. Duccio dominated Siene painting and that of central Italy. He was the teacher of Simone MARTINI and in the early 1300s ran a large and influential workshop. He died about 1318.

See also GIOTTO DI BONDONE; PISANO, GIOVANNI.

**Further reading:** James H. Stubblebine, *Duccio and His School*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); John White, *Duccio: Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

**Duma** The Duma was a princely council in medieval Russia. Before the 14th century, it was much more an assembly periodically called for a particular need whose members and activities were only vaguely preserved in historical records. Especially active in MOSCOW, it seemed to be made up of the court confidants of a prince, BOYARS, senior clergy, government administrators, and military leaders. It was involved in judicial and military decisions, and in the oversight and collection of revenue. It was often particularly active as a regency council for an incompetent or young prince.

By the 14th century, the Duma played a much more prominent role and seemed to be established as a more permanent arm of the government. During the minority of DIMITRI OF THE DON in the mid-14th century, the boyars on the Duma met external challenges to the authority of Moscovy and preserved the young Dimitri's power and principality. Conflicts within the princely families led to an increase in the need for some kind of continuing governmental authority. In matters of state, senior princes had to consult a Duma, whose members, as boyars, commanded the armies of Muscovy and acted as governors of subject towns and regions. The social composition of the Duma remained stubbornly aristocratic. Its members had great social status, influence, and rewards. However, the real power in the state always remained with the prince or duke. By the late 15th century, the authority of the Duma extended only as far as a strong prince of Moscovy, such as IVAN III, might allow. The prince could disgrace, depose, strip of wealth, and even execute any member without any recourse to a judicial process. The Duma had become the creature of an autocratic ruler.

**Further reading:** Gustave Alef, "Duma," *DMA* 4.305–306; Robert O. Crummey, *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304–1613* (New York: Longman, 1987).

**Duns Scotus, John, Blessed (Doctor subtilis)** (1265/66–1308) *Scottish philosopher, theologian*

John Duns Scotus was born at Duns in SCOTLAND in March of 1265 or 1266 into a landowning family in the southeastern corner of the country. His father was probably Ninian Duns, who held an estate near Maxton-on-Tweed in Roxburghshire. After receiving his early education, possibly at Haddington, John Duns entered the FRANCISCAN convent at Dumfries about 1277–80. Shortly before 1290 John Duns was sent to OXFORD, probably to continue his study in the liberal arts. While at Oxford he was ordained to the priesthood on March 17, 1291, perhaps by Oliver Sutton (d. 1299), Bishop of Lincoln.

Scotus seems to have completed his study in the arts before 1293, for in that year he began his study for a higher degree in THEOLOGY at PARIS. Returning to Oxford in 1296, Scotus continued his study and commented on the *Book of Sentences* by Peter LOMBARD. Having read the *Sentences* at Oxford and possibly at CAMBRIDGE, Scotus returned to Paris in 1302 and read the *Sentences* for a second or third time.

Because of his opposition to King PHILIP IV's call for a general council against Pope BONIFACE VIII, Scotus was exiled from France in 1303 and returned to Oxford for a year. In 1304 he returned to Paris, and he completed the requirements for the degree of master of theology in 1305. For the next two years, he held the Franciscan chair of theology at the University of Paris. One of his most important works, *Quaestiones quodlibetales* (The quodlibetal questions), contained Scotus's version of many of his debates. Scotus was unexpectedly transferred in 1307 to the Franciscan house of study at COLOGNE, where he lectured until his death on November 8, 1308. He was buried in the chapel of that convent. In the meantime, some scholars in Paris were calling some of his ideas heretical.

#### PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

Scotus contributed to a more specific understanding of the relation between PHILOSOPHY and theology. He emphasized the practical nature of theology, denying it the rigorous demonstrative quality of an Aristotelian science. Scotus shared with Thomas AQUINAS the belief that theology and philosophy did not contradict each other but represented different approaches to a single truth. The relation of philosophy and theology, for Scotus, was based on the nature of their respective and distinct sources, reason and revelation.

Scotus understood metaphysics as the aspect of philosophy that studied the nature of being itself rather than any particular object existing in an external reality. Being was thus a concept common to GOD and humans. Scotus shared with Aquinas a belief in the primacy of sense experience in the process of human knowledge. Scotus allowed the human intellect a more active role in

cognition than was usual in the late 13th century. In opposition to the customary Aristotelian epistemology, he argued that the intellect could have direct contact with the object to be known. The main feature of Scotus's theology was the importance he assigned to the primacy of the will in both God and humans. In contrast to Thomas Aquinas, Scotus stressed the freedom of the divine will and the freedom of the human will within an order freely chosen by God. This absolute power of God was limited by his own free decision to allow freedom to humans and to award eternal life on the basis of human merit. Humans have the freedom to meet God's demands and thus obtain salvation. The last important area of Scotus's thought concerns his teaching on MARY, the mother of Jesus. Scotus taught that Mary was born without the stain of original SIN, a doctrine known as the Immaculate Conception. That was eventually recognized as dogmatic and infallible teaching in the Roman Catholic Church.

**Further reading:** Duns Scotus, *Duns Scotus on the Will and Morality*, trans. Allan B. Wolter (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1986); Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, 3 vols. (New York: Image Books, 1950), especially 2.476–551; Allan B. Wolter, *The Philosophical Theology of John Duns Scotus* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990).

**Dunstan, Saint** (ca. 909–988) *abbot of Glastonbury, archbishop of Canterbury, reformer of Benedictine monasticism*

Born in the west of England about 909, Dunstan served in the household of his uncle the archbishop of CANTERBURY and of King Æthelstan (r. 924–939) before being ordained and appointed the abbot of GLASTONBURY in 940, then the only Benedictine monastery in England. From there Dunstan launched the reform of Benedictine monasticism according to reformed continental models. This was later implemented with the support of King Edgar (r. 959–975) and bishops such as Æthelwold (ca. 904–984) and Oswald of Worcester and York (d. 992). With Edgar's backing, Dunstan was recalled from exile at a reformed abbey in GHENT and appointed bishop of Worcester in 957, bishop of London in 959, and archbishop of Canterbury later that year. Dunstan was an austere man who then successfully reformed discipline in the newly founded Benedictine monasteries of England. He was also a scholar, as was clear from his surviving letters and poems. After his death on May 19, 988 he was soon venerated as a saint with a feast day on May 19. His cult was sponsored by CANUTE II.

**Further reading:** Douglas Dales, *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Saint Dunstan of Canterbury: A Study of Monastic Reform in the Tenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1955); David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to*

*the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963); J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

**Durazzo (Dyrrachium, Drac, Durrës)** This was a port city in DALMATIA now in Albania, on the coast of the Adriatic. It was historically important as the western end of the Via Egnatia or the road to CONSTANTINOPLE. Any attack on the BYZANTINE EMPIRE from ITALY had to conquer Durazzo to use the Via Egnatia to reach THESSALONIKI and Constantinople.

The emperor Anastasius I (r. 491–518), who was born in Durazzo carefully fortified the city with three lines of walls. In the ninth century it was the base of Byzantine sea power in the Adriatic and was organized as a special defensive enclave. Every attempt by the NORMANS of Italy to invade Byzantium began with an attempt to capture Durazzo. In their first try in 1081, they captured the city, controlling it until the death of Robert GUISCARD in 1085. Subsequent Norman assaults

were not as successful. Other invaders from Italy such as King WILLIAM II of SICILY, sacked the city in 1185 and CHARLES I OF ANJOU held it briefly in 1274. VENICE, which in the Adriatic was dominant in the 14th century, controlled Durazzo from 1392 to 1501. There had been attacks from the interior of the Balkan Peninsula. For example, the SERBS with SAMUEL, CZAR of BULGARIA seized the city for several years until the emperor BASIL II retook it in 1005. In 1501 the city fell under the OTTOMANS.

*See also* STEPHEN DUŠAN.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

**dying** *See* DEATH AND THE DEAD.

**Dyrrachium** *See* DURAZZO.

# E

**Easter and its cycle** Easter in the Middle Ages, as now, was a movable feast that commemorated the Resurrection of Christ after his Passion. The Christian feast of Easter began on Easter Sunday, prepared by for a FAST of one or two days and prolonged by a Paschal celebration 50 days long, leading to the Ascension and PENTECOST. The various events of the Passion and Resurrection were made the object of celebrations over several days, especially Holy Thursday (Last Supper) and Good Friday (Jesus' death on the cross), the latter forming with Saturday, the Vigil, and Sunday the three days of his Passion and Resurrection.

See also COMPUTUS; HOLY WEEK; LENT.

**Further reading:** Gabriel Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1972); Paul Rorem, "Easter," *DMA* 4.364–368; Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2d ed. (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991).

**Eastern Orthodox Church** See CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX.

**Eastern Schism** See SCHISM, GREAT.

**Eckhart, Meister (Master, Eckhart von Hochheim, Johannes Eckhart)** (ca. 1260–ca. 1328) *German Dominican theologian, mystic, preacher*

Born about 1260 near Gotha in Thuringia, Johannes Eckhart at about age 15 joined the DOMINICAN ORDER and studied in Strasbourg and COLOGNE. In PARIS he received a master's degree in THEOLOGY in 1302 and gained his

title, Meister. He became a Dominican provincial in 1303 and later a vicar general in BOHEMIA. In 1311–13 he was again in Paris as a teacher and then was professor of theology in Strasbourg until 1323. Finally, he taught and preached as regent professor at the University of Cologne.

Eckhart was involved in ecclesiastical conflicts. He favored the pope in the struggle between the emperor Louis IV of Bavaria (r. 1314–47) and the papacy over the imperial election. He was later a victim of the displeasure of the archbishop of Cologne. Cited before a hostile episcopal tribunal, Eckhart was accused and found guilty of heresy on 100 counts. He appealed to Pope JOHN XXII in AVIGNON and was received there. A bull dated March 27, 1329, by John XXIII spoke of him as already dead and condemned 28 of his propositions.

## IDEAS AND LEGACY

Eckhart's doctrine of the "little spark in man's soul" suggested a direct confrontation with GOD. To him God was not just an aloof personal deity in whose image humans were created, but a shapeless, incommensurable being unchanged and immanent in all matter and creatures. If people were to shed personal assertiveness and selfish drives, they could merge with God, becoming one with him, as did Christ. Eckhart was deemed heretical by some for denying a difference between the essence of God and that of His creatures and for questioning the temporal nature of the world. He was not, however, a pantheist.

In all this he was influenced by ARISTOTLE, ALBERTUS Magnus, and Thomas AQUINAS, as well as the NEOPLATONISM of the Spanish rabbi MAIMONIDES and the Muslim philosopher IBN RUSHD (Averroës). As a preacher and prolific writer, he addressed the people in the VERNACULAR and wrote for his fellow clerics in LATIN. He influenced

two other mystics: JOHN Tauler of Strasbourg and the Swiss HENRY SUSO.

See also MYSTICISM; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** Meister Eckhart, *Meister Eckhart: The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense*, trans. Edmund Colledge and Bernard McGinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1981); Bernard McGinn, ed., *Meister Eckhart: Teacher and Preacher* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986); Bernard McGinn, *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart: The Man from Whom God Hid Nothing* (New York: Herder & Herder, 2001); Frank Tobin, *Meister Eckhart: Thought and Language* (Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

**economic thought and justice** There were serious questions raised in the Middle Ages about the social justice of holding a great deal of wealth deemed only too often as obtained at the expense of others. Wealth in the Middle Ages rested primarily on land and the exploitation of human labor. The rise of the towns and of trade created a new form of more liquid wealth—movable properties and monetary instruments—all flowing to and created by the increasing number of artisans and merchants. The clergy also participated as sellers, buyers, lenders, and speculators; ecclesiastical institutions became richer, and their members were perceived as indulging in worldly pleasures. All this new wealth entailed the further dangers of selfishness, sensual indulgence, abuse of power, unjust acquisition, and fraud. All of this was in turn aggravated by dishonest merchants and artisans who did not observe the concept of the just price and practiced USURY or lending even at any interest at all. Liberality of spirit and magnanimous gifts to the clergy and charity to the poor were not yet deemed adequate or just compensation in God's eyes.

The Gospels demonstrated a strong mistrust of riches. Wealth was fragile, corrupting, and illusory. It hardened the heart and prevented access to the kingdom of heaven, salvation or REDEMPTION. The evolution of the economy, its increased complexity, and the accumulation of large fortunes led Scholastic thinkers and those concerned with ethical activity as pastors of souls to deepen and nuance their analyses and values from the 12th through the 15th century. They began to understand and praise the social benefits of economic development, especially if its worst abuses were controlled. However, a strong mistrust persisted. They remained concerned about the possible sinful origins of wealth, an excess of materialism or covetousness, and the habitualization of greed through repeated malfeasance. They suggested as a remedy the acceptance and embrace of a poverty of spirit so rich that it might manage their goods as a loan from God. They were to distribute a good portion of their wealth to the church and to the poor, to control covetousness. So it became more possible to gain wealth but then expiate sins committed in its

acquisition. Islam and Judaism always encouraged and demanded that the wealthy share their riches for the good of their own religious communities.

The debate about clerical wealth grew more intense in the late 13th century under the impetus of the SPIRITUAL Franciscans and the disputes of the 14th century about the temporal power of the church. In the 15th century, the humanist thought and justification of Leonardo BRUNI and Poggio BRACCIOLINI about the social value of private wealth became more widely distributed and accepted on the grounds that it contributed to the common good of society.

See also ISLAM; JUDAISM.

**Further reading:** T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin, eds., *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Odd Langholm, *Economics in the Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury according to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200–1350* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); Diana Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

**ecumenical councils** See COUNCILS, GENERAL AND ECUMENICAL.

**Edda and Eddic** See ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE; SNORRI STURLUSON.

### **Edessa (al-Ruha, Urfa, Sanliurfa in modern Turkey)**

Edessa was an ancient city on the plain of Haran in upper Mesopotamia, on the edge of the Syrian desert and usually tied in the Middle Ages to the legend that King Abgar V, a first-century contemporary of Christ who had been miraculously healed and converted. Christ sent him a towel or the *mandylion* with a likeness of Christ's face. Allegedly, the holy towel was accompanied by a letter promising that the city would never be taken by an enemy. In reality the Abgar who converted was probably a later king, Abgar IX (d. 216).

Christians at Edessa included not only followers of the Council of CHALCEDON, but adherents to MONOPHYSITISM and NESTORIANISM. The city was a center for Nestorianism, until its famous theological school was destroyed during the reigns of Emperor Zeno (r. 474–475, 476–91). Nestorians were later welcomed into IRAN, where they were allowed to found a new school at Nisibis. Edessa was the object of unsuccessful Persian attacks in 503 and 544. The ARABS captured it around 640, and it remained in Muslim hands until the Byzantines recaptured it in 944, sending the famous holy towel back to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Edessa was occupied again in 1032 by the Byzantine general George Maniakes (d. 1043), who took from the

city its second RELIC, an apocryphal letter of Jesus to Abgar. Crusaders seized Edessa in 1098, creating the County of Edessa, the first of the crusader States in SYRIA. It subsequently fell to Zangi (ca. 1084–1146) in 1143, was recovered briefly by the crusaders, only to be sacked by NUR AL-DIN, who massacred its male citizens and sold its women and children into slavery. The crusaders made no real effort to capture it again. It surrendered to the Mongols in 1259, but its region was devastated anyway. It did revive economically in the 14th and 15th centuries as a center of trade between the Persian Gulf to SYRIA.

See also ALEPPO; DAMASCUS.

**Further reading:** Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954); Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelyn III and the Fall of the Crusader States 1134–1199* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

**Edinburgh (Dun Eideann)** This town has been the capital of the kingdom of SCOTLAND from the 15th century. The origin of the city was a hill fort on what is now called Castle Rock. This site and intensive later building obscure the plan of any early fortification or associated settlements that may have existed.

#### HISTORY

In the sixth century, the town and fortress of Edinburgh were ruled by native British. In 638 it fell to the Angles and was on the northern limits of the kingdom of Northumberland. In the 10th century, it fell to the Scots. For the next century or so, Edinburgh remained an unstable frontier fortress under the control of the kings of the Scots, who preferred to live most of the time elsewhere, mostly at Dunfermline. Edinburgh's location became more tenable as a capital when King Malcolm III (r. 1058–93) extended his rule south to Berwick. Its location in the extreme southeast of the kingdom, however, always made the city vulnerable to English expeditions, which captured it several times during the wars of the later Middle Ages.

Despite the repeated damage suffered in these English invasions, Edinburgh grew and came to enjoy great commercial prosperity. From the nearby port, a Leith, on the Firth of Forth, the city traded with the rest of Scotland, ENGLAND, and the Continent, exporting wool and hides, and woolen cloth and fish from at least the 15th century. In the 14th century Edinburgh had already become the chief port for Scotland.

In 1329 ROBERT I THE BRUCE for a small fee issued Edinburgh's first borough CHARTER, granting the burgesses rights over the port at Leith and other privileges. In 1376, the burgh contained about 400 houses and at least one suburb, at Cowgate in a valley stretching to the south.

Edinburgh's emergence as the political capital in the 15th century owed much to the accession of the Stewart or Stuart dynasty. Holyrood abbey in the town became their royal mausoleum. James II (r. 1430–60) was born, married, and buried at the abbey. James granted Edinburgh permission for a larger city wall and allowed royal land below the northern side of the castle to be flooded for defensive purposes. By 1483, Edinburgh had become the permanent seat of government and justice and, as the usual royal residence, the center of a flourishing court culture.

**Further reading:** Judith Everard, "Edinburgh," *EMA* 1.467; Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); John Gifford, *Edinburgh* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984).

**Edirne** See ADRIANOPLE; OTTOMAN TURKS AND EMPIRE.

**Edmund, Saint (the Martyr Eadmund)** (ca. 841/842–870) *king of East Anglia*

Of the details of his reign little has survived except coins. He was born about 841 to an Anglo-Saxon noble and ascended the throne about 955. After his death in battle against the Vikings, or immediately thereafter by execution, on November 20, 870, he was quickly venerated as a martyr and saint. In the 10th century his body was brought to the monastery of Bury Saint Edmunds. The ensuing rapid growth of his cult and heroism might have been part of a reconciliatory process among the Anglo-Danish in East Anglia by becoming Christian and expiating their violent pagan past.

The first written treatment of Edmund's death was by ABBO of Fleury, who had taught in England at Ramsey Abbey from 985 to 987. Although written more than a century after the events and reflecting traditional expectation for sainthood, the story likely had considerable historical accuracy. Edmund was portrayed as a good Christian king. Abbo's text was later translated into the vernacular and adapted by Ælfric in his *Lives of Saints*. The abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds had a fine artistic record and remained a major goal of pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages, though his body is now lost.

**Further reading:** Marco Mostert, *King Edmund of East Anglia (†869)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986); S. J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

**education** See SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

**Edward I (Longshanks)** (1239–1307) *Plantagenet king of England*

The eldest son of HENRY III and Eleanor of Provence (1223–91), Edward was born on June 17/18, 1239, in Westminster. In October 1254, at the age of 15, he

married Eleanor of Castile (1246–90), by whom he had 10 children. She died in 1290, and in September 1299 Edward married Margaret of France (d. 1317), by whom he had three children. Soon after Edward's first marriage, Henry III gave him Gascony, IRELAND, Bristol, and the march between the Dee and Conway Rivers. In the latter area, as the earl of Chester, he gained experience in warfare with the Welsh. His attempt to introduce the English system of countries and hundreds angered LLYWELYN ap Gruffydd, prince of WALES (d. 1282), leading to war.

During the Parliament of OXFORD in 1258, Edward sided against the barons with his father, but in the following year he wavered and became a leader of the "Bachelorhood of England" in support of SIMON DE MONTFORT the Younger (ca. 1200–65) and the Provisions of Oxford. Again in support of his father, Edward attacked the Welsh, who were supporting the rebellious barons, and in 1264 he attacked the barons at Northampton. Edward was captured at the Battle of LEWES. After his escape Edward defeated the rebellious barons at the Battle of Evesham on August 4, 1265. He received the submission of the barons and became an advocate of a policy of reconciliation. He gained popularity by abolishing a levy of customs and by promoting laws against the Jewish moneylenders. He left for the CRUSADES in 1271 and fought bravely at ACRE and Haifa. While Edward was on the way home, his father died, and he succeeded to the Crown on November 20, 1272.

#### EDWARD AS KING AND AT WAR

After his coronation on August 19, 1274, Edward began a strong effort to promote and consolidate royal power and to develop and control a parliamentary system of government. He earned the name of "English JUSTINIAN" as a flood of legislation was passed that enabled land sales and reformed territorial jurisdiction and ecclesiastical landholding, legal rights, and a national military force.

Edward was also busily engaged in the first years of his reign in attempts to control Wales. Prince LLYWELYN ap Gruffydd at first refused to pay homage and then to attend PARLIAMENT but submitted to the English in 1276. This submission did not last long, however, and Edward was forced to take up arms, killing Llywelyn in 1282, and putting his brother, David, on trial in 1283. This victory over the Welsh rebels resulted in the Statute of Wales, which confirmed English control of Wales. By 1292 Edward was also involved in SCOTLAND. After the Scottish asked for arbitration by the English, Edward placed John Balliol (r. 1292–96, d. 1313) on the Scottish throne. Balliol was forced to surrender the throne in 1296. Edward defeated Scottish rebels, led by William WALLACE, at Linlithgow Heath in 1298 and executed Wallace as a traitor in London.

In addition to attempting to conquer or control Scotland and Wales, Edward was active in consolidating his possessions on the Continent. From 1286 to 1289 he

spent time in FRANCE and Gascony. After the loss of Gascony to King PHILIP IV in 1294, he was able to gain support for military activities from a PARLEMENT of all three estates in 1295 and financial help from the CLERGY in 1297. Although many barons did not want to participate in the campaign to Gascony, Edward sailed for BRUGES to help the count of FLANDERS against the French. The following year, persuaded by Pope BONIFACE VIII, he deserted his ally to make a truce with FRANCE in exchange for territory lost earlier.

The last years of Edward's reign were spent in conflict with his barons, who continued to oppose his military activities at home and abroad. To obtain their military and financial support, he was forced to confirm and reissue the Charter of Liberties or MAGNA CARTA in 1299. While traveling north to deal with the threat of ROBERT I THE BRUCE, the new leader of the Scottish rebels, he died at Burghon-Sands on July 7, 1307. He was buried at WESTMINSTER ABBEY on October 27.

*See also* CLERICIS LAICOS.

**Further reading:** F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947); Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, 2d ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998); Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London: Methuen, 1980).

#### Edward II (1284–1327) *king of England*

Edward II was born at Carnarvon in Wales on April 25, 1284, the fourth son of EDWARD I and Eleanor of Castile (1246–90). He acted as regent during his father's absence in FLANDERS in 1297–98. He was created prince of WALES and earl of Chester in 1301. Among his first acts on succeeding to the Crown on July 8, 1307, he recalled his favorite, Piers Gaveston (ca. 1284–1312), who had been banished by Edward I, and made him earl of Cornwall on August 6. He also appointed Gaveston regent of IRELAND and custodian of the realm. In January 1308 Edward married Isabel (1292–1358), the daughter of King PHILIP IV of FRANCE.

Under the pretense of attacking the Scottish rebels, Edward marched north in 1310. His real aim, however, was to avoid dealing with rebellious barons and their leader Thomas of Lancaster (ca. 1278–1322). Civil war broke out. The strife ended with the murder of Gaveston, the hated favorite, by Guy de Beauchamp (d. 1315), the earl of Warwick, on June 19, 1312.

Hoping to win popular support, Edward resumed the seemingly popular war against the Scots. His sound defeat by ROBERT I THE BRUCE at Bannockburn in 1314 lost him the little remaining influence and respect he had. Edward's high-handed treatment of the Mortimer family and other nobles alienated many of the aristocracy. Edward offended Isabel, his wife, by his fondness for the



Edward II, king of England (Courtesy Library of Congress)

younger Hugh le Despenser (d. 1326). After sending Isabel to France to negotiate a dispute between him and her brother, he had to deal with her attempt to dethrone him when she returned in 1326 with troops and the support of her lover Roger Mortimer (ca. 1287–1330). Unable to count on the support of his barons, who he had offended by his unwillingness to consult them and his poor use of royal patronage, Edward fled to the west but was captured on November 16, 1326, at Neath in Glamorgan. On June 20, 1327, he was forced to resign the throne. Imprisoned in Berkeley Castle, Edward was poorly treated and murdered about September 21, 1327. He was buried at Gloucester Abbey, regarded by some as a saint.

**Further reading:** Martin Bucke, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II: Walter Stapeldon, Treasurer of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Natalie Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321–1326* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London: Methuen, 1980).

### Edward III (Edward of Windsor) (1312–1377) king of England

Born on November 13, 1312, the eldest son of EDWARD II and Isabel of France (1292–1322) at Windsor Castle, Edward spent his youth in his mother's court and was crowned at age 14 after his father was deposed. After three years of domination by his mother and her lover, Roger Mortimer (ca. 1278–1330), Edward instigated a

palace revolt in 1330 and took control of the government. Mortimer was executed on November 29, 1330, and Isabel was exiled from court. Edward had married Philippa of Hainault (ca. 1314–69) in 1328 and the union produced 12 children.

### WAR

War occupied the largest part of Edward's reign. He and Edward Balliol (ca. 1283–1364) defeated DAVID II of Scotland and drove David into exile in 1333. French cooperation with the Scots, French aggression in Gascony, and Edward's claim to the disputed throne of FRANCE through his mother, Isabella, the daughter of KING PHILIP IV, led to the first phase of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. A naval battle at Sluys in 1340 gave ENGLAND control of the Channel, and battles at CRÉCY in 1346 and Calais in 1347 established English supremacy on land. Hostilities ceased in the immediate aftermath of the Black Death, of 1347, but war flared up again with an English invasion of France in 1355. EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE, eldest son of Edward III, massacred the French cavalry at POITIERS in 1356 and captured the French king, John II (r. 1350–64). In 1359, the Black Prince encircled Paris with his army and the defeated French negotiated for peace. The Treaty of Brétigny in 1360 ceded huge areas of northern and western France to English sovereignty. Hostilities arose again in 1369 as English armies under the king's third son, JOHN OF GAUNT, invaded France but were unsuccessful in reasserting military dominance. English military strength had weakened considerably after another plague in 1362. By 1375, Edward had to agree to the Treaty of Bruges, keeping only the coastal towns of Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne.

### SOCIETY LAW AND TAXES

English society changed in several ways during Edward's reign. Edward learned from the mistakes of his father and strove for more cordial relations with the nobility than had any previous monarch. The number of the nobility fell and it changed from a large body with small holdings to a small body that held great lands and wealth. Mercenary troops came to replace feudal obligations as the means of assembling armies. Taxation of exports and commerce overtook taxes based on land values as the primary form of financing of government and war. Wealth was raised from MERCHANTS as they and other middle-class subjects appeared regularly for parliamentary sessions and granted taxation. PARLIAMENT formally divided into two houses, the upper representing the nobility and high clergy and the lower representing the middle classes. It had to meet regularly to finance Edward's wars and pass statutes. TREASON was defined by STATUTE for the first time in 1352, the office of justice of the peace was created to aid sheriffs in 1361, and English replaced French as the national language in 1362.

## THE LATER YEARS OF THE LONG REIGN

Despite the king's early successes and a general prosperity, problems in the kingdom did exist. The power of the church declined, but John WYCLIFFE's ecclesiastical reform movement challenged the economic exploitation of the church by both the king and the pope. During 1348–50 and 1362, bubonic plague or the Black Death cut the populations of England and of Europe by as much as 50 percent. The English economy was hampered by the ensuing rising prices and wages struggling to keep up. The failed military excursions of John of Gaunt into France resulted in exorbitant taxation and eroded Edward's popular support. After Edward declined in health and the Black Prince died, his mistress, Alice Perrers (d. 1400), and William Latimer (d. 1381) dominated the court with the support of John of Gaunt. After Edward the Black Prince died in 1376, the old king spent the last year of his life grieving. He died on June 27, 1377.

**Further reading:** W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England, 1327–1377*, 2d ed. (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 2000); Michael Packe, *King Edward III*, ed. L. C. B. Seaman (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983); Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London: Methuen, 1980); Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000); Scott L. Waugh, *England in the Reign of Edward III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

**Edward IV** (1442–1483) *Yorkist king of England*

Born at ROUEN on April 28, 1442, Edward IV was the son of Richard Plantagenet (1411–60), duke of YORK, and Cecily Neville (1415–95). He took part in the WARS OF THE ROSES from the first battle at Saint Albans on May 22, 1455, and in 1460 he accompanied Richard Neville (1428–71), earl of Warwick, and the Calais garrison when Warwick invaded ENGLAND. He later raised rebels in Kent and in the north, demanding “good government.” The success of this uprising established Richard of York as regent and heir of the ineffective and mentally incompetent King Henry VI (1422–61, 1470–71), but Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou (1430–82), did not accept this political disinheritance of their son, Prince Edward of Lancaster (1453–71). Her Lancastrian Army of the North defeated and killed Richard of York at Wakefield on December 30, 1460. Margaret liberated Henry VI but she failed to capture and control London. Edward, now the leader of the Yorkist party, entered the capital and claimed the Crown.

Edward's popular election by crowds at Saint John's Field on March 1, 1461, and at Saint Paul's, WESTMINSTER Hall and Abbey on March 4, 1461, was a constitutional novelty. Edward moved quickly to consolidate his hold on the crown and marched north where he won a 10-hour battle at Towton on March 29, 1461. That left the

Lancastrians as fugitives. A June 28 coronation followed. PARLIAMENT voted attainders of Edward's enemies but granted no funds to him. It reminded the new king of his promise of better government.

## RULE AND DEATH

Control of Edward's government was a battlefield for the Neville and Woodville families. He secretly married Elizabeth Woodville (1437–92) in May 1464; she gave him two sons. In 1471 there began a last struggle with the Lancastrians. Warwick, his one-time ally, was killed at the Battle of Barnet on April 14, Prince Edward was killed at Tewkesbury on May 4, Margaret of Anjou was captured, and the mentally ill, but devious, Henry VI died or was executed on the night of the army's return to London on May 21, 1471. The ensuing years of Edward's reign were occupied with maneuvering between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. He had his brother, George of Clarence (1449–78), executed for TREASON on February 18, 1478, perhaps drowned in a vat of wine. Edward suffered through the consequences to his popularity of being perceived as taking payoffs from England's enemy the king of France, LOUIS XI. King Louis's 1482 publication of a secret pension alarmed Edward sufficiently to induce him to search for new diplomatic alternatives or alliances that lasted up to the time of his sudden illness and death at Westminster on April 9, 1483. Edward's 12-year-old son was proclaimed Edward V (1470–83), with his uncle, Richard of Gloucester, the future RICHARD III, as regent.

*See also* COMMYNES, PHILLIPE DE.

**Further reading:** Charles Derek Ross, *Edward IV*, 2d ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); J. R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1965).

**Edward the Black Prince** (Edward of Woodstock) (1330–1376) *knight, military leader*

Born on June 15, 1330, Edward the Black Prince was also known as Edward of Woodstock, after his place of birth; as prince of Wales; and sometimes as Edward IV. He was the eldest son of EDWARD III and Philippa of Hainault (ca. 1314–69). On March 18, 1333, shortly before his third birthday, he was created earl of Chester and was made duke of Cornwall on March 3, 1337. During the next few years, he was made guardian of the kingdom while his father was absent on the Continent. On May 12, 1343, Edward was crowned prince of WALES. At the age of 15 he was knighted by his father at La Hogue and took an active role in the winning of the Battle of CRÉCY on August 26, 1346, against the French. It was at this battle that he obtained the epithet “the Black Prince,” according to a 16th-century source because he wore black armor.

## WAR AND GOVERNMENT

In the following years Edward was active in the military expeditions of his father, including the expedition to

Calais in 1347. By 1355 he was the king's lieutenant in Gascony and leader of an army in AQUITAINE invading southeastern France. After a failure to negotiate a peace, Edward defeated the French and captured their king, John II (r. 1350–64), at the Battle of POITIERS on September 19, 1356. In October 1361 Edward married his 33-year-old widowed cousin, Joan, countess of Kent (1329–85). As an orphan, she had been raised in the household of EDWARD III. Known as the “Fair Maid of Kent,” Joan had two sons by the Black Prince.

Edward played an active role in the government and in military matters. On July 19, 1362, he was created prince of Aquitaine and Gascony; during the following years he was busy in France, attempting to check marauding mercenary companies. In 1367 he undertook an expedition into SPAIN to assist Peter the Cruel of Castile (r. 1350–69), who had been deprived of his throne by Henry II of Trastámara (r. 1369–79) assisted by French aid. With an army of 30,000 men, Edward crossed the Pyrenees and won a great battle, at Nájera on April 3, 1367. Because of illness, he was forced to return to his holdings in France. When war broke out with CHARLES V of France in 1369, Edward laid siege to Limoges. On its capture in October 1371 all its inhabitants were put to death. This affair was a great blot on Edward's reputation.

Ill health caused Edward to return to England in 1371, and in the following year he resigned his principality to his father in October 1372 and began to take a more active part in English internal politics. He became the champion of the constitutional policy of the commons against the corrupt court and the party of the Lancastrians. Edward seemed to have been active in the reform plans as set forth in the “Good Parliament” of 1376, but his death left much of this work undone. He died on June 8, 1376, a month before the PARLIAMENT was dissolved and leaving his nine-year-old son RICHARD II as eventual king.

See also FROISSART, JEAN.

**Further reading:** Richard Barber, ed. and trans., *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince: From Contemporary Letters, Diaries, and Chronicles, including Chandos Herald's "Life of the Black Prince"* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986); Richard W. Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine: A Biography of the Black Prince* (New York: Scribner, 1978); Barbara Emerson, *The Black Prince* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976); John Hooper Harvey, *The Black Prince and His Age* (London: Batsford, 1976); H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–57* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958).

**Edward the Confessor, Saint** (ca. 1002–1066) last English king of the house of Wessex

The second and youngest son of ÆTHELRED II the Unready and his wife, Emma of Normandy

(ca. 985–1052), Edward was born sometime after 1002. His nickname “The Confessor” was given later because of his alleged saintliness and building of Westminster Abbey. As Æthelred's authority crumbled in the face of Danish invasions and dissensions among the English nobility, Emma and her children took refuge in 1013 at the court of Richard II, duke of Normandy (d. 1026). Æthelred died in 1016, and Edward's eldest brother, Edmund Ironsides (d. 1016), succeeded him but died in battle later the same year. King CANUTE II gained possession of England, and Edward and his remaining brother stayed in exile in Normandy.

After Canute's death in 1035, England experienced several years of factional strife, during which Edward's brother returned to England and was murdered by a powerful earl, Godewine of Wessex (d. 1053). In 1041 Canute's last surviving son, Harthacnut (r. 1040–42), designated Edward as his successor.

### REIGN

The following year Edward, with widespread popular support, became king of England. The first half of Edward's reign was full of problems. Until 1047 England was threatened by a possible invasion by King Magnus I the Good (r. 1035–46) of NORWAY, who claimed the English throne because of an agreement made with Canute's late son, Harthacnut. Internal difficulties in England sprang from rivalries among the great earls such that between Godewine and Leofric (d. 1057). Edward lacked the resources and ability to confront them for several years. Edward married Godewine's daughter, Eadgyth (ca. 1025–75), in 1045. They never had any children, thus inspiring a story that the saintly Edward never consummated their union. Edward also met opposition from his mother, Emma, whose lands he had confiscated in 1043. To counteract English opposition, Edward invited a number of Norman and Breton knights and clerics to his court. Their presence and influence angered the English magnates further.

In 1051 Edward, using as an excuse Godewine's refusal to obey an order, moved against his great rival. He exiled Godewine; banished Eadgyth; designated William, the duke of Normandy, as his heir; and arranged that a Norman, Robert of Jumièges (d. ca. 1055), become the archbishop of CANTERBURY. The following year, Godewine returned with a large fleet. He and Edward were officially reconciled to prevent a civil war in time to deal with a Norse invasion. The new archbishop and most of the Norman courtiers were banished. Godewine died soon after, in 1053, but his son, HAROLD, became earl of Wessex and Edward's most powerful adviser.

For the rest of his reign Edward, by choice or necessity, did not exercise dominant control over affairs of state, leaving to Harold and other powerful nobles the prosecution of wars against WALES and the direction of domestic policies. In 1057 Edward's nephew, Edward

Ætheling, in exile in HUNGARY since 1016, visited him but died soon after his arrival in mysterious circumstances. His death made it clear that Edward's successor would be either William of Normandy or the popular Harold of Wessex. Edward became increasingly absorbed in religious matters, devoting much of his attention to the founding of Westminster Abbey. He also loved hunting and was less ascetic and pious than his posthumous reputation, as suggested by a biography written soon after his death. Edward died on January 5, 1066. Harold was quickly chosen as his successor, but by the end of the year WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR was crowned king at Westminster. Edward was canonized at the request of King HENRY II in 1161.

See also BAYEUX TAPESTRY; HASTINGS, BATTLE OF

**Further reading:** Frank Barlow, ed., *The Life of Edward the Confessor Who Rests at Westminster*, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962); Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979); Peter A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). Eyre Methuen, 1979); Peter A. Clarke, *The English Nobility under Edward the Confessor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

**Egypt** Islamic Egypt is a country in the northeastern part of North AFRICA. It had been one of the most prosperous provinces of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE and an important cultural and religious center. The patriarchs of ALEXANDRIA enjoyed great prestige as leaders of the Eastern or Orthodox Church. After the constitutional reforms of JUSTINIAN I in the sixth century, centralizing the eastern church in CONSTANTINOPLE, the authority and prestige of the patriarchs of Alexandria quickly declined. This incited opposition, which produced alternative religious groups, such as the monophysites and Monothelites and the autonomous COPTIC Church. The attempts of the emperor HERAKLEIOS to create more religious unity through the issuance of a decree in 637 did not yield the expected results. On the eve of the ARAB invasion, Egypt tended to oppose Byzantine control. These divisions enabled the Arabs, who invaded Egypt in 640, to conquer the country without much resistance and, by April 641, Byzantine domination in Egypt had ended.

#### CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE

The Arab conquest created political changes and ushered in sociocultural evolution. It transformed Egypt into an Arab and Muslim country. From their military center at AL-FUSTAT, south of the Nile Delta near modern-day CAIRO, the conquerors fostered conversion to ISLAM by the majority of the populace, although important minorities of Coptic and Greek Christians, as well as JEWS, survived. Egypt became a province of the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. Islamization put the conquerors

in contact with the important Greek center of Alexandria. The Arabs assimilated much classical and Hellenistic Greek heritage into their thought, translating the Greek philosophical and scientific works into Arabic. Egypt became one of the centers of Arab SCIENCE. The TULUNID governors of the ninth century brought economic development and a prosperity based on Mediterranean trade and on the relations with Sudan and North Africa. The decline of the Abbasid caliphate by the end of the ninth century gave the governors of Egypt much autonomy but deprived them of support from a strong central government.

#### FATIMID CONTROL

The FATIMID dynasty took advantage of this to conquer Egypt in 974, founding the new city of Cairo, the capital of their new caliphate. Egypt thus became independent and gained an important position in Islam, due to the SHIITE allegiance to the Fatimids. They also conquered large territories in PALESTINE, SYRIA, and Hejaz. The al-Azhar MOSQUE at Cairo became a hub of Muslim learning and made Egypt an important center of Islamic studies, as well as of scientific work. By the 10th and 11th centuries, Egypt was the commercial crossroads between the Mediterranean and the East, enhanced by its control over Syrian and Palestinian ports.

#### CRUSADES

The arrival in the Middle East of the SELJUK TURKS in 1071 dealt a blow to the Fatimids, who lost numerous provinces and JERUSALEM to the Seljuks but maintained rule over the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine. At the beginning of the 12th century these towns were captured by the crusaders, along with the coast of Syria. Attempts by the Fatimids to recover territories between 1100 and 1110 were unsuccessful. The dynasty declined, with military viziers becoming the actual rulers of Egypt.

The establishment of the Italian merchants at ACRE, TYRE, and ANTIOCH gave them a near monopoly over trade between East and West. This was another serious blow to the Egyptian economy, aggravating Fatimid decline. The crusaders attempted the conquest of Egypt. In 1169, a crusading army reached the Nile. Only the arrival of an army under the command of SALADIN, sent by NUR AL-DIN of Syria, defeated the conquest. In 1170 Saladin ended the Fatimid dynasty and established the Ayyubid dynasty. He became governor of Egypt and united it with Syria in 1174. His own government remained centered in Syria.

#### THE AYYUBIDS AND THE MAMLUKS

After Saladin's death, the Ayyubid Empire was divided, and Egypt gained its independence under the rule of al-Adil (r. 1200–18). The Ayyubid sultans were often involved in frequent and debilitating disputes with

the Syrian branches of the dynasty and sought control over the Palestinian territories. Neglecting their own country, they considered it only as a launching platform for expansion of their power and resources. At the same time, the crusaders once again took interest in Egypt, hoping to restore their kingdom in Jerusalem. The crusades of the 13th century were directed toward the Nile Delta and the conquest of Damietta, located at the eastern mouth of the Nile. Such attacks led only to temporary conquests, but they forced the sultans to depend on MAMLUK soldiers. The Mamluks soon rose from servile positions to high commands, becoming a permanent military force. In 1252 and after the failure of the Crusade of King LOUIS IX, the Mamluks took power.

The Mamluks were primarily interested in wars against the Syrian Ayyubids and the crusaders whom they repeatedly defeated, destroying the remnants of their kingdom in 1291. They defeated the MONGOLS at the Battle of AYN-JALUT in 1260 and ruled Palestine and Syria as far as the Taurus Mountains in ANATOLIA. In internal affairs, they left the civil government to local officials, who were expected to provide taxes and tributes. Egypt began a decline reinforced between 1347 and 1350 by the Black Death. With other diseases, it ravaged the country and decimated the urban population. The Ottomans took control of Egypt in 1517.

**Further reading:** Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols. (1952–1959; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979); Hugh Kennedy, ed., *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt, c. 950–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Carl F. Petry, *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Thelma K. Thomas, *Textiles from Medieval Egypt, A.D. 300–1300* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990).

**Einhard** (Eginhard, Ainhardus, Heinhardus) (ca. 770–840) *biographer of Charlemagne*

Einhard was born at Maingau in the Main valley of GERMANY about 770. When he was about age 10, his noble parents sent him as a pupil to the Abbey of FULDA. The abbot there taught him and utilized his talents as a scribe. About 796, he was sent to the CAROLINGIAN court and admitted into the palace school. There he completed his education, taught by ALCUIN, among others.

When Alcuin retired to the abbey Saint-Martin at Tours, he recommended Einhard to CHARLEMAGNE. The emperor made him “director of royal buildings” and dispatched him on diplomatic missions. In the reign of LOUIS I THE PIOUS, he was among the royal entourage and oversaw the education of Lothair (795–855), Louis’s eldest son.

Einhard founded the abbeys of Seligenstadt and Steinbach in Franconia. He returned there in about 830. His wife, Imma (d. 836), became an abbess. The emperor appointed him lay abbot of several monasteries, Saint-Pierre on Mount Blandin, Saint-Bavon near GHENT, Saint-Servais at Maastricht, Saint-Wandrille, and Saint-Cloud. He died at Seligenstadt on March 14, 840. Einhard was famous mainly as the author of his life of Charlemagne, written about 826, in which he sought to imitate Suetonius’s *Life of Augustus*. He based it mainly on his memories, those of his contemporaries, and the *Royal Annals*.

*See also* CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

**Further reading:** Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969); Paul Edward Dutton, ed. and trans., *Charlemagne’s Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1998); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), 58–91.

**Eleanor of Aquitaine** (Alia-Anor, Aliénor, Eleanor of Guyenne) (ca. 1122–1204) *duchess of Aquitaine, queen of France, later the queen of England*

Born in about 1122 in either Bordeaux or nearby Belin, Eleanor was perhaps the only child of William X, duke of AQUITAINE (1099–1137), and Aénor of Châtellerault (d. 1130). William died on pilgrimage on April 9, 1137. The marriage of his heiress was of great political importance because Aquitaine was one of the largest fiefs of FRANCE. Probably in accord with her father’s wish, Eleanor married Louis (ca. 1120–80), the future King Louis VII and the son of King Louis VI, who had hitherto been a monk, on July 25, 1137. They were installed as rulers of Aquitaine at Poitiers on August 8 and crowned king and queen of France at Bourges on Christmas. The young king seems to have been fond of his beautiful wife, but Eleanor is said to have complained that she had married a monk and not a king. They did produce two daughters. In June 1147 Louis and Eleanor set out on a crusade, arriving at ANTIOCH in March 1148. There they quarreled and raised questions about the validity of their marriage. However, she and Louis returned home together. On March 21, 1152, their marriage was annulled on grounds of consanguinity.

Less than two months later, Eleanor married Henry Plantagenet, duke of NORMANDY, count of ANJOU, and soon to be HENRY II of England. They were crowned at Westminster on December 19, 1154. Henry was 11 years younger than his wife. They produced eight children. Their marriage was a political match: he wanted her lands and she needed a protector. Her son RICHARD I LIONHEART was regarded from an early age as heir to Aquitaine. In 1168 she took him to live there and maintained a court



Enameled stone effigy of Eleanor of Aquitaine from her tomb in the Abbey of Fontevraud, France (Courtesy Library of Congress)

centered at Poitiers. Though Richard was given a ducal title, Eleanor retained both power and responsibility. Now she also had full opportunity to patronize poets and authors. This relatively happy period ended abruptly in 1173. Eleanor, angered perhaps by Henry's marital unfaithfulness, allied herself with the king of France against him. Her young sons joined her. King Henry crushed the rebels and forgave his sons but kept his wife in semi-imprisonment until he died in 1189.

#### REIGN OF RICHARD

With the accession to the English throne of her favorite son, Richard, on September 3, 1189, Eleanor regained her position of influence and control of her property. She arranged his coronation, and in the winter of 1190/91 she traveled to Iberia to fetch his future wife, Berengaria (d. 1230) of Navarre, and brought her to SICILY to join Richard before he left for PALESTINE for the third Crusade. During his absence she worked with the Council of Regency in England, with whom she helped thwart the treachery of JOHN, her youngest son, and organized the collection of Richard's ransom.

On Richard's sudden death from a wound on April 6, 1199, Eleanor supported John's claim to succeed to the English throne against that of her grandson, Arthur of Brittany (1187–ca. 1203). She herself paid homage to King Philip II Augustus (r. 1180–1223) of France for Aquitaine and took control of the duchy. In July 1202, when John and Philip were at war, Eleanor was besieged in the CASTLE of Mirebeau by John's enemies, led by her grandson Arthur allied to Philip. John defeated the besiegers and captured his nephew. His mother was then able to spend her last months in freedom. She died on April 1, 1204, and was buried at her abbey of Fontevault, where her posthumous effigy remains.

See also COURTLY LOVE; TROUBADOURS.

**Further reading:** Marion Facinger, *A Study of Medieval Queenship; Capetian France, 987–1237* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968); Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950); William W. Kibler, ed., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976); D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Legend* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

**Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus of Worms** (Eleazar Rokéah Qalonymus, the Rokéah) (ca. 1165–1238) *Jewish mystic, kabbalist, Talmudist*

Born about 1165, Eleazar studied in the best schools of the Rhenish Jewish communities at Speyer and Metz, before fleeing when a persecution of the Jews began in 1188. He settled at Worms. In 1196 two crusaders entered his home, attacked him, wounded his son fatally, and murdered his wife and two daughters, all in his

presence. Mourning them for the rest of his life, he still maintained sympathy to the failings of humanity.

#### CAREER AND WRITINGS

In 1201 he became the rabbi and director of the famous school of the Jewish community of Worms. Eleazar in his youth had been introduced to KABBALA. He now devoted himself to its field of study and was among the first ASHKENAZI Jews to introduce its ideas to a wider public. In his *Commentary on the Prayers and Their Secret Message*, he claimed that an oral tradition concerning a mystical aspect of prayer had been transmitted from Iraq through Italy and his family to Germany. In his *Purgatory of Wisdom*, he proposed a mystical interpretation of Scripture and GOD. He formulated a theory of the divinity in which rationalistic and mystical elements were blended. In his most popular work on customary law, the *Rokéah* or The Book of the Perfumer, he described appropriate everyday pietistic practices and religious behavior based on the Kabbala. He died perhaps as late as 1238.

See also HALAKAH; KALONYMUS FAMILY; TALMUD.

**Further reading:** Ivan G. Marcus, *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 1981); Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

**elections, church** Election, from the Latin verb *eligere*, “to choose,” was the procedure of designating the head of certain major ecclesiastical posts or benefices. In the medieval church, election was a choice, emanating from a competent authority, that could be acclamation by a single individual, a community, or a crowd, in which there was no need to count the number of votes in favor of each candidate.

Such a procedure reflected the divine will. GOD’s choice alighted on the worthiest candidate, the one whom the better part of the electoral body had selected. For most of the Middle Ages, a majority of votes did not automatically prevail in election procedures. Election permitted the acclamation of a candidate who then exercised his powers only after canonical investiture and consecration.

Election was essentially for the holders of major BENEFICES, such as abbots, bishops, and the Roman pontiff. For abbots and bishops, election was originally entrusted in principle to the community concerned, in other words, the monks of the monastery or the people and clergy of the episcopal city. The role of the people was soon limited to an acclaimed ratification of a choice not actually made by it. Bit by bit the role of the people almost disappeared, leaving the responsibility for choosing future bishop to the cathedral chapter alone. Moreover, the practice still left plenty of room for the intervention of the “great,” lay or ecclesiastical, who

presented a candidate in such terms that freedom of elections was considerably reduced.

Canonical legislation (at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215) tried to restore more clarity to electoral procedures. Elections now had to be unanimous, reflecting the church’s unity. Eventually this elective system gave way to that of appointment by the pope. By the PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES in 1438, CHARLES VII tried to restore real elections in France. But this unilateral act of monarchical power was never accepted by ROME and functioned badly.

#### ELECTION OF THE POPE

The Roman pontiff was also initially chosen by the earlier kind of election. The pope, the bishop of the city of Rome, was designated by the same procedure as any bishop, by the CLERGY and people of his city. In 1059 Pope NICHOLAS II promulgated a decree entrusting the election of the bishop of Rome to the College of CARDINALS. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 required that the new pope be elected by a two-thirds majority of votes of the cardinals. For the first time a canonical text imposed counting and necessitated the receiving of a majority of the votes.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY AND DISPUTE.

**Further reading:** Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop Elect* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968); Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992); Richard W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970).

#### Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint (Elizabeth of Thuringia) (1207–1231) noble widow

Elizabeth was born in Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1207, the daughter of King Andrew II (r. 1205–35) of HUNGARY and Gertrude of Andechs-Meran (d. 1213), a prestigious line. For dynastic and political reasons, she was betrothed at the age of four to the eldest son of the landgrave Herman I of Thuringia (d. 1217) and sent to the latter’s court to be raised there. Her childhood and adolescence were spent at the CASTLE of the Wartburg, in Thuringia. She witnessed her mother’s murder in 1213. Her fiancé meanwhile had died, so at the age of 14, she married his brother, Louis (d. 1227), by whom she was to have three children.

Under the influence of a domineering preacher, CONRAD of Marburg, the young married couple soon adopted a strict, pious, and ascetic lifestyle. Elizabeth, sometimes physically abused by Conrad, was conspicuous for her CHARITY to the poor. In September 1227, Louis died at Brindisi as he was about to embark for the HOLY LAND with the emperor FREDERICK II. His widow, aged 20, refused to remarry. To escape the pressure of her

husband's family, she left the castle with two servants to retire to a hermitage near Eisenach, then in 1228 moved to Marburg. She then renounced all her property, became a member of the Third Order of Saint Francis, and distributed her property to the poor. She lived a life of great austerity, taking care of the sick and poor. Worn out by the sadistic Conrad and her own austerity, she died at age 24 on November 17, 1231, near Wittenberg and was soon canonized in 1235.

See also WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE; WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

**Further reading:** Charles Forbes Montalembert, *Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia*, trans. Francis Deming Hoyt (New York: Longmans, Green, 1904); Elizabeth Ruth Obbard, *Poverty, My Riches: A Study of St. Elizabeth of Hungary 1207–1231* (Southampton: The Saint Austin Press, 1997).

**ember days** Ember days are the days of fasting on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in the liturgical CALENDAR at the start of each of the four seasons. The spring ember days were during the first week of LENT, those of summer during the octave of PENTECOST, those of autumn in the third week of September, and those of winter during the first week of Advent. They might have had their origins as pagan holidays commemorating the change in seasons.

See also FASTING AND ABSTINENCE.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Grimshaw Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, Boydell Press, 1994).

**embroidery** The medieval art of embroidery consisted of sewing a design to a fabric with a needle. The thread may be of different or rich materials, such as GOLD or SILK, and applied with several types of stitch. Of Oriental origin, it spread in Europe with the taste for rich fabrics imported from SPAIN and SICILY between the eighth and 12th centuries. By the 13th century English work, in particular, was known throughout Europe. Almost the entire demand was from the church for liturgical vestments such as miters and chasubles. The most famous masterpiece of medieval embroidery was the 11th-century BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

**Further reading:** A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery: A Brief Survey of English Embroidery Dating from the Beginning of the Tenth Century until the End of the Fourteenth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938); Donald King, *Opus Anglicanum: English Medieval Embroidery* (London: Arts Council, 1963); Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Victoria & Albert Museum's Textile Collection: Embroidery in Britain from 1200 to 1750* (New York: Canopy Books, 1993); Leonie von Wilckens, "Embroidery," *The Dictionary of Art* 10.180–183.

**enamels** Medieval enameling as an art involved the application or fusing of mineral oxides in a vitreous or glass paste onto objects or surfaces usually made of precious metals. This was done by using a very hot fire. There were several techniques that were popular at various times: *plique à jour* (against the light), *champlevé* (raised field), *en résille sur verre* (in grooves on glass), *cloisonné* (cell work), *basse taille* (shallow cut), *en ronde bosse* (rounded relief), bas-relief, and painting. The art was practiced in the early Middle Ages in the Celtic world and in the Byzantine Empire. It spread more widely into the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires in the ninth and 10th centuries and into AQUITAINE and northern Spain in the 12th. By the 13th century workshops in Limoges in France produced enamels for a European market. In the later Middle Ages, VENICE and SIENA were also important production centers of this luxurious art form.

**Further reading:** Marit Guinness Aschan, "Enamel," *The Dictionary of Art* 10.192–195; Marian Campbell, *An Introduction to Medieval Enamels* (Owings Mills, Md.: Stemmer House, 1983); John P. O'Neill, ed., *Enamels of Limoges: 1100–1350* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996); Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, trans. C. R. Dodwell (London: T. Nelson, 1961).

**England** England occupies the southern and central part of the island of Britain. After the departure of the Roman government in 407, Britain or the Roman province of Britannia was overrun by large numbers of Germanic-speaking people from FRISIA and Jutland in DENMARK. By the mid-sixth century, the Briton GILDAS wrote that large parts of Britain were occupied by these Germanic settlers. The native Romanized Britons had been forced back into WALES and Devon and Cornwall in the southwest of the island. By the end of the sixth century, these Germanic settlements had grown in the kingdoms of Kent, WESSEX, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria and were all contending for dominance. AUGUSTINE of Canterbury in 597 began converting these kingdoms to Christianity. So by the late seventh century, most of England was Christian. England then played important roles in Christian learning, education, and missionary activity to the Continent. For most of the eighth century, Mercia was able to achieve dominance over its two main rivals, the kingdoms of Kent and Wessex.

#### ARRIVAL OF THE VIKINGS AND DANES

At the end of the eighth century, a new threat to English peace appeared in the form of VIKING raiders from 793. For much of the ninth century they raided and settled throughout England. Much of eastern England was settled by Danish immigrants and was known as the DANELAW. There was a Viking kingdom in the city of YORK from 866. These Viking attacks destroyed much of

monastic life in England. These onetime centers of cultural and educational activity faded into memories.

King ALFRED, through strategic fortification of cities and through a brilliant military campaign, defeated several Viking armies. There was a truce at Wedmore in 878 that left the Scandinavian settlers of the Danelaw in place. Alfred's successors, Edward the Elder (r. 899–924) and Æthelstan (r. 924–939), solidified his kingdom, which was centered on Wessex. In the reign of Edgar there was a major revival of Benedictine monastic life under DUNSTAN. However, in the reign of ÆTHELRED “the Unready” England suffered another invasion by Danish armies. The English were ultimately defeated by Sven Forkbeard, the king of DENMARK (r. ca. 987–1014). He seized the Crown and was succeeded by his son, CANUTE II, on the English throne between 1016 and 1035. Canute's dynasty died out in 1042, and Æthelred's son, EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, became king with the support of the powerful Godewine (d. 1053), the earl of Wessex. Edward was childless in 1066, and Godewin's son, HAROLD, briefly occupied the English throne. WILLIAM, the duke of NORMANDY, claimed that it had been offered to him by Edward. He invaded England, killed Harold at the Battle of Hastings on October 14, 1066, and became King William I.

#### NORMAN AND ANGEVIN ENGLAND

The Norman Conquest of England exploited Anglo-Saxon governmental institutions but changed the language of rule from Old English to Latin. The survey made in around 1086 and preserved in the *Domesday Book* was a great administrative achievement only made possible by the Anglo-Saxon institutions of the sworn inquest, the use of the writ as a means of communication between the king and the localities, and the administrative districts called hundreds. On the other hand, little else initially changed in English life and culture. The wealth of the kingdom allowed the Norman kings William I, WILLIAM II RUFUS, and HENRY I to fight the nearly constant wars with France to hold Normandy, their homeland.

On King Henry I's death in 1135, the succession to the Crown was disputed by his daughter, Matilda (ca. 1102–67), and his nephew, Stephen of Blois (ca. 1096–1154). After a long civil war, Stephen lost control of Normandy to the Angevins and then, after the death of his son, he recognized Henry of Anjou (the future HENRY II), the son of Matilda, as his heir by the treaty of Winchester in 1153.

Henry II ruled ANJOU and Poitou as well as England and Normandy and acquired Gascony through his marriage to ELEANOR of Aquitaine in 1152. His greatest achievement was to lay the foundations of a system of common law. He promoted the use of writs to initiate actions in royal courts and made this system available to all freemen. During his reign a jury procedure replaced the archaic practices of trial by battle and ORDEAL. His

representatives, the royal justices, went out from the king's court to hear cases locally. He quarreled famously with Thomas BECKET, the martyred archbishop of CANTERBURY (1162–70) and once the king's close friend and chancellor from 1155 to 1162. This dispute involved the royal demand that criminous clerks found guilty of felonies in church courts be sent to a secular court for punishment and that appeals from English church courts to the pope at Rome be limited.

Henry's sons, RICHARD I Lionheart and JOHN, succeeded him. Richard spent much of his reign waging wars in France, crusading and living in captivity. He died of a wound received while trying to maintain his rights on the Continent. John lost control of Normandy and was forced to accept limits on his power in MAGNA CARTA in 1215.

The reign of King Henry III (1216–72), John's son, was marked by the building of WESTMINSTER Abbey and a nasty civil war against a group of barons led by SIMON de Montfort the Younger. The reign of his son, EDWARD I, was devoted to expensive and partially successful wars of conquest in Wales and SCOTLAND. As legislator and administrator, Edward I dealt with many of the problems taken up by the barons in 1258–59, when, indeed, he was briefly of their party.

#### FOURTEENTH CENTURY

At Edward's death in 1307, the political crises of the next 40 years, involvement in wars in Scotland and France and an aggressive and aggrieved baronage, had already begun. To these problems, EDWARD II added his ineptitude and predilection for favorites. With his loss in Scotland, Edward II's favor for Hugh Despenser the Elder (d. 1326) and his son, Hugh, provoked the resentment of the English nobility and of his wife, Isabel, the “She-Wolf of France” (1292–1358). Edward was deposed and eliminated in 1327.

For a great part of his son, EDWARD III's reign, the Crown managed to satiate the chivalric tastes and economic ambitions of the English nobility by military successes in the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR in France at the Battles of CRÉCY and POITIERS. In the end, however, in the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360, Edward had to renounce his claim to the throne of France in return for recognition of his claim to a shrunken Gascony.

The political tensions of the last 10 years of Edward III's reign characterized much of RICHARD II's reign (r. 1377–99). Complaints against Richard, who was only 10 years old at his accession, focused on the extravagant spending of his household and on his dependence on and enrichment of a few favorites. When combined with what was perceived as tyrannical rule, all this came to a head when he confiscated the property of and banished Henry Bolingbroke, JOHN OF GAUNT's son. Henry left but returned with an army, which was readily welcomed by a very unhappy nobility in July 1399, and deposed Richard.

He captured Richard, who was soon eliminated, and claimed the throne as Henry IV (r. 1399–1413).

#### THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES

As king, Henry IV was always troubled by this questionable seizure of power. King HENRY V, his son, succeeded him and embarked on a policy of political recovery based on a lucrative war abroad and peace at home. Henry won a great victory at AGINCOURT in 1415 and proceeded to conquer Normandy and collect on his claim to occupy the throne of France on the death of King Charles VI in 1422. That was recognized in the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, along with his marriage with Catherine de Valois (1401–22), Charles daughter. On Henry's death in 1422, his infant son succeeded to the throne, as King Henry VI (r. 1422–61, 1470–71).

During Henry VI's reign the English lost almost all their possessions in France by 1453. Henry was a personally weak king who had obvious mental problems. The dynastic and very bloody WARS OF THE ROSES (1455–85) between the Lancastrian Henry VI and the house of York, headed eventually by EDWARD IV, resulted. After several battles and changes in fortune for both sides, the Yorkist claimant, Edward IV, won the Crown. After his death in 1483, RICHARD III, his brother and successor, lost and was killed at the Battle of BOSWORTH FIELD in 1485 to Henry VII TUDOR (1485–1509). The house of Tudor then occupied the throne until the death of Elizabeth I in 1603.

See also BEDE THE VENERABLE, SAINT; BONIFACE, SAINT; CLARENDON, CONSTITUTIONS OF.

**Further reading:** See "British Isles" in Bibliography, pp. 840–844.

**Ephesus, Ecumenical Council of** This was a council at Ephesus in western Anatolia that met primarily to decide the Blessed Virgin MARY's relationship to her son, Jesus Christ. The Third Ecumenical Council was called in 431 at Ephesus by the emperor Theodosios II (408–50), to settle a dispute between Nestorius (ca. 381–451), patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE, and CYRIL, patriarch of ALEXANDRIA, about the exact relationship of Christ's human and divine natures. Following the theological school at ANTIOCH, Nestorius believed that although the two natures were in contact, they were essentially independent of each other. This led him to state that Mary was not, properly speaking, the *Theotokos*, or "bearer of God," but only the mother of a man, Christ. After all, Nestorius reasoned, can one say that God, who is unchanging, was born and grew up.

This perceived attack on Mary aroused great passion within the church. Cyril borrowed 1,500 pounds of GOLD for bribes. His supporters roamed the streets of Ephesus looking for trouble. Nestorius's house had to

be guarded for his protection. John I (d. 441/442), the patriarch of Antioch and Nestorius's main supporter, arrived three weeks late; the delay allowed Cyril to manage Nestorius's condemnation. John I responded by organizing a rival council on the spot to condemn Cyril, who was declared deposed. At first Theodosios II let the two depositions stand, Cyril's money and influence at court, including that of Theodosios II's sister, Pulcheria (399–453), triumphed. Cyril was allowed to resume his see while the writings of Nestorius were burned.

Nestorius traveled to EGYPT and remained there in exile. In 433 moderates on both sides agreed to accept the epithet *Theotokos* for Mary and agreed to a compromise formula stating that Christ had two natures that existed in a complete union. Nestorius's followers retreated to EDESSA and, after the emperor Zeno (r. 474–475, 476–491) drove them from that city in 489, to Nisibis, in Persia.

See also CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1, *Nicaea to Lateran V* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 37–74.

**epic literature** In the Middle Ages epic literature included heroic poems. Originally oral narratives, they were about noble characters delivered in a more elevated style than that of normal discourse using verse, music, and heightened diction in Latin or the vernacular. They concerned the great and mythical deeds of a central heroic figure, or group of figures, usually at a time of crisis in the history of a culture. Their setting was in an earlier "heroic" period. They were written only after a long period of oral transmission. The Anglo-Saxon *BEOWULF*, the German *NIBELUNGENLIED*, and the French *Song of Roland* are examples. Their narration mixed legendary and real details from the heroic period and the actual time of their composition and narration. Secondary or literary epics were long, ambitious poems, composed by a single poet on the models of the older and mythical forms and more allusive and figurative. There were many examples of this kind of literature in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

See also BEAST EPICS; *BEOWULF*; CHANSONS DE GESTE; RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR, HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF.

**Further reading:** W. T. H. Jackson, *Medieval Literature: A History and a Guide* (New York: Collier Books, 1966).

**epigraphy** Epigraphy is the study of inscriptions written on durable material. The term *epigraphy* is derived from the Greek "to write on." These inscriptions were made in order to transmit certain statements to the public in a way that was to last. The most common inscriptions

were written in capital letters and cut by a chisel onto a durable or tough medium such as stone, marble, ivory, enamel, or metal.

For the medieval period, epigraphy involves "Christian" inscriptions, some predating the eighth century, from Italy, France, and Spain. Epitaphs, the most numerous of these kinds of inscriptions, preserved the memory of a deceased person, requested prayers for him or her, and often exhorted a change of life among the survivors. From the 13th century, they included mentions of endowments of Masses, and in the 14th and 15th centuries, biographical information about the deceased. Numerous other kinds of inscriptions were intended to ensure the publicity of public or private acts, commemorate events, and pass on to posterity the names of those who commissioned or carried out the work. They can convey ideas, sometimes even at a certain date, about death, about the afterlife, about popular theological concepts, about standards of education and literacy, about Latin and the vernacular, and about the meanings intended in an artistic program.

See also PALEOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Arthur Ernest Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Orazio Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy: An Elementary Treatise, with a Collection of Ancient Christian Inscriptions, Mainly of Roman Origin*, trans. Armine Willis (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1974); John Edwin Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919).

**Epiphany, feast of** (Greek, **Manifestation, Twelfth Night, Theophany**) The feast of the Epiphany has been from the third century a celebration held annually on January 6. In the Middle Ages it commemorated in the liturgy and in art the visit of the three kings, wisemen, or Magi, who were the first Gentiles to whom Christ was presented. In the Orthodox Church, from at least the third century, it has traditionally and more explicitly commemorated the Baptism of Christ, as had been the practice in the early church. Over time it evolved into recognition of the divinity of Christ. It was portrayed in more and more elaborate ways during the course of the Middle Ages. The Virgin MARY and the Magi gave artists a theatrical opportunity to portray elaborate and dignified representations of her majesty and the splendor of the worshipers of the Christ Child.

See also NATIVITY OF CHRIST; TRANSFIGURATION.

**Further reading:** John Thomas Arthur Gunstone, *Christmas and Epiphany* (London: Faith Press, 1967); Merja Merras, *The Origins of the Celebration of the Christian Feast of Epiphany: An Ideological, Cultural and Historical Study* (Joensuu, Finland: Joensuu University Press, 1995).

### **Epiros and the despotate of Epiros (Epirus)**

Epiros was a mountainous region in what is now southern ALBANIA and northwestern GREECE separated from the rest of Greece by the Pindos Mountain range. In the fourth century its late Roman administration was divided into the province of Old Epiros, with its capital at Nikopolis, and New Epiros, farther north, with its capital at Dyrrachium or DURAZZO. The cities, the most important of which were located on coastal plains, were raided by the VANDALS, who briefly captured Nikopolis in 474. The region was raided by other barbarians in 517 and in 539–540. JUSTINIAN I built and restored defenses in the region.

The resulting fortifications withstood an invasion of OSTROGOTHS in 551, but not those of the AVARS and SLAVS in the 580s. By about 615 the cities were overrun and the region depopulated. BYZANTINE hegemony was only reestablished slowly. The region fell under the domination of the Despotate of Epiros in 1204, and after 1264 was controlled by independent Greek despots until 1318. Thereafter, successive rulers included Italian families, Albanians, and SERBS. The OTTOMANS conquered the region in the 15th century. Intermittent invasions and migrations of peoples have created a diverse society that included not only Greeks but also SLAVS, VLACHS, Albanians, JEWS, TURKS, and even Armenians.

**Further reading:** Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

**eremitism** See HERMITS AND EREMITISM.

**eschatology (teaching about last things)** Eschatology is the study, doctrine, and teaching about the last things at the end of the world as they can have a meaning in the present or for history as a whole. It can refer to the fate of individuals or be conceived in more general terms. In a concrete way it involved the ultimate destiny of all four "last things," DEATH, LAST JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, and HELL, for everyone or for the individual. For Christianity, the whole history of humankind was directed toward this end. Such ideas had their roots in AUGUSTINE's *City of God*, in which the two aspects of eschatology were treated together. During the course of the Middle Ages, theologians began to separate these concepts and to assign various weights to their meaning for the present and for the general course of Christian history.

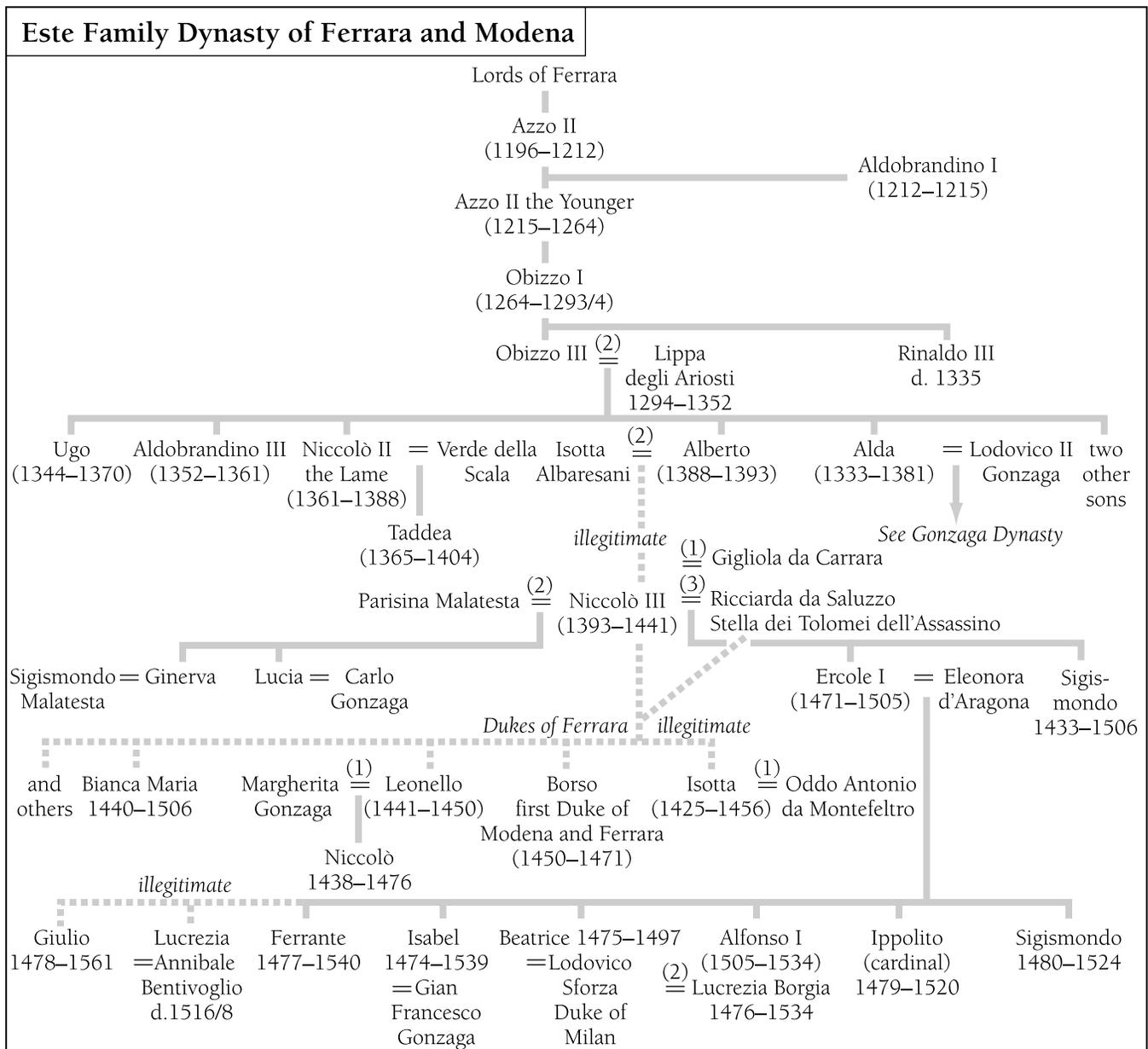
See also ANTICHRIST; APOCALYPSE AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; BEATIFIC VISION; JOACHIM, ABBOT OF FIORE; MILLENARIANISM; OLIVI, PETER JOHN; SALVATION; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (London: Paladin, 1970);

Bernard McGinn, ed., *Visions of the End* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998 [1979]).

**Este family** The Estes were a noble family of the feudal aristocracy who settled in FERRARA in Emilia, ITALY, in the 11th century. In the 12th century they became one of the leading families of the city. In 1196, Azzo VI (ca. 1170–1212) became *PODESTÀ* of Ferrara and established his rule over a group of towns in the Po River delta. In 1208 he eliminated rival families from the local government and became *signore* or lord of Ferrara, ruling over an Emilian state. In the 13th century, the Estes adopted an anti-imperial policy, becoming a leading *GUELF* dynasty. From 1240 onward, they fought successfully

against FREDERICK II. Azzo VII (ca. 1205–64); who led the army, took advantage of his victory over Ezzelino da Romano (1194–1259) to create a powerful state, whose alliance was sought in 1266 by MANFRED of HOHENSTAUFEN and CHARLES I OF ANJOU. His illegitimate son, Obizzo II (ca. 1247–94), strengthened the Estes' authority in Ferrara, encouraged economic development, and destroyed the power of the *GUILDS*, the last obstacle to the absolute power of the Este family. In the 14th century they were able to consolidate their state by becoming papal representatives in Emilia and fighting against VENICE, which had been attempting to conquer Ferrara. Toward the end of the century, the stable and wealthy court in Ferrara became one of the most brilliant in Italy, in which a cultural and artistic revival was encouraged,



elevating Ferrara to a leading role in several aspects of the RENAISSANCE of the 15th century.

**Further reading:** Clifford M. Brown, *Isabella d'Este and Lorenzo da Pavia: Documents for the History of Art and Culture in Renaissance Mantua* (Geneva: Droz, 1982); Trevor Dean, *Land and Power in Late Medieval Ferrara: The Rule of the Este, 1350–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); Thomas Touhy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d'Este, 1471–1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

**Estonia** See LIVONIA.

**eternity of the world and of the soul** This was an idea inherited from the Greeks that the world and the soul are eternal. The concept of the eternity of the world was often discussed by the philosophers and theologians of the Middle Ages, notably in the 13th and 14th centuries. Their thinking was inspired by ideas of the Greeks PLATO, ARISTOTLE, and PLOTINUS as well as the Muslim thought of Averroës or IBN RUSHD, whose thought was derived from his Muslim precursors AL-FARABI, Avicenna or IBN SINA, and AL-GHAZALI, themselves influenced by the Greeks. It was not merely a question of distinguishing eternity from duration, but of resolving consequential questions, such as the problem, posed by the GOSPELS and the QURAN, of an eternal GOD who knew the salvation of the elect and the damnation of sinners. This was really about whether Christian predestination or Muslim destiny (*qadar*) questioned the reality of human freedom or free will.

See also ESCHATOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Richard C. Dales and Omar Argemami, eds., *Medieval Latin Texts on the Eternity of the World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991); John, Peckham, *Questions Concerning the Eternity of the World*, trans. Vincent G. Potter (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993).

**Ethelred** See ÆTHELRED II THE UNREADY.

**Ethiopia** See ABYSSINIA.

**Eucharist** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**eucharistic controversies** These were disputed questions about the real or symbolic presence of Christ in the Eucharist. During the early Christian era, the church was not much concerned by such controversies about the Eucharist. The writings of two ninth-century Benedictine monks of Corbie began a discussion about the real presence. Paschasius Radbertus asserted the presence of both

the spiritual body of Christ and his historical body. Ratramnus (d. 868) questioned the presence of both the symbolic and the real.

This difference of opinion in the mid-11th century was the basis for a more serious controversy that influenced the basic sacramental theology of the Eucharist. In about 1048, BERENGAR of Tours, a canon of Saint Martin at Tours, discovered Ratramnus's treatise on the Eucharist and attributed it to JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA. He saw a symbolism quite opposed to the realism of Paschasius. Berengar was attacking the contemporary concept of the Eucharist. He saw the presence of Christ's body as a symbolic reality. The later Scholastic theologians used the concepts of accidents and substances to try to resolve this question. This issue was not settled by the Catholic Church until the 16th century by the affirmation of the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was based on the ideas of Thomas AQUINAS that the substances of the bread and wine were changed into the substances of the body and blood of Christ, while the species, appearances, or the accidents of bread and wine remained the same.

See also HRABANUS, MAURUS; SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**Further reading:** David Burr, *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984); Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine*, Vol. 2; *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

**Eugenius IV, Pope (Gabriele Condulmer, Condulmaro)** (ca. 1383–1447) *Venetian pope*

Born to a noble and mercantile Venetian family about 1383, Gabriel Condulmaro in his youth founded a community of secular clerics who practiced an austere form of the Rule of Saint AUGUSTINE. He was made bishop of SIENA on December 31, 1407, and was a CARDINAL at the papal court between 1408 and 1420. He became legate in the March of Ancona on February 7, 1420. At the death of Martin V (r. 1417–31), he was elected pope on March 3, 1431. His pontificate was marked by problems. Threatened by the great Roman feudal lords, he had to flee Rome from 1434 to 1443. He took strong issue with the Council of BASEL, which claimed to be superior to the pope, transferring it to FERRARA in 1438, then to FLORENCE, where a treaty of union with the Greeks was signed on July 5, 1439. A rump of the council remained at Basel, where it deposed and replaced him in 1439 with Felix V, the layman Amadeus VIII of

Savoy (1383–1451) between 1439 and 1449. A man of acknowledged moral integrity, asceticism, and purity of life, Eugenius sacrificed reform but managed the eventual victory of papal monarchy over the conciliar ideas. A friend of NICHOLAS of Cusa and BERNARDINO of Siena, he employed illustrious artists such as Fra ANGELICO, Pisanello (ca. 1415–16), DONATELLO, and GHIBERTI. He died back in Rome on February 23, 1447.

See also CONCILIARISM AND CONCILIAR THEORY.

**Further reading:** Joseph Gill, *Eugenius IV: Pope of Christian Unity* (London: Burns and Oates, 1961); Joachim W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

**eunuchs** They were males castrated either in childhood or when they were adults who played important roles in court as patriarchs and government officials for the Byzantine Empire. They were usually not emasculated. From the reign of Constantius II (337–361), they held high positions in the state civil and military administration and within the Eastern Church. They were supposed to be without family concerns and totally dependent on the emperor, possibly explaining the great, but often misplaced, confidence and authority given to them. The staff of the imperial household was in part made up of eunuchs who prepared the emperor's bed and clothing, served his meals, and planned his personal schedule. Among more high-ranking eunuchs were Eutropios (d. 399), Samonas (ca. 875–ca. 908), Joseph Bringas (d. 965), and John the Orphanotrophos (d. 1043). In the court of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, for example, there were 12 high-ranking eunuchs, several eunuch personal servants, and a patriarch. Other eunuchs, often sainted patriarchs, were Germanos I (r. 715–730) in the eighth century and Methodios I (r. 843–847) and Ignatios (r. 847–858, 867–877) in the ninth century. The most famous eunuch general was the competent and successful Narses (ca. 485–574), who served JUSTINIAN I. Many schemed politically, such as John the Orphanotrophos, who managed his brother's accession to the throne as Michael IV (1034–41). Nikephoritzes (d. 1078) ran state affairs for Michael VII (r. 1071–78) and achieved great power but also a strong reputation for corruption and greed. In Islam eunuchs were valued as servants.

See also ORIGEN.

**Further reading:** David Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study of Power Relationships* (Jerusalem Magnes Press, 1999); Liz James, ed., *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* (London: Routledge, 1997); Shaun Elizabeth Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Shaun Tougher, ed., *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* (London: Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002).

**Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebius, Eusebius Pamphili)** (ca. 260–ca. 339/40) *historian, Christian apologist, biblical exegete, bishop of Caesarea Maritima*

Eusebios was probably born about 260. His *Church History*, begun about 300, has remained of singular importance for the history of early Greek Christianity. It described in detail the Great Persecution in PALESTINE under the emperor Maximinus Daia (r. 310–313), who sought to revive paganism. His *Life of Constantine* is fundamental for any attempt at understanding a complex emperor whose reign Eusebios even called the high point of human history and the happy beginning of a Christian imperial power. In it was the famous story the emperor was supposed to have told Eusebios about a vision he saw in the sky at his victory at the Milvian Bridge near Rome in 312 of a glowing cross and the words “By This Conquer!” Eusebios's other works included the *Chronicle*, in which he demonstrated how deeply in antiquity the prophecies and roots of Christianity lay. He also produced two apologetic works, the *Preparation for the Gospel* and the *Proof of the Gospel*. He initially adhered to ARIANISM, but he renounced it on its condemnation at the Council of NICAEA in 325. He died a respected bishop in 339/40.

**Further reading:** Eusebios, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965); Eusebios, *Life of Constantine*, ed. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Robert M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

**Everyman** *Everyman* was one of the most austere, solemn, and famous MORALITY PLAYS. Its principal theme was the necessity of an acknowledgment of sin before DEATH, accompanied by a full and willing participation in the church's prayers and liturgy for that inevitable moment. The genre of the *ARS MORIENDI* (art of dying) literature used a similar series of injunctions. The play showed how all humankind at the point of death is deserted by all good fortune and the gifts of the world, such as wealth, status, friends, strength, and the physical senses. Therefore, with little support from anything except the hopefully long cultivated VIRTUES of FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY, one must trust in and hope for God's mercy.

The text of *Everyman* itself was either a translation in the 16th century into English of a Dutch play on the same theme, *Elckerlijck*, or the original, of which that Dutch play was a translation. No manuscript of *Everyman* can be found to suggest a date of composition or a name for an author. Our first copy was printed about 1515. Its central story was about a man forsaken by all his friends. Another copy can be found in collections of moral stories from the 12th century. The moral and allegorical form of *Everyman* was typical of the later Middle Ages. This play

can be viewed as a dramatic statement of the universal human predicament, the reality and inevitability of death, and as an explication of the church's doctrine on how to deal with it.

See also DRAMA.

**Further reading:** A. C. Cawley, ed., *Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959), 205–234; Michael James Preston, ed., *A Concordance to Four "Moral" Plays: The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, Mankind, and Everyman*, 2 vols. (Boulder, Colo.: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975).

### Exchequer and Court of Exchequer (Scaccarium)

This was the Treasury, which kept fiscal accounts for the English Crown. The Exchequer existed from the reign of KING WILLIAM RUFUS but cannot be found in sources until the beginning of the 12th century and continued to function essentially according to the same procedures throughout the Middle Ages. The lower Exchequer developed into an office for the receipt and payment of accounts. The upper Exchequer was a court that met twice a year to regulate royal accounts.

The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, written by Richard Fitzneal around 1179, described its organization and functions. Receipts and payments were made according to a complex procedure involving the issuing of wooden tallies on which were inscribed the sums either received by or due to the king. Usually, they could not be paid directly for lack of cash and were assigned to a future specific royal revenue. The debtor or creditor had to get a tally paid by the official designated by the Exchequer. These procedures and the incapacity to pay immediately earned the Exchequer a bad reputation; however, it was one of the first and most sophisticated administrative organs created by western monarchies. The upper Exchequer became the judicial system for the kingdom of England.

See also HENRY I; PIPE ROLLS.

**Further reading:** Richard Fitzneale, *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Course of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson, with corrections by F. E. L. Carter and D. E. Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Anthony Bedford Steel, *The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377–1485* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); Reginald Lane Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1911* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912).

**excommunication** Excommunication as the exclusion of an individual from the community and sacraments of the faithful has been attested to from the beginnings of Christianity. During the early Middle Ages excommunication became renewable and less public. The penalty of anathema or a "condemnation to eternal death" was more serious, but excommunication generally

had the same meaning and effects. However, one could repent, do penance, and escape it.

From the late 11th century, the GREGORIAN REFORM revived this sanction, making it a weapon against recalcitrant lay powers, often for political reasons. From the time of Pope GREGORY VII, the subjects of an excommunicated ruler were intended to be relieved of their oaths of loyalty. It was also incurred by those who broke the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD or who rejected the new and better-defined ecclesiastical laws. At the Second Lateran Council in 1139, the papacy gave itself the authority to excommunicate those who would not respect papal injunctions.

A trivialization of this sentence as a political weapon occurred in the later Middle Ages. Excommunication was so common that it lost a good deal of its impact and enforcement. All kinds of acts deemed illicit fell under this one terrible sanction. On the more mundane level, every Sunday the priest still read out a list of excommunicated Christians, who were then obliged to leave the church before the consecration of the Eucharist at mass.

Rabbinic courts during the Middle Ages could decree such punishments of those who had gravely violated the commandments or failed to follow local decrees. When Jewish communities were highly cohesive, such a sentence could have grave consequences. According to the TALMUD, there were four kinds of excommunication, ranging from a rebuke to anathema or *herem*. It was a strong weapon for rabbinic control.

See also HALAKAH; INTERDICT.

**Further reading:** F. Donald Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study in Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968); Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

**execution** See CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS.

**exegesis** See BIBLE.

**exemplum** The Latin term *exemplum* in the singular, and *exempla* in the plural, had several meanings in the Middle Ages. The most common was that of a cautionary tale, or an example to follow, or a model for behavior for the cultivation of VIRTUE. A "rhetorical" *exemplum* was a fact or a word from the past and used initially by a trustworthy person, such as Cicero. These were used with intent to help persuade, as in Cicero's judicial discourses. They were generally citations of facts or sayings from ancient history.

The more commonly employed homiletic *exemplum* was used in a preached narrative to serve as proof in

support of a doctrinal, religious, or moral exposition or injunction. It was systematically developed in the revival of PREACHING by the MENDICANT ORDERS in the 13th century. To be understood better by those whom they were trying to influence, and keep their attention, preachers spiced up their sermons with exemplary and interesting didactic stories and anecdotes. Without the time or manuscripts at hand to research such anecdotes, they needed easy access to portable manuals. Among the first was JAMES OF VITRY, but the most important was by the Dominican Stephen of Bourbon (d. ca. 1261). His *Treatise on Various Matters for Preaching* gathered almost 3,000 biblical and patristic citations and scholastically reasoned arguments. These works soon developed indexes by key word for easier consultation. They were, so to speak, stored in the manuscript in Latin but were deployed to audiences in the vernacular. The sources for such collections of *exempla* were the Bible, saints' lives, historical narratives, fables, legends and folklore traditions, and the personal experiences of the collector. These *exempla* can be instructive about the beliefs, models for behavior, and doctrines taught to the faithful.

**Further reading:** Joseph A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911); Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

**exorcism** Exorcism was a ritualized and solemn demand made explicitly in the name of Christ to the powers of evil to compel them acknowledge the omnipotence of GOD and hence to depart from places or people. Christ did this himself in the New Testament of the Christian Bible. From 416, Pope Innocent I (r. 401–417) limited the use of exorcism to priests and deacons acting only with the express authorization of a bishop.

Everything blessed and consecrated could be the object of an exorcism. It was done to remove the influence of the DEVIL or his minions. The set formulas used in these rituals were old, but new ones were introduced in the 11th and 12th centuries. The liturgy of exorcism reflected numerous popular beliefs by blaming demons or DEVILS for all catastrophes. There were exorcisms and incantations made during epidemics of contagious diseases. The most common use of exorcism to restrain the powers of evil during the Middle Ages was as a usual preliminary act at baptisms to catechumens or those desiring the sacrament. It was rarely applied to cases of perceived diabolical possession. These rites were modeled on those of adult baptism and prepared the recipient for entering into membership in the church.

**Further reading:** Brian P. Levack, ed., *Possession and Exorcism* (New York: Garland, 1992); Giovanni Levi,

*Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); St. Elmo Nauman, Jr., ed., *Exorcism through the Ages* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1974).

**Extreme Unction** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**exultet rolls** They are rolls of long strips of parchment or vellum with the prayers, canticles, and lessons of the liturgy of the midnight MASS of EASTER eve to accompany the blessing and lighting of the Paschal candle. That candle symbolized the pillar of fire guiding the Israelites in the desert and the Resurrection of Christ. The ceremony originated in the seventh century.

There are about 30 surviving manuscript examples of the rolls. Strongly influenced by the BYZANTINE rite, they were produced from the 11th to the 13th century chiefly in southern ITALY. Many of the finest were from the BENE-DICTINE monastery of MONTE CASSINO.

On Easter eve a deacon carried the roll in a procession to the pulpit or to a rood screen. As he chanted its stories of the Creation, the crossing of the Red Sea, the arrival of the JEWS in the Promised Land, and the fate of JERUSALEM, he allowed the roll to unwind over the top edge of the pulpit or screen. These manuscripts were illustrated with pictures of the events he described. With the images upside down to him, they were unrolled right side up to help the congregation to follow his narrative.

**Further reading:** Myrtila Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936); Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

**Eyck, Hubert van (Hubrecht, Lubrecht)** (ca. 1370–1426) and **Jan van** (ca. 1395–1441) *painters*

Of Hubert we know very little except that he was an artist active at GHENT in 1425 and died there on September 18, 1426, after beginning the *Altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb* or the GHENT Altarpiece. It was finished by his younger brother, Jan, on May 8, 1432. Of Jan we know neither his date of birth, probably between 1390 and 1400, nor the conditions of his education. He was in the service of John of Bavaria (r. 1419–25), count of Holland, at the Hague from 1422 to 1424; from 1425 to his death in June 1441 he went to the court of PHILIP THE GOOD, the duke of Burgundy. Highly esteemed by Philip, he performed several secret missions for him and in 1428 accompanied an embassy charged with negotiating the prince's marriage with Isabel of PORTUGAL. He died on July 9, 1441.

To Hubert are attributed the conception of the central panels of the *Altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb* at Ghent and a representation of the *Three Maries at the Tomb* in



Jan van Eyck, 17th-century, engraving (Courtesy Library of Congress)

Rotterdam. But these works were both later retouched and do not allow us clearly to distinguish his style beyond a general international GOTHIC.

Of Jan's work before he completed the *Mystic Lamb*, we know little beyond a small number of illuminations illustrating a BOOK OF HOURS that belonged to John of Bavaria. His early work was surprisingly innovative in its representations of space and a geometric and atmospheric perspective, which produce a strong evocation of the everyday world. From 1432, a series of signed and dated pictures illustrate his work: the *Portrait of Tymotheos* in 1432 and the *Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife* in 1434, both in the National Gallery in London; the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele* from 1436 in Bruges; *Saint Barbara* in Antwerp and the Dresden Museum triptych of 1437; *Margeretha van Eyck* (his wife) in Bruges and the *Virgin at the Fountain* in Antwerp from 1439.

His meticulous realism was at the service of a religious thought that aspired to elicit a divine presence in everything. He often charged simple objects with allegorical meanings; as a result, his art has been described in terms of "hidden symbolism." Jan was once believed to have invented oil painting. In fact the technique was known long before. He did find a subtler way of using it, by adding glazes and a first coat in tempera.

**Further reading:** Edwin Hall, *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans. David Britt (London: H. Miller, 1994); Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Linda Seidel, *Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

# F

**fable** (*fabula* [the telling]) The fable in the Middle Ages and in the classical world was a deliberately allegorical and moralistic genre of literature, so often what it said of animals or what they said themselves made sense only when their ideas or remarks were applied to humans and their social and ethical interactions with one another. The medieval Latin collections of fables and their French verse adaptations were often reworked from collections from late antiquity and those of the Greek Aesop. Fables were frequently compiled and included in collections of *EXEMPLA* for the use of preachers. Their moral lessons were used to strengthen and illustrate the authority and moral lessons implied by the admonitions of sermons. The fable differed from the ordinary folktale in that it had a moral point that was the major aspect of the story and often explicitly formulated as the truth of the matter at the end as a proverb. The medieval fable gave rise to an expanded form known as the *BEAST EPIC*.

See also *MARIE DE FRANCE*; *RUIZ, JUAN*.

**Further reading:** Marie de France, *Fables*, ed. and trans. Harriet Spiegel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); *Fables from Old French: Aesop's Beasts and Bumpkins*, trans. Norman R. Shapiro with an introduction by Howard Needler (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982).

**fabliaux or comic tales** About 150 French *fabliaux* have survived from the Middle Ages. They were scandalous, comic, and disreputable tales written mostly in the 13th century. Most have fewer than 300 verses. Their plots were borrowed from narrative traditions, written or oral and popular or learned. The settings of the *fabliaux*

were usually those of everyday life. Their objectives were pleasure derived from the satisfaction of seeing aggressive tendencies fulfilled by violence or cunning or obscene motivations gratified through defecation or sex. Some typical and often antifeminist themes were the lewdness of unfaithful spouses, the false candor of women, the ingenuity of students, the outrages inflicted on avaricious and debauched priests, and the malice of tricky and crafty peasants. Their authors are usually anonymous.

See also *BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI*.

**Further reading:** John Du Val, trans., *Fabliaux Fair and Foul* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992); Robert Harrison, trans., *Gallic Salt: Eighteen Fabliaux Translated from the Old French* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Charles Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliaux* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); R. Howard Bloch, *The Scandal of the Fabliaux* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

**fairs and markets** Fairs and markets in the Middle Ages were meetings of buyers and sellers at more widely spaced intervals than usual markets. They were originally linked to important moments in rural life, at winter's end, summer's end, and the feasts of certain saints, linked with agriculture and food production. With the economic development of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, certain fairs began to play important roles in long-distance commerce. The right to authorize the creation of fairs and markets was a royal right, eventually usurped by local princes. By the later Middle Ages, the possession of a fair was well recognized as a factor contributing to

economic growth, prosperous activity, and repopulation. They were much sought after by towns in FRANCE after the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

The fair was a regulated peace institution and benefited from privileges, protection chief among them. Safe conducts were issued to merchants going to fairs and traveling on roads. There were also partial or total exemptions from taxes, tolls, or duties. Given privileged jurisdiction, the fair had a specific court that judged matters according to procedure that prioritized safeguarding the rights of creditors.

There were several generations of fairs. The first important ones were those in FLANDERS at Messines at the end of the 11th century, Ypres and Lille by 1127, and BRUGES by 1200. All followed an annual cycle geared around the sale of local cloth. Bruges also developed a financial market. The five fairs of ENGLAND specialized in the sale of indigenous wool. Those of Champagne and Brie were meeting places, from the early 12th century, where cloth and LINEN from the north were sold and southern merchants bought cloth and linen and sold exotic SPICES, SILKS, jewelry, perfumes, dyes, and GOLD. They also developed financial instruments that led to major activity in the sphere of credit and exchange.

The fairs of Champagne declined in the late 13th century and were replaced in financial markets after 1320. These activities were moved to other fairs, such as those at Paris, those of the duke of Burgundy at Chalon-sur-Saône, those of LANGUEDOC, Frankfurt am Main, BRABANT, Antwerp, and Bergen-op-Zoom. The fairs of Flanders continued. The greatest activity at the fairs of Chalon-sur-Saône occurred between 1320 and 1360; after 1410, wars damaged the French centers. After 1417, the trade of the Chalon fairs moved to Geneva, whose high point was between 1415 and 1450. Its four meetings were markets for the Milanese, Florentines, French, Burgundians, Swiss, and south Germans, and even Iberian merchants.

In the 15th century, the old fairs of France were marginalized in the major international circuits, but the local fairs continued to flourish. The main centers of fairs were Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, because of the activity of the English and southern and western Germans. To them were added the fair of Deventer and those of Leipzig in SAXONY, at the meeting point of Eastern and Western commerce. The fairs of LYON were promoted by the kings of France from the 1440s and eventually appropriated many of the financial functions of the Geneva fairs after 1462. Their active market was in silk, silk goods, cloth, FURS, linen, metals, drapery, and spices. It had also become the seat of financial business of the great Florentine houses such as the MEDICI, or Pazzi.

See also BANKS AND BANKING.

**Further reading:** Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, eds., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World:*

*Illustrative Documents with Introductions and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Henri Dubois, "Fairs," EMA 1.526–1.527; L. de Ligt, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and Social Aspects of Periodic Trade in a Pre-Industrial Society* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1993); Ellen Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1985); Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Charles Verlinden, "Markets and Fairs," *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 2, *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, 2d ed., ed. Michael Postan and Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 119–153.

**fairs of Champagne** See FAIRS AND MARKETS.

**faith** (Arabic, *iman*; Hebrew, *emunah*) The basic meaning of faith in terms of religion was the inner acceptance of what cannot be proved beyond doubt by human reason. The term *faith* in the sense of inward and outward belief was employed in the Middle Ages in at least two distinct ways in Christian thought. There was the "objective faith" in the body of usually written traditional truth as found in orthodox creeds, in the accepted canons of councils, in the teaching of the fathers of the church, and, above all, in the understanding of biblical revelation. It was defined as "that which one believes." "Subjective faith," which was the first of the theological VIRTUES, tied to hope and love or charity, as had been suggested by the teachings of Saint Paul. This was supposed to be a rather supernatural human response to divine truth and was defined as "that by which one believes" and by implication actually accepted and practiced in one's daily life in an almost childlike manner.

One of the main discussions of medieval theology was a reconciliation of faith and reason. The majority of medieval theologians taught that faith was a divine grace, granted only to those who were worthy of it. It passed through the sacraments that must be administered through and by the clergy, to those with a virtuous purity in their hearts. Christians thus showed and made acts of faith only by virtue of God's gifts upon their souls. Through faith, the faithful were able to acquire a truth not necessarily comprehensible to the human intellect, or that which could be attained only through faith itself, such as a belief in the Holy Trinity. In the late 11th century ANSELM of Canterbury and in the 13th century Thomas AQUINAS called such struggles to believe intellectually in certain unfathomable things "faith seeking understanding." In the later Middle Ages, a distinction was made between a faith that could be learned and explained by Scholastic thought and the mystical faith gained by certain kinds of religious experiences.

## JUDAISM AND ISLAM

For medieval Judaism, faith primarily involved whether one could trust and have confidence in the essential goodness, steadfastness, and consistency of GOD and link with his people. After contact with the rival religions of Christianity and Islam, scholars began to apply reason more systematically to these problems and to try to provide a demonstrable and intellectually justified basis for belief in God and covenant. In Islam the word *iman* was linked with belief, safety, and security. Submission to Islam could lead to peace and security. It was to have an inner state and outward expressions involving real deeds demonstrating belief, especially daily prayer.

*See also* ISLAM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; JUDAH BEN SAMUEL HALEVI; MAIMONIDES MOSES; MYSTICISM; SCHOLASTICISM AND THE SCHOLASTIC METHOD; THEOLOGY, SCHOOLS OF

**Further reading:** Thomas Aquinas, *On Faith and Reason*, ed. Stephen F. Brown (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1999); Francis Clark, *Godfaring: On Reason, Faith, and Sacred Being* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000); Anthony Kenny, *Faith and Reason* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Robert Sokolowski, *The God of Faith and Reason: Foundations of Christian Theology* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982).

**False Decretals (Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries, Isidore Mercator)** They were a collection of influential but spurious ecclesiastical laws, attributed to ISIDORE of Seville from the seventh century; but actually composed in northern France about 850. Their aims were to defend the rights of the bishops against their metropolitans and to support the papal claim to supremacy by using purported fourth-century papal material and the *DONATION OF CONSTANTINE*, later also revealed as a forgery. The skilled author or authors were probably among the opponents of HINCMAR of Rheims. The compilation was based on access to archives and genuine material and arranged with great skill. In 865 Pope Nicholas I (r. 858–867) made use of these *Decretals* in the interests of the papacy by deploying them to assert papal authority over synods and metropolitans. Later generations considered the *False Decretals* a genuine document of high authority and broadcast by the ambitious and reforming Pope GREGORY VII and partially included in the *Decretum* of GRATIAN. It was only in the mid-16th century that they were proved to be forgeries by antipapal Protestants.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (New York: Longman, 1995).

**family and kinship** The term *family*, the basic unit of society, did not remain the same over the course of the Middle Ages in the Christian West or East. In general terms it can be defined as a group of persons united by

recognized links of consanguinity and marriage or a “kinship group.” This concept was used in the Middle Ages, as *cognatio* or *parentela*, that is, as recognized relationships or ties of lineage according to canon, Germanic, traditional, or Roman law. The members of a network of this nature were distributed in space in a single or more often multiple residences. Family organization and manner of residence varied with social status and wealth. In the same society, the quality and composition of residential units as the home of domestic groups varied by urban or rural residence and permanency, or in the early Middle Ages by movement from place to place. Its residents constantly changed through births, marriages, economically and socially motivated departures and arrivals, and deaths.

In medieval society the networks of relatives and kin making up families often extended beyond residential units, whatever their size or class. Canon law fixed an individual’s family and kinship ties with all blood relatives, both paternal and maternal, and all spiritual connections by marriage or sacramental ties through baptism and godparenthood. These defined relatives were not allowed to marry each other lest they suffer the consequences of the sin of INCEST.

These family units were the primary and ordinary networks for family strategies for the transmission of property, status, economic obligation, name, and symbolic prestige. Family solidarity was important in medieval society, since it was linked to vengeance among the aristocratic groups, feuding, and the waging of private wars or political conflicts.

In Judaism the family and kinship remained more stable as traditional law was modified to deal with new situations when communities moved. Kinship remained important in public and private life. Marriage was expected if not commanded. Spouses had mutual rights and obligations. Divorce was allowed under certain circumstances and according to the obligations of a marriage contract.

In Islam, *family* (*ahl* or *aila*) was a comprehensive term that included grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins on both sides of a marital unit. It was assumed to be an economic unit both for the nuclear family and for the extended kin group. The QURAN expected mutual respect and joint responsibility with duties and rights for all members, including women and children. Islam itself was viewed as a family.

*See also* CELIBACY; CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD; CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION; FEUDS; HOUSES AND HOUSING; ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE; JEWS AND JUDAISM; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; MARRIAGE; NOBILITY AND NOBLES; PEASANTRY; SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES; WILLS AND TESTAMENTS; WOMEN, STATUS OF

**Further reading:** Zëev W. Falk, “Family and Family Law, Jewish,” DMA 4.605–608; Peter Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave,

2001); S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza: Vol. 3, The Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985); Cathy Jorgensen Itnyre, ed., *Medieval Family Roles: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1996).

**family sagas, Icelandic** See ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

**famine** The curse of famine has always attended human civilization, from the ancient to the contemporary world. The lack of enough food or nourishment was a constant throughout the Middle Ages, part of the “structure of everyday life.” It was well evidenced by both texts and archaeological remains. In the medieval imagination, there were numerous accounts of miracles of feeding and references to lands of abundance such as the legendary land of Cockayne. Feasting and revelry were common settings in literature and images.

The first cause of famine was obviously insufficient production and transport of foodstuffs. Poor harvests would scarcely feed rural populations who had to hand over much of their surplus as only too often demanded by landlords to sell to feed the town dwellers. What reserves were available were poorly protected, and interim solutions were often problematic or pathetic. The smallest problem could have dramatic consequences. A climatic event, such as droughts or storms, led to a bad harvest, a dearth, and an increase in the price of grain from which the poorest suffered. Then people ate spoiled foods, grass, or earth; epidemics fostered by malnutrition soon ensued. The Romans had limited this sort of destruction by their political infrastructure and sound transport system. Medieval political fragmentation removed or made this much more difficult.

Famine was naturally more devastating to the poor parts of society. The demand for grain was constant, and the market was very sensitive. The least variation in supply could entail wide increases in prices. Food was still sold to those who could pay for it. The others begged or paid with what they had. It was probable that during the early Middle Ages a fair number of freeholders had to trade their liberty for food in times of famine. While some writers might present famine as “one of the results of original sin,” people did not accept it as inevitable, instead fighting back with such measures as augmenting the cultivated area, thus increasing the overall quantity produced. During the 12th and 13th centuries, land clearances and some amount of collective and competent administration further helped to diminish the intensity of famines. This did not yield an abundance of food. But the limit of viable and easily made productive land had been

reached. In northern Europe in 1315–17, as a result of an unlucky succession of two years of bad harvests, famine, and its companion diseases contributed to the catastrophic mortality rates of the late Middle Ages. Famines plagued the Byzantine and Islamic worlds as commonly as western Europe was struck by them.

See also FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; PLAGUES.

**Further reading:** William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Greco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, Century 1200–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

**al-Farabi** (Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Tarkhan ibn Awzalagh, Afarabius, Avennasar) (ca. 873–950) *philosopher, scholar*

Born about 873 at Othrar or Faral in ANATOLIA or Central Asia, he was named Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Tarkhaw, but he was better known as Farabi, or al-Farabi, from the town of his birth. Though he was of Turkish extraction and knew Greek, he desired to learn perfect Arabic, so he went to BAGHDAD, where at the same time he studied LOGIC, MUSIC, and Greek philosophy. He then stayed for a time in Haran, where he learned logic from a Christian physician, among the numerous Christian scholars with whom he worked and learned. He left Haran and passed through and studied at CONSTANTINOPLE and EGYPT. During his wanderings he had contact with the learned Christian and Muslim philosophers of his time. He wrote books on philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences, besides acquiring proficiency in perhaps 70 languages. His treatise on music, proving the connection of sound with atmospheric vibrations and mocking the Pythagorean theory of the music of the spheres, made him famous.

He eventually gained the goodwill and patronage of the ruler of SYRIA in ALEPPO, Sayf al-Dawla Ali I (r. 945–967). According to tradition while passing through Syria he visited and entered the court in his stained and dusty traveling attire. When the sultan told him to be seated, he, either unaware of or indifferent to the etiquette of court life, sat on a corner of the royal sofa. The monarch spoke in an obscure language to a servant and asked him to remove the presumptuous al-Farabi. However, al-Farabi later astonished the prince by replying in the same language: “Sire, he who acts hastily, in haste repents.” After some ensuing discussions of al-Farabi’s accomplishment, the prince called for music. Famous as a musician and music theorist, Al-Farabi then joined the musicians on the lute and played with skill, charming the entire court. The sultan then sought to entice such an impressive philosopher to remain at his

court. Al-Farabi might have agreed to stay but perhaps soon began traveling again, supposedly to discover the secret of the Philosopher's Stone. He left but was attacked and killed by robbers in the woods near DAMASCUS in Syria in 950.

Al-Farabi was among the first to try to reconcile science or philosophy with revealed religion, especially the ideas of ARISTOTLE and his Greek commentators. He innovatively concentrated on natural understanding as opposed to what had already become customary legal opinions and beliefs. He had great influence on the later philosophers IBN RUSHD (Averroës), IBN SINA (Avicenna), and Moses MAIMONIDES.

**Further reading:** al-Farabi, *Short Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics*, trans. Nicholas Rescher (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963); al-Farabi, *Fusul al-madani: Aphorisms of the Statesman*, ed. D. M. Dunlop (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, eds., *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963), 22–94; Muhsin Mahdi, "Alfarabi" *History of Political Philosophy*, eds. Les Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 182–202.

**farming** See AGRICULTURE; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; PEASANTRY.

**fasts, fasting, and abstinence** During the Middle Ages fasting for Christians consisted of eating nothing at all, whereas abstinence meant not eating certain foods, such as meat, eggs, or dairy products. Fasting and abstinence were religious and penitential disciplines used to intensify spiritual experience, to atone for sin, or to petition God. The one was a matter of time, in that one deferred one's meal for several hours or several days. The other was a matter of menu, in that one freely forbade oneself to consume this or that dish or drink. To such modes of chronology and content was added rationing, or limiting quantity. These three types of renunciation often overlapped in practice but should be distinguished.

Christian fasting had its roots in the Bible. The Mosaic law prescribed an annual fast on the Day of Atonement, but the historical and prophetic books also described occasional fasts, usually prompted by some grave event or sad commemoration. Fasting could be undertaken by an individual or by a group of people. At the beginning of the Christian era, JUDAISM had promoted habitual and rigorous fasting clearly ascetic in purpose, such as fasting twice a week. Christianity took up this custom, changing only the days to link fasting to the commemoration of Christ's Passion. On Wednesdays and Fridays, only a single meal was to be taken in the middle of the afternoon. This observance became the fast observed on the EMBER DAYS. LENT had its origins in the Easter eve

fast, observed by the whole church, initially only on Holy Saturday and in union with those about to be baptized that evening. This fast was gradually extended to include the previous 40 days and corresponded to Christ's fast in the desert for that period. This meant taking the only daily meal in the evening. The avowed goals of such Christian fasting and abstinence were to master the passions and control the appetites of the body.

#### ISLAM AND JUDAISM

Fasting or *Sawm* during RAMADAN was and has remained one of the five pillars of ISLAM. It was expected of every Muslim. This meant no drinking, eating, or sexual activity during the daylight activities. Ascetic groups within Islam added other days for this practice and ways of atoning for transgressions. Judaism expected fasting on religious occasions such as the commemoration of tragic historical events and the Day of Atonement for sin and was called afflicting one's soul. Aspects of fasting also included practices related to bathing, harsh clothing, and conjugal relations.

See also ADVENT; ASCETICISM; EMBER DAYS; LENT.

**Further reading:** Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds., *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1986); Veronika Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting, the Evolution of a Sin: Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1996); Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).

**fathers of the church** In the Middle Ages, they were the recognized, but never formally named, authors who became associated with the traditional ideas, doctrines, and teachings of the church. Thomas AQUINAS in the 13th century established that in the practice of arguing theological questions there was a distinction between Scripture and tradition. Tradition was mainly embodied in the writings and ideas of the fathers from before the seventh century.

The Lateran Council of 649 decreed that the term *fathers* was canonized to designate the authorities of tradition, as the "holy Fathers recognized, and received" by the church, whose teaching was consonant with that of contemporary and later councils. The fathers were valued primarily as commentators on the BIBLE. Medieval authors highly valued the interpretations of the fathers as authorities, but they were selective, suppressing at times conflicting or unorthodox interpretations found in almost all of the so-called fathers, but above all, integrating the Fathers into their pre-Scholastic and Scholastic speculations. Medieval writers turned them more in the direction of philosophical arguments, the relationship between philosophy and theology and FAITH and reason. This was not necessarily the original aim or perspective of the writers of the patristic era.

See also AMBROSE, SAINT; AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, SAINT; BASIL THE GREAT, SAINT; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, SAINT; GREGORY I THE GREAT, AND SAINT; GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, SAINT; GREGORY OF NYSSA, SAINT; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, SAINT; JEROME, SAINT; CHRYSOSTOM, JOHN, SAINT; LEO, THE GREAT, POPE; ORIGEN; PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; SCHOLASTICISM AND THE SCHOLASTIC METHOD; THEOLOGY, SCHOOLS OF

**Further reading:** Robert H. Ayers, *Language, Logic, and Reason in the Church Fathers: A Study of Tertullian, Augustine, and Aquinas* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1979); Hans, Freiherr [Baron] von Campenhausen, *The Fathers of the Greek Church* (New York: Pantheon, 1959); Joyce E. Salisbury, *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins* (London: Verso, 1991); Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977).

**Fatimids, caliphate of** They were Muslim Ismaili SHIITE CALIPHS who eventually ruled from EGYPT and claimed descent from Fatima (d. 633), the daughter of the prophet MUHAMMAD. Tolerant of Sunni, Jews, and Christians they acknowledged no Muslim authority, especially the ABBASIDS, in ISLAM other than their own. Originally from northern SYRIA, they founded a state in TUNIS in 909, ruling northwestern AFRICA, as well as SICILY. Their fleet dominated the western Mediterranean. By the mid-10th century, MALTA, SARDINIA, CORSICA, and the BALEARIC ISLANDS were under their control. Fatimid power reached its apogee during the reign of the fourth caliph, al-Muizz (r. 953–975). He began the conquest of Egypt in 969. By 974 the Fatimids had moved their capital to CAIRO, continuing their expansion with the conquest of PALESTINE, Syria, and western ARABIA. They had left north Africa to the ZIRIDS. Under Caliph Al-HAKIM (r. 996–1021) the Fatimids defeated a BYZANTINE fleet in 998. They destroyed the Church of the HOLY SEPULCHER in JERUSALEM in 1009. Hostilities with Byzantium lasted until 1038, when a treaty allowing Byzantium to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was signed. After the fanatically intolerant al-Hakim's death in 1021, Fatimid power declined slowly but steadily throughout the remainder of the 11th century despite a general prosperity. The First Crusade conquered Palestine, including Jerusalem, in 1099. Though from then often at peace with the crusaders, the Fatimids were left with little more than Egypt, which NUR AL-DIN of Syria, under SALADIN'S command, conquered in 1169, effectively ending Fatimid rule. The last Fatimid caliph died in 1171.

See also ASSASSINS; AYYUBIDS OF EGYPT; DRUZES; ISMAILIS.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 46–48; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (New York: Longman, 1986); R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

**fatwa** In medieval and modern Islam a fatwa was a consultation on a question on a point of law in Islam made to a mufti or an officially recognized or private legal scholar. With the complexity of Islamic law or Sharia and the encounter of Islam with new circumstances, a need was soon felt in Islam to have recourse to experts in the law. The authority of the mufti was based on his reputation as a scholar and on his ability to apply reason to a problem. His decisions were not binding or enforceable in themselves, but magistrates and common Muslims were quickly encouraged to consult their opinions by popular and learned Islamic culture. Their opinions might not just be rendered in strictly legal questions or on such procedures but also sought on more mundane or domestic matters of religious practice. Many Muslims consulted them, even the caliphs themselves. Their opinions were soon collected and used in the judgments of later experts.

See also HADITH; QADI; QURAN.

**Further reading:** Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); J. R. Walsh, "Fatwa," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.866–867.

**feasts and festivals** During the Middle Ages, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity celebrated religious festivals commemorating religious events or people. These involved various special and particular ceremonies, activities, rest from work, and practices, including feasts or special meals.

## CHRISTIANITY

Early Christianity was strongly critical of the festivals, spectacles, and games of ancient society. There was a certain feeling that every day was a feast since every day belonged to GOD and offered opportunities for worship and for an increase of one's knowledge and experience of God. These did not include games or other such pagan practices. Sunday was celebrated weekly. Other regular and movable feasts were soon added to the CALENDAR. These included EASTER, PENTECOST, Christmas, saints' days, and the feasts of the CIRCUMCISION and EPIPHANY. Some paralleled the old pagan festivals or were obvious replacements. Others were tried to the agrarian cycle of ploughing, planting, opening of fields to flocks and herds, and days long established for the payment of rents

or other dues. New ones were added throughout the Middle Ages and became days of liturgical or civic PROCESSIONS or dramatic presentations involving cycles of plays or even parodies of authority all sponsored by the town or a guild. Elaborate dinners might be included in the celebration, especially among the richer elements of aristocratic society.

#### JUDAISM AND ISLAM

Medieval Judaism, following biblical law, celebrated seven festival days or holidays during the year. On these days work was forbidden and certain practices, prayers, and rites were to be followed, such as on the Ros-Ha-Shanah, Passover, or the Day of Atonement.

Islam noted special occasions such as Ashura, the commemoration of the Martyrdom of al-Husayn, when the Shiites practice mortification, displays of sorrow, and tragic reenactments of martyrdom. Others commemorate pilgrimages and the festive birthday of Muhammad (Mawlid) with special meals and the honoring of deceased loved ones. The breaking of the fast at the end of RAMADAN was also annually celebrated with feasting and joyous celebration.

See also COOKING AND COOKERY; FASTING AND ABSTINENCE; MYSTERY AND MIRACLE PLAYS; SABBATH.

**Further reading:** Madeleine Pelner Cosman, *Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony* (New York: G. Braziller, 1976); Madeleine Pelner Cosman, *Medieval Holidays and Festivals: A Calendar of Celebrations* (New York: Scribner, 1981); Miriam Davis, "Festivals and Holidays" in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. Robert Thomas Lambdin and Laura Cooner Lambdin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 188–196; K. A. Heinrich Kellner, *Heortology: A History of the Christian Festivals from Their Origin to the Present Day* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1908).

**Federico da Montefeltro** (1422–1482) *Italian military leader, patron of the arts*

Born in 1422 as an illegitimate son to the count of Montefeltro, he became lord of Urbino from 1444, first as count, then from 1474 as its second duke. He has been well educated by VITTORINO da Feltre and learned soldiering from Niccolò Piccinino (1386–1444). Federico had enjoyed a highly successful and lucrative career as a mercenary general or CONDOTTIERI for the highest bidder. He channeled much of the ensuing wealth into patronage of the arts, architecture, book collecting, and humanist scholarship. Even as the illegitimate son of Count Guidantonio (d. 1443), he attained rule over his father's papal vicariates after his half-brother's murder in 1444. By the end of his life he had attained many honors including becoming gonfaloniere of the church, a knight of the Neapolitan Order of the Ermine, and a knight of the Garter. He had established such a high reputation

because of his successful and generally honorable military career, political achievements and reputation for good government, marriage alliance, discerning and aesthetic patronage of the arts and architecture, and employment of humanist scholars who wrote in his praise as a Christian prince who appreciated classical culture, texts, and manuscripts. He died in 1482.

See also BISTICCI, VESPASIANO; PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA.

**Further reading:** Cecil H. Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London: Variorum, 1981); Maria Grazia Pernis and Laurie Schneider Adams, *Federico da Montefeltro and Sigismondo Malatesta: The Eagle and the Elephant* (New York: P. Lang, 1996).

**Feltre, Vittorino da** See VITTORINO DA FELTRE.

**Ferdinand II (V) (the Catholic)** (1452–1516) *king of Aragon, Castile, and León*

Born in 1452 Ferdinand was the son of John II, the king of ARAGON (r. 1458–79). In the midst of civil wars, he was given a sound humanist education and gained considerable



King Ferdinand II of Aragon, Dutch School, 1490–1500, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria (*Erich Lessing / Art Resource*)

military experience before being named his father's successor and the king of SICILY in 1468 and of Aragon in 1479. The union of the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and CASTILE occurred in October 1469 with Ferdinand's marriage to his cousin, ISABEL I, the queen of Castile. Ferdinand likely had hoped to obtain the Castilian Crown for himself, but his politically astute wife always maintained sovereign authority in her own realm.

#### REIGN: THE INQUISITION AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The political philosophies of the two rulers were consistent and ambitious, however, and the beginning of their reign was marked by the promulgation of strong measures to strengthen the royal authority and to curb the power of the nobles, who had usurped many privileges and functions of the Crown. In 1476 Ferdinand founded the Holy Brotherhood, which was similar to a national military police. The two monarchs fanatically insisted on religious conformity. In 1478 a bull issued by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) allowed the king and queen to appoint three inquisitors to deal with heretics and critics of the politics and policies of the church and by implication those of the monarchs. This was the beginning of the notorious Spanish INQUISITION, which though supposedly religious in motivation, soon became a political instrument to protect absolute monarchy and further curtail the power of the nobles. It also paid careful attention to the recently converted Moriscos, who were dubiously converted Muslims.

The year 1492 was the most remarkable in Ferdinand's reign. It opened in January with the conquest of GRANADA, which marked the victorious end, at least in Iberia, of the long project of RECONQUEST against the Muslims who had once occupied most of the peninsula. In March of that year, the decree of expulsion of the Jews was proclaimed in the newly captured city of Granada, with a continuing policy of expulsion promoted by Ferdinand and especially by Isabel throughout their reigns. In August Christopher COLUMBUS, sponsored by Ferdinand and Isabel, left the seaport of Palos on his voyage to America, the first step in the creation of a Spanish overseas colonial empire.

In 1493, by the terms of a treaty between Spain and FRANCE, Ferdinand added to his kingdom by recovering from King Charles VIII (r. 1483–98) of France the province of Roussillon, formerly mortgaged to King LOUIS XI of France. On the basis of the alleged madness of his daughter, Joan (d. 1555), who had become insane after the death of Philip I the Handsome in 1506, Ferdinand assumed the regency of Castile. He joined the League of Cambrai against the republic of VENICE in 1508 and conquered Oran and TRIPOLI on the North African coast in 1509. He annexed, probably illegally, the kingdom of NAVARRE in 1512, thereby extending the borders of his united realm from the Pyrenees to the Rock of Gibraltar. Ferdinand was in many ways a competent

ruler. His reign, however, was characterized by an insatiable thirst for power, and he was both cruel and perfidious. He died on January 23, 1516, en route to Granada, where he was buried beside Isabel.

See also HABSBURGS; TORQUEMADA, TOMÁS.

**Further reading:** John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474–1520* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, Vol. 2, *Castilian Hegemony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

**Ferrara, city of** Medieval and Renaissance Ferrara was a major city in the Po Valley in northern Italy. In local tradition, Ferrara was a Byzantine dependency and had a bishop from the seventh century. In 753 the LOMBARDS took control of the town or village from the Byzantine government centered at RAVENNA. More firmly documented in the 10th century, Ferrara, at the center of a rich agricultural district, was in theory part of the PAPAL STATES and, as was common then, under the rule of its bishop. In the late 10th century, Ferrara was conquered by the Canossa family and remained so until the early 12th century, when there arose a commune that eventually became a member of the LOMBARD LEAGUE. Several families tried to control the city, including the ESTE family. In 1240 and more permanently in 1264, they were recognized formally as its lords, among the earliest instances of lordship of a city in Italy. Except during a brief period, the city remained in the family's hands throughout the Middle Ages and well beyond. In 1329, they obtained papal recognition. They continued to build a regional state, taking over Modena in 1335, Parma in 1344, and much of the Romagna in the 15th century. Attempts by VENICE and MILAN to subdue the city failed in the 15th century. The prosperous and elegant ESTE court was one of the most celebrated in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries and made Ferrara well known for its artistic patronage, architecture projects, and tradition of literary support. A university was founded in 1391.

**Further reading:** Trevor Dean, *Land and Power in Late Medieval Ferrara: The Rule of the Este, 1350–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973); Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Charles M. Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Thomas Touhy, *Herculean Ferrara: Ercole d'Este, 1471–1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

**Ferrara-Florence, Council of** This was an ecumenical council of the church transferred from BASEL and held for a few months in late 1438 in FERRARA and then

moved to FLORENCE, where it was better financed and started meeting in January 1439. It achieved a union of the Western and Eastern Churches on paper, though not in reality. The principle underlying this temporary union was one based on unity of doctrinal faith but diversity of rite. In return for accepting the papacy's position on such crucial doctrines as papal primacy, PURGATORY, the *FILIOQUE* CLAUSE concerning the Trinity, and doctrines about the Eucharist, Byzantium expected military aid against the OTTOMANS. The subsequent Crusade that Pope EUGENIUS IV promoted was destroyed at the Battle of Varna in 1444.

Emperor John VIII (r. 1425–48) and his entourage were subjected to harsh criticism upon their return after a decree of unity was signed on July 5, 1439 (*Laetentur coeli*). The patriarch Joseph II (r. 1416–39) escaped direct abuse and perhaps deposition by dying in Florence. The metropolitan of all Russia, Isidore of Kiev (ca. 1385–1463), was deposed and imprisoned upon his return to MOSCOW in 1440, but later escaped back to the west. The meetings of the next few years dealt with relations between Rome and other Eastern Churches such as those of the Armenians, Syrians, Chaldeans and the COPTS of Egypt. During this period the council also declared all the members of the Council of Basel excommunicated and heretics. In 1443 it moved to Rome, where it more or less petered out without any kind of formal closing, essentially marking the end of CONCILIARISM and the Conciliar Movement.

See also BESSARION, JOHN CARDINAL.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Vol. 1, Nicaea to Lateran V* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 453–591; Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964).

**Ferrer, Vincent, Saint (1350–1419)** *Dominican preacher* Vincent Ferrer was born the son of an English father and an Aragonese mother at VALENCIA in ARAGON about 1350. As a young man, he entered the novitiate of the DOMINICAN Order in Valencia in 1367. After studying at Lerida, BARCELONA, and TOULOUSE, he began a career as a teacher and friar. Right from the beginning of his career, he earned renown as a preacher and promoter of charitable works. During the Great SCHISM of 1378 between URBAN VI at Rome and Clement VII (r. 1378–94) at AVIGNON, Vincent joined the Avignonese obedience and supported it in his preaching and writing. He also had the political support of the king of ARAGON. In 1394, the cardinal of Aragon, Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417, d. 1423), who was the successor to Clement VII, called Ferrer to the court of Avignon as a chaplain and a confessor to the pope. There Vincent strongly urged Benedict to settle the schism and reconcile with the pope in Rome. He

repeated this admonition to Benedict years later during the Council of CONSTANCE. He soon grew disillusioned with the intransigency of the pontiff and retired from the papal court in 1398. He then started to travel and preach, concentrating his attention on the conversion of the Jews. With a group of followers and disciples, both clerical and lay, he moved through PROVENCE to the Dauphiné, SAVOY, Piedmont, CATALONIA, CASTILE, and then southern France. He then traveled north to BRITTANY, where he died at Vannes on April 5, 1419.

His popular and scary preaching and his miracles captivated huge audiences and produced numerous groups of FLAGELLANTS. Wherever he went, there were always stories of much repentance and cessation of sin among his listeners. A spontaneous cult quickly arose from the moment of his death and Ferrer was canonized in 1455.

**Further reading:** Vincent Ferrer, *A Treatise on the Spiritual Life: With a Commentary by Julienne Morrell*, trans. Dominican Nuns, Corpus Christi Monastery, Menlo Park, Calif. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1957); Henri Ghéon, *Saint Vincent Ferrer*, trans. F. J. Sheed (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954).

**feudalism and the feudal system** The term *feudalism* was first used by jurists and legal historians in the 17th century to characterize many aspects of medieval society. According to their conceptualization, feudalism was a form of social and political organization based on personal ties and specific to the Western Middle Ages. The term, derived from FIEF, emphasized person-to-person relationships supported by landed property and its rights and revenues. A major aspect of this was vassalage, which was the basis for these personal ties and was highlighted in the rituals that surrounded acts of homage and loyalty. These personal ties were in turn based on the holding of fiefs or incomes that mutually bound a lord and a vassal. These feudal and vassal relationships were viewed as concerning really only the aristocratic level of society. In the minds of these 17th-century lawyers, however, the ideological and economic substructures directly or indirectly influenced most social ties.

Such feudalism existed, if in any detail at all, primarily in the period between the 10th and 13th centuries. During these centuries western Europe experienced the weakening and dislocation of the state and public authority. Public authority, such as it was, no longer controlled the resources essential for keeping order such as fortresses, the effective power to constrain, impose, and administer justice, and the coinage of money. Authority depended on private ties and cohesion on the cooperation of local, family, or clan groups. Feudalism was a way of coping with this climate of dispersed authority, which favored uncontrolled competition, rivalries, weak states, marauding, wars, and military force. Feudalism arose

when the aristocracy militarized itself and gave itself a system of moral values based on war and the mutual support of fighting with men one personally knew. Feudalism can be viewed as providing a framework and the instruments for the rebirth of the notion of the state. This is why it has proved to be a useful and durable concept from the 17th century to the 20th.

In the 14th century monarchs were able to use this alleged system and ideology of personal ties to increase their own power and solidify their state. In the later Middle Ages feudalism was folded into the new state structures that it had once troubled. By the 14th and 15th centuries, as a system it no longer played a fundamental role in political authority as states built their solidarity and effectiveness on mercenary soldiers and paid administrators. However, by the 15th century if not earlier, a “bastard feudalism” that produced dangerous local lords who could rival the national state in terms of manpower tied to them and not the Crown had evolved. Whether this old and traditional scheme reflected reality or was as all-pervasive in society as assumed has been much questioned by recent historians.

See also CHIVALRY; COINAGE AND CURRENCY; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; PATRONAGE.

**Further reading:** David Herlihy, ed., *The History of Feudalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Tyranny of a Concept: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe.” *The American Historical Review* 79 (1974): 1063–1088; Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991); Susan Reynolds, *Feifs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

**feuds** The *faida* or “feud” was based on blood ties. It was founded on vengeance, which was a sacred duty passed from generation to generation within the context of weak public authority. The feud appeared in EPIC poetry, with its tangle of revenge stories, such as the famous legend of *The NIBELUNGENLIED*. In an attempt to end these perpetual conflicts and halt the chain of revenge, the Germanic kings initiated the practice of ordering a composition of blood money, *WERGILD*, to be paid by the murderer to the victim’s family or a certain sum assessed according to a very precise catalogue of physical damage suffered.

This system for dealing with social conflict and violence was supplemented by mutual oaths of surety and truces. Despite these efforts the *wergild* was not enough to stop the murderous serial reprisals since kin, wounded in honor, might refuse to accept the money as a result of reverence for the dead and damaged. Still, most

of the time, much continued to be regulated outside the legal system. Calls for blood were incessant, so feuding persisted throughout the early Middle Ages and even beyond. State intervention was for a long time futile. In ENGLAND, feuds still existed in the 11th century. In Gaul, after the MEROVINGIAN kings had imposed *Wergild*, and even executed leaders of feuds, the CAROLINGIAN emperors, continued a program of agreed composition and reconciliation. It was only in the 11th century that this began to change, helped by peace movements and the religious ideas of truce.

See also CRUSADES; PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD.

**Further reading:** Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

**Fez (Fes, Fas)** Medieval Fez was a town in the north of the far west AL-MAGHRIB in MOROCCO and situated on a riverbed with the same name. Under the IDRISIDS and the MERINIDS, Fez was a capital and residence of rulers. MARRAKECH became the capital in the ALMORAVID and ALMOHAD periods, but Fez remained a great commercial center of Arabic and ISLAMIC culture in the West.

## TWO TOWNS

The origins of Fez were in the beginning of the Shiite Idrisid dynasty. About 790, Idris I (r. 789–93) founded a military camp on the right bank of the wadi, Madinat Fas. In 809, his son, Idris II (r. 793–828), founded a new town on the other bank, and populated it with ARABS. The two towns grew together. Indeed, Madinat Fas received 800 families from CORDOBA after the revolt of 817, while others fleeing the AGHLABIDS were welcomed and soon joined by a Jewish community. Fez enjoyed a favorable position on the Sudanese GOLD route and the town became a prosperous commercial center in the 10th and early 11th centuries.

## UNION

Around 1070 and the time of the ALMORAVID conquest, the two towns were united. The establishment of the Almoravid and then Almohad Empires incorporated the far al-Maghrib and AL-ANDALUS into an Iberian and Muslim empire. In 1276, Fez became a capital again. Abu Yaqub (r. 1259–86), the Marinid sultan, founded west of the old town a new town surrounded by a double wall, Fas al-Jadid, in which he built palaces, a MOSQUE, and administrative buildings for his government. The Marinids opposed the religious ideas of the Almohads, considered the possibility of retaking Iberia, and preached a strict return to orthodoxy. They made Fez a center for the study of Malikism and built numerous mosques and MADRASAS, which attracted masters and students. These colleges, with buildings arranged around a square courtyard, represent the apogee of Iberian and

Muslim decorative art, characterized by fine motifs. A popular revolt overthrew the last Marinid, who was assassinated in 1465, but Fez prospered until after 1500.

**Further reading:** R. Le Tourneau and H. Terrasse, "Fas," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2.818–823; Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis, 1980); R. Le Tourneau, *Fez in the Age of the Marinids* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

**Fibonacci, Leonardo** (Leonard of Pisa) (ca. 1170–ca. 1240) *mathematician*

Fibonacci was an Italian mathematician born at Pisa in about 1170. Scion of a family of prosperous MERCHANTS, perhaps the Bonacci, he made business trips to North Africa in the late 12th century. At Bougie in modern Algeria, he learned about Indian numerals and calculus, after his return to Pisa in 1202 he wrote an important treatise on the abacus. A revised manuscript of this work began to circulate in 1228 and included subsequent materials gathered during his travels to EGYPT, SYRIA, SICILY, and PROVENCE. His work was fundamental to introducing the use of Arabic numerals into the practice of Christian Europe. In addition to summarizing much of Greek and Arabic mathematical thought, it included Fibonacci's own ideas on algebra. This treatise and another book, written about 1220 on practical geometry and trigonometry, earned him fame in the learned circles of Italy. Emperor FREDERICK II invited him to join his court in Sicily about 1225; he became a major participant in the discussions of mathematics taking place there. He died in, or sometime soon after, 1240.

**Further reading:** Leonardo Fibonacci, *Liber quadratorum: The Book of Squares*, trans. L. E. Sigler (Boston: Academic Press, 1987); Joseph and Frances Gies, *Leonard and Pisa and the New Mathematics of the Middle Ages* (New York: Crowell, 1969); Kurt Vogel, "Fibonacci, Leonardo," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 4.604–613.

**Ficino, Marsilio** (1433–1499) *Italian philosopher, humanist*

Marsilio Ficino was born at Figline near FLORENCE on October 19, 1433, the son of a prominent physician. He received a traditional education in humane letters and medicine at the Universities of Florence and PISA and studied MEDICINE briefly at BOLOGNA. Although his teacher of PHILOSOPHY at Florence was the Aristotelian scholar Niccolò di Tignosi da Foligno, Ficino soon turned to Platonism. With the support of Cosimo de' MEDICI and as the head of a Platonic Academy in 1462, he rapidly mastered Greek and began an ambitious program of translation of the works of Homer, Hesiod, Proclus, the *Corpus hermeticum*, PLOTINUS, and PLATO. Begun in 1463, completed about 1470, and printed in 1484, Ficino's was the earliest complete translation of Plato and was used for several centuries.



Marsilio Ficino, 19th-century etching (Courtesy Library of Congress)

The overriding concern in Ficino's work in Greek thought was religious. On December 18, 1473, he was admitted to holy orders and became an official of the Cathedral of Florence. In his most important original writing, the *Theologia platonica* (1469–74), he stressed the compatibility of philosophy and religion, the harmony between Platonic philosophy and Christian revelation. It is essentially a theological commentary on Plato emphasizing the existence and immortality of the soul. In Ficino's view, ancient philosophy was part of the process of divine revelation and prepared for the coming of Christ. By this explication of Platonic doctrines, he sought to attract JEWS, rationalists, and Aristotelian skeptics to the true FAITH of Christianity. A loyal Christian, Ficino argued that in Platonic doctrine he found the rational philosophical arguments to buttress Christian theology. Ficino's last years were troubled by the loss of power of his patrons, the Medici family, and the fanaticism of SAVONAROLA. Ficino died at Careggi near Florence on October 1, 1499. By paradoxically dissociating antiquity from PAGANISM, he contributed to the reestablishment of the possibility of harmony between

Christian aspirations and the passion for the recovery of classical culture.

See also NEOPLATONISM; PLATO AND PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Michael J. B. Allen, *The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino: A Study of His Phaedrus Commentary, Its Sources and Genesis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees with Martin Davies, eds., *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990); Paul Oskar Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. Virginia Conant (1943; reprint, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964); Charles Edward Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

**fief** (*feudum*, *feodum*) Among the Germanic people the fief initially was a gift, usually of cattle, sanctioning and demonstrating the restoration of relations after a conflict. The fief presumed a counter-gift and linked the donor and the recipient in a social, political, and reciprocal bond. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the term *fief* was used in secular affairs and supplanted the term *BENEFICE*. It was a gift or means of support granted to a vassal. The fief was often a landed property, to which there were often attached rights and revenues. It was a holding based on certain reciprocal conditions or terms of tenure. Unlike in the case of peasant tenures, the holder usually did not have to pay taxes or fees as part of the deal but owed services and personal loyalty.

As the principal material object of vassal relationships, the fief figured prominently in the establishment of a personal relationship. The ceremony of investiture and oath of homage and fidelity were accompanied by the handing over of objects symbolizing the land or property involved. The obtaining of a fief signaled the vassal's obligations of aid and counsel to his lord. Withdrawing a fief meant breaking this personal bond.

The fief was considered a patrimonial property that descended to sons who could fulfill the obligations of vassals and who made a new oath of homage with a right of relief levied by the lord. As inalienable property, the fief was sometimes held by more than one heir in an arrangement of joint vassalship. With the evolution of a more monetized economy in the 13th century, contractual payments and exchanges of money sometimes replaced pledges and the passage of landed property.

See also FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP.

**Further reading:** David Herlihy, ed., *The History of Feudalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 1961); F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 3d ed., trans. Philip Grierson (1952; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Bryce D. Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture: The Transition from Feudal to Non-Feudal Contract in Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

**Filelfo, Francesco** (1398–1481) *Italian humanist*

Born in Tolentino in ITALY in 1398, he studied at the University of PADUA. From 1420 to 1427, he moved to and lived in CONSTANTINOPLE, where he learned ancient Greek while serving in official positions for VENICE, and then even for the Byzantine emperor. While there, he married the daughter of Manuel CHRYSOLORAS. He returned to Venice with numerous manuscripts and began establishing a reputation as a scholar of considerable ability. Teaching at BOLOGNA from 1428 and then holding a chair in Greek in FLORENCE, he was soon involved in disputes loaded with animosity with scholars in Florence, from which he eventually had to flee on the return of Cosimo de' MEDICI from exile in 1434. At the same time he divided his time among teaching, polemical writing, and translating Greek authors such as ARISTOTLE, Xenophon, and Plutarch. After passing through Siena, he remained for the rest of his life in MILAN with the patronage of the VISCONTI and SFORZA families. Passionately and extremely competitively fond of philosophy, he took part in the discussions among Platonists and Aristotelians, though along with BESSARION an old friend, he promoted their reconciliation. He died on July 31, 1481, in Florence, where he had recently returned.

**Further reading:** Diana Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings, 1451–1477* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Diana Robin, "A Reassessment of the Character of Francesco Filelfo," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 36 (1983): 202–224.

**Filioque clause, dispute over** LATIN for "and from the Son," the *Filioque* clause was inserted into the Western statement of Christian beliefs or creed in 589. It referred to the supposition that the HOLY SPIRIT proceeded not only from the Father, as stated in the Eastern creed, but from Christ as well. This difference in the basic creeds of the Eastern and Western Churches became an obstacle to the union of the churches.

See also PHOTIOS I THE GREAT, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE; SCHISM, GREAT.

**Further reading:** Richard S. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland, 1975); George Broadley Howard, *The Schism between the Oriental and Western Churches, with Special Reference to the Addition of the Filioque to the Creed* (London: Longmans, Green, 1892); J. N. D. Kelly, *Early*

*Christian Creeds*, 3d ed. (London: Longman, 1972); Aristeides Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1983).

**Finland** Medieval Finland was a country or region in northern Europe, on the northeastern coast of the Baltic Sea. In the early Middle Ages, Finno-Ugric tribes had already settled the country. The word *Finland* derives from *Fenni*, the name given to these tribes by the Roman historian Tacitus in the second century. From the sixth to the 11th centuries, these tribes lived in three kingdoms. The one in the north and another in the east lacked much cohesion; the third, in the south and southwest along the coast of the Baltic and ruled by the pagan tribe called the Suomi, was better organized. Its Finnish name eventually became that of the whole country.

Finland prospered through its FUR TRADE with neighboring countries and even with BYZANTIUM and the ARAB CALIPHATE at BAGHDAD. In the middle of the 12th century, King and Saint Eric IX of SWEDEN (r. ca. 1155/56–60) easily conquered the kingdom with a military expedition proclaimed as a CRUSADE. A certain archbishop, Henry of Uppsala (d. 1156), introduced Christianity to Finland in 1156; though he was martyred there, Christianity spread rapidly. Another series of campaigns called crusades in the second half of the 13th century led to the conquest of the rest of the country. With the conquest of Karelia in 1293, the whole of Finland was ruled by Sweden, despite the fierce and lasting opposition of the princes of NOVGOROD and MOSCOW. They were compelled to recognize Swedish rule in Finland only in 1323.

Under mild Swedish domination Finland developed rapidly. New towns were founded, particularly along the Baltic coast. The large settlement of Swedes influenced the ethnic character of Finland, especially in the coastal area, but never reduced the Finns to serfdom, as the German knights of LIVONIA did the Baltic tribes whom they conquered.

Finns were allowed to have self-governing institutions in cities and countries. In 1362 Finland became a nearly autonomous duchy within Sweden. The Swedes and Finns of the duchy had their own assembly of estates, including representatives from the nobility, clergy, towns, and countryside. Despite this there were rebellions and political conflict throughout the later Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Ella Margareta Kivikoski, *Finland*, trans. Alan Binns. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967); S. Suvanto, "Medieval Studies in Finland: A Survey," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 4 (1979): 287–304; E. Orrman, "The Progress of Settlement in Finland during the Late Middle Ages," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 29 (1981): 129–143; István Rácz, *Early Finnish Art, from Prehistory to the Middle Ages*, trans. Diana Tullberg (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1967).

**firearms** Firearms were first used in Europe in the Middle Ages. The explosive properties of gunpowder based on a mixture of saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal were known in China by 500. In the West other inflammable mixtures were employed in the seventh century by the Byzantines such as GREEK FIRE. An understanding of gunpowder spread from China only in the 12th century. In the late 13th century, gunpowder was likely taken to western Europe by the MONGOLS. The earliest Western formula for making gunpowder has been found in a manuscript written in Latin from about 1300 and containing the *Book of Fire*, attributed to Mark the Greek, about whom we know little else.

If the West had lagged behind China in understanding and deployment of gunpowder, it quickly charged ahead in the manufacture of weapons to exploit its possibilities in a projectile weapon. The first cannons were designed and employed by 1311. They were made of metal forged in a process similar to the familiar method of casting bells. In the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR cannons were used by both the English and French armies, although the social ideals of CHIVALRY made the French slightly more reluctant to use them. However, in the 15th century, the French made significant use of them to drive the English out of their fortified positions in France, thus ending the long war. The OTTOMAN Turks learned the use of firearms in the 14th century. With the help of artillery, they won the Battle of KOSOVO in 1368 and captured Constantinople in 1453. This led to Turkish domination of the Balkans and was a threat to the rest of Europe. The use of artillery had spread throughout Europe, and by the 15th century gunpowder was widely employed as missile propellant in many different kinds, sizes, and styles of weapons by most armies.

See also CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS; WARFARE; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** Kenneth Chase, *Firearms: A Global History to 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Kelly De Vries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe, 1200–1500: Studies in Military History and Technology* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 2002); Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); John F. Hayward, *The Art of the Gunmaker* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962–1964); A. Vesey, B. Norman and Don Pottinger, *English Weapons and Warfare, 449–1660* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979).

**flagellants (disciplinati, verberatori, battuti)** Between 1260 and 1400, especially around the time of the great plagues of the mid-14th century, there were several flagellant movements. They were organized primarily by the LAITY and were processions that traveled from town to town collectively carrying out penitential rites to the point

that blood was produced. Acting out Christ's Passion, they chanted slogans and sang religious songs while carrying banners and crosses, walking barefooted, wearing little clothing or identifying religious garb. They were fairly spontaneously organized, usually enacted in the context of a crisis or were linked to prophecies about the end of the world. Women performed these rites separately and in private. In Italy, all social groups participated.

One revival in 1260, initiated by one Ranieri Fasani, began in Perugia, in Umbria in central Italy, during an era of conflict between the popes and the HOHENSTAUFEN family and extensive wars among the Italian cities. It was also a period important to the speculation of JOACHIM of Fiore. Successful at least temporarily in several northern Italian cities, the flagellants crossed the Alps, visited PROVENCE and Strasbourg, then entered GERMANY, HUNGARY, BOHEMIA, and POLAND. North of the Alps the flagellants quickly lost the support and tolerance of the clergy, who were suspicious of their lack of clerical leadership and heterodox practices.

Almost a century later, large numbers were attracted to the flagellant and violently anti-Jewish enthusiasm of 1349, which took place chiefly in Germany and the Low Countries against the background of the Black Death. They earned the condemnation of Pope CLEMENT VI and the University of Paris in 1349. In 1400 another wave of religious enthusiasm occurred in Italy, called the Bianchi movement for the white robes adherents wore. They too moved in processions and some practiced flagellation. Children took part in some of these later penitential practices. More orthodox and allied with the clergy, they fasted, listened to sermons, and prayed for peace and the cessation of the violence raging through Italy at the time.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; CONFRATERNITIES; ESCHA-TOLOGY; PLAGUES; PROCESSIONS, LITURGICAL.

**Further reading:** Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); Richard Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979); Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–1450*, 2 vols. (Manchester: University Press, 1967).

**Flanders and the Low Countries** Medieval Flanders consisted of two provinces in modern Belgium and the modern departments of Pas-de-Calais and Nord in France. In the ninth century Flanders changed from a part of the Carolingian Empire to an autonomous principality. Related to the CAROLINGIANS, Count BALDWIN I Ironarm and his son, Baldwin II (r. 879–918), profited from the chaos produced by the Viking and Scandinavian invasions and the collapse of royal power to found and solidify a region controlled by a local dynasty. It eventu-

ally expanded, in the south to the borders of NORMANDY and up to the domains of the king of FRANCE.

### ECONOMIC SUCCESS

From the ninth century Flanders profited from an expansion of agricultural lands with drainage and clearing of forests. This change led to considerable and early urban development, all under the control of the count, who dominated the towns and countryside with strong fortresses supported by the country's lucrative tax collections. The region became the main industrial and textile center of northern Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. The urban growth that accompanied the increase in commerce and industry led to greater demand for the foodstuffs to feed the towns, which were among the most populated in Europe. Towns such as BRUGES, GHENT, and Ypres imported grain from northern France and Germany and large quantities of raw wool from England. Italian MERCHANTS made it one of the centers of the banking system. All this yielded considerable prosperity among the counts and the new urban patriciate who controlled this industrial development.

### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONFLICTS

The expansion of commerce and textile activities primarily profited a small group of inhabitants of the towns, who controlled the wool trade and cloth exports, as well as financial and fiscal activities. Underlying this patriciate was the mass of specialized artisans necessary for the complex production of cloth as well as other trades and small business owners reaping benefits from the provisioning of these towns.

The aspiration of the small-time merchants grew strong for greater autonomy and political influence early on. During a crisis of succession in 1127 brought about by the assassination of Count Charles the Good (r. 1119–27), the king of France, Louis VI (r. 1108–37), tried to impose his candidate as count, but the urban patriciates managed to make the king withdraw and imposed Thierry of Alsace (r. 1128–68) on him. At the same time the towns profited from the rivalries of the candidates to gain privileges for their guilds and their newly formed communes and guarantees limiting taxation. The French monarchy, however, continued to try to absorb Flanders throughout the 13th century, but without complete success.

In the 14th century, Flanders was an important and contested region between the king of France and the king of England. As the outlet for the English wool trade, the Flemish merchants and bankers had to maintain close relations with England. The kings of France, in attempts to integrate the country into their royal domain, led several unsuccessful military expeditions to Flanders between 1296 and 1328. King PHILIP IV the Fair was defeated at the Battle of COURTRAI in 1302 but soon managed to impose a heavy tribute on the county in

1305. King Philip VI (r. 1328–50) helped the count defeat several rebellious urban militias in 1328. At the beginning of the Hundred Years' War in 1337 at Ghent, Jacob van ARTEVELDE, supported by artisans, allied himself with the English king EDWARD III. This was the beginning of a wearing away of any allegiance to the king of France in the course of the war.

These political and military conflicts harmed commercial activities during the 14th century and there were numerous economic recessions as Flanders lost its central position in commerce and textile production. The French king Charles VI (r. 1380–1422) won a victory over the Flemish militias in 1382 and made Flanders part of his duchy of Burgundy. The region then saw its commercial decline worsen. In the 15th century the port of Bruges silted up and the economic center moved northward to Antwerp and east to BRABANT. The duke of Burgundy's efforts at centralization, however, were often stymied by the resistance of the principal towns, Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres. In a crisis in 1477 they imposed on him the "great privilege," which preserved much of their autonomy in matters of taxation.

**Further reading:** Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders: A Contemporary Record of Revolutionary Change in Twelfth-Century Flanders*, ed. James Bruce Ross (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (New York: Longman, 1992); Ellen Kittel, *From "Ad hoc" to Routine: A Case Study in Medieval Bureaucracy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); William H. TeBrake, *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323–1328* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

**Florence (Firenze, Florentia)** Medieval Florence was a major town in TUSCANY from the 12th century; by the 13th it was one of the largest cities in western Europe and was at the heart of the Renaissance of the 15th century. Roman Florentia had been a small colonial foundation below the old Etruscan town of Fiesole. Little evidence about the town in the early Middle Ages has been found.

#### THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNE AND THE CONFLICTS OF THE 13TH CENTURY

From the 10th century, and especially from the late 11th century, Florence went through an important period of growth and developed a communal form of government. The society of the town became diverse, with rich groups of merchants and artisans alongside the urbanized rural aristocracy or nobility. Between the 12th and 13th centuries, there were considerable conflict and internal tension over participation in the communal regime. The city became Guelf by tradition with that vague political program's propapal foreign policy and

antimagnate or aristocracy measures, the Ordinances of Justice in 1293. They were intended to marginalize the political power of the aristocratic and magnate class made up of new and old NOBILITY. This reform gave control of the government to a corporative system of GUILDS. This was also the era of civic building to demonstrate the power of the commune as being at least equal to that of the old magnate lineages and to demonstrate the conquest of the rural hinterland, towns, and nobility to produce a regional city-state. This aggressive expansion led to further conflicts with neighboring communes of PISA, Arezzo, Lucca, and SIENA and, on a wider scale, Florentine involvement in wars among the PAPACY, the HOHENSTAUFEN, and the ANGEVINS. At the same time, Florentine bankers became the most important companies in Europe, replacing those of Siena.

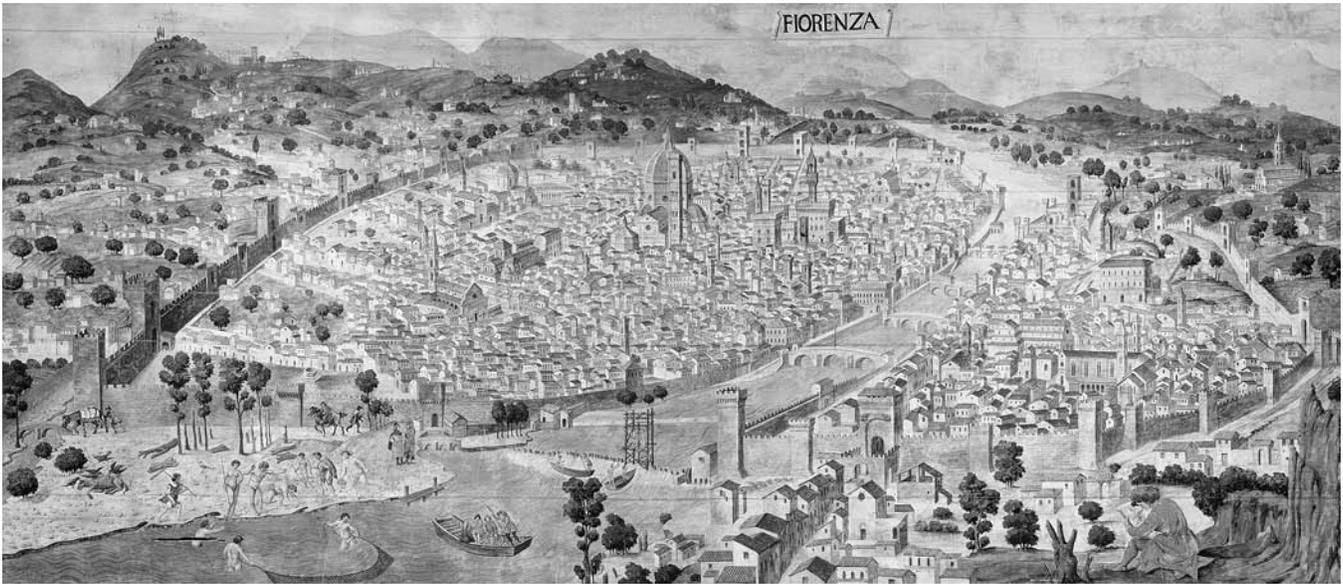
By the 14th century and despite the instability of its government, Florence was well provided for with an excellent financial and commercial base linked with its strong gold coin, the florin. One of the richest and most sophisticated cities in Europe, it was blessed with a high level of literacy and lay culture, especially among its notaries and jurists. In the early 14th century it reached its greatest size with, according to Giovanni VILLANI, around 100,000 inhabitants, many employed in its lucrative TEXTILE industry.

From the mid-14th century, the city's power and wealth were threatened by a plague-driven population decline, the financial collapse of its largest banking and commercial firms, even greater instability in government, the revolt of the CIOMPI, communal fiscal inadequacies and difficulties, and a major war with the papacy. Yet it remained one of the richest cities in Europe and a major force in the politics of the Italian peninsula.

#### THE 15TH CENTURY AND THE RISE OF THE MEDICI

The commune's financial resources were stretched even further by the military requirements of the wars with the VISCONTI of MILAN and by the great expenses of the conquest of Pisa in 1406, which was carried out to give Florence an outlet on the sea. At the same time the new but unstable oligarchic produced a period of prosperity distinguished by the development of public and private building. This left superficially intact its democratic and republican structures, but they were now more than ever restricted to a few powerful families, who fought over their control. This was also the era of the civic humanists, such as Leonardo BRUNI, who developed ideas of a civic HUMANISM or a theory of "liberty" to stand behind Florence's now clearly aristocratic and explicitly oligarchic political institutions.

This period was followed by the establishment of a factional lordship of the MEDICI family, who ruled the city from 1434 to 1494 yet kept up the pretense of traditional political institutions that were in fact carefully



View of Florence in 1490 (18th-century reproduction in tempera), Museo di Firenze com'era, Florence, Italy (Alinari / Art Resource)

controlled by them through a political and social class of supporters and clients who voted and ruled in a way generally acceptable to Medici interests. The rule of this famous family led to a great cultural flowering and peace during the period between 1465 and the 1490s, traditionally considered the heart of the Italian RENAISSANCE. This “golden age” under Lorenzo de’ Medici ended with the cultural repression brought about by SAVONAROLA and his followers and the invasion of Italy by the French in the 1490s, which led to decades of war well into the next century.

See also ALBERTI, LEON BATTISTA; ALIGHIERI, DANTE; ANGELICO, FRA; BOTTICELLI, SANDRO; BRACCIOLINI, POGGIO; BRUNELLESCHI, FILIPPO; BRUNETTO LATINI; FERRARA–FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF; FICINO, MARSILIO; Ghiberti, Lorenzo; GHIRLANDAIO, DOMENICO; GIANO DELLA BELLA; GIOTTO DI BONDONE; GUELFs (WELFS) AND Ghibellines; LIPPI, FRA FILIPPO; MASACCIO, TOMASSO DI GIOVANNI DI SIMONE CASSAI; MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA; PODESTÀ; SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO.

**Further reading:** Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); Marvin B. Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967–68); Gene A. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (1969; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Richard Goy, *Florence: The City and Its Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 2002); John R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

**Florence-Ferrara, Council of** See FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.

**Fontenay, Abbey of** This was a CISTERCIAN abbey founded by BERNARD DE CLAIRVAUX in 1119 in a valley in BURGUNDY. Fontenay has remained one of the finest European specimens of 12th-century Cistercian abbeys with a well-preserved 12th-century church, CLOISTER, chapter room, dorter, warming room, and forge. The construction of these buildings, was based on extensive drainage. The abbey prospered during the 12th century but never really recovered from various attacks it suffered during the HUNDRED YEARS’ WAR. After the French Revolution, its use as a paper mill saved most of its buildings, and an exemplary restoration gave it its present medieval appearance. It was classified as a world heritage site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1981.

**Further reading:** David Heald, *Architecture of Silence: Cistercian Abbeys of France* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000); Meredith P. Lillich, ed., *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1982).

**Fontenay, Battle of** This was a decisive and bitter battle leading to the division of the Carolingian Empire in what became FRANCE and GERMANY. It was probably fought on June 25, 841, between a coalition of Louis the German (r. 840–876), the ruler of Bavaria and northern Germany, and CHARLES I THE BALD, against the emperor Lothair (r. 840–855), who ruled Lorraine and Italy and theoretically more. They were battling over the terms of



Facade of the church for the Cistercian abbey of Fontenay, consecrated in 1147 (Courtesy Edward English)

a division of the empire established in the Oaths of Strasburg of the previous year after the death of LOUIS I THE PIOUS. The victory of Charles and Louis over Lothair led to the more or less permanent partition of the empire by the Treaty of VERDUN in 843 between Charles and Louis.

See also CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Bernhard W. Scholz, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983).

**food, drink, and nutrition (trade and production of foodstuffs)** Our understanding of diet has been changed by the interpretations of historians of diet as a

coherent cultural system. In the Middle Ages this system had codes and a hierarchy of “alimentary values,” linked partially to a hierarchy of social groups and more concretely to the capabilities of production and exchange or mechanisms of production in AGRICULTURE and ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

The medieval diet of the poorer members of the population, although varied, was not particularly nutritious or regular. Agricultural production was centered on grain and cereals of every type, especially wheat or spelt. The most common cereal was rye, because it was resistant to disease and weather and easy to cultivate at all latitudes. Other cultivated products were barley, oats, and hops. The introduction of rice and buckwheat occurred later.

Peasants and urban laborers ate black bread, made of three parts of low-quality wheat and one of beans,

but sometimes supplemented by millet, chickpeas, or chestnuts. These were consumed in the form of a soup. White bread made from more thoroughly milled wheat was reserved for the elite. The medieval menu was predominantly vegetarian for almost everyone, consisting of soups, porridges, mushes of millet and oats, vegetables, fish, bread, unsweetened cakes and pies, and domestic fowl. There is some evidence that the consumption of meat, eggs, and cheese was gradually increasing in the central Middle Ages, probably reflecting an improvement in agricultural production and transport.

#### MEAT AND BEVERAGES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Fourteenth-century French and Italian recipes include much more meat on the tables of the rich. Mutton was the food of the poor, and pork, both fresh and preserved, was consumed in abundance. Pork, during the Middle Ages, was not from pigs but swine, which were the products of a breeding with wild boars. Beef was very uncommon, since oxen were used mainly as work animals. Game other than deer was usually considered of little value, so anyone who could catch it could eat it. Fish, especially freshwater, were caught for religious dietary reasons and economical sustenance.

Legumes from the 10th century, such as chickpeas, beans, peas, or lentils, were eaten by all. Vegetables such as chicory, cabbage, turnips, carrots, beets, and onions were eaten. Seasonal fruit was gathered for consumption, such as apples, pears, plums, chestnuts, peaches, quinces, hazelnuts, almonds, mulberries, figs, walnuts, and cherries. Spices, some exotic and imported, appeared on the tables of the wealthy, especially from the 11th century. Costly spices were supplemented by herbs, such as basil, mint, garlic, parsley, or paprika. Olive oil was used in southern or Mediterranean countries, while lard or butter was characteristic of northern regions. Butter was expensive and was mostly consumed uncooked.

Drinks in the Middle Ages consisted of water, WINE, beer, and milk. Wine and beer were indispensable as safe drinks. The only widespread liqueur was aqua vitae, a rough brandy used for medicinal purposes.

See also ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; COOKING AND COOKERY; FAMINE; FASTS, FASTING, AND ABSTINENCE; FORESTS; HUNTING AND FOWLING; VINES AND VINEYARDS.

**Further reading:** Piero Camporesi, *The Magic Harvest: Food, Folklore, and Society*, trans. Joan Krakover Hall (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food* (New York: Free Press, 2002); Massimo Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, trans. Carl Ipsen (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994); Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds. *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*,

trans. Clarissa Botsford, et al. (1996; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

**forests and forest law** The word *foresta* was initially applied from the MEROVINGIAN period to spaces, wooded or not, that were protected for landholders, kings, or lords. The landholders exercised their right to hunt without restraint. Cultivation and settlement were not permitted. The term *forest* designated such protected wooded zones.

During the Middle Ages, agricultural estates usually comprised wooded areas. Towns and lords tried to ensure the preservation of forests for firewood for domestic and industrial purposes and lumber for buildings, SHIPS, tools, and FURNITURE. In terms of FOOD, forests offered plant and animal resources such as honey, mushrooms, medicinal plants, berries, wild game, and pasturage for domestic animals. In times of danger they could provide refuge for inhabitants threatened by the incursions of undisciplined nobles or invading armies. They could also shelter outlaws, brigands, or opponents of rulers. In forests pagan traditions might have been preserved longer and, according to superstition, strange supernatural or diabolical beings lurked among the trees.

In the 11th century, security and improved climatic conditions promoted a rapid growth in population. Since the yields of food crops was often low, farmers and peasants had to develop new cultivable lands, most cleared at the expense of woodlands. The great clearances, until the end of the 13th century, reduced the size of the forests, modified their contents in terms of trees and undergrowth, and lowered the availability of timber. In the 14th century, WARFARE and plagues reduced the population by nearly one-third, allowing the forests to develop once again over the course of the late 14th and 15th centuries.

See also ROBIN HOOD; OUTLAWRY.

**Further reading:** Roland Bechmann, *Trees and Man: The Forest in the Middle Ages*, trans. Katharyn Dunham (1984; reprint, England: New York: Paragon House, 1990); Raymond Grant, *The Royal Forests of England* (Stroud, England: Alan Sutton, 1991); C. R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1979).

**forgery** Forgeries, phony attributions, and creative falsifications were commonly attempted in the Middle Ages. CHARTERS, diplomas, and other legal instruments were forged, "corrected," or interpolated with spurious information. Among the most famous were the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE and collections of secular and canon law such as the FALSE DECRETALS, and even complex theological treatises, histories or chronicles, biographical and hagiographical writings, disputed liturgical texts, sacred Scripture, letters, RELICS, TOMBS, and inscriptions.

### CATEGORIES AND MOTIVATIONS

Many medieval forgeries were deemed falsifications in the Middle Ages. Many others have been uncovered by modern scholars. Forgeries can be said to fall into several categories based on the method, style, and content of the document or on the intentions of the forger. Some were seen as forgeries because of the false attributions of their authors, whether intentional or unintentional. Some documents were questioned because their original purpose was unclear or forgotten. Other legal documents, particularly charters, may have been intended to replace genuine, but lost documents, or to provide credible documentation to prove rights that had indeed been granted but could not be confirmed by the documentary evidence extant or then newly required, in the form of the parchments themselves, or entries in a *CARTULARY*.

Narrative documents or histories were created to reflect the desired or assumed past, to provide an understanding and explanation of the present, and to show the desired or proper future. Hagiographical and devotional texts were created to inspire the correct spiritual respect and devotion of audiences. Many other forgeries were simply done for deception or financial benefit of an individual, community, or cause.

### PUNITIVE RESPONSES AND ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL

Forgeries for personal or institutional gain, if uncovered, were punished harshly, even by sentences of death or the loss of a hand. Others, intended to provide written documentation expected by traditions, might be dealt with less severely. In the heyday of forgeries in the 11th and 12th centuries, medieval people had an understanding of truth in these circumstances that was primarily tied to a morality based on the intention of the perpetrator or perpetrators of forgery. Although clearly false, some documents were excused or not questioned because they represented something deemed morally true, either in the eyes of the beholders, or in the views of those doing the faking or creation of written documents. At the same time, more sophisticated means of detecting forgeries and guarding against forged letters, interpolations, and documents were developed, especially by the papacy. They were accomplished by the checking of the authenticity of seals, of properly written and special scripts, of complex formulas of expression, of correct chancellery styles, and even of the careful comparison of witness lists with those in other documents known to be authentic. Further literary analysis, using revived and improved philological tools, was applied to texts of written documents during the revival of learning and increased interest in production of authentic classical texts during the 15th century.

See also *ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS*; *CODICOLOGY*; *PALEOGRAPHY*; *VALLA, LORENZO*.

**Further reading:** Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Approaches to Medieval Forgery," *Journal of the Society*

*of Archivists* 3, no. 8 (1968): 377–386; in *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Studies* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1971), 100–120; Giles Constable, "Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 29 (1983): 1–41; Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990); Armando Petrucci, "The Illusion of Authentic History: Documentary Evidence," in *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. Charles Radding (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 236–250.

**fornication** Once referring to sexual relations with prostitutes in the Middle Ages, the term *fornication* designated any sexual union between two consenting persons free of any ties of kinship or spousal relations. It might be distinguished from adultery, rape, lust, and debauchery. In Scholastic *THEOLOGY*, it was considered a breach of natural *LAW*, since such sexual relations were presumed not to be intended for the conception of a child. This notion of the conformity to *NATURE*, so important in medieval and Catholic moral thought, also assigned greater gravity to some forms of fornication, such as masturbation and sodomy.

See also *SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES*; *SIN*.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

**Fortescue, Sir John** (ca. 1387–1476/79) *English political and constitutional thinker*

Among political thinkers of the Middle Ages, Fortescue, deeply involved in the political struggles of his day, was not an original thinker but rather very practical minded. Born at Norris in Somerset between 1385 and 1390, he joined Lincoln's Inn and became a serjeant-at-law in about 1429. He was a justice of the peace 35 times and served on 70 special commissions. This legal training led him to a political career in *PARLIAMENT* as a member for several West Country boroughs in the 1420s and 1430s. In 1441 he was promoted to the position of king's serjeant and in the following year became the chief justice of King's Bench. An ardent Lancastrian partisan during the *WARS OF THE ROSES*, he was present at the great defeat at Towton on March 29, 1461. He had to flee to *SCOTLAND* with the deposed *HENRY VI*.

While in exile later in *FRANCE* after 1465, he wrote four tracts upholding the Lancastrian succession and the treatise "On the Nature of Natural Law." In that he made his famous distinctions among absolute monarchy, republican government, and constitutional monarchy. These ideas were developed in the most popular of his works, "In Praise of the Laws of England." He attributed the origins of any absolute monarchy to a military

conquest, and of a limited monarchy to a free decision of a community to form itself into a state. He considered France to be an absolute monarchy, and ENGLAND and Scotland constitutional monarchies. Fortescue returned to office with the temporarily ascendant Lancastrians in 1470–71 but found himself on the losing side once again and was captured at the Battle of Tewkesbury on May 4, 1471. EDWARD IV now compelled him to make amends for his past. To recover his estates, Fortescue had to refute his earlier ideas and write a justification of Edward's own title to the throne.

In retirement at Ebrington, where he died between 1476 and 1479, Fortescue wrote his last work, *The Governance of England*. In that he suggested that the king should support himself out of his own property and that former royal lands should be restored and made inalienable, and the power of the great magnates, so destructive in the Wars of the Roses, should be curbed. He also enunciated the principle that it was better that the guilty escape than that the innocent be unjustly punished.

**Further reading:** John Fortescue, *The Governance of England: Otherwise Called The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, ed. Charles Plummer (1885; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926); John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Anglie*, ed. and trans. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949); J. H. Burns, "Fortescue and the Political Theory of Dominion," *Historical Journal* 28 (1985): 777–797; Anthony Gross, *The Dissolution of the Lancastrian Kingship: Sir John Fortescue and the Crisis of Monarchy* (Stanford, England: P. Watkins, 1996).

#### **Foscari, Francesco** (1373–1457) *Venetian doge*

Foscari was born to a noble Venetian family on June 19, 1373. The career of Foscari illustrated that a rash and warlike Venetian doge, backed by enough of a faction, could exercise power over policy in the face of constitutional and procedural devices established by that city's famous and sophisticated form of government. He served on several governing councils from the early 15th century. He was well known for his expansionist ideas, especially toward the mainland in northern Italy. That was not the usual or traditional policy of Venice, which was much more oriented toward maritime trade and overseas colonies. In 1423 he was elected doge at the young age, for that office, of about 49 or 50 and held it for 34 years.

He soon led Venice into expensive and difficult wars fought primarily by costly mercenary bands of infantry and cavalry in northern Italy, all with very mixed success. In a war between 1425 and 1428, Venice conquered Bergamo and Brescia, but in later wars the VISCONTI rulers of MILAN, between 1431 and 1433 and 1435 and 1441, reversed these gains. At the same time these defeats had

drained the Venetian treasury so that the republic's defenses in the eastern Mediterranean were neglected at a dangerous time of Turkish expansion. After the Turks decisively defeated a Hungarian army at the Battle of Varna in 1444, Venice, with few allies because of its conflictual expansionist policies in Italy, was quite vulnerable throughout the whole length of its extensive eastern Mediterranean empire. All this necessitated yet more expenditure. This danger, the treason of his son, and the heavy cost of war taxation over decades led to strong criticisms and eventually the deposition of Foscari. After this unprecedented action, his death in Venice soon followed, on October 31 or November 1, 1457.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *Venice Triumphant: The Horizons of a Myth*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (1991; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Garry Wills, *Venice: Lion City: The Religion of Empire* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001).

**foundlings** See CHARITY AND POVERTY; CHILDHOOD.

#### **Fouquet, Jean (Foucquet)** (1415/20–1481) *French court painter, manuscript illuminator*

Born between 1415 or 1420 at Tours, the illegitimate son of a priest, Fouquet probably received his early training in PARIS as a manuscript illuminator. Evidence for his early fame is the supposition that he accompanied a French mission to ROME in 1446, when an Italian artist recorded that Fouquet painted a portrait of Pope EUGENIUS IV with his two nephews. In ROME, Fouquet would have seen the FRESCOES in the Vatican by Fra ANGELICO, and the style of that famous Florentine had a deep and lasting effect on his own. When Fouquet returned to FRANCE, he opened a workshop in Tours. He received commissions from CHARLES VII and members of his court. LOUIS XI made him the official court painter in 1474. Fouquet died in Tours before November 8, 1481, when a church document mentioned his widow.

#### FURTHER PORTRAITS

The earliest of Fouquet's several large panel portraits was probably that of CHARLES VII, painted between 1440 and 1445 before Fouquet's trip to Rome, for it showed little influence from his Italian trip. The portrait was abstractly staged, objective, and not flattering. Fouquet showed his sober and clear style in a self-portrait in about 1450, a small painted enamel roundel. It was among the first self-portraits done north of the Alps.

About 1450 Fouquet undertook his most famous pair of pictures, the Mélun Diptych. On the left panel is Étienne Chevalier, the treasurer of France in 1452, being presented by his name saint to the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child in the right panel. This was intended to be



Jean Fouquet, portrait of King Charles VII (Courtesy Library of Congress)

scandalous, for the Virgin was a recognizable portrait of Agnès Sorel, the king's mistress, shown with an exposed breast. Another famous portrait was similarly abstract and intellectualized: Fouquet's portrait *Guillaume Jouvenal des Ursins*, in about 1455. In it another chancellor of France kneels in prayer before a wall.

#### BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS

Fouquet was especially famous for and skilled in his miniature illustrations for manuscript books. Between 1452 and 1462, he and his shop painted for Chevalier a now-dismembered BOOK OF HOURS. Its miniatures showed Parisian architectural monuments and included an illustration of the contemporary staging of a MYSTERY PLAY. Fouquet and his shop illuminated many other BOOKS. Chief among them was the *Grandes chroniques des rois de France* (Grand chronicle of the kings of France) in 1458. He also worked on Charles VII's tomb.

See also ILLUMINATION.

**Further reading:** James H. Marrow, *The Hours of Simon de Varie* (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum in Association with Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 1994); Paul Reinhold Wescher, *Jean Fouquet and His Time*, trans. Eveline Winkworth (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947).

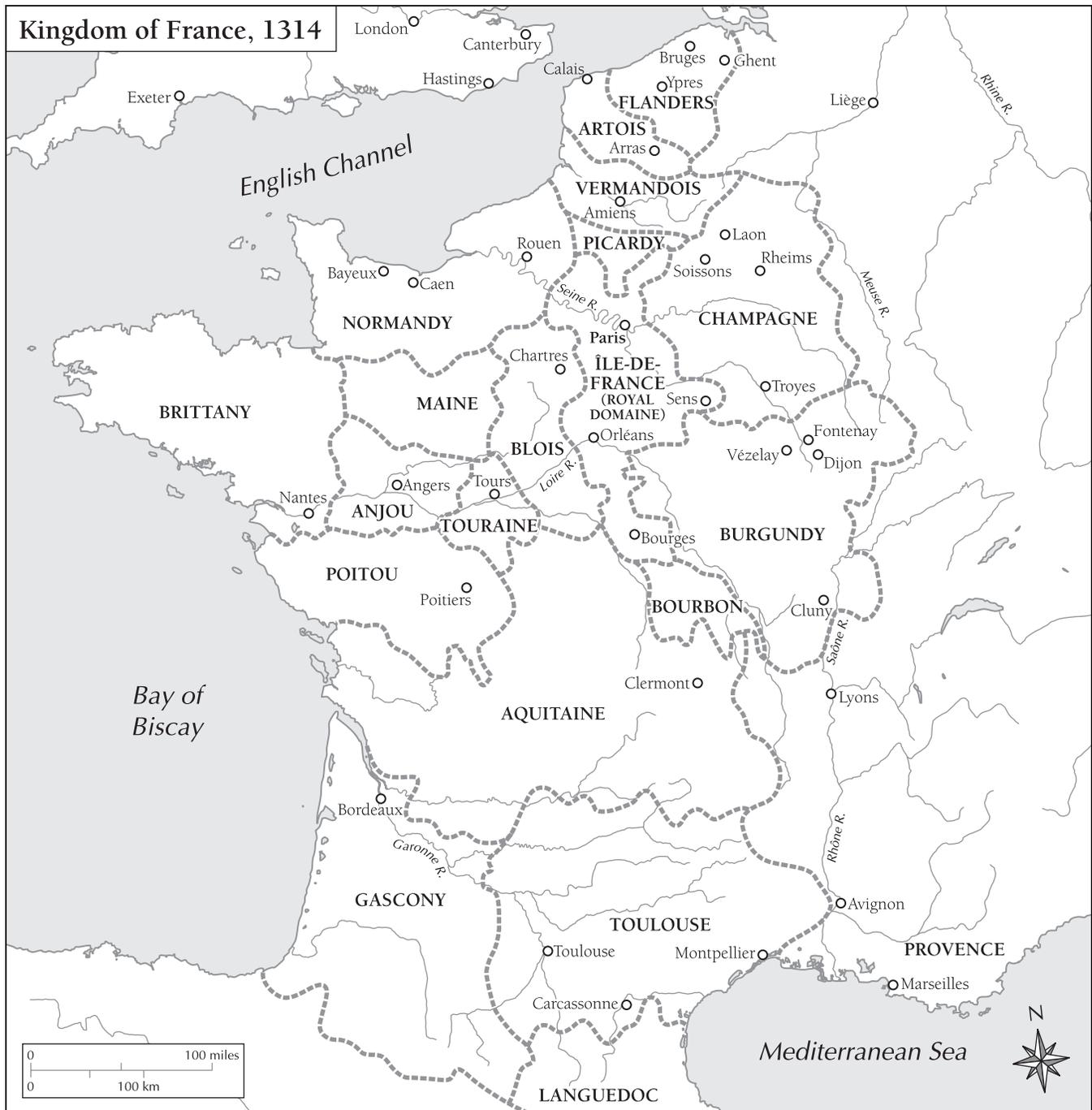
**fowls and fowling** See ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; HUNTING AND FOWLING.

**France (Francia)** In the sixth and seventh centuries, the present-day territory of France was still called Gaul; there the FRANKS settled in the fourth and fifth century. The extent of their *Regnum francorum* or kingdom of the Franks would have no clear limit except that provided by a long series of conquests and annexations over centuries. The treaties of 843 had created three different areas that had stability. They were the kingdoms of CHARLES I THE BALD in the west, or mostly modern France, of the emperor Lothair (r. 840–855) in the center or in Italy and Lorraine, and of Louis the German (r. 840–876) in the east or Germany across the Rhine River. Francia at that time still designated the whole of the Frankish empire but became associated soon thereafter with the geographical region north of the Seine or the Île-de-France.

Under the Carolingians, a linguistic separation had grown between the future France and the area of the future German Empire. By the early 10th century it became usual to designate the latter by *Imperium* or the Empire and the former by *Regnum francorum* (The Kingdom of the Franks) or *Francia*. France then had the rough boundaries of four rivers: the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhône. In the course of the 13th century, the growth of Capetian royal power gave the evolving realm dynastic stability. The king of France in Paris and the Île-de-France became the direct, or indirect master, within these still expanding frontiers. By this time, the term *France* designated the royal domain and the properties and FIEFS tied to the Capetian kings. They now no longer reigned over a people but over a territory in which they exercised justice and collected taxes. From the 10th century, the history of France was linked fundamentally with the CAPETIAN and VALOIS dynasties and the growth of control from Paris over regions throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

See also ALBIGENSIANS AND ALBIGENSIAN MOVEMENT; ANJOU; AQUITAINE; BRITANNY AND THE BRETONS; BURGUNDY; CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; CHARLES V THE WISE; CHARLES VII; GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE; HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; LOUIS IX; LOUIS XI; NORMANDY AND THE NORMANS; PARIS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS; PARLEMENT OF PARIS; PHILIP II AUGUSTUS; PHILIP IV THE FAIR; PROVENCE; ROMANESQUE ART AND ARCHITECTURE; VERDUN, TREATY OF

**Further reading:** Christopher T. Allmand, *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years' War* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973); Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843–1180* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Elizabeth Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 2001); Edward James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000* (New



York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn, eds. *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 1995); Lynette R. Muir, *Society in Medieval France: The Mirror and the Image, 1100–1500* (London: Macmillan, 1985).

**Franciscan order (Ordo fratrum minorum, Order of friars minor)** FRANCIS of Assisi was the founder of the Franciscan order, which included groups of mendicant friars, convents of NUNS, and a third order for the LAITY.

The only early sources for the beginnings of the order in the early 13th century are the texts of the Rules of 1221 and of 1223 and the brief writings attributed to Francis himself. Francis of Assisi probably did not intend to found a religious order but rather to establish a group of penitents, lay and clerical, informally united to lead an apostolic life in imitation of Christ and to serve their neighbors in religious ways while leading lives of poverty. The first description we have of the Friars Minor was that of JAMES de Vitry, who saw their new way of life during his stay in Italy in 1216.

### BIRTH OF THE MOVEMENT

Francis's first band of followers were engaged in preaching and tried to lead model lives as examples of how to gain salvation, but they had only been verbally and vaguely authorized by Pope INNOCENT III in 1209. Despite that, they multiplied in Umbria and all over central Italy. As part of their commitment to poverty, they did not establish convents but lived in private and religious institutions, where they worked with the sick. Asserting complete orthodoxy and obedience only to the papacy, they were, from a canonical point of view, still institutionally ambiguous, since they lived without a clear and approved rule. Innocent III, however, grasped how useful they might be as a counterweight to contemporary heretics, one of whose main points was an objection to the great wealth of the church. In their early years, the Franciscans raised only indirect criticism of the clergy along those lines while offering an alternative clerical lifestyle. By 1219, they had received papal approval, and they were recommended to the authorities of the local churches and dioceses by 1219.

### EXPANSION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

In the meantime, Francis continued to organize "missions" to various parts of Europe and elsewhere, including SYRIA in 1217, France in 1219, and Germany in 1221. Francis's intention to attempt the conversion of Muslims led him to join the Fifth Crusade (1219–20). He was at the disastrous siege of Damietta, and his journey to the Levant and the Crusade itself were failures. During it Francis had his legendary encounter with a Muslim ruler who listened to him and let him continue on his way but was not at all inspired to convert. Francis returned to Italy seriously ill. Suspicious that his religious family was rapidly being transformed into an institutional order, he renounced the direction of the order, seeking only a role as spiritual and charismatic guide, while his successors, especially the eventually deposed Elias of Cortona (d. 1253), forwarded the process of institutional compromise.

By 1223, the Holy See had approved a rule after questioning the first attempt. This because the basis for the institutionalization of the order by permitting the acquisition of permanent urban residences, genuine and clear incorporation into traditional ecclesiastical structures, and an ever-increasing engagement in preaching, education, and pastoral care. This change was not approved by some members of the nascent order who wished to maintain an organization more consonant with the ideals of apostolic poverty first enunciated by Francis. He was still alive but was unable to influence in a concrete way the direction of the order, which he viewed in his *Testament* as changed from what he had intended. He died in 1226 and was canonized very quickly in 1228.

After the order expanded all over Europe and entered into the university system, Pope GREGORY IX decreed that the *Testament* was only a moral exhortation,

and that only the much more practical Rule had true normative value. In the 1250s the order had to face the attacks of the secular clergy, who felt that the friars were poaching on their incomes and rights. This led to questions about ideals of the order and the role of the friars in the university system.

The Franciscans elected the reliable and prestigious leader BONAVENTURE (Giovanni di Fidanza) as master general. He was already a master of theology at Paris who had defended the order against the secular clerics and was full of reforming zeal. He revised the study of theology to affect a much closer relationship with the apostolic function of the Franciscans, who were now explicitly called on to preach by their very vocation. He also sponsored or wrote a new, more conservative biography of the founder. All this contributed to a temporary pacification and consolidation of the Friars Minor during Bonaventure's generalship. Communities of Franciscan Friars became permanently incorporated in towns, often in large and rich convents. Study was deemed necessary for carrying out the tasks of pastoral care and ensuring that the friars were true guardians of orthodoxy.

### PROBLEMS

A few years after Bonaventure's death in the late 13th century, internal dissensions about poverty and about fidelity to Francis's intentions exploded into open dissent. They were led by the theologian Peter John OLIVI; the best known among the others, the SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS, were Angelo Clareno (1247–1337) and UBERTINO da Casale. They were condemned, especially the Italian group called the FRATICELLI, but their ideas were only suppressed with considerable difficulty. Such problems surfaced again in the late 14th century but were again diverted into another reform of the order that produced the great preachers of the Observance, Saints BERNARDINO OF SIENA AND JOHN OF CAPISTRANO. They were characterized by an aversion to urban life as full of temptations for the friars and the laity and a certain obstacle to a perfect observance of the Rule by the members of the order. The popular and standard themes of their sermons were usury, vain luxury, and factional animosity. These preachers often had great, but short-lived, success in the Italian cities. Despite the reforms of the Observants and the prestige and obvious holiness of a few saints, from the 14th century the friars had a dubious reputation as legacy hunters and as sexual predators in popular literature.

See also ANTHONY OF PADUA; CLARE OF ASSISI, SAINT; DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN; MENDICANT ORDERS; PREACHING; SALIMBENE DE ADAM; WILLIAM OF OCKHAM.

**Further reading:** Rosalind B. Brooke, ed., *The Coming of the Friars* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975); John V. Fleming, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: Franciscan Press, 1977); C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York: Longman,

1994); John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

**Francis of Assisi, Saint** (*Giovanni di Pietro di Bernardone, Il Poverello*) (1181/82–1226) *Italian mystic, founder of the Franciscans*

His father called him Francis, although he was given the name Giovanni when he was baptized in ASSISI in central ITALY in 1181/82. His father, Pietro di Bernardone, was married to a woman from PROVENCE and was a successful and rich cloth merchant. Francis grew up with a love of fine clothes and pleasure. He caroused with the other young men of the town, enjoying courtly good times, good food and drink, singing, and dancing. When Francis was 20, he was taken prisoner in a war between Assisi and Perugia. A year later, much sobered by jail and sickness, he underwent several religious experiences in quick succession. In one of these, while he was praying in the decrepit chapel of San Damiano outside Assisi, he heard a voice from the CRUCIFIX telling him, “Go repair my house, which is falling in ruins.” Taking this literally, Francis quickly returned to Assisi, sold his horse and some cloth from his father’s shop, and returned to give the money to the priest at San Damiano. His father, furious at Francis’s squandering of money on churches and beggars, hauled him before the bishop to restore him to his senses. According to tradition, when the hearing began, Francis dramatically took off all his clothes and gave them to his father, saying he was now recognizing only his Father in heaven, not his father on Earth. His life from this time on was lived with limited money and family ties.

#### PATH TOWARD SAINTHOOD

A number of the young men of Assisi, attracted by Francis’s example of evangelical poverty, joined him in this new way of life. In 1209/10 Francis and his companions went to ROME, where they presented their almost heretical but orthodox ideas to Pope INNOCENT III and received his approval in acknowledgment of their statement of obedience to the pope. They found themselves influencing more and more people, including a woman named CLARE, whom Francis helped to enter a monastery of NUNS and who later began the FRANCISCAN order for women.

In 1212 Francis left for the HOLY LAND. His ship ran into bad weather, and he had to return to Italy. Two years later his adventurous spirit and missionary zeal drove him to try to go to Spain to convert Muslims, but sickness prevented him from completing the trip. He tried once more, in 1219, this time traveling to EGYPT with the CRUSADERS. At the siege of Damietta, Francis boldly walked through the battle lines into the camp of the Muslims and met the sultan of Egypt, who, perhaps impressed with Francis’s ideas about brotherly love and

seeming desire for martyrdom, gave him permission to continue on to the Holy Land.

When Francis heard that trouble had already started in Italy among some of his followers, now some 5,000, he returned home. The group had initially been held together by his own personality and example, but now Francis saw the need for a more practical guide to his kind of Christian life. He insisted that a new rule stress poverty. Francis went to Rome in 1223 to present this new rule to Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–27), who approved it.

Francis returned to Assisi and began to withdraw from his order and to spend more and more time alone at nearby Alverna, in PRAYER, leaving the decisions about the Franciscan Order to others. While he was praying on a mountain in 1224, he had a vision of an angelic figure. When the vision disappeared, Francis felt Christ’s wounds, or the stigmata, in his hands, side, and feet. However, he was careful and humble enough not to show them. His last two years were lived in almost constant pain and near-blindness. He died on October 3, 1226, and two years later he was canonized as a saint by his old friend Pope GREGORY IX.

*See also* BONAVENTURE, SAINT; CLARE OF ASSISI, SAINT; CHARITY AND POVERTY; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** Francis of Assisi, *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi*, ed. Bene Fahy (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1963); Chiara Frugoni, *Francis of Assisi: A Life*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Continuum, 1998); Richard C. Trexler, *Naked before the Father: The Renunciation of Francis of Assisi* (Los Angeles: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1989).

**Franconia (Franken)** Medieval Franconia was a country in central GERMANY located between the Fulda River to the north and the Neckar River to the south. Its name was based on the seventh-century conquest and settlement by the FRANKS. In 720 Franconia was annexed to the royal demesne and became a base for the further expansion by the CAROLINGIANS into Germany and SAXONY. The earliest urban centers in Germany, Mainz, Spire, Worms, and Würzburg, were in Franconia. In the eighth century these centers were launching pads for the expansion of Christianity throughout Germany. In 840, with the establishment of a kingdom of Germany by Louis the German (r. 840–876), Franconia became one of its principal duchies along with BAVARIA. Two families of counts, the Babenbergs, in the valley of the Main River, and the Conrads, counts of Worms, struggled for the ducal title. However, the Carolingians maintained a strong presence. In 906 the Conradines won the struggle with the election of their leader, Conrad I, as king of Germany (r. 911–918). The duchy of Franconia was granted to his brother, Eberhard (r. 935–939, d. 966), who attempted to rule it independently as duke between 918 and 939.

In 939 Eberhard launched a revolt against OTTO I, denying his pretension to a royal title. He was defeated and killed. Otto divided Franconia into several units and granted much of its territory to bishops and abbots allied to him. The remaining portion and the ducal title were granted to a related branch of the Conradines, the SALIAN dynasty, whose leader, Conrad the Red (r. 944–953), duke of Lotharingia, married Otto's daughter, Liudgard. From 1024, when Conrad II, the duke of Franconia, was elected emperor, the Salians reigned over the empire until 1137. During this period, Franconia was the base of imperial power, but it began to lose its traditional character. Although the ducal title was usually granted on a temporary basis to a relative of the emperor, the major portion of the duchy was controlled by the churches and other vassals. Several towns were granted the status of imperial cities.

In 1168 FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA gave the ducal title to a bishop of Würzburg. However, that title no longer represented or came with any real power. Franconia was then split into two large areas. In the west was the principality of the counts of the Palatinate of the Rhine. The eastern section was divided among the bishops of Würzburg, the city of Nuremberg, and the counts of Babenberg. The cities on the Rhine obtained their own rights and, at the beginning of the 13th century, established a state called the Confederation of the Rhine. During the later chaotic interregnum in Germany between 1250 and 1272, Franconia was further split into the numerous principalities and free cities as it was to remain far beyond the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, 2d ed., trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (1984; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

**Franks** They were an ethnically diverse group of Germanic tribes who conquered Roman Gaul in the fifth century, but their region of origin has remained unclear. The sixth-century historian GREGORY of Tours thought they had initially settled at the mouth of the Rhine and were originally from PANNONIA or around the middle Danube River. Modern scholars have posited Scandinavia as their original home. Legends claimed ancient Troy.

Belonging to the most westerly subgroup of the West Germans, the Franks as an identified people appeared under that name from the mid-third century as a gradually coalescing military league or confederation of tribes, taking their name from the Old Norse word meaning “bold” or “courageous.”

#### ENTRANCE INTO THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Until the great barbarian invasions between 406 and 407, most of the Franks lived outside the empire. Other

Rhineland tribes confronted Rome more directly, but these coastal tribes became known for their acts of piracy just as their Frisian and Saxon neighbors did. In the late third century, the Western Frankish tribes abandoned maritime activities and moved into the modern Netherlands, able to do so because of the abandonment of these marshy territories by the Romans. However, the Romans stopped this progress in the fourth century in modern Belgium or BRABANT.

“Franks” also had lived in the empire from the third century. Some had been defeated and settled in Gaul as subject peoples. They were liable to military service and were granted lands to cultivate for the benefit of the state or other great proprietors. Still others were hired as a group as auxiliaries for the Roman army in EGYPT or the Near East. Some had impressive military careers for the emperor Valentinian I (r. 364–375) and as the military tutor of the emperor Valentinian II (r. 375–387).

The Eastern or Rhineland Franks or Ripuarians continued to attack the Roman garrisons of upper Germany. On several occasions, they even temporarily captured the Romanized cities of COLOGNE, Mainz, and Trier, but they never effectively controlled the left bank of the middle Rhine. In the fifth century, the Franks were officially considered *federates*, the status assigned to Rome's barbarian allies, and they joined the successful coalition against ATTILA and the HUNS in 451.

#### CONQUEST OF GAUL

The conquest of Gaul, carried out by Clovis in 486–487, was not accompanied by intensive colonization and settlement. With the exception of the regions along the left bank of the Rhine, LATIN remained the common language of Gaul. The Franks imposed their rule but remained a minority. From the second half of the sixth century, the inhabitants of the northern half of Gaul were all called *Franci*; the *Romani* made up the southern half of the country. From the time of Clovis, the Franks were associated with the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties. Christian crusaders were often called “Franks” during the Crusades.

*See also* CHARLEMAGNE; CHARLES MARTEL; MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY; PÉPIN III THE SHORT.

**Further reading:** Bernard S. Bachrach, trans., *Liber historial Francorum* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado, 1973); Gregory, Bishop of Tours, *History of the Franks: Selections*, trans. Ernest Brehaut (1916; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1965); Edward James, *The Franks* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983); Ian Wood, ed., *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective* (San Marino: Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 1998).

**Fratricelli** As a result of the severe conflicts over poverty and authority among the FRANCISCAN ORDER or Order of Friars Minor in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, a generic, almost misleading term, *Fratricelli* was applied to a wide group of dissidents or heretics primarily in Italy. Various names were applied to indicate these “brothers of the poor life,” *bizzocchi*, or “Beghards.” These groups were all persecuted in Western Christendom. Inquisitors tended to lump clerical dissenters together and give a uniform label to a great diversity of religious experiences and beliefs with few real links. By the 14th century, the term had become synonymous with SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

See also BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS; OLIVI, PETER JOHN.

**Further reading:** Decima Langworthy Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fratricelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932); Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–1450*, 2 vols. (Manchester: University Press, 1967), especially 1.230–255.

**Frau Ava** (d. 1127) author of a series of four religious Middle High German poems

Frau Ava’s work was a poetic rendering of the history of salvation through the life of Christ from John the Baptist to the ASCENSION and PENTECOST. She also wrote about the LAST JUDGMENT and the ANTICHRIST and promoted the exercise of the VIRTUES. Her poems from about 1120 were the earliest and still extant work of an identifiable woman who wrote in German. Little has been found about the author herself apart from autobiographical references in her work and from records recording her death. Her sons were probably clerics who advised her on interpreting Scripture and other religious sources. The notice of Ava’s death in a necrology from the Austrian monastery of Melk marked it in the year 1127 and called her a religious recluse.

**Further reading:** Ernst Ralf Hintz, “Frau Eva (fl. first half of the 12th century)” in John M. Jeep, ed., *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2001), 235–236.

**Frederick I Barbarossa (Hohenstaufen, Holy Roman Emperor)** (ca. 1123–1190) king of Italy, Holy Roman Emperor

The son of Duke FREDERICK II the One Eyed of SWABIA, Frederick was born about 1123, he was also the nephew of Emperor Conrad III (r. 1138–52) of the HOHENSTAUFEN family. Frederick’s mother was from a different faction surrounding Henry the Proud (ca. 1108–39), duke of SAXONY and BAVARIA, the Welfs or GUELFs. He was eventually to unite these rival families, whose feuding had torn GERMANY apart for decades. In his later years, he wore a long red beard, hence his name of Barbarossa, or Red Beard.



Coronation of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (lower panel) with Peter Lombard (upper left panel). Master François (15th century), *Le Miroir Historial de Vincent de Beauvais*. III. Ms 722, f. 341r. (Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource)

After Frederick was elected king of Germany on March 4, 1152, his first task was to negotiate a settlement with the Welf family, especially his cousin, HENRY the Lion, duke of Saxony. By 1156 in an agreement, Frederick gave Henry a free hand in Saxony, where Henry could exercise imperial powers and expand freely into the Slavic lands beyond the Elbe River. Henry was given almost the same authority in Bavaria, where he was also made duke.

With the Welfs conciliated, Frederick proceeded to built up an imperial domain in western Germany along the Rhine near ancestral holdings, in Swabia giving special privileges to the towns, improving the status of the PEASANTRY, and encouraging a well-structured and disciplined FEUDALISM among the nobility. He also gained control of the resources of BURGUNDY by marrying its heiress, Beatrice of Burgundy (d. 1186). Meanwhile Henry the Lion was behaving similarly in eastern Germany, where he advanced into Slavic lands, founded towns such as LÜBECK, cleared the Baltic Sea of Wendish pirates, and encouraged Flemish and northern German peasants to settle lands beyond the Elbe. These joint efforts resulted in Germany’s “catching up” with the progress being achieved in France and England during this same period. He had made peace with the papacy and was crowned king in 1153 by Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–53) for hanging Arnold of Brescia (d. 1155), who had threatened papal power in the city of Rome itself.

#### CAMPAIGNS IN ITALY

In 1158, Frederick descended into ITALY to assert his authority in LOMBARDY, where he succeeded in imposing

his will on most of the cities and towns of the region. This acceptance of his rights was solidified by the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158, in which he confirmed ancient privileges of those cities that had submitted to his will. He also granted the first university CHARTER, when he acknowledged the existence of the University of BOLOGNA in 1158.

From 1159 to 1168, in successive campaigns in Italy, Frederick's fortunes rose and fell as resistance to his will increased among his Italian "subjects" and problems arose between Frederick and the ambitions and legally trained Pope ALEXANDER III, who actively worked to prevent the emperor from gaining more power. Rejecting earlier agreements, Alexander excommunicated Frederick in 1160. Although this did not initially affect the emperor's operations, it increasingly weakened his position both in Italy and in Germany, where the PAPACY urged the CLERGY to resist him. Since Frederick had chosen and appointed many of the bishops, especially in Germany and BURGUNDY, he retained an advantage for a long time.

Frederick's problems in northern Italy were primarily with the LOMBARD LEAGUE, a collection of northern Italian cities that organized to resist his tax collectors and imperial officials. They had probably acted with excessive force and thus awakened distrust, suspicion, and anger among the Italians. In 1162, he took the city of MILAN and ordered its near total destruction. In 1176, the army he was leading back into Italy from Germany was defeated by forces of the Lombard League at the Battle of LEGNANO. After this military defeat, he secured a partial political victory by obtaining the lifting of his excommunication and making peace with the pope at VENICE.

While Frederick was occupied in Italy, Henry the Lion was usurping power in the north. Instead of having him executed, Frederick managed according to feudal custom to have Henry charged in a court of German nobles and clergy and secured his conviction at two different trials in 1178 and 1179. Henry was exiled. All of Henry's lands were forfeited and the great majority of his noble peers agreed in finding him guilty of a number of charges. Frederick ruled peacefully through the 1180s.

#### CRUSADING AND BEYOND

Frederick's reign spanned the terms of several popes. The last of these, Clement III (r. 1187–91), persuaded him to go on the Third CRUSADE, in company with RICHARD I LIONHEART of England and PHILLIP II AUGUSTUS of France. The German contingent of 20,000 met at Regensburg, on the Danube River in Bavaria, and marched along its course through AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, SERBIA, and BULGARIA, arriving near CONSTANTINOPLE in late 1189.

The BYZANTINE emperor ISAAC II ANGELOS offended Frederick, resulting in Frederick's taking Philippopolis and reducing nearby fortresses. Frederick's army then

began to march against Constantinople, causing Isaac to sue for peace and to promise immediate transportation to Asia Minor. The crusaders crossed the Hellespont at Gallipoli, and Frederick headed toward Seleucia or Seleucia, one of his intermediate objectives. But on the way to PALESTINE on June 10, 1190, he died of a stroke and drowned while bathing in a stream, the Salef, in Cilicia. So great was his prestige among his contemporaries that the Kyffhäuser Legend soon grew up in Germany that he had not actually died but was only sleeping, perhaps held captive by demons, in a cave high in the Bavarian Alps. There, he sat on a throne, with his great red beard filling the cavern and ravens flying in and out. Someday, he would awake and lead Germany or the Reich again to glory.

Although Frederick won success in his later years, his reign produced some longer-term problems. His destruction of the territory of Henry the Lion benefited only the autonomous power of the princes of Germany. His effective loss of northern Italy set the stage for problems for his able grandson, Frederick II.

**Further reading:** Otto, Bishop of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. and ed. Charles C. Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953); Thomas Carson, trans., *Barbarossa in Italy* (New York: Italica Press, 1994); Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969).

**Frederick II (of Swabia, Stupor mundi)** (1194–1250)  
*king of Sicily, Holy Roman Emperor, patron of the arts, culture and learning*

Born in Iese near Ancona in ITALY, on December 26, 1194, Frederick II was the only son of Emperor HENRY VI and CONSTANCE of SICILY. His father died on September 28, 1197, and his mother, who served as regent for him, a year later. As the orphan king of Sicily, he was the ward of Pope INNOCENT III, who ignored his education and training but helped keep his kingdom intact for him. Frederick grew up in PALERMO, surrounded by factions who attempted to use him for their own ends. At the same time he absorbed the Islamic and Greek culture that pervaded the Sicilian court.

At first Frederick was ignored in the empire of his father, where his uncle, Philip of Swabia (1178–1208), and Otto IV (d. 1218), son of HENRY THE LION, were quarreling over the imperial title. By 1211, however, Philip was dead and Otto IV had broken with Innocent III, who had previously supported him. When a group of German nobles asked the young Frederick to go to Germany to assume the imperial Crown, Frederick made his infant son Henry (1211–42), the king of Sicily and went to Frankfurt, where in 1212 he was chosen ruler of Germany. He had pacified the pope, who feared a real union between the kingdom of Sicily and the HOLY ROMAN



Castel del Monte, a massive octagonal castle built by Frederick II in about 1240, probably as a hunting lodge (Courtesy Edward English)

EMPIRE, by promising Innocent III that he would abdicate his Sicilian throne in favor of his son, young Henry, and that he would go on a CRUSADE at the earliest opportunity. On June 27, 1214, Otto IV was defeated at the Battle of BOUVINES by Frederick's ally, King PHILIP II AUGUSTUS of France, and in 1215 Frederick was recognized as emperor-elect by Pope Innocent III, who died soon after. Frederick was crowned at Aachen later that year.

#### EARLY REIGN

Frederick began his reign as emperor in Germany by rallying the support of the magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical, by confirming in 1213 and 1220 the privileges they had presumptuously usurped in 1197 on the death of Emperor HENRY VI. He then made his son Henry king of Germany and his viceroy and returned to ITALY, which henceforth occupied most of his attention, for Germany never interested him other than as a source of funds and manpower for his Italian projects. Immediately when he returned, he persuaded the new Pope, Honorius III (r. 1216–27), to crown him emperor and managed to avoid really giving up Sicily, as he had promised, on the grounds that he needed to pacify it so that it could support his CRUSADE.

The first task Frederick undertook was to establish firm control over the kingdom of Sicily, which had been without an effective central government since 1197. In 1220, in contrast with his actions in Germany, he revoked all privileges granted its towns and nobles since the death of King William II in 1189, put down a Muslim revolt on the island of Sicily itself, and began to organize his realm into a tyrannical but well-administered kingdom. By 1225, prodded by Pope Honorius III, he had married Yolanda or Isabel of Brienne (ca. 1212–28), heiress of the kingdom of JERUSALEM, after his first wife, Constance (d. 1222), an Aragonese princess, died. Frederick made new plans to proceed with his Crusade to the East. He was

still delaying this project when Pope Honorius died in 1227. Honorius was succeeded by the aged pope GREGORY IX (r. 1227–41), who, though more than 80 years old, was an unrelenting enemy of Frederick. The aged pope at once excommunicated him for not going on Crusade and, when Frederick then left for the East in 1228 without having the excommunication lifted, excommunicated him again. The pope then began planning a Crusade against Frederick's Sicilian domains, released Frederick's subjects from any oath to him, and tried to set up a rival king in Germany.

Frederick proved successful in the East, where he opened access to the city of JERUSALEM from the Muslims by negotiation instead of war and crowned himself king of Jerusalem. He returned in 1230 to find Pope Gregory IX attacking his realm in Sicily. After he had defeated the papal forces, he did not pursue the pope into the Papal Estates but made Gregory lift his excommunication.

#### ITALY

In 1231 Frederick promulgated the *Constitutions of Melfi* (*Liber Augustalis*), an important code of laws that gave order to his kingdom in Sicily. By this code the independence of towns and nobles was theoretically curbed, a centralized judicial and administrative system was established, mercenary armies were recruited, ecclesiastical privileges were limited, and commerce and industry were fostered by a uniform system of tolls and port dues and a reliable gold currency. At the same time Frederick increased his revenues by establishing royal monopolies over such activities as salt production and the trade in grain. Sicily soon became one of the most prosperous realms in Europe.

Frederick next attempted to extend his centralized rule to northern Italy, where in 1231 his plan was to subjugate its cities by appointing *podestàs*, or governors or judges, over them. This course alarmed the pope, who saw the PAPACY, as in Henry VI's time, threatened. Gregory's answer was to reopen hostilities against Frederick II by attempting to revive the LOMBARD LEAGUE that had been used against Frederick's grandfather, FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. When these same cities again rose against him in support of the German revolt by his son, King Henry, Frederick suppressed the revolt and in 1237 won a great victory over the Milanese at Cortenuova. As a result of this victory, this Lombard League temporarily collapsed and most of its cities submitted to him, as did the majority of the nobles of northern Italy.

#### GERMANY

While Frederick was establishing his authority firmly in Sicily and northern Italy, however, he followed quite a different policy in Germany. In 1231 he issued the *Constitution in Favor of the Princes*, which made the magnates practically independent and even placed the imperial cities under their rule. When his son Henry objected to

this and revolted in 1234, Frederick suppressed his rising; threw him into prison, where he died in 1242; and replaced him as king in 1238 with his second son, Conrad IV (r. 1250–54). From this time on he made little attempt to exercise any real authority in Germany. His only significant subsequent action dealing with Germany was his grant of a charter to the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, for their attack on and occupation of East PRUSSIA, which they took from the kings of POLAND.

#### CONFLICTS WITH THE PAPACY

In Italy, however, Pope Gregory IX still refused to accept Frederick's domination of the north and excommunicated him. When his papal opponent died in 1241, Frederick reacted with military force to prevent a new pope from being elected for two years and finally by procuring the election of a apparently Ghibelline or proimperial pope, INNOCENT IV (r. 1243–54). Innocent IV, however, soon broke with Frederick and fled from Italy to LYON, where in 1245 he held a great church council that condemned Frederick as the ANTICHRIST. The efforts of that pope to enlist French and English support against the HOHENSTAUFEN ruler, however, failed, and a war dragged on in Italy.

Frederick, relying on his able illegitimate sons and lieutenants, fought against the continuing resistance of the cities of Lombardy and the PAPAL STATES. His army was badly defeated near Parma in 1248. By 1250, just as he was beginning to try again, he died suddenly on December 13 at Castle Fiorentino in Apulia. He left a number of illegitimate sons in Italy as his heirs, such as MANFRED, Enzo (ca. 1220–72), and Philip of ANTIOCH, and one legitimate successor, the young Conradin (1252–68) across the Alps in Germany.

#### LEGACY

Frederick's character has long fascinated historians and biographers. He was married three times, first happily to Constance of Aragon, next to Yolanda of Jerusalem, and finally to Isabel of England. His real later love was Bianca d'Agliano, of a branch of the Piedmontese marquesses of Lancia, with whom he carried on a lengthy relationship and who bore him several children. He had two legitimate sons and numerous illegitimate ones. He was reputed, probably with some justification, to have kept a harem in Palermo. This lifestyle seemed to his contemporaries more Islamic than Christian. He maintained a force of Muslim mercenaries and amazed his contemporaries by traveling with a private zoo. Although he remained formally a Christian, he was more tolerant and skeptical than his age was ready to accept. In the cosmopolitan atmosphere of his Sicilian court, Arabic, Jewish, and BYZANTINE cultures were highly prized.

Frederick was an important patron of the arts throughout his entire reign. A poet himself, he prized southern French poetry highly, and he welcomed TROUBADOUR poets when, after the ALBIGENSIAN Crusade,

they fled to his court. Through the influence of these poets, a new poetry was composed in the Sicilian vernacular tongue. He was also interested in art and architecture, and during his reign a classical artistic revival took place, anticipating that of later RENAISSANCE Italy.

Frederick spoke a number of languages, and in 1234 he founded the University of NAPLES, the first state-sponsored university in western Europe. He was much attracted to rationalist and scientific ideas and was said to have conducted a series of experiments to determine how digestion took place, using the stomach contents of executed criminals as his evidence. He also tried isolating children at birth to discover what language they would speak if untaught. Some of his enemies made these experiments appear cruel to discredit Frederick. An enthusiastic falconer also, he wrote the book *On the Art of Hunting with Birds*, which was the most detailed scientific examination of ornithology written until the 19th century.

See also CRUSADES; HUNTING AND FOWLING; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Salimbene da Parma, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986); David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Penguin, 1988); Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second, 1194–1250*, authorized English version by E. O. Lorimer (London: Constable, 1931); James E. Powell, trans., *The "Liber Augustalis" or Constitutions of Melfi by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971); William Tronzo, ed., *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*, Studies in the History of Art, 44 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1994); Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: Immutator Mundi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

**Free Spirit, heresy of** This was a 14th-century heresy linked with anarchistic deviants, sexual license, and the subversion of clerical authority. In 1312, the Council of Vienne denounced in its decree number 28 a seemingly new heresy. Its followers were portrayed as putting themselves on a high level of perfection and certainly outside clerical control or mediation with GOD. They were sometimes called BEGHARDS and Beguines. In their alleged concept of freedom of spirit, they claimed not to be "subject to human obedience nor obliged to any commandments of the church since, they said, 'where the spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom' (2 Cor 3.17)." They were also accused of lack of reverence to the host, disrespect for the value of fasting and the sacraments, spiritual elitism, and the idea of an attainment of a personal perfection or divinization that put them above worldly moral obligation, among other things. By the time of the promulgation of these conciliar decrees by Pope JOHN XXII in 1317, a violent persecution had already been undertaken against those

accused of these ideas. Those accused, condemned, and executed likely were a number of people, clerical and lay, who may or may not have actually held these beliefs. In 1310, Parisian theologians had burned the Beguine Margaret PORETTE, author of the *Mirror of Simple Souls*. Throughout the 14th century, inquisitors pursued a merciless struggle against these “brothers and sisters of the Free Spirit.” The friars claimed to have found a well-organized sect, primarily made up of women, who expressed their ideas and mystical feelings in the vernacular with dangerous ramifications for the basic beliefs of Christendom and the intermediary role of the clergy.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; INQUISITION.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1, *Nicaea to Lateran V* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 1.333–401, especially 383–384; Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–1450*, 2 vols. (Manchester: University Press, 1967); Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Middle Ages* (1972; reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991); Raoul Vaneigem, *The Movement of the Free Spirit*, trans. Randall Cherry and Ian Patterson (1986; reprint, New York: Zone Books, 1994).

**fresco painting (secco)** The *fresco* was one of the techniques of mural painting on the walls in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The etymology was derived from the Italian expression *pittura a fresco*. In that technique pigments of color in paint of mineral origin and diluted in water were applied to a still wet or *fresco buono* plaster that was composed of a mixture of sand and lime. This produced a chemical reaction with the carbon dioxide in air that led during drying to the formation of a fairly durable skin or surface of calcium carbonate into which the pigments became fixed. This technique was especially developed and used in central Italy from the 13th century. The moist climates of northern Italy and Europe made it a more problematic medium in terms of durability.

See also ANGELICO, FRA; CIMABUE, GIOVANNI; ARENA CHAPEL; DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA; GIOTTO DI BONDINE; GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE; LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO AND PIETRO; MASSACCIO, TOMASSO CASSAI; MARTINI, SIMONE; PAINTING; PIERO DELLA FRANCESCO.

**Further reading:** Gianluigi Colalucci, “Fresco,” *The Dictionary of Art*, 11.761–764; E.H. Gombrich, *Means and Ends: Reflections on the History of Fresco Painting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Millard Meiss, *The Great Age of Fresco: Discoveries, Recoveries, and Survivals* (New York: G. Braziller in Association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970).

**friars** See CARMELITES; DOMINICAN ORDER; FRANCISCAN ORDER; MENDICANT ORDERS.

**Friday prayer (salat al-jumlah)** Friday prayer has always been a communal and important form of worship and community activity from the very beginnings of ISLAM. It was to be performed each Friday (Yam al-Juma) afternoon shortly after the Sun begins to set. Performed in a MOSQUE supposedly large enough to allow for the whole community to assemble, the Friday prayer has traditionally begun with a religious address or sermon followed by a congregational prayer. Islamic legal scholars regarded attendance at the Friday prayer as a binding religious obligation for all free male Muslims who had attained maturity and were of sound mind and body. They generally did not require the attendance of women, children, slaves, travelers, or the sick, although these might attend voluntarily. This prayer service was also intended to manifest the size and strength of the Muslim community.

During the time of the Friday prayer Islamic law prohibited buying and selling and the making of contracts, such as those for a marriage. Legal scholars have disagreed on whether such transactions and contracts, having been made at those times, remained valid or were rendered void. Friday, though the most excellent and festive day of the week, was never considered a SABBATH or day of rest for Muslims in the manner of the Jewish and Christian practice. One could conduct business after prayer on Fridays and it was thought it might be blessed by God and perhaps one might prosper more in one's business after devoutly attending Friday prayer.

**Further reading:** Syed Abdul Latif, *The Concept of Society in Islam and Prayers in Islam* (Lahore: Hijra International Publishers, 1983).

**Frisia** According to Roman authors of the first century C.E., the Frisians lived along the shores of the North Sea beyond the Rhine frontier, or the coastal area of the present Dutch province of Friesland. An unusual special feature of their settlements was that their dwellings were built on artificial hills to protect them from the sea. They lived through the exploitation of the resources of the surrounding salt marshes. From their coastal settlements they spread, between the fifth and the eighth century, along the coasts from Zealand northeast to western Schleswig-Holstein below DENMARK. They began to function as trading intermediaries among ENGLAND, the Rhineland, and Scandinavia. The FRANKS subjugated them between the seventh and early eighth centuries. Anglo-Saxon missionaries, in particular Willibrord (658–739), the first bishop of the Frisians from 695, and BONIFACE, martyred in Frisia in 754, eventually converted them to Christianity.

The late eighth and early ninth centuries was the high point of Frisian commerce. From Dorestad, at the head of the Rhine delta, Frisian merchants went upriver as far as Alsace and attended markets at LONDON, York, and SAINT-DENIS, near PARIS. They opened up navigation

and trade between western Europe and the Baltic Sea. They carried there not just the products of their region but the first Christian missionaries to Scandinavia. The lure of their rich cargoes probably motivated the explosion of VIKING piracy in the late ninth century. The Frisians were their first victims.

Because of destructive piracy, the pillaging and partial occupation of Frisia by the Danish Vikings, and the neglect of dikes and barriers to the sea, Frisia by the end of the ninth century had lost its central place in the communication and trading system of northern Europe. Integrated in 843 into Lower Lotharingia, then in 870 into the kingdom of Germany, Frisia was split among several small principalities, including those of the bishopric of Utrecht and the county of HOLLAND. The initiatives and oppressive demands of local lords turned the population away from trade and forced them, from the late 10th century, to work in the draining of coastal swamps. The success of these clearings enabled the communities and inhabitants of Frisia to demand freedom from the old seigniorial powers and attain local autonomy that lasted into the 16th century.

**Further reading:** J. C. Besteman, et al., *The Excavations at Wijncaldum: Reports on Frisia in Roman and Medieval Times* (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1999); A. Russchen, *New Light on Dark-Age Frisia* (Drachten: Lavrenman, 1967).

**Froissart, Jean (Jehan)** (ca. 1337–ca. 1404) *French priest, poet, itinerant writer*

Jean Froissart was born to a humble family in Valenciennes about 1337. Well educated for service in the church, he was later received into the priesthood. He was little suited to the austerity of religious life, even though he was canon of the collegial church of Chimay and chaplain to the count of Blois. After his arrival in ENGLAND in 1361, he entered the service of Queen Philippa (ca. 1314–69), wife of EDWARD III. His early poems and his heroic stories pleased the English court, but after her death in 1369 he returned to Valenciennes. Four years later Froissart was received by Wenceslas IV of Luxembourg (r. 1378–1419), then the duke of BRABANT, who was his patron until 1384. From 1389 he was generally at Valenciennes or Chimay until he again left in 1394 for England, where he was well received by King RICHARD II. Froissart was still alive in 1404, but the date of his death is unknown. He may have died in Chimay in Modern Belgium.

His three large volumes of poetry ranged from pastoral poems, to narrative and didactic poems and to courtly poetry. Froissart's *Chronicles* began in 1327 and ended in 1400. Unlike Geoffroi de VILLEHARDOUIN and Jean de JOINVILLE, Froissart was never involved personally in public affairs or military action; he traveled and talked to many of the participants in the great affairs of his time. He had an ability to induce people to tell him

what they knew and became acquainted with many people. He was at his best in describing the coronation of John II (r. 1350–64) and the visit of Philip VI (r. 1328–50) of FRANCE to Pope Benedict XII (r. 1334–42) at AVIGNON. He remained an important source for the everyday life and manners of the 14th-century nobility.

*See also* CHIVALRY; HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

**Further reading:** Jean Froissart, *Froissart's Chronicles*, trans. and ed. John Jolliffe (New York: Modern Library, 1967); Jean Froissart, *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative and Lyric Poetry*, ed. and trans. Kristen M. Figg with R. Barton Palmer (New York: Routledge, 2001); Kristen M. Figg, *The Short Lyric Poems of Jean Froissart: Fixed Forms and the Expression of the Courtly Idea* (New York: Garland, 1994); Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox, eds., *Froissart across the Genres* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); J. J. N. Palmer, ed., *Froissart Historian* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1981).

**fruits and nuts** *See* FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Fulbert, Saint, bishop of Chartres** (ca. 950–1028) *builder, teacher, principal of the School of Chartres, statesman, theologian*

Born about 960 in Rome, Fulbert studied at RHEIMS under GERBERT of Aurillac, the future Pope SYLVESTER II, then at what became the famous school of CHARTRES, where, after also working for a time as a physician, he became bishop in 1006. A well-known scholar and diplomat, he played important roles in contemporary politics and theological debates; taught numerous students, including BERENGAR of Tours; and wrote a letter describing the ideology of FEUDALISM, emphasizing its mutuality. Almost immediately from his death in 1028 he was honored as a saint by many. An image of him has survived, dated 1028, in an illumination in a manuscript at Chartres showing him preaching in front of the earlier cathedral he had built. He died on April 10, 1028, in Chartres. He was never formally canonized as an officially recognized saint.

**Further reading:** Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. Frederick Behrends (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Loren Carey MacKinney, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame, Ind.; Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1957).

**Fulcher of Chartres** (ca. 1059–ca. 1127) *clerical chronicler of the First Crusade*

Born in the county around CHARTRES, he studied at the cathedral school there, where he became a cleric. In 1095 he attended the Council of CLERMONT and served in the

First CRUSADE as a chaplain to BALDWIN I of Boulogne. He accompanied Baldwin to EDESSA and later in 1100 to JERUSALEM, when Baldwin was crowned king of Jerusalem. Along with a position in the royal court, Fulcher became a canon of the HOLY SEPULCHER. He retired there after Baldwin's death and wrote a chronicle of the First Crusade and the first decades of the LATIN kingdom of Jerusalem. It was one of the kingdoms most important and reliable sources. His work on the first 25 years of the kingdom of Jerusalem has remained vivid and valuable, at moments an eyewitness account of events. He died in Jerusalem about 1127 or 1128, about when his *Chronicle* ended.

**Further reading:** Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969); Dana C. Munro, "A Crusader," *Speculum* 7 (1932): 321–335.

**Fulda, Abbey of** The Abbey of Fulda was a BENEDICTINE abbey in Hesse, on the Fulda River, a tributary of the Weser River. It was founded on March 12, 744, by a disciple of Saint BONIFACE, to support the mission of SAXONY. From 751, it obtained from the mayor of the palace, Carloman (d. 751), and from Pope Zacharias (r. 741–52) the donation of the lands surrounding the abbey and exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, to which CHARLEMAGNE was to add further immunities and privileges in 774.

Fulda's rise was greatly fostered by the presence of the RELICS of Saint Boniface, who had been killed in FRISIA in 754. To promote the cult, on his return from exile at Jumièges, in 765 the abbot Sturmins enlarged the first church around the saint's burial place. In 791 he began the construction of a new, more ambitious and innovative abbey building. He entrusted the design to a monk and architect named Ratgar, who took the Roman basilica of Old Saint Peter's as a model. The church was oriented to the west with a semicircular apse at the west end opening onto a transept about 240 feet long. This new and impressive basilica was consecrated on November 1, 819, by the bishop of Mainz. A new CLOISTER and a rotunda in imitation of the HOLY SEPULCHER were added. Fulda then housed 600 monks. Its property grew through numerous donations, despite heavy building costs. This property was scattered from FRISIA to northern Italy. Fulda's expansion reached its greatest extent in the late 11th century, when its territory became large enough even to be considered an ecclesiastical principality in 1220.

From the 13th century the abbey began a long decline, looted by its powerful neighbors, such as the landgrave of Hesse. The spiritual and intellectual influence of the abbey declined after the abbacy of HRABANUS Maurus between 822 and 842. He had been ALCUIN's pupil, and his own brilliant mind and teaching had attracted monks and scholars from all over the Carolingian Empire such as LUPUS SERVATUS OF FERRIÈRES, EINHARD, and WALAFRID

STRABO. All these elements had made Fulda one of the great intellectual centers in the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE and GERMANY. The abbey school also collected a remarkable library and sponsored a renowned SCRIPTORIUM.

**Further reading:** *The Annals of Fulda*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Art," in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 203–256; Sylvic Allemand, "Fulda," *EMA* 1.580.

**Fulk V (Fulk the Younger)** (1092/95–1143) *count of Anjou, king of Jerusalem*

Born about 1095, he was the son of Fulk IV (r. 1068–1109) and Bertrade of Montfort. He was taken by his mother to the royal court, where she became a notorious mistress of King Philip I (r. 1060–1108). Sent to ANJOU by the duke of AQUITAINE in 1101, Fulk was imprisoned for a few years before being released in 1108/09, when his father, Fulk IV (r. 1060–1109), entrusted him with the government of Anjou. Fulk improved the administration and defense of his county by building fortresses and castles to impose peace and rule over it. This soon led to the creation of his powerful state in western FRANCE, among the best organized principalities in western Europe. A main objective was to maintain peaceful relations with NORMANDY, since he feared its duke, King HENRY I of England. Uncharacteristically he supported the claims of William Clito (1101–28), Henry's rebellious nephew, but after 1125 Fulk reversed his policy.

#### DYNASTY AND JERUSALEM

The king of England became concerned with the succession to the English throne after the loss of his son in 1120. He decided to remarry his childless daughter, Matilda (1102–67), the widow of Emperor Henry V (r. 1105–25). Fulk and Henry agreed to the marriage of Matilda to his son, Geoffrey PLANTAGENET (1113–51). The agreement said that the couple would immediately receive the county of Anjou and be declared heirs of both England and Normandy. This established the basis of an Angevin, or Plantagenet Empire. This was only realized by his grandson, King HENRY II. After the death of his first wife, Fulk went to the HOLY LAND on a pilgrimage, after abdicating his crown in Anjou in 1128 to his son. He then decided to spend the rest of his life near or in JERUSALEM.

#### JERUSALEM

Fulk arrived in Jerusalem in 1129. Succession to the Crown was in dispute. Baldwin II had no sons, and his heiress was his daughter, Melisande (1110–61). He gave her in marriage to newly arrived Fulk to prevent conflict with the local barons. The marriage was made despite their great difference in age. In 1131 Fulk was crowned king of Jerusalem and began his reign by crushing a

revolt by nobles in 1132. He effectively imposed his authority over Jerusalem and the northern principalities, protecting them against the reviving power of the Muslim princes of MOSUL and ALEPPO.

Fulk's reign was the high point of the kingdom. He kept peace with the Muslims of DAMASCUS, and consolidated and organized his realm extremely well. Experienced in the building of fortresses, Fulk created a durable system of defense by constructing strategic fortresses around PALESTINE. Fulk reformed the administration of justice. He died in ACRE in 1143.

**Further reading:** Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

**funerals** See DEATH AND THE DEAD.

**furniture** In the Middle Ages, as now, furniture constituted movable objects that were used for everyday life in homes or for the performance of the liturgy in churches. Few medieval pieces have survived, and most are church or sacristy furniture or unusually good-quality items not indicative of the usual domestic pieces. However, the appearance and manner of use of more common furniture can be reconstructed from images preserved in art, archival documents, registers of accounts, and inventories of property from at least the 13th century.

These included storage units, sideboards, and wooden chests secured with metal locks and bolts for the preservation of linen, clothing, eating and cooking utensils, merchandise for sale, and food. Smaller and more elaborate caskets were used for precious jewels, silver, and property deeds or documents. There were also in common use stools; backless, fixed or folding chairs; armchairs; cushions; and wall hangings. There were various forms of tables, some elaborate and permanently set up and some for more temporary use. Almost everyone had some kind of a bed with a mattress of varying quality and draped with a curtain for warmth. There were cradles for children.

**Further reading:** Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (London: The Furniture History Society, 1977); Júlia Kovalovszki, *Gothic and Renaissance Furniture*, trans. Lili Halápy (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1980); Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited, 1991); Charles Tracy, *English Medieval Furniture and Woodwork* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1988).

**furs and fur trade** Medieval furs were animal skins complete with their hair or fur and were used as clothing and later as lining for clothing. Most people used local skins, but there was always a luxury trade in more exotic and prestigious skins. More precious and varied were the wild animal skins provided by hunting or obtained from certain regions. These included the skins of leopards, bears, foxes, deer, civet cats, lynxes, martens, rabbits, particular domesticated animals, and even mice. The great forests of Scandinavia, POLAND, and RUSSIA provided precious skins from sables, arctic foxes, martens, beavers, ermines, weasels, and squirrels. Companies of merchants specialized in their transport and sale to tailors and skinners, who fashioned them into clothing suited to daily use and up to the level of luxury. Such artisans formed guilds in cities throughout Europe. In the later Middle Ages furs became even more valued as part of luxurious sets of prestigious clothing or heraldic livery for nobles or even their retainers and servants.

**Further reading:** E. M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966); Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

**al-Fustat** Al-Fustat was a city in EGYPT on the Nile River that became part of the city of medieval and modern CAIRO. The town had its origins in a military camp established on the east bank in 643 by Amr ibn al-Aas, the ARAB general who conquered Egypt. With a MOSQUE in the center, the camp was organized according to the tribal division of the Arab army as it existed in early ISLAM. It served initially as government center and gradually developed into a city. By the eighth century the tribal basis of al-Fustat had disappeared with Islamized Egyptians, COPTS, and numerous JEWS moving into the town. Under the TULUNID dynasty, the city grew rapidly. New aristocratic quarters were built, as the town had become an important marketplace from the time of the ABBASIDS. The merchandise from the East was taken to Egypt via the RED SEA and shipped westward via ALEXANDRIA. As the new city of Cairo developed, al-Fustat became its suburb.

**Further reading:** J. Jomier, "Al-Fustāt," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2.957–959; Wladyslaw Kubiak, *Al Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1987); André Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. Willard Wood (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

# G

**Gaiseric (Geiseric, Genseric)** (d. 477) *king of the Germanic tribe of the Vandals*

The VANDALS were one of several Arian tribes forced to enter the Roman Empire by the HUNS. After Gaiseric, the son of King Godegiselus and a slave woman, succeeded his half brother, Gunderic, in 428 or 429, the Vandals moved on and settled in southern SPAIN. The struggle for power among rivals in the Roman government soon provided new opportunities for the tribe. The rebellious Roman governor of North AFRICA was under attack by forces of Emperor Valentinian III (r. 425–455). When the governor's defeat was imminent, he was accused of inviting the Vandals to Africa in 429 to counter the Romans.

Gaiseric was one of the most successful of the barbarian leaders, skillful in war and diplomacy. As soon as he entered Africa, he sacked and burned large sections of Roman territory. His hostility toward the Roman Empire was heightened by his adherence to the HERESY of ARIANISM, and he tried to eradicate orthodox Catholic influence in North Africa through his long reign.

## CONQUEST OF NORTH AFRICA

Gaiseric in 431 took Hippo, the city where AUGUSTINE was bishop and was dying. In 435 the Romans made a treaty with Gaiseric, granting him and the Vandals control over much of North Africa. This peace did not last, however, and in 439 he captured Carthage, the last principal city of Roman Africa. In 442, he was recognized as king by Valentinian III.

Through his military success in North Africa, Gaiseric had gained control of the major granary of ROME. Furthermore, a Vandal fleet now took to the sea and plundered the commerce of the Mediterranean as far east

as GREECE. The Vandals would later arrive by sea to capture and sack Rome in June 455. As the enmity between the GOTHS and Vandals increased, Gaiseric urged ATTILA to attack the Goths. His son, Hunneric (r. 477–84), married Eudokia, daughter of the emperor Valentinian III, who had been captured in Rome in 455.

Meanwhile the rulers of the eastern part of the empire were determined to recover North Africa. In 460 Emperor Majorian (r. 457–461) failed to defeat Gaiseric and was forced into a new treaty in 462. In 468 another massive expedition was launched but suffered a disastrous defeat. Gaiseric concluded peace with the East Romans in 468 and with the West Romans in 471. With these treaties he secured a more permanent acceptance of the Vandalic kingdom. After his death on January 25, 477, the kingdom continued under his descendants until it was conquered by BELISARIUS in 533–534.

**Further reading:** Isidore of Seville, *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi*, trans. Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford, Jr., 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970); Poultney Bigelow, *Genseric, King of the Vandals and First Prussian Kaiser* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918); Frank M. Clover, *The Late Roman West and the Vandals* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1993); Malcolm Todd, *Everyday Life of the Barbarians: Goths, Franks and Vandals* (London: Batsford, 1972).

**Galahad** Galahad was the GRAIL KNIGHT par excellence of Arthurian literature, the shining example of knight-hood in the service of GOD as in the *Quest for the Holy Grail*, written between 1215 and 1235. The Grail was introduced into the Arthurian cycle by CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, who had made his hero PERCEVAL, the first of

Arthur's knights to see the Grail. In the *Quest* the author made Galahad the hero. Galahad was the perfect knight, who outdid Perceval in chastity, piety, and achievement.

Galahad was the offspring of LANCELOT's extramarital relations with the daughter of the Grail king Pelles. On his mother's side he was descended from JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA and the biblical King David. Even at his conception a great future was predicted for him. Galahad was to be the chosen one who would take up the quest for the Grail, which was in a ship built by King Solomon on a special bed made from the wood of the Tree of Life that had grown in Eden. Religious ideas, especially those of the CISTERCIANS, influenced the text. He was probably a model of behavior for a noble, knightly audience. As the bearer of such an ideal, the character of Galahad in the *Quest* was seemingly infallible. He was the virgin Christian knight, the perfect one who effortlessly succeeded through his predestined adventures. Full of self-confidence, he relied on God to direct him to the Grail castle and to Sarras. He was without doubt or fear, and was therefore perhaps less interesting as a human or literary character.

See also MALORY, THOMAS.

**Further reading:** *The Quest for the Holy Grail*, trans. P. M. Matarasso (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969); Arthur Edward Waite, *The Holy Grail: The Galahad Quest in the Arthurian Literature* (New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1961).

**Galicia in the Iberian Peninsula** Late antique and medieval Galicia was a province in northwestern Spain that from 411 to 585 was an independent kingdom ruled by the Suevi, a tribe converted to Christianity by Martin of Braga (ca. 520–ca. 580) in the sixth century. As a Visigothic province from 585, it was ruled from Braga and Lugo. It was temporarily occupied by Muslims in the early eighth century but entered the Christian kingdom of Oviedo in the 750s. The tomb of the apostle James was discovered at COMPOSTELA between 820 and 830. He was quickly proclaimed the patron of the monarchy of Oviedo-León. This created prosperity in the region through the lucrative pilgrim trade.

Rural Galicia in the ninth to the 11th centuries was divided into smaller districts made up of villas or villages belonging to lords or to the peasants themselves. Bishops and counts could not prevent devastations by VIKINGS and al-MANSUR in the late 10th century. By 1065–70, Galicia was an independent kingdom, but it was soon permanently incorporated into the Crown of CASTILE-León. In 1139, the territory south of the Mino River was entrusted by King Alfonso VI (r. 1065–1109) to his son-in-law, Henry of Burgundy (d. 1112). It eventually became the core of a new state when Henry's son, Alfonso I (r. 1128–85), was later proclaimed king of the new kingdom of PORTUGAL in 1139.

An increasingly prosperous agriculture and the lucrative pilgrimage trade to visit Saint James led in the 12th century to the development of a network of towns and fishing ports. They eventually gained urban liberties in the later 12th century after rebellions against their ecclesiastical and lay lords. However, during the 14th century with the decline of the pilgrimage trade, disorderly nobility, who had even turned to kidnapping and demanding ransoms for pilgrims, and plagues led to economic and demographic decline. Insecurity continued to intensify and in 1467–69 there was a general uprising against the lords who had been terrorizing the local population despite the integration into the kingdom of Castile, unable as yet to provide security until after the ascent of ISABEL I.

See also SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

**Further reading:** Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan Press, 1983); Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); Marilyn Jane Stokstad, *Santiago de Compostela in the Age of the Great Pilgrimages* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).

**Galicia in Ukraine and Poland (Halychyna, Red Ruthenia)** Galicia was the historically fertile province in southwestern Ukraine consisting of regions of Lviv, Ternopil, and Ivano-Frankivsk. From 981 the future Galicia was part of Kievan RUŚ under VLADIMIR I the Great. In the late 11th and early 12th centuries, it consisted of the principalities of Zvenyhorod, Terebovlia, and Peremyshl and was ruled by the grandsons of Prince YAROSLAV THE WISE of KIEV. In 1141, under the reign of Yaroslav Osmomysl (r. 1153–87), the principality enjoyed a period of economic and cultural expansion.

Galicia's most celebrated and successful rulers were Daniel of Halych (r. 1238–64) and Yuri I (r. 1301–8). After the assassination of the last prince, HUNGARY, LITHUANIA, and POLAND tried to divide Galicia among themselves. It was finally incorporated into the Jagiellian kingdom of Poland in 1387 under CASIMIR III the Great; it remained under Polish rule until 1772. Lviv was the political and economic capital of the Polish province of Galicia. Polish LAW replaced Ruthenian law in the administration of the province. The mostly German towns were governed according to German law. The rural population of Galicia remained mostly Ukrainian, while in the towns, with Ukrainians, were large numbers of Poles, Germans, and JEWS.

**Further reading:** Iaroslav Isaievych, "Galicia (Ukraine)," *EMA*, 1.585–586; Paul R. Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute by University of Toronto Press, 1983).

**Galla Placidia** (ca. 390/392–450) *daughter of Theodosius I, sister of Emperor Honorius, mother of Emperor Valentinian III*

Galla Placidia was born about 390/392. She received a classical education. The VISIGOTHS took her as a hostage to Gaul after they sacked ROME in 410. There, in 414, she married Athaulf (r. 410–415), the successor to ALARIC, and bore him a son, christened Theodosios, who died shortly after birth. When Athaulf was murdered soon thereafter, Galla Placidia returned to the emperor Honorius, who married her off in 417 to a patrician, Constantius (d. 421), against her wishes. She was crowned *augusta* or empress, and the son born to them was the future emperor Valentinian III (r. 425–455). After Constantius's death in 421, she quarreled with Honorius, who accused her of treason. She and her son fled to the court of Theodosios II (r. 408–450) in CONSTANTINOPLE. When Honorius died in 423 she returned to the west and was regent for young Valentinian III. An ardent proponent of Orthodoxy, she ruled effectively for the first 12 years of

his reign. She died as a devout Christian in Rome on November 27, 450, and was probably buried later in a chapel or mausoleum in RAVENNA, the town she had already blessed with several churches.

*See also* LEO I THE GREAT, POPE.

**Further reading:** Stewart Irvin Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

**Gama, Vasco da** *See* VASCO DA GAMA.

**games, toys, pastimes, and gambling** A wide range of games were played during the Middle Ages, including activities such as theater and dance, in categories that ranged from childhood diversions to adult gambling with dice. The games and pastimes of the Middle Ages were not well documented. Some were inherited from the classical world. Also inherited from antiquity were numerous games of chance and gambling. Playing dice was likely



A representation of a couple playing chess from 15th-century stained glass and now in the Musée National Thermes & Hôtel de Cluny du Moyen Âge in Paris (Courtesy Edward English)

the most common and popular adult medieval game. Other games were imported during the Middle Ages. Chess was introduced from Asia to Europe around the year 1000. Card games developed in the later 14th century, as well as team games linked to feast days such as "Shrove Tuesday football," which was a cross between rugby and soccer and was popular in Italy. The rules of these games can sometimes be surmised from the scant surviving evidence.

Most adult games were played for stakes, from a few coins to enormous sums. The nobility played them as an element of prestige and distinction. Displays of wealth played primary roles in their popularity and practice. In courtly literature playing chess was often an attribute of a noble life.

Games could become social problems that drained the wealth and ruined the reputation of unsuccessful players. Faced with this social problem, the authorities did not respond clearly or consistently in their regulation. Anxious to maintain order, civil powers tried to prohibit certain ludic activities. Eventually they gave up and chose to profit from them by regulating their conduct and taxing games. The church confined its prohibitions to clerics alone, tempering its prohibitions, and authorized athletic games, tolerated intellectual ones, and forbade games of chance or fortune.

**Further reading:** John Marshall Carter, *Sports and Pastimes of the Middle Ages* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1988); John Marshall Carter, *Medieval Games: Sports and Recreations in Feudal Society* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992); Sally Wilkins, *Sports and Games of Medieval Cultures* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002).

**gardens (Rauda)** Real and imaginary gardens played essential roles in medieval literature, religious thought, and iconography. There were two aspects of the visions of gardens in the Middle Ages: an earthly Paradise and enclosed garden described in the Song of Songs, often used to symbolize the chastity of the Virgin MARY. The earthly Paradise and *hortus conclusus* (the enclosed garden) were often confused in medieval iconography, both shown as fortified gardens. The gardens of the Islamic world shared the late classical Roman ideal of a place graced with water to provide a space for meditation and serenity. They were presented as such in the HEAVEN OR PARADISE of the QURAN. The gardens of Islamic Spain became influential in evolving ideas of gardens in the rest of Europe.

Gardens were commonly portrayed in literature, especially in courtly prose and poetry. The most famous, scandalous, and controversial of all literary gardens was that in the *ROMANCE of the Rose*. It involved the sexual symbolism of an enclosed garden or space linked with profane love.

#### MONASTIC, ARISTOCRATIC, AND MARKET GARDENS

Gardens were important in the lives of monastic establishments as spiritual areas of retreat and contemplation. The plans of the abbeys usually provided for three types of gardens, a kitchen vegetable garden, a medicinal herb garden, and a fruit orchard also doubling as the abbey's cemetery. These medieval monastic and aristocratic gardens, just like those described in literature or portrayed in art, often had a geometrical pattern of flower beds and mixtures of vegetables, aromatic plants, and flowers. They might include fortified enclosures, elaborate fountains, trees, trick hydraulic devices to spray the unwary, and places intended for pleasure and relaxation. Market gardens cultivated by citizens abounded outside towns in the later Middle Ages and played important roles in supplying food and industrial plants, producing flax, hemp, dye plants, or SAFFRON.

*See also* ALHAMBRA; GRANADA; AL-MADINA AL ZAHIRA.

**Further reading:** David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); John Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (Beaverton, Ore.: Timber, 1981); Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, eds., *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1976); Attilio Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997); D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Norah M. Titley and Frances Wood, *Oriental Gardens: An Illustrated History* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992).

**Gascony (Wasconia)** *See* AQUITAINE.

**Gawain and the Gawain romances** According to Arthurian literature and myth, Gawain was the eldest son of King Lot of Orkney, King ARTHUR's nephew. With Lancelot he was one of the most important knights of the ROUND TABLE. He also appeared in medieval literature with several names: Yvain, Gauvain, Gawein, Gawan, Walwanus, Walewein, and Gwalchmai.

The poets initially saw Gawain as a hero without parallel for courtesy and valor. In Old French Arthurian literature, the character of Gawain was progressively devalued and made more human. He was surpassed by LANCELOT. However, nowhere in the romance tradition was any doubt cast on Gawain's virtuous qualities.

*See also* CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; MALORY, THOMAS; PERCEVAL; WOLFFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

**Further reading:** J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, eds., revised by Norman Davis, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Ross Gilbert Arthur, *Medieval Sign Theory and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,

1987); Robert J. Blanch, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: A Reference Guide* (Troy, N.Y.: Whitston, 1983); J. A. Burrow, *A Reading of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966); Meg Stainsby, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: An Annotated Bibliography, 1978–1989* (New York: Garland, 1992).

**Gaza, Theodore (Gazes)** (ca. 1408–ca. 1475) *translator, Greek humanist*

Gaza's family was from THESSALONIKI, but he was educated in CONSTANTINOPLE. He arrived in ITALY in 1440, immediately after the Greek and Orthodox Church had agreed to a union with the Western Church at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. Employed for a short time as a Greek scribe for Francesco FILELFO in Milan, he then became a teacher at VITTORINO da Feltre's school in Mantua. By 1446 he was teaching Greek and studying medicine at the University of Ferrara. In late 1449 he accepted an appointment in Rome obtained through the patronage of the Greek cardinal BESSARION. There he worked for Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55), translating classical Greek literature into Latin. Gaza was a translator of scientific texts in the ARISTOTELIAN tradition and of zoological writings. Nicholas V's death in 1455 ended that arrangement, and he had to move to the court of King ALFONSO THE MAGNANIMOUS in Naples, where he worked on Aelian's military manual and the sermons of John CHRYSOSTOM. After King Alfonso's death in 1458, Gaza returned to Rome around 1463. There he regained the support of Cardinal Bessarion and finished a Greek grammar. He was disappointed that he did not gain the patronage of the new pope, Sixtus IV (1471–84), and left Rome in 1474; he spent the last year of his life living on his ecclesiastical benefice in Salerno and died in 1475.

Something of a cultural hero to younger Italian humanists for his fluid style, he had a strict classical vocabulary, using paraphrase and glosses while explaining his textual inventions. Although he had rendered these most difficult texts with elegance and clarity, his fellow Greek émigré and competitor, GEORGE of Trebizond, employed harsh invective to assert that he had distorted Aristotle's thought, and undermined the foundational texts of the medieval and Scholastic Aristotelian tradition.

**Further reading:** John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés: Selected Essays* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995).

**Genghis Khan** See JENGHIZ KHAN.

**Genoa** Genoa was and is an important commercial and trading city on the northwestern coast in Liguria in ITALY. Backed by the arid slopes of the Apennines, Genoa made its fortune by the sea. The site, occupied from the fifth century B.C.E., has retained few traces of Romanization. A

Christian community was established in the third century under the leadership of its bishops. The town passed to the control of GOTHS in the early sixth century, the BYZANTINES in 537, the LOMBARDS about 640, and the FRANKS in 774. In 958 Genoa began to aspire to independence, which it gained in the 11th century under the leadership of bishops and prominent families. The city carried out successful struggles against the Muslim fleets in the Tyrrhenian Sea in 1016, in Tunisia in 1087, and in SPAIN in 1092 and 1093. From these it procured wealth and opportunities for commerce with its fleet playing a prominent role in transport in the CRUSADES.

### CONFLICT AND PROGRESS

These urban conditions, economic factors, and the city's collective commercial interests converged in the founding of the COMMUNE. In exchange for its help to the crusading barons of SYRIA and PALESTINE, the merchants and rulers of Genoa obtained customs privileges that stimulated its commercial activities in PALESTINE, EGYPT, the BYZANTINE Empire, SICILY, the AL-MAGHRIB, and the Iberian Peninsula. From 12th century, the new commune of Genoa commanded the direct routes between the FAIRS of Champagne and the markets of the Levant. In the course of these territorial and economic expansions, it defeated PISA at the Battle of Meloria in 1284. For the rest of the Middle Ages Genoa fought long and frequent wars with VENICE, but with little decisive result.

The fierce individuality of its successful and aggressive MERCHANT class gave the city little political stability. Genoa's great families fought with each other in continual factional political struggles and even confrontations on the sheets. Genoa finally attained some institutional continuity and stability in a regime called "the Perpetual Doges" between 1339 and 1528. The 14th century saw the greatest dominance of the Genoese in Mediterranean commerce. They held Caffa on the BLACK SEA, Pera in the suburbs of CONSTANTINOPLE, Chios, and Mytilene in the AEGEAN SEA and had important trading centers at Cadiz, SEVILLE, LISBON, BRUGES, Antwerp, LONDON, and Southampton in western and northern Europe. Through this network Genoese traded Mediterranean products and local produce in a system of Europewide trade.

The Genoese were also bankers, ship-owners, and exploratory navigators, from the Vivaldi brothers in 1291 to Christopher COLUMBUS, who was born a Genoese but traveled for Spain in 1492. In the 15th century, the rise of OTTOMAN power led to the gradual loss of Genoese colonies and business privileges in the East. This weakened the city's political and economic power and even political and financial structures. The republic was unable to resist French influence, if not rule, in 1396–1409. Its independent path suffered during the short lordship of the VISCONTI of MILAN between 1421 and 1436, but the city remained an autonomous republic until well after 1500.

**Further reading:** Gerald W. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium, 1155–1204: Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

**Gentile da Fabriano (Gentile di Niccolò di Giovanni de Massio)** (ca. 1370–1427) *Italian painter*

Gentile da Fabriano was born about 1370 in Fabriano in the Marches in north-central ITALY. According to tradition, his family was of old lineage and moderately prosperous. His father was said to have been a scholar, mathematician, and astrologer but became an Olivetan monk in Fabriano in 1397. Gentile's brother, Ludovico, was a monk of the same order in Fabriano. Gentile himself was living in the Olivetan monastery of Santa Maria Nuova in ROME at the time of his death. A document of October 14, 1427, speaks of him as dead.

Gentile's style and output suggest that he was trained in LOMBARDY, perhaps in MILAN. He worked in the then popular International GOTHIC style, to which he added his personal, decorative, and exotic qualities. His earliest works displayed the decorative drapery patterns linked with the International Gothic masters; Gentile tempered these practices and somewhat abandoned them after his formative contact with Florentine art.

In a document of 1408, Gentile was mentioned as being in VENICE, where he completed a painting for the doge's palace. Gentile was commissioned to decorate a chapel in Brescia in 1414. The artist was last recorded in Brescia on September 18, 1419, when he departed for Rome to answer a summons from Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31). Gentile's name first appeared on the roll of painters in FLORENCE in 1421. He was SIENA in 1420 and 1424–25 and in Orvieto late in 1425. From 1426 working in Saint John Lateran until the time of his death in 1427, he was in Rome.

The altarpiece *Adoration of the Magi*, signed and dated 1423, was Gentile's most famous work in Florence. It showed Gentile's International Gothic manner tempered by his contact with the austere art of Florence. His rich uses of gold leaf and brilliant color were his personal and typical International Gothic traits. With his usual elegant and courtly style, the paintings interest in perspective and foreshortening reflected also influences from the Florentines.

**Further reading:** Keith Christiansen, *Gentile da Fabriano* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982).

**Geoffrey of Monmouth** (ca. 1100–ca. 1154) *English writer*

Geoffrey was born in or near Monmouth, WALES, about 1100. By 1129 he was residing in OXFORD, probably as a member of a secular ecclesiastical community. He stayed

at Oxford at least until 1151 and during this period wrote his two extant works, *History of the Kings of Britain* and *The Life of Merlin*. Geoffrey was a keen observer of contemporary trends in historical writing and combined his observations with a fertile imagination and a consistent, if not profound, philosophical and respectful outlook about the Britons, a Celtic people who inhabited the island of Britain before they were conquered by the ANGLO-SAXONS.

In composing his legendary history, Geoffrey utilized material from British legend and folklore. He also borrowed from earlier LATIN accounts of the Britons. He treated all his sources with great imaginative freedom. The climax of this literary work are Geoffrey's invention of a glorious reign of King ARTHUR and his description of Arthur's victories over invading SAXONS and a hostile Roman Empire. The main themes of the *History* were that history was cyclic, that civil strife created national disaster, and that the goals of the individual and those of society often clashed. In *The Life of Merlin*, a 1,500-line Latin poem written in 1148, Geoffrey told the story of Merlin, a legendary Welsh prophet and prince, whose prophecies formed part of his *History*.

In 1151 Geoffrey was designated bishop of Saint Asaph on the border of ENGLAND and Wales, where he died about 1154. In the years following his death, his *History* became widely accepted as factual. It influenced literature and the serious historians of the Britons and the English for centuries.

*See also* ARTHUR, KING, AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE; BRUT; GILDAS, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London: Folio Society, 1969); Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Life of Merlin*, ed. Basil Clarke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973); Michael J. Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994); Robert W. Hanning, *Vision of History in Early Britain from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

**geography and cartography** Medieval geography grew from the achievements of the Hellenistic Greek school in EGYPT. However, the analytical methods of Ptolemaic geographical research were lost, and it became merely descriptive. In the early Middle Ages geographical data were primarily compilations and summaries of classical works consistently interpreted in terms of Christianity. Some important philosophers and theologians, such as St. AUGUSTINE, were uncomfortable with the idea of the ANTIPODES and influenced a lack of interest in geographical knowledge and the understanding of people outside CHRISTENDOM.

The great encyclopedic work of ISIDORE OF SEVILLE in the seventh century, the *Ethymologiae*, contained two

entries on cosmography and GEOGRAPHY, roughly summing up the classical achievements and interpretations. Major accomplishments of the *Ethymologiae* were both the dissemination of geographical knowledge throughout the Middle Ages and the model style of geographical study and knowledge that prevailed in the West until the 13th century. Christian geographers of the Middle Ages had a concept of the Earth as a plate with an axis running through the Mediterranean with a central point at JERUSALEM. These ideas persisted, as the medieval perspective of the world was compatible with FAITH.

#### DESCRIPTIVE GEOGRAPHY

A Ptolemaic tradition was preserved among eastern Christians living in IRAN and SYRIA. These scholars divided the world into seven climatic regions, developing climatology as part of geography. Their conclusions also led to the development of a popular theory that led to the concept of a north-south axis of a spherical Earth. Such ideas about geography were inherited by ISLAM and the ARABS. CALIPH AL-MAMUN (r. 813–833) tried to have astronomical tables and geographical maps with accurate measurements drawn. Arabic and Persian geography developed further on the basis of accurate and careful travelers' descriptions loaded with physical and demographic data. At the same time contemporary Christian travelers were only interested in describing holy places and religious sanctuaries, perhaps in an attempt to make the biblical past and places more real. In this context there was little reflection about the changes that had intervened between biblical times and their own.

#### ASTRONOMICAL GEOGRAPHY

Besides this descriptive geography, the Muslims developed an astronomical geography. AL-IDRISI was in the employ of King ROGER II of Sicily and was a pioneer in this kind of study with work appearing from 1154. Under the impact of the translated works of al-Idrisi, geography gradually became more of a science in Christendom from the end of the 12th century that included ideas about a global form for the Earth. A systematic study of astronomy and NATURE resulted from the impact of SCHOLASTICISM and the revival of ARISTOTELIANISM. Roger BACON and others defended the idea of a global Earth. By the end of the 13th century, perspectives gleaned from astronomic geography provided the basics for drawing maps that analyzed the various components of the Earth. Its achievements were of prime importance for NAVIGATION and prepared the tools for geographical discoveries.

See also ANTIPODES; GOG AND MAGOG; HENRY "THE NAVIGATOR"; NAVIGATION.

**Further reading:** S. M. Ziauddin Alavi, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (Delhi: Sterling, 1966); Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,

1997); Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Fausett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

**geometry** See SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**George of Trebizond (Georgios Trapezountios)** (1395–ca. 1475) *humanist, translator of Greek texts into Latin*

George's parents were from Trebizond, but he was born at Candia in CRETE in 1395. He converted to Western Catholicism and migrated in 1415 to VENICE, where he taught Greek and learned LATIN. Employed by Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55), he became part of a papal and philological academy, headed by Cardinal BESSARION, which specialized in translating Greek works into Latin. George translated some 11 major Greek texts, most never translated, and texts from authors, such as Ptolemy; ARISTOTLE; PLATO, of whom he disapproved strongly; and the Greek fathers of the church. He authored a treatise on LOGIC and one on RHETORIC, that became a standard for Italian humanists. He asserted the superiority of the ideas of Aristotle over those of Plato, criticizing in particular BESSARION, Plethon (ca. 1360–1452), and Theodore GAZA. He supported the papacy and views of the Western Churches at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE and was an ambassador of Pope Paul II (r. 1464–71) to Sultan MEHMED II. He died between 1475 and 1486.

See also FILELFO, FRANCESCO.

**Further reading:** George of Trebizond, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*, ed. John Monfasani (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in Conjunction with the Renaissance Society of America, 1984).

**Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welshman, Gerald de Barri)** (1146–1223) *bishop, writer*

Born in 1146 the son of an English lord and a Welsh noblewoman, Gerald of Wales, or Giraldus Cambrensis, went to school at Gloucester Abbey and then the University of PARIS, where he was a pupil of Peter Comestor (d. 1179). A master of arts, he also studied canon LAW in Paris. He served as a royal clerk from 1183 to 1208 and the archdeacon of Saint David's between 1175 and 1203. As a canon of Hereford, he was twice elected bishop of Saint David's, in 1176 and 1199, but was never consecrated. He wished to obtain the see and turn it into a Welsh metropolitan archbishopric, but the English CLERGY blocked his appointment with opposition to his elevation at the papal curia. Besides preaching the Crusade and writing one of the first medieval autobiographies, he left important descriptive, moralizing, and topographical descriptions of IRELAND and WALES, several saints' lives, a handbook of conduct for

the Welsh clergy, treatises on ecclesiastical institutions, letters and sermons, and a handbook for the guidance of princes. He died in 1223.

**Further reading:** Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Books, 1978); Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (New York: Penguin Books, 1951); Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Brynley F. Roberts, *Gerald of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982).

**Gerard of Cremona** (ca. 1114–1187) *translator of Greek scientific texts from Arabic into Latin*

Gerard was born in Cremona in Lombardy in about 1114. His achievements in science and translation were important in the intellectual renewal of the 12th century. Gerard of Cremona's translations from Arabic to LATIN allowed university teaching of several important texts over the following centuries. He completed nearly 80 works in Latin, in several disciplines: PHILOSOPHY, mathematics, astronomy, MEDICINE, ALCHEMY, and divination. He brought to the West important authors of Greek antiquity who had already been translated into Arabic, such as ARISTOTLE, Ptolemy, Archimedes, Euclid, and Galen, and the philosophers or scientists of the eastern and western Muslim world, such as IBN SINA (Avicenna), AL-FARABI, and AL-KINDI.

In about 1145 Gerard moved to TOLEDO, where he remained the rest of his life. There was still a large number of Arabic manuscripts there, even 70 years after the Christian RECONQUEST, as well as scholars with different backgrounds. All this laid the basis for the important translating accomplished there, almost unique in medieval culture. He died in 1187 in Toledo in Castile.

**Further reading:** Euclides, *The Latin Translation of the Arabic Version of Euclid's Elements Commonly Ascribed to Gerard of Cremona*, ed. H. L. L. Busard (Leiden: Brill, 1984); Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927).

**Gerbert of Aurillac** See SYLVESTER II, POPE.

**Germanus of Auxerre, Saint (Germain)** (378–ca. 446/448) *lawyer, bishop of Auxerre*

Prosper of AQUITAINE (ca. 390–after 455) recorded that Pope Celestine I (r. 422–432) sent the Gallo-Roman Germanus to confront PELAGIANISM, then a grave HERESY in Britain, at the request of Saint Palladius (ca. 365–425). In general we must depend for details of his life on a biography written by a Constantius of LYON between about 460 and 490. Constantius described Germanus's training as a lawyer, promotion to provincial governor, his acclama-

tion as bishop of Auxerre in 418, his two visits to Britain to combat Pelagianism, and his final journey to RAVENNA, where he died traditionally on July 31, 446/448. His body was returned to Auxerre for a magnificent funeral and burial. His tomb became an important site of pilgrimage.

Constantius portrayed Germanus as an ascetic bishop, much respected, who intervened with secular authorities. Little is known about Germanus's visits to Britain apart from reports of MIRACLE stories. Germanus also might have had links with Palladius's mission to IRELAND.

**Further reading:** Raymond van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

**Germany** The name *Deutschland* or Germany did not appear until after 1500. A collective feeling of identity and language was doubtless apparent before the 12th century, but regional loyalties tended to prevail throughout the Middle Ages. An elective imperial monarchy, with no fixed capital, included a succession of several dynasties, from the Ottonians of the 10th century to the HABSBURGS of the 15th century. Never, in fact, were the kings able to amass sufficient resources to assert fully their authority. Their finances were limited and fleeting, and their army was usually at the mercy of the unstable allegiance of vassals.

There was usually a strong military and political drive toward great expansion to the East and in particular in the 13th century. The churches of the kingdom of Germany were distinguished by the strong and disruptive political role they played in political life. German animosity to the PAPACY was consistent throughout the Middle Ages. The oppressiveness of papal taxation was berated by prelates and clerics, then repeated by chroniclers. It became one of the foundations of German nationalism by the second half of the 15th century.

Occupying a vast territory, the kingdom of Germany was able to attain political unity only fictitiously or for short periods under the various dynasties and even more rarely after the central Middle Ages. Despite these vicissitudes, the economy, religious feeling, and culture developed. As a political unit, its history is best followed by those of its ruling dynasties enriched by its most important towns and ecclesiastical institutions. The CAROLINGIANS, the SAXON dynasty even under the able OTTO I, the SALLIAN DYNASTY, the HOHENSTAUFEN, or Habsburgs were able to maintain more than a temporary political control or effective state. The church had considerable temporal power and possessions and cooperated with the secular rulers only on its own terms and sometimes according to the political needs of the PAPACY. Princes always followed a similar policy. There clearly was a culture and considerable linguistic unity, but throughout the Middle Ages Germany as a political unit was a mere expression and a battlefield among the emperors, the princes, and the church.

See also CHARLEMAGNE; GOLDEN BULLS; HANSEATIC LEAGUE; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; OTTO I THE GREAT; OTTO III, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; SALIAN DYNASTY; TEUTONIC KNIGHTS AND ORDER; VERDUN, TREATY OF.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); F. R. H. Du Boulay, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983); Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, 2d ed., trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (1984; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

**Gershom ben Judah, Rabbi (Rabbenu Gershom, Light of the Exile)** (ca. 960–1028/33) *German rabbi, scholar, religious poet*

Born about 960, Gershom Ben Judah had a great influence on Jewish social institutions. He was also known as Meor Ha-Golah, “Light of the Exile.” The places of the birth and death of Gershom Ben Judah are unclear; he spent most of his adult life at Mainz, GERMANY. Gershom’s major achievements were his teaching career and rabbinical authority. This period was not long after the extinction of the rabbinical centers in Babylonia. With the consolidation of the Muslim empire, Babylonian Jewish scholars drifted to Europe, taking their manuscripts, their scribal traditions, their teaching, and their authority. The Palestinian centers had long been closed. As a result, central Europe, and for a time SPAIN, became the heartland for the evolution of Jewish life, culture, and religion.

#### INFLUENCE ON TEACHING AND DAILY LIFE

Gershom was one of the first and most successful rabbis to transplant and establish Talmudic learning from Babylonia to Europe. He was an excellent rabbinical scholar, learned in all the ancient traditions, a natural teacher, and an organizer of studies. He became famous for his wise judgments in deciding moral and ethical questions on ordinary life. Gershom’s magisterial work was his treatment of the TALMUD text the *Takkanat*. He established correct readings, provided commentaries, drew up rules of exegesis, and taught useful and precise methods of interpretation. From being merely a personal center for rabbinical students from all over Europe, his school became the guide and judge for Jewish communities all over FRANCE, Germany, and the Low Countries. Even participating in meetings of community leaders, he influenced social and cooperative institutions by defining and clarifying local LAWS and customs.

#### FOUNDATIONAL INFLUENCE

Gershom’s influence was profound and lasted far beyond his own time. Not only an educator of rabbis who then went back to their home communities, he also expressed

ideas that were fundamental in enduring legislation. His opinions influenced the prohibition of polygamy, the limitation of the husband’s right to divorce, the treatment of apostates returning to Judaism, the privacy of personal letters, and the principle of majority rule in local communities. According to his view, violation of these laws might be punished by EXCOMMUNICATION from the community of Israel. He authored many formal responses or *responsa* to knotty legal questions about conflicts relevant to everyday life between law and commandment. The formation of community cohesion and the strengthening of the community’s self-awareness were fundamental for the establishment of the Talmud and the subsequent history of European Jewish community. Gershom wrote penitential prayers and the traditional method of reading, pronouncing, and interpreting the BIBLE. There is some question of whether all the important works attributed to him were actually by him. He died between 1030 and 1033 in Mainz.

See also ASHKENAZ AND ASHKENAZIM; RASHI.

**Further reading:** Gershom ben Judah, *The Responsa of Rabbenu Gershom Meor Hagolah*, ed. by Shlomo Eidelberg (New York: Yeshiva University, 1955).

**Gerson, John (Jean le Charlier de Gerson)** (1363–1429) *French clerical leader*

John Gerson was born Jean Charlier at Gerson on December 13/14, 1363. As a member of the Collège de Navarre at the University of PARIS, he earned a doctorate in THEOLOGY and was protégé and close friend of Pierre d’AILLY. When d’Ailly resigned the chancellorship, Gerson became the chancellor of the University of Paris in 1395. Gerson’s earlier career at the university was not unusual, characterized by little controversy and the promotion of a strong, doctrinal orthodoxy. In 1387 he had demanded the condemnation of a DOMINICAN friar who had denied the Immaculate Conception or conception without sin of the Virgin MARY, while warning students of the evils of “immoral” popular and anticlerical literature; in this process, Jean became one of the most famous theologians of his day.

Moving to BRUGES, Gerson became an ardent reformer only when the University of Paris took a leading role in trying to end the Great SCHISM. Beginning in 1378 the divided church had been supposedly governed by two rival popes, one at ROME and another in AVIGNON. By 1409 Conciliarists, favoring the power of church councils over that of the pope, began to take the initiative in ending the embarrassment. In their views and that of Gerson, a general council of the church had the right to choose a new pope. This they accomplished at the Council of PISA in 1409, but the Roman and Avignonese popes refused to surrender their offices. During these events the University of Paris had become a strong base for the Conciliarists. Gerson gradually joined the movement and finally

worked zealously for the calling of the Council of CONSTANCE (1414–18). There he led the successful drive to end the schism, with the council deposing the rival popes and electing Martin V (r. 1417–31). He also favored the execution of John HUS. At the same time he alienated much of the council by his persistent justification of the rights of the Gallican or French National Church and his demand for the condemnation of Jean Petit (1360–1411). Petit had written a tract asserting that the assassination of the duc d'Orléans by the partisans of the duke of Burgundy was justifiable tyrannicide. The council did not condemn Jean Petit. Threatened by the duke of Burgundy, Gerson fled to VIENNA, where he wrote his *Consolation of Theology* in the tradition of BOETHIUS. Eventually permitted to return to FRANCE, he spent his last days at LYON teaching children and writing devotional works and hymns. He died there on July 12, 1429.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS

John Gerson was an outstanding advocate of conciliar theories, writing that the authority of the universal church represented by a general council was greater than that of the pope; therefore, a legitimate general council could depose and elect popes. A proponent of Gallicanism or the power of the French Crown over the clergy, he supported a strong monarchy with great influence on the church in France. An Ockhamist in PHILOSOPHY and theology, he gave great attention to the pastoral care of women and the education of children. He wrote a tract attempting to save JOAN of Arc. He was attracted by pseudo-Dionysian spirituality and the MYSTICISM of the DEVOTIO MODERNA, while following the late medieval trend against an overly rational investigation of the faith.

See also WILLIAM OF OCKHAM.

**Further reading:** Jean Gerson, *Jean Gerson: Early Works*, trans. and ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (New York: Paulist Press, 1998); D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity: His Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden: Brill, 1999); John B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960); Louis Pascoe, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

**Gersonides, Levi ben Gershom** (Ralbag, Master Leo of Bagnols) (1288–1344) *Jewish exegete, philosopher, Talmudist, mathematician, astronomer, scholar*

Levi Ben Gershom was born in 1288. He lived in southern France in PROVENCE, mainly at Orange and AVIGNON, where he was in touch with the papal court. In the field of PHILOSOPHY, Gersonides's contribution was remarkable. His important *Book of the Wars of the Lord*

was a systematic attempt to analyze several fundamental themes in THEOLOGY, such as the immortality of the soul, prophecy, providence, and creation, using the conceptual tools provided by ARISTOTELIANISM, MAIMONIDES, and IBN RUSHD (Averroës). His thought can be viewed as more rigorous and more creative than that of Maimonides. A part of the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* was a treatise on astronomy, often to be copied separately and eventually translated into LATIN. His astronomical work also included a treatise, dedicated to Pope CLEMENT VI, on a scientific instrument invented by him to determine the angular distance between stars. We also owe to him a treatise on Aristotle's LOGIC and a set of commentaries on the commentaries of Ibn Rushd. His biblical commentaries on Job, the SONG OF SONGS, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ruth, the Pentateuch, the historical books, Daniel, and Proverbs were classics of Jewish exegesis and were incorporated into the annotated BIBLES. His ideas on the eternity and creation of the world, God's foreknowledge, and free will were attacked by later rabbinic authorities. He died in 1344.

**Further reading:** Levi ben Gershom, *Gersonides' The Wars of the Lord, Treatise Three: On God's Knowledge*, trans. Norbert Max Samuelson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977); J. David Bleich, *Providence in the Philosophy of Gersonides* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, Department of Special Publications, 1973); Bernard R. Goldstein, *The Astronomical Tables of Levi ben Gerson* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1974); Jacob J. Staub, *The Creation of the World according to Gersonides* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1982).

**Ghana** Ghana formed an empire in black AFRICA in the basin of the Niger River. In the third century tribes near the medieval and modern city of TIMBUKTU were united under the rule of the Ghana clan, whose members could travel in caravans, passing through Sudan and the Sahara all the way to the Roman Empire. Ghana gradually developed as this ruling dynasty imposed its rule on the tribes of western Sudan in the valley of the Senegal River. Little is known of its history. Archaeological evidence has shown that the empire achieved a high degree of civilization in the eighth century. The ARAB conquest of North Africa, however, pushed BERBER tribes to migrate southward. In the ninth and 10th centuries, they threatened Ghana. Its rulers organized a fierce defense and the resulting clashes were successful and they began to expand northward, conquering some Berber regions. In 990 the empire reached the zenith of its expansion with the conquest of the Berber principality of Mauritania. The entire western Sudan fell under Ghanian rule, marking the victory of settled over nomadic peoples.

According to the secondhand testimony of an Arab traveler, AGRICULTURE was highly developed in the 11th

century. There was a rich trade in GOLD, elephants, and slaves, all initially sold and traded through Islamic countries. Commerce brought Ghana closer relations with the Muslim world and introduced ISLAM. In the middle of the 11th century, the empire was attacked from the north by the ALMORAVIDS, who captured the capital city, Koumbi Saleh in 1076, this ended Ghana's existence as a state; and it was incorporated into MALI.

**Further reading:** Kenny Mann, *Ghana, Mali, Songhay: The Western Sudan* (Parsippany, N.J.: Dillon Press, 1996); Patricia and Fredrick McKissack, *The Royal Kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay: Life in Medieval Africa* (New York: H. Holt, 1994).

**Ghassanids (Ghassan)** They were ARAB allies or *foederati* of ROME and then BYZANTIUM, who defended the frontier of SYRIA in the sixth century. Their greatest prince was al-Harith or Arethas (d. 569). JUSTINIAN I awarded him the title of *Phylarch* in the wars with Persia, and with their Arab allies, the LAKHMIDS. The Ghassanids followed MONOPHYSITISM. Justinian I tolerated this and his empress, THEODORA, supported it. The Ghassanids continued to serve Byzantium. In 577 al-Mundhir, the son of Arethas, destroyed Hira, the capital of the Lakhmids, their rivals and allies of the Persians. Reduced to a shadowy existence after that, the Ghassanids fought valiantly at the Battle of Yarmuk in 636, after which, defeated, they were resettled in ANATOLIA.

**Further reading:** Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

**al-Ghazali (Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi al Ghazali, Algazel)** (1058–1111) *Persian jurist, theologian, mystic*

Al-Ghazali was born at Tus, near Meshhed in IRAN, in 1058. He was a turbulent scholar, often ill, who traveled throughout the Middle East. Called the “proof of ISLAM,” he was little known in the west except through a misunderstanding of one aspect of his work: his questioning of ARAB PHILOSOPHY, inspired by Hellenic doctrines. Al-Ghazali's work was a search for synthesis in that he tried to fuse with SUNNI orthodoxy many of the intellectual and spiritual ideas of his contemporary Muslim world. He excluded only that which seemed to him absolutely irreconcilable with Islam.

Among the ideas of AL-FARABI and IBN SINA (Avicenna), he pointed out three problems in LOGIC, physics, and metaphysics. Metaphysics seemed to him especially heretical; it could lead to a denial of creation, providence, MIRACLES, the resurrection of the body, PARADISE, and HELL. In addition he believed it was unable to establish the incorporeality of GOD or the immortality of the SOUL. He died on December 18, 1111.

**Further reading:** W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazali* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1963); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazali* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963).

**Ghaznawids (Ghaznavids)** The Ghaznawids were a dynasty of former slaves of Turkish origin who ruled eastern IRAN and present-day Afghanistan from 977 to 1187. They were founded by Sebuktigin (r. 977–997), a former general and governor for the SAMANIDS. Their capital was Ghazni, from which they took their name. It was an important commercial center that enjoyed two centuries of prosperity and a brilliant intellectual life under their rule. AL-BIRUNI worked there as well as Firdawsi (932–1020), who composed the *Book of Kings*, an epic about ancient Persia and is one of the masterpieces of Persian literature. The palaces and mosques the Ghaznawids built there, as well as at Lashkar-i Bazar, were recognized as impressive. The Ghaznavids became more prominent with the conquest of non-Islamic northern India, carried out by Mahmud (r. 999–1030). Eventually they encountered the growing power of the Seljuk Turks, to whom they lost Iran after a military defeat in 1040. Another group, the Ghurids, sacked Ghazni in 1150 and took possession of all of the Ghaznawid territories by 1187.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 181–183; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963); Bertold Spuler and J. Sourdel-Thomine, “Ghaznavids,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.1050–1055.

**Ghent (Gent, Gand)** In the Middle Ages Ghent was a commercial city in FLANDERS and the seat of its duke. Ghent had developed from the seventh century at the confluence of the Scheldt and the Lys Rivers; its name meant “confluence.” The town initially grew up around two centers of monastic settlement in the first half of the seventh century, the abbeys of Saint-Bavon and Saint-Pierre. After having been destroyed by the VIKINGS, the town was re-created around the castle built by Count Baldwin II the Bald (r. 879–918) in the late ninth century. The security fostered by the castle and the presence of the ducal government promoted enough security to establish a local prosperous market. From the early 11th century, the merchants of Ghent invested in grain, flax, and the production and selling of cloth. By 1127–28, the town was important enough to intervene strongly in the succession of the count of Flanders, gaining even more liberties and concessions.

With the lucrative development of the cloth industry and trade, Ghent was at the center of extensive commercial networks among the HANSEATIC LEAGUE; England,

the source of its main raw material, wool; and most of the rest of western Europe, especially the Mediterranean with its luxury products. By the 13th century, Ghent was among the richest cities in Europe. In the 13th and 14th centuries the city government and its rich merchants erected prestigious buildings, graphic proof of their industrial and commercial power.

In the meantime the government of the town was controlled by a group of powerful patrician families. By the 14th century, social tensions between these patricians and their allies, the rich tradesmen, on one side and the large number of weavers and fullers involved in the production and trade of cloth, but excluded from the regime, on the other side, reached a crisis, leading to a long series of regime changes and revolution. This process was accentuated by the economic and military crises of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. Ghent fell into depression and agitation in the 14th century. In 1336, a patrician, Jacob van ARTEVELDE, expelled the count with the support of the English. Ghent was then temporarily at the head of all the Flemish cities. In 1383, Philip the Bold (r. 1363–1404), duke of BURGUNDY, made it part of the duchy of Burgundy. The next 70 years was prosperous for the town, but by the second half of the 15th century, Ghent experienced a deep depression because it had been replaced by other production and trading centers.

See also BRABANT; BRUGES; CLOTHING AND COSTUME; TEXTILES.

**Further reading:** Hilda Johnstone, trans., *Annales Gandenses: Annals of Ghent* (1951; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996); Johan Decavele, ed., *Ghent: In Defense of a Rebellious City: History, Art, Culture* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1989); David Nicholas, *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Henri Pirenne, *Early Democracies in the Low Countries: Urban Society and Political Conflict in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, trans. J. V. Saunders (1915; reprint New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

**Ghent Altarpiece** The Ghent Altarpiece of the Lamb was a masterpiece of 15th-century Flemish painting. This huge polyptych consisted of 20 panels in three parts painted on both sides. It was begun by Hubert van EYCK about 1425/26. After his death, it was completed by his brother, Jan van EYCK, in 1432. It was commissioned by a local merchant. When opened, the altarpiece displayed a panorama around an adoration of the lamb or Christ by some 300 saints in HEAVEN or PARADISE. In a lower zone were depicted representations of Christ with the Virgin MARY and Saint John the Baptist in a center panel with angels, singing and playing instruments, and Adam and

Eve. The two panels on wings opening outward on the exterior depicted the donor and his wife kneeling before John the Baptist and John the Evangelist below and the Annunciation above. Though an amalgamation, the various panels indicate the full range of the developing styles of the van Eycks, all executed with meticulous and exquisite detail.

See also ALTARS AND ALTARPIECES; GHENT; PAINTING.

**Further reading:** Lotte Brand Philip, *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971); Peter Schmidt, *The Ghent Altarpiece* (Bruges: Ludion, 2001).

**Ghibellines** See GUELFs AND Ghibellines.

**Ghiberti, Lorenzo** (1378–1455) *Florentine sculptor, caster of bronze, goldsmith, architect, painter, writer*

Lorenzo Ghiberti was born in or near FLORENCE between 1378 and 1381. He learned the goldsmith's trade from his stepfather, Bartoluccio de Michele; though many small sculptural pieces have been attributed to Ghiberti, no goldsmith's article mentioned in contemporary documents has been identified as by him. He was accepted into the GUILD of the goldsmiths in 1409, into the painters' guild in 1423, and into the stonemasons' guild in 1427.

In 1400 Ghiberti went to the ROMAGNA to escape the PLAGUE in Florence and assisted another painter in executing FRESCOES on the walls of a CASTLE of the Malatesta family. On his return to Florence in 1401, Ghiberti participated with six other Tuscan sculptors in the competition for the gilded bronze north doors of the Florence Baptistery. He won. The theme of the doors was the sacrifice of Isaac. In them Ghiberti suggested classical antiquity but generally adhered to a traditional GOTHIC style. When the commission was finally awarded to Ghiberti in 1403 and renewed in 1407, the subjects were changed from the Old to the New Testament in some 38 scenes. The figures were gilded and set in high relief against a neutral background. Ghiberti established a large workshop to carry out his great undertaking. It was a technical training ground for the next generation of Florentine painters and sculptors, including DONATELLO, Masolino (ca. 1383–1447), and Paolo UCCELLO. The first doors were finally completed in 1424.

#### OTHER WORKS

Ghiberti made several other works during the period from 1403 to 1424, including bronze statues of saints for the niches on the exterior of Orsanmichele in Florence. *John the Baptist* was completed for the cloth merchants' guild in 1416, and *Saint Matthew* was installed in its niche in 1422 by the bankers' guild. Between 1417 and 1427 Ghiberti made two bronze reliefs for the font of the Baptistery in SIENA. During this period he also became

involved in the most important architectural enterprise of the time in Florence, the completion of the dome of the cathedral begun by BRUNELLESCHI.

After a trip to VENICE in 1424, Ghiberti returned to Florence, and in 1425 he received the commission for the east doors of the Baptistery. The doors, different from his earlier set, opened on Paradise. Finishing and gilding took even longer, and not until 1452 were the doors installed. In each panel there are several scenes, the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, and their Expulsion from the Garden, the Temptation. They were all in very low relief and very much in a Renaissance style.

During the last years of his life from 1450, Ghiberti wrote his *Commentaries*. They dealt with the relative merits of artists of classical antiquity and comparative descriptions of works of art in various cities that he had visited. The third part has been a principal source of our knowledge of 14th-century art in Florence and Siena. Another section included his autobiography, the earliest by an artist that has survived. A last section dealt with a humanist analysis of the eye, its makeup, its functions, and the relation of sight to the behavior of light.

He married Marsilia di Bartolomeo di Luca and had two sons, the artists Tommaso and Vittorio. Vittorio (1416–96) continued the workshop after his father's death on December 1, 1455.

**Further reading:** David Finn, *The Florence Baptistery Doors* (New York: Viking Press, 1980); Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982); Giustina Scaglia, "Ghiberti," *The Dictionary of Art* 12.536–545; Charles Seymour, *Sculpture in Italy: 1400 to 1500* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1966).

**ghihad** See JIHAD.

**Ghirlandaio, Domenico (Domenico di Tommaso Bigordi)** (1449–1494) *Florentine artist*

Giorgio Vasari (1517–74), writing about Ghirlandaio in the 16th century, said that he was born in FLORENCE and received his earliest training from his father, Tommaso, a goldsmith and famous maker of garlands. He was later perhaps apprenticed to Alessio Baldovinetti (1426–99). Other artists, however, must have influenced his works, among these a young Michaelangelo (1475–1564), Andrea del Castagno (ca. 1421–57), Domenico Veneziano (ca. 1400–61), and Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–88). Among the most popular artists of his day, and unable to fulfill the many commissions he received, he had to employ a large and well-organized group of assistants in his *bottega* or shop. This method led to a general deterioration in his artistic achievement and a monotony in his later compositions. He was rarely afterward employed by any cultured patron seeking sophisticated work.

Ghirlandaio, however, was an excellent painter of portraits. His FREScoes are filled with people faithfully but superficially depicted. His other portraits were dignified and formal.

#### MOST SIGNIFICANT WORKS

Among his first works, dating probably from 1472, was the *Virgin of Mercy* in Florence in the Church of the Ognissanti or All Saints. Ghirlandaio did his most respected work in two Frescoes for the chapel of Santa Fina, painted around 1475, for the Collegial Church of San Gimignano near Florence. Soon afterward this spontaneity and balanced inspiration gave way to the formulas produced in his workshop.

Called to ROME in 1481, he painted in the new Sistine Chapel. Conscious of the high distinction bestowed on him, he was not very successful in displaying religious feeling; he did, however, successfully depict a worldly display of a contemporary gathering of Florentines in Rome portrayed by him as at the calling of the first apostles.

The mature expression of his style permeate the cycle painted in 1486 for the Sassetti chapel in Santa Trinità in Florence. Replete with historical portraits of the MEDICI family and their extended clan, many scenes were set in the familiar cityscape of Florence. These later paintings revealed rather self-satisfied Florentine nobles showing off their power and prestige close to GOD. He died on January 11, 1494.

**Further reading:** Eve Borsook, *Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinità, Florence: History and Legend in a Renaissance Chapel* (Doornspijk, Holland: Davaco, 1981); Jeanne K. Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: Artist and Artisan* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Emma Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandaio* (Florence: Scala, 1990).

**ghosts** In the ancient classical world there was a widespread belief that the spirits of the dead, or ghosts, returned to Earth to visit and torment the living, especially if the deceased were disturbed about something or dissatisfied with actions of those still alive. The Greeks and Romans made some effort to honor, respect, and placate their ancestors. Wary of the consequences of these ideas in terms of the importance of the church's power and relationship with the afterlife, Augustine denied the possibility of any relations between the living and the dead in his "On the Care to Be Taken When Dealing with the Dead." Only the saints in heaven might be able to concern themselves with the living or, perhaps even with the help of GOD, intervene in earthly affairs. Visits from the dead could be imaginary creations, dreams, or diabolically sponsored illusions. The duty of all Christians was to pray only for the salvation of the deceased and not expect information or help from beyond the

grave. Moreover, excessively intense mourning, concern about the soul of the departed, or obsession with the afterlife might imply a lack of faith in the reality and absolute justice and mercy of God.

#### GHOSTS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

Fear and belief in the apparition of ghosts as a device in literature and in traditional religious belief did not disappear from the Christian medieval world. Italian, Germanic, Scandinavian sagas, and almost all vernacular literature mentioned dead people who returned to prophesy, inform, avenge themselves on, or even maliciously punish the living. They were linked with natural phenomena, certain locations, objects, and activities. The word was based on the Old Germanic *gast* and was linked with demons. The ghost or revenant might have to stay in one place because of his or her crime or sin. He or she might appear human or in an animal shape, headless, on fire, colored or not colored; appear tortured; or leave behind a sign. They could be resisting death or could have been disturbed from their graves by some event. Such stories with varying degrees of ecclesiastical, literary, or satirical concern can be found in the writings of BEDE, GUIBERT of Nogent, ORDERICUS Vitalis, WILLIAM of Malmesbury, the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES, GERALD of Wales, SAXO GRAMMATICUS, Dante ALIGHIERI, Giovanni BOCCACCIO, and MARIE DE FRANCE.

#### THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF GHOSTS

Over the course of the Middle Ages, the church sought to accommodate these beliefs and fears within its authority and control, perhaps even to promote belief in ghosts and even profit from it. To suggest the value of intercession for the dead, Pope GREGORY I the Great wrote stories about dead people who spoke to the living to request their prayers for help in the afterlife. From the 11th and 12th centuries, ghosts were common in ecclesiastical literature and in pastoral care. In a collection of miracle stories composed near the mid-12th century, PETER THE VENERABLE, the abbot of CLUNY, described ghosts demanding prayers from monks who had to demand gifts from the living and descendants of the deceased in order to fulfill this task. By the 13th century, with PURGATORY doctrinally defined as the third place and way station in the afterlife, preachers used didactic and frightening ghost stories or *EXEMPLA* to instill fear of the consequences of sin and to spread the doctrine of the value of prayers and donations to the church to assist the faithful departed. Souls, while purging their sins in PURGATORY, asked the living for prayers in order to help expiate their punishments for sin and thus shorten the length of their pain in purgatory. They were beyond help if they were in HELL, and they did not need it in HEAVEN.

At the same time, the church was suspicious of other kinds of ghost stories that did not mesh with its authority or pastoral roles. These were deemed clearly demonic and

heretical in inspiration, thus meant to mislead the faithful and sever clerical authority and mediation between the divine and human worlds.

*See also* BEOWULF; DEATH AND THE DEAD; HAGIOGRAPHY; HEAVEN; HELL; ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE; MIRACLES; PURGATORY; SUICIDE; VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** Andrew Joynes, ed., *Medieval Ghost Stories: An Anthology of Miracles, Marvels, and Prodigies* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2001); Ronald C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: A Cultural History of Ghosts* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1984); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*; Vol. 1, *The Violent against Themselves*; Vol. 2, *The Curse on Self-Murder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2000); Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (1994 Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

#### **Giano della Bella** (ca. 1240–ca. 1305) *Florentine politician*

Descendant of a wealthy GUELF Florentine family, Giano was the head of the Calimala, the oldest and richest of the aristocratic trade GUILDS. A conflict with his fellow nobles caused him to join a democratic party and become the leader of the guilds or the “Arti Minori” in a revolt against the government of FLORENCE in 1290. In 1292 he did manage to seize power and reformed the constitution of the city through the issuance of the anti-noble “Ordinances of Justice.” In 1293 he was elected prior or head of the city, and he created a strong government to fight aristocratic control. Accused of breaking his own laws, he was overthrown by a coalition of Pope BONIFACE VIII, the local aristocracy, and Charles II of Anjou (r. 1289–1309), king of NAPLES, which accomplished his exile. Giano then retired from the political scene in 1295 and resided as an exile in FRANCE until his death in about 1305.

**Further reading:** Dino Compagni, *Dino Compagni’s Chronicle of Florence*, trans. Daniel Bornstein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Marvin B. Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967–1968).

#### **Gilbert de la Porée** *See* GILBERT OF POITIERS.

#### **Gilbert of Poitiers** (Gilbert de la Porée, Gilbert Porreta) (1076–1154) *commentator on sacred Scripture, metaphysician, teacher*

Gilbert of Poitiers was born in 1076 and studied the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS at Poitiers under Bernard of Chartres

(d. 1130). He later studied Scripture and its glossing under ANSELM of Laon. He was made a canon at Poitiers, then by 1124, at CHARTRES, where he soon became chancellor of the cathedral school. In about 1140, he moved to teach logic and theology at the cathedral school at Paris. In 1142 he was made bishop of Poitiers and so was unable to continue teaching. In 1147/8, at a council at RHEIMS, he was accused by BERNARD of Clairvaux of propagating heretical doctrines on the Trinity but was not condemned by the council or the pope. Famous by then for his knowledge of the liberal arts and the writings of the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, he went on to comment on the biblical texts of the Psalms, the Epistles of Paul, the Apocalypse, and on a text then attributed to BOETHIUS.

Among his ideas and doctrines were that the “forms” of matter were nothing but reflections of ideas. He was additionally attacked for having distinguished GOD from the concept of divinity. He was accused of making a distinction between the persons (the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) of the Trinity and the one divine essence. Believing to the end that faith superseded reason and that theology must have rules of its own, he died on September 4, 1154.

**Further reading:** Gilbert of Poitiers, *The Commentaries on Boethius*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1966); Theresa Gross-Diaz, *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From Lectio Divina to the Lecture Room* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

#### **Gildas, Saint** (ca. 516–570) *historian*

Nothing is known of Gildas save what can be gleaned from his *On the Laying Waste of Britain* itself. The dates of his life can only be estimated. Traditionally, he was a monk expelled from WALES. The quality of his prose indicated that he was widely read and had received a good training in LATIN grammar and RHETORIC.

Although Gildas’s principal goal was didactic and rhetorical rather than historical description or analysis, he can provide information about Romano-British religious life and the ANGLO-SAXON invasion of Britain. He included an account of a great British victory, under the generalship of Ambrosius Aurelianus (perhaps ARTHUR), over the invaders at an unidentified site called Mons Badonicus. Gildas’s popular narrative was used by BEDE for his account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest and by ALCUIN for a description of the consequences of sin. Gildas was also the author of a work on penitential practice. He died in 570, perhaps in BRITANNY.

**Further reading:** J. A. Giles, trans., *The Works of Gildas and Nennius* (London: J. Bohn, 1841); Robert W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); N. J. Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (Manchester:

Manchester University Press, 1994); Michael Lapidge and David Dumville, eds., *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984).

#### **Giotto di Bondone** (Ambrogio di Bondone) (1267/75–1337) *artist*

Giotto di Bondone was born between 1267 and 1275 in Vespignano in the region of the Mugello near FLORENCE, and he worked throughout ITALY and in AVIGNON. He introduced innovations that characterized the later RENAISSANCE style.

#### TESTIMONIES AND REPUTATION IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Giotto’s reputation for innovation and genius was noted in many contemporary references. BOCCACCIO said that Giotto brought back to light the art of the past, which had been buried in darkness since antiquity. PETRARCH respected him for the naturalism in his painting. Such anecdotes about Giotto suggest that his style was considered a revolutionary departure from rigid, formulaic medieval styles. He was considered an artist who depicted three-dimensional space, employed narrative, and portrayed figures modeled in terms of light and dark.



Giotto di Bondone, engraving (Courtesy Library of Congress)

## MASTERPIECES

The frescoes in the Arena Chapel in PADUA, which were probably created between 1304 and 1312, were his great masterpieces. In these paintings all the innovations for which Giotto was known during his lifetime and up to the present day can be found. Solid monumental figures were set in a narrow, three-dimensional space. They moved and turned as in nature, even reacting psychologically on a human scale. A viewer might identify with the drama portrayed.

In 1311 or 1312, Giotto painted an innovative image of the Blessed Virgin MARY for the Ognissanti Church, now in the Uffizi Museum in Florence. The space of the painting was three-dimensional. The throne and figures were supported by horizontal surface, obeying gravity. The infant Christ was represented with more natural and human qualities.

Giotto's only other major works to survive were the Navicella in Rome, an altarpiece, and an image of BONIFACE VIII proclaiming the Jubilee, and two fresco cycles in the Florentine church of Santa Croce. Probably painted about 10 years or more after the Arena Chapel frescoes, these two cycles portrayed scenes from the lives of FRANCIS of Assisi in the Bardi Chapel and Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in the Peruzzi Chapel. The Bardi and Peruzzi frescoes consisted of three large rectangular scenes, which were arranged vertically and face each other. The narrative moved from above to below. Just as in the Arena Chapel frescoes, those in Santa Croce demonstrated dramatic tension and psychological insight revealed through human pose and gesture. Other attributions to Giotto have been made for paintings at ASSISI and at Santa Maria Novella in Florence but have not been universally accepted as his work.

Giotto's innovations had enormous influence during his lifetime, but his real impact was not completely felt until the beginning of the 15th century in Florence. Reaction to the Black Death of 1348 has been posited as inhibiting artistic change for several decades. He died on January 8, 1337.

See also DUCCIO DI BONINSEGNA; FRESCO PAINTING.

**Further reading:** Bruce Cole, *Giotto and Florentine Painting, 1280–1375* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); Creighton E. Gilbert, "Giotto (di Bondone)," *The Dictionary of Art* 12.681–696; Rona Goffen, *Spiritually in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988); Andrew Ladis, ed., *Giotto as a Historical and Literary Figure* (New York: Garland, 1998); Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Laurie E. Schneider, ed., *Giotto in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

**Giovanni da Fiesole** See ANGELICO, FRA.

**Giraldus Cambrensis** See GERALD OF WALES.

**Glagolitic alphabet and rite** This was the first alphabet of Old Church Slavonic and was probably invented by CYRIL in about 863 for his western or Roman Catholic mission to MORAVIA. It was a new and original alphabet for religious rites, although some of the letters are derived from the Hebrew alphabet and others from Greek cursive writing or minuscule. It should not be confused with the CYRILLIC alphabet, a later invention. That medieval Slavonic alphabet was also generally thought to have been devised by Saint Cyril, as the Eastern Orthodox apostle of the Slavs, in the ninth century. Other surviving literature in the alphabet included translations of the GOSPELS and collections of homilies; they survive only from 1309.

**Further reading:** Sharon Golke Fullerton, *Paleographic Methods Used in Dating Cyrillic and Glagolitic Slavic Manuscripts* (Columbus: Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Ohio State University, 1975); Stephen Smrzík, *The Glagolitic or Roman-Slavonic Liturgy* (Cleveland: Slovak Institute, 1959).

**glassware** Many techniques were in use in the Middle Ages for making glassware for simple and elaborate domestic use and, in Christendom, for vessels used in the liturgy. The techniques of the manufacture of glass in the central Middle Ages can be discovered in clerical treatises. The *On Diverse Arts* by the monk Theophilus (fl. 1225) was composed in Germany early in the 12th century and is one of the best sources of information for methods and styles. Religious centers in the Middle Ages supported by rich landed proprietaries primarily had the wherewithal, raw material, and access to the expensive fuel needed in this art. The best examples to survive are often found near VENICE.

The most common surviving examples of fine medieval glassware are lamps or cruets for serving water and wine at MASS or for containing holy oils used in the liturgy. On ALTARS, ancient or contemporary glassware was used as reliquaries. The earliest examples, from the 11th century, were mostly initially Islamic or antique glassware. Tombs from the 11th to the 16th century frequently included glass but are not representative of the forms of domestic crockery. Moreover, they were not funeral offerings intended to bear drink or nourishment in the afterlife, as had been their common intent in antiquity. Their intended uses were derived from Christian beliefs about the dangers a soul might encounter. So they were vials full of holy water for encounters with DEMONS and lamps used symbolically to light the way to Christ. Glass chalices were signs and reminders of a deceased person's ecclesiastical office or dignity.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; CEMETERIES AND GRAVEYARDS; LIGHTING DEVICES; RELIQUARY; STAINED GLASS.

**Further reading:** Theophilus, *On Diverse Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus*, trans. John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); John Baker, *English Stained Glass of the Medieval Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978); Sheila Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); Alan Macfarlane and Gerry Martin, *Glass: A World History* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Catalogue of Medieval Objects: Enamels & Glass* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1986); Rachel Tyson, *Medieval Glass Vessels Found in England, AD 1200–1500* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2000).

**Glastonbury Abbey** It was the oldest Celtic abbey in England and has been linked with King ARTHUR and JOSEPH of Arimathea. No real archaeological or literary evidence has supported the presence of a religious community at Glastonbury before the late seventh century. The identity of its founder thus remained unknown. Always associated with the Crown throughout its history, it was important in the monastic reform of the 10th century, through its abbot, DUNSTAN. By the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 it was the richest religious house in England. The monks violently resisted its first NORMAN abbot, and later there was a dispute with the bishop of Bath, who attempted unsuccessfully to annex Glastonbury to his see. From the 12th century, the history of WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY and the “discovery” of King Arthur’s bones in 1191 led to the identification of Glastonbury as the source of all Christianity in Britain and its link with King Arthur’s Avalon. This made it a major pilgrimage center and increased its already great wealth and status. In 1539 at the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, the abbot and two monks were hanged, the abbey was dissolved, the massive library was dispersed, and its properties and site were sold for cash.

**Further reading:** Lesley Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1996); James P. Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey: The Holy House at the Head of the Moors Adventurous* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988); N. E. Stacy, ed., *Surveys of the Estates of Glastonbury Abbey, c. 1135–1201* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2001).

**Glossa Ordinaria** The *Glossa Ordinaria* was the standard medieval commentary on the BIBLE. It was drawn up chiefly from extracts from the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, and was arranged in the form of marginal and interlinear glosses. Its composition was begun in the school of ANSELM of Laon. Anselm wrote the gloss on the Psalter, the Epistles of Paul, and the Gospel of Saint John; his brother, Ralph, wrote on the gospel of Saint Matthew. Gilbert the Universal (d. 1134), who taught at Auxerre in 1120 before becoming bishop of LONDON (r. 1128–34),

was responsible for the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, the four Books of Kings, the Great Prophets, and Lamentations. The compilers of the gloss on the other books have remained uncertain, but the whole Bible was glossed by the middle of the 12th century. The quality and history of these glosses varied from book to book. The gloss on the Pauline Epistles had a long and complicated later history. The gloss on Acts of the Apostles was almost entirely compiled from the commentaries of HRABANUS MAURUS and BEDE.

**Further reading:** *Glossa ordinaria (Pars 22, In Canticum canticorum)*, ed. Mary Dove (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).

**glossaries** Glossaries in the Middle Ages gave the definitions or brief explanations of obscure or difficult Latin or vernacular words or expressions. Sometimes they grew into expanded explanations or commentary on the source texts. They could be written in the margins or between the lines. They were fundamental lexicographical and educational tools and sources for grammar and vocabulary when dictionaries, as we know them, were rare or unavailable. Some were written and intended as ornamentation to the text or as opportunities for authors to display their knowledge. Words in an alphabetical glossary might be intended to explain to students unfamiliar plants, animals, houses, ideas, and people. Many glossaries were produced during the Middle Ages for schoolmasters and for legal scholars and lawyers.

Their main sources for unusual vocabulary were compilations from classical antiquity or bilingual phrasebooks for students of Latin or Greek. By the time of the Carolingian Renaissance scholars and teachers such as JOHN SCOTUS ERIUGENA and ÆLFRIC had commented on school texts by classical grammarians and authors such as PRISCIAN (fl. 500) and other authors such as MARTIANUS CAPPELLA and BOETHIUS. They were compiled throughout the Middle Ages.

See also ISIDORE OF SÉVILLE, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Michael Lapidge, “The School of Theodore and Hadrian,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986): 45–72; Michael Lapidge, “Glossaries, Latin,” *EMA* 1.611; W. M. Lindsay, *Studies in Early Medieval Latin Glossaries*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); Patricia Lendinara, *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999).

**gluttony** See SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS.

**Glyn Dwr, Owian** (Owen Glendower, Owain ap Gruffydd Fychan) (ca. 1354–1415) *Welsh national leader* Owen Glendower, also known as Owain ap Gruffydd and Glyndyfrdwy, lord of Glyndwr and Sycharth, was born about 1354 and claimed descent from Bleddyn ap

Cynvyn and from LLEWELYN AP GRUFFYDD, the last native prince of WALES. After inheriting estates in Merioneth, Glendower probably studied LAW at one of the INNS OF COURT in LONDON. By 1385 he was a squire with King RICHARD II in wars against the Scots. Possibly knighted in 1387, he also served the earl of Arundel under Henry of Lancaster, who became King Henry IV (r. 1399–1413) in 1399. Glendower headed a Welsh rebellion in 1399. After being captured at Flint Castle, he was pardoned, but some of his lands were not restored to him. After an unsuccessful appeal to PARLIAMENT, Glendower turned to rebellion in 1400 and took on the title of prince of Wales. The main aims of Glendower and his followers were to secure the political and ecclesiastical independence and to preserve the native language and culture of Wales.

### CONQUESTS

As a rebel, Glendower gained considerable support because of agrarian discontent. He and his followers seized southern Wales and gained control of Conway, Ruthin, and Hawarden. In 1402 Glendower was crowned at Machynlleth, and while he negotiated with the English for peace he sought help from IRELAND and SCOTLAND. Glendower defeated the royal forces sent against him and captured Edmund Mortimer (1376–1409). This action paved the way for a treaty in 1402 with Mortimer and the Percy families for an attack on the England Crown itself. After his daughter married Mortimer, his new ally, Glendower released him. During the next few months he gained control of Carmarthen, Usk, Caerleon, and Newport. The alliance with the Percys ended at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, in which Glendower betrayed them. Glendower and his followers controlled Wales and ravaged the English border, regulated church appointments, and sent the bishop of Saint Asaph as an ambassador to FRANCE. Capturing Harlech and Cardiff, Glendower controlled the area west of Worcester, and in 1405 he called for a Welsh Parliament.

### DESCENT FROM POWER

From 1405 onward, Glendower was much less successful; first, his sons were captured by Prince Henry (later HENRY V). Glendower was then defeated in battle in 1406, was deserted by his powerful ally the earl of Northumberland the following year, and then lost Aberystwyth in 1408 and much of southern Wales. Glendower's wife and several of his relatives were captured by the English in 1413. Although King Henry V made offers of full pardon on the eve of his French campaign, Glendower never completely submitted to the English. Glendower perhaps died on September 20, 1415, at Monnington in Herefordshire. His sons concluded negotiations with the English the following spring, but on terms less favorable than those that had been offered to Glendower.

**Further reading:** R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Elissa R. Henken, *National Redeemer: Owain Glyndwr in Welsh Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

**gnomic literature** In the Middle Ages, the gnome was commonly defined as “a proverbial and concise expression of a general thought.” It is difficult to distinguish between the gnome and other types of pithy sayings, such as proverbs, epigrams or maxims. Gnostic literature comprises anthologies of poetry or prose in which the gnome in itself is cultivated as a literary form.

The gnostic literature of medieval Europe divided into “early” and “high” varieties. The early was created from 600 to 1100, in the early VERNACULAR literature of northwestern Europe: Irish, English, Welsh, and Norse. They developed outside the cultural domain of the Roman Empire basically free of classical and Christian influence. On an individual basis, gnostic expressions were commonly made in the great Anglo-Saxon poem *BEOWULF*.

Besides gnostic collections in medieval LATIN in the 11th century, the high medieval gnostic literature began with the emergence in the 12th century of the vernacular languages of Old French, Provençal, Middle English, Middle High German, Portuguese, and Italian. They differed from the earlier gnostic literature in several ways. Their new themes emphasized human actions, such as love, and their structures were oriented toward a musical intent. They were also completely dependent upon Christian ethics and classical literature.

**Further reading:** H. M. Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Kenneth H. Jackson, *Early Welsh Gnostic Poems* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935).

**Gnosticism** Gnosticism constituted a wide variety of religious movements during the second century. The term was derived from the Greek word *gnosis*, meaning “spiritual insight or knowledge.” Contemporary with early Christianity this in part initially pagan movement was about a search for knowledge of God that was supposedly rooted in a secret message found in the writings of the apostles and was revealed only to true believers. The early Christians regarded Gnostics as heretics, schismatics, or non-Christians. The only real extant documentation of Gnostic thought was in a collection of papyrus manuscripts discovered in Egypt at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945. Since then it has been seen as possibly originating in Judaism. In fact the term *Gnosticism* has come to be perceived as merely a label applied to a very diverse set of ideas and beliefs that seemed never to have coalesced in any kind of organization. Some ideas associated with it seemed to have existed during the

Middle Ages in various movements deemed heretical by the church, such as MANICHAISM and among the CATHARS, including their dualism, the goodness of material things, ideas about creation, spiritual election, the need for redemption, the necessity of a clergy, and the divinity and humanity of Christ. At least their orthodox contemporaries attributed these ideas to heretics.

See also ALBIGENSIANS AND ALBIGENSIAN MOVEMENT; BOGOMILS; CATHARS; DUALISM; HERESY AND HERETICS.

**Further reading:** James M. Robinson, *The Coptic Gnostic Library: A Complete Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2000); George Burke, *Gnostic Christianity: An Introduction* (Geneva, Nebr.: Saint George Press, 1994); Giovanni Filoramo, *A History of Gnosticism*, trans. Anthony Alcock (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York: Random House, 1979); David M. Scholer, ed., *Gnosticism in the Early Church* (New York: Garland, 1993); Riemer Roukema, *Gnosis and Faith in Early Christianity: An Introduction to Gnosticism* (London: SCM, 1999).

**God, history of concept of** In the religious and cultural monotheistic context of medieval Jewish, Christian, and Muslim civilizations, “God” or the Arabic word *Allah* or the Hebrew word for God, *YHWH*, only written and never pronounced, designated the Supreme Being, the creator of the universe who governed the world and cared for the destiny of each human being. This God was essentially a mystery, the one, unique, eternal, having no equal, completely transcendent, the creator of the universe, outside human experience, compassionate, perfectly just and merciful, all-knowing, all-seeing, and rewarding of good and punishing of evil among humans with free wills. God was the God of Abraham and had only one existence for these religions. For the Jews God was a national God. In all of these belief systems, one had to conduct one’s life in a good way in order to be allowed into heaven. There were always questions in all these religions whether God would grant universal salvation to all of humanity if those outside one’s religion did not practice the same and particular form of worship and belief. None of these religions was very tolerant of dissent or of other belief systems.

#### THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY

For medieval Christianity God was a Trinity in a unity. God consisted of three persons in one substance. Judaism and Islam have no such concept. From this followed the idea of the Incarnation of God as Jesus Christ, who became human in order to save humanity.

#### ATTAINING AN UNDERSTANDING OF GOD

There was some question about whether human intellect was capable of knowing let alone understanding God. There was also considerable debate at times in all these

belief systems about whether one could investigate and understand the qualities of God by using reason or whether faith alone, a gift from God, was all that was necessary to understand God and the human situation in relation to the divinity. Perhaps God was too transcendent to be understood by reason, even reason strengthened by classical learning and speculation.

#### ISLAM AND ALLAH

*Allah* is the Arabic word for God, used not only in the QURAN and in Islamic literature, but also by Christian Arabs. The term is sometimes considered to be contracted from al-ilah or “the deity,” which has cognates in other Semitic languages, but the ultimate derivation remains obscure. In intention Muslims refer to the same Supreme Being as Jews and Christians. Islamic theologians selected seven qualities of God, omnipotence, omniscience, will, speech, hearing, seeing, and life, but emphasized God’s transcendence and absolute difference from created things. Various natural phenomena were more explicitly mentioned as “signs” of God’s creative power, which he exercised to promote the welfare of humankind, including light, useful animals, rain, and crops. Humanity was to acknowledge this fact by worshipping and showing gratitude to God.

Allah was described in the QURAN as giving humankind revelations through prophets or “messengers” in which he communicated something of the divine nature and commands. Muhammad was regarded as following a long series of prophets, who included Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, all of whom gave revelations. Muhammad was called “the seal of the prophets.” Originally this probably meant that the Quran confirmed previous revelations, but now it has been taken to mean that there will be no other prophet after Muhammad.

#### ARTISTIC DEPICTIONS

In Islam and Judaism, the image of God was not allowed to be presented in art. In Christianity, God the Father and God the Son or Christ were frequently portrayed in anthropomorphic fashion or in human form except during moments of iconoclasm. These images could be consolatory or threatening. The concept of the Trinity and the third person of that Trinity, the Holy Spirit, were left more abstract.

See also ANSELM OF CANTERBURY; CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY; HOLY SPIRIT; ISLAM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; LAST JUDGMENT; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN; PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Binyamin Abrahamov, *Anthropomorphism and Interpretation of the Quran in the Theology of al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim: Kitab al-Mustarshid* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1996); Karen Armstrong, *A History of God: From Abraham to the Present, the 4000-Year Quest for God* (London: Heinemann, 1993); Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000); David B. Burrell,

*Knowing the Unknowable God: Ibn-Sina, Maimonides, Aquinas* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986); Herbert A. Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity, Creation, and the Existence of God in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Louis Gardet, "Allāh," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.406–417; Alister E. McGrath, *A Brief History of God* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

**Godfrey of Bouillon (Godfrey IV, Godefroi de Bouillon)** (ca. 1060–1100) *leader of the First Crusade, ruler of Jerusalem*

Godfrey of Bouillon was born at Boulogne or nearby Baisy in BRABANT around 1060, the second son of Count Eustace II of Boulogne and his wife, Ida, daughter of Godfrey II the Bearded (r. 1065–69) duke of Lower Lorraine. Accounts of the life of his mother stress her piety and care in the upbringing of her three sons, Eustace III, Godfrey, and BALDWIN I, the future king of JERUSALEM. Godfrey's father was probably away for much of his son's youth. Count Eustace participated at the side of WILLIAM I the Conqueror in the Norman Conquest of ENGLAND; he therefore held substantial lands on both sides of the channel, in England as well as in the county of Boulogne in modern BELGIUM and northern FRANCE.

Godfrey probably received a good education in letters from his mother and clerics. Because of the location of Boulogne between France and GERMANY, he was fluent in German and French. He certainly was trained in military skills. His later accomplishments in feudal warfare in the service of the German emperor, in protection of his own territories, and finally as a leader in the First CRUSADE demonstrated his abilities. As a second son, he had slim prospects. However, his childless uncle designated him as his heir and he became one of the key leaders in the First Crusade.

#### TERRITORIAL CONFLICT

In 1076, when Godfrey was about 15 years of age, his mother's brother, Godfrey III the Hunchback, (r. 1069–76), was killed, probably by an assassin, while campaigning against Robert I the Frisian (r. 1071–93) of Flanders. In his early 30s at the time of his death, Godfrey the Hunchback had already named his nephew and namesake, Godfrey of Bouillon, as his heir to the duchy of Lower Lorraine.

This inheritance propelled the adolescent Godfrey into the turbulent affairs, both political and religious, of the German Empire. Lorraine was important because of its strategic location as a buffer between German and French lands. Lower Lorraine was located between FLANDERS and Holland on the west and SAXONY on the east.

Because both the German emperors and the powerful ecclesiastical leaders wanted to exert firm control in this key area, the emperor Henry IV (r. 1056–1106) did not

automatically accept Godfrey the Hunchback's wishes by investing his inexperienced nephew with the important duchy of Lower Lorraine. Instead, to maintain control of this strategic province, Henry IV named his two-year-old son, Conrad (d. 1101), to the duchy and conferred on Godfrey the region around Antwerp. In addition, Godfrey succeeded to a few smaller territories.

For the next decade and more, as Godfrey grew up, he was occupied with protecting his territorial possessions by serving Henry IV. Henry IV battled both the PAPACY and an insurrection within Germany. Godfrey, eager to prove his loyalty to Henry IV and his worthiness to be duke of Lower Lorraine, supported the German emperor with military service.

After securing control over Germany, Henry IV pursued his chief adversary, Pope GREGORY VII, by leading troops into Italy between 1081 and 1084 and finally capturing ROME. Godfrey probably was part of the imperial forces at the siege of Rome from 1083 to 1084 and when Henry IV was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by an antipope.

Godfrey was finally invested as duke of Lower Lorraine. Although his elevation may have enhanced his prestige, it did not much increase his local political influence and power. In the investiture disputes, Godfrey had wavered between support of the emperor Henry IV and sympathy for local bishops and abbots who represented a growing movement for church reform in Lower Lorraine.

#### THE FIRST CRUSADE

The historical event that changed Godfrey's life completely was the First CRUSADE. In November 1095, Pope URBAN II preached a call for the First Crusade at the council in CLERMONT. Godfrey's willingness to participate in the First Crusade probably arose from a pious belief in the enterprise, perhaps a desire to atone for his vacillation on support for the papacy, and an awareness of the vulnerability of his position in the duchy of Lorraine. He sold or mortgaged most of his territorial possessions to the bishops of Liège and Verdun and was able to equip one of the largest and best contingents of knights to undertake the Crusade.

Godfrey and his followers left on crusade around August 1096. Their route took them overland from Germany along the Danube River through the kingdom of HUNGARY and into the BYZANTINE EMPIRE via modern BULGARIA. For the most part, Godfrey's troops were orderly, and negotiations with the king of Hungary, and ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, the Byzantine emperor, enabled them to obtain provisions. Just before Christmas 1096, they arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE, and in late April of 1097, Godfrey of Bouillon and BOHEMOND of Taranto led their troops from Constantinople into ANATOLIA.

Traveling through Anatolia and SYRIA, the crusaders did not reach their goal, JERUSALEM, for more than two years. Despite many difficulties, including the dangerous

terrain, attacks by the Turks, and dissension and disorganization among the leaders, the crusade was successful. The crusaders achieved a major victory at ANTIOCH in June 1098, along with a number of other military conquests.

In June 1099, the crusaders assaulted Jerusalem. On July 14–15, 1099, Godfrey and his knights were among the first to breach the walls and enter the city. In the aftermath of a massacre and a victory, the real difficulty became a way to hold Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Godfrey of Bouillon was selected to be the “Advocate or Defender” of the HOLY SEPULCHER. The size of the Western forces quickly fell as most of the crusaders returned home. The competition among leaders for land in the newly conquered Holy Land divided their efforts. Godfrey defeated an attack from EGYPT and subdued the surrounding countryside. With the help of Pisan and Venetian fleets, he rebuilt Jaffa, an essential port for Jerusalem and the kingdom. In June 1100, he became gravely ill while trying to aid another crusader, TANCRED at DAMASCUS. Taken back to Jerusalem and viewed as overly pious, he died about a month later, July 18, 1100. His brother, Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118), succeeded him as the king of Jerusalem.

See also CRUSADES.

**Further reading:** Edward Peters, ed., *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); John C. Anderssohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1947); John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**Gog and Magog** According to a distorted biblical tradition (Ezekiel 38–39 and Revelations 20:7–8), Gog and Magog were two imaginary peoples or nations under the rule of the DEVIL or Satan. Their great war at the “end of the world” was to be a prelude to the return of or the coming of a messiah. This tradition was cultivated in the Middle Ages, and various legends arose in western Europe that described these people as giants and somehow related to the JEWS. They were similarly represented in the various styles of medieval art. From the beginning of the year 1000 Gog and Magog became a central topic of popular sermons and expectations of the end of the world. In the late Middle Ages, the location of their homeland was fixed in the Far East, north of China. As Yajuj and Majuj they appeared in the QURAN and represented the forces of chaos or tribes of warring barbarians.

See also ANTICHRIST; APOCALYPSE AND APOCALYPTICAL LITERATURE; MILLENARIANISM, CHRISTIAN.

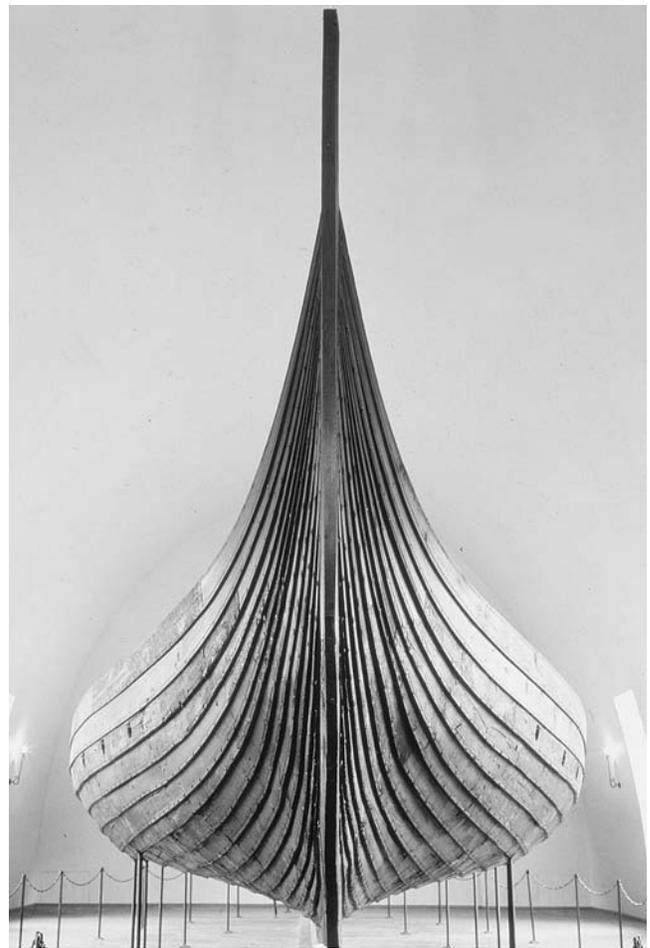
**Further reading:** Muhammad Ali, *The Antichrist and Gog and Magog*, 2d ed., trans. M. Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad

and ed. S. Muhammad Tufail (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, 1971); Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate: Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1932).

**Gokstad ship** This was a buried ship discovered in 1880 at Gokstad in NORWAY in a shallow trench equipped with a wooden burial chamber built aft of the mast. A skeleton of a body of a 60- to 70-year-old man was laid out on a bed in the chamber. Grave goods were placed in the chamber and around the ship before all were buried under an earth mound. Nearby, evidence was found of the sacrifice of horses, dogs, and a peacock. The excellent timber used for the burial chamber was dated by dendrochronology to between 900 and 905, probably about the time of the burial.

#### THE SHIP

The burial ship was undecorated and clinker-built, with 16 strakes or positions for an oar on each side. Built of



The Gokstad ship, a ninth-century Viking longship, Viking Ship Museum, Bygdoy, Norway (Werner Forman / Art Resource)

oak, it measured about 70 feet long, by 19 feet broad and seven feet deep. Propulsion depended on one square sail and 16 pairs of oars. Its keel points to its intended use in deep waters. A rack along the gunwale was designed to carry two shields between each oar port, suggesting the ship was built for a double crew of 64. A replica sailed across the Atlantic in 1893 and modern sea trials have demonstrated that it was seaworthy with good windward sailing abilities but unstable at more than a moderate speed. The Gokstad ship was probably a *karve*, a ship built for elite travelers.

#### GRAVE GOODS

Along with the ship, there were three boats, along with the remains of 12 horses, six dogs, a peacock, several beds, and equipment for shipboard cooking. These probably were only part of the original grave goods, since the site had been looted. The quality of these goods indicated that the person buried there belonged to the chieftain or royal class.

See also BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; OSEBERG FIND OR SHIP; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING; SUTTON HOO; VIKINGS.

**Further reading:** Ian Atkinson, *The Viking Ships* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1980); A. W. Brøgger, *The Viking Ships: Their Ancestry and Evolution* (Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1971); Thorleif Sjøvold, *The Viking Ships: A Short Description of the Tune, Gokstad and Oseberg Ships* (Oslo: Dreyers, 1956).

**Golden Bulls** The term was applied to documents of great importance and sealed with a bull made of gold. These were usually imperial documents, initially such as those by BYZANTIUM from whom the practice was adopted in the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Among the Golden Bulls, two are of particular historical importance.

The Golden Bull of Eger, issued in 1213 by FREDERICK II, granted privileges to the church and the German nobility to win their support in his struggle against Otto IV (d. 1218). The privileges led to a larger degree of autonomy of the German princes, who were then given full military and jurisdictional authority over vassals and subjects. The Golden Bull of Eger effectively divided Germany into a large number of principalities, under vague authority of an emperor. This was to remain the case for centuries.

The Golden Bull of 1356 issued by Emperor CHARLES IV, organized imperial elections in GERMANY through the establishment of a college of seven electors: the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and COLOGNE; the king of BOHEMIA; the duke of SAXONY; the margrave of Brandenburg; and the count-palatine of the Rhine. At the death of an emperor, the electors met at Frankfurt-am-Main and elected a successor. These electors were given regal rights, making them virtually independent rulers in Germany and recognizing their position at the top of the social and

political hierarchy. The system also flew in the face of the pope's claim to the privilege of deciding between rival candidates. It confirmed the tenuous unity of Germany.

**Further reading:** Friedrich Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (New York: Praeger, 1968); Brand Moeller; Jonathan W. Zophy, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Dictionary Handbook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980); Jonathan W. Zophy, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

**Golden Horde** See MONGOLS.

**Golden Horn** See CONSTANTINOPLE.

**Golden Legend** (*Legenda aurea*) It was a factual and fictional compilation of saints' lives completed between 1255 and 1265 by the DOMINICAN JAMES DE VORAGINE and was one of the most influential examples of literature in the Christian Middle Ages. Its circulation was enormous, with at least 1,000 LATIN manuscripts. There were translations into VERNACULAR languages in more than 500 additional manuscripts. It was among the most common texts in many early printed books. It was often used for the iconography of images, in PREACHING, and even in THEOLOGY. The text was not new and had little contemporary content but consisted of copying and summarizing of old sources. Its popularity was due to its supposed completeness and adaptability for various uses. The *Golden Legend* was perceived as a synthetic compendium of Christian history and religion conventionally organized according to the ecclesiastical CALENDAR.

The *Golden Legend* comprises more than 150 saints' lives, some 30 chapters dedicated to the feasts in celebration of Christ, the Virgin MARY, and the great liturgical feasts. Though written in Italy, it had no regional preference and could serve readily for any local use. The *Golden Legend* was compiled as part of the expansion of Christian evangelization early in the 13th century, especially by the newly created MENDICANT ORDERS. It allowed preachers easily to find needed anecdotal material for SERMONS on a saint of the day or to enrich refectory readings in convents.

**Further reading:** Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

**gold trade and gold working** In the Middle Ages and for time immemorial in most all cultures, gold was used as an instrument and a medium of exchange. Moreover, it was considered a precious object giving prestige and allowing the exercise of power. Western Europe had

difficult access to gold only by long caravan from the Sudan and western Africa to the Mediterranean, the distant mines of TRANSYLVANIA, and from exchange in TRADE with the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic world, where gold was still present and more readily available. The commercial profits of its merchants enabled Italian cities to mint gold COINAGE in significant quantities in the second half of the 13th century.

#### POWER AND PRESTIGE

Everywhere social prestige was linked with and displayed in the possession of gold bullion and gold work, especially when it facilitated display and largesse. Monarchs in the late antique world and the early Middle Ages, such as the emperors of Byzantium, were sometimes able to buy peace and security from barbarian tribes or threatening marauders with gold. In addition, they controlled their own officials, armies, and subjects in the same manner. Gold was prominent in their courts; on their tables in form of cups, vases, and plates; and on their persons in the clothing of kings worn to enhance beauty, show their valor, and associate the owner and wearer with victory, generous feasting, the possibility of lucrative patronage, and loyalty.

#### ARTISTIC SYMBOLIC VALUE

IN PAINTING, decoration, and MOSAIC throughout the Middle Ages, especially in Christianity, gold had a rich symbolic function. In painting, it was suggested to have a spiritual aspect, almost immortality, and a connection with divinity, especially when used to portray the splendors of HEAVEN, the sky, and the halos of the saints. Byzantine ICONS were not only the image of a saint, Christ, or the Virgin MARY, but also possessed, in the mind of some, an actual living reality and energetic tie to GOD. The struggle to obtain it, and its very possession, were also linked with concerns about questionable morality in SERMONS and in all kinds of popular and didactic literature. The sins of greed and gluttony were only too possible, if not necessary, in any circumstance involving dealing with gold.

See also ALCHEMY; GHANA; METALSMITHS AND METALWORK, METALLURGY; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** E. W. Bovil, *The Golden Trade of the Moors: West African Kingdoms in the Fourteenth Century*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); John H. A. Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340–1478* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); John T. Swanson, *The Not-Yet-Golden Trade: Contact and Commerce between North Africa and the Sudan, to the Eleventh Century A.D.* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1980).

**Goliardic poets** They were 12th-century satirical poets cleverly critical of contemporary society and the church. The etymology of *Goliard* has been disputed; it

might have referred either to *gala* or “gluttony”; or to the biblical giant Goliath, a symbol of evil, or to a mythical poet called Golias. This name *goliards* was given in the 12th century to disreputable poet-clerics who had usually abandoned their prebends to squander their incomes or had been disciplined by their clerical superiors and were wandering from town to town and congregating with students in taverns near the new schools. In some 13th-century texts, the Goliards appeared as clerics or students with depraved morals who were threatened by the church with the loss of their privileged clerical status. Now the term serves to designate the authors of a genre of medieval Latin poetry primarily from the 12th century.

#### CONTENT OF THEIR POETRY

Their poems often dealt with hedonistic themes in open opposition to traditional Christian morality about wine and drinking, amusements of all sorts, and forlorn and carnal love with considerable bitterness toward and suspicion of women. They were set in the context of youth, a joy of living, an appreciation of the gifts of nature, and a love of a particular national group. Goliardic poetry reflected the intellectual and scholarly innovation of the 12th century, with its increased social and geographical mobility, the development of schools, the new money economy, and an increased discovery of the beauties of nature. Goliardic poems criticized the excessive wealth of the church, the sexual and material vices of the CLERGY, the arrogance of NOBLES, and the crass power of new and excessive moneyed classes. Some poems were parodies of pious liturgical texts. Others contained references to ancient authors, especially the disgraced and exiled Ovid. Some of these oral poems and songs were eventually collected; the best known was the *CARMINA BURANA*. Most were anonymous; others have been reasonably attributed to known authors.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

**Further reading:** David Parlett, trans., *Selections from the Carmina Burana: A Verse Translation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986); Karl Breul, ed., *The Cambridge Songs: A Goliard's Song Book of the XIIIth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915); George F. Whicher, ed., *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979); Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, 7th ed. (London: Collins, 1968).

**Gospels (good news)** The word was applied from the second century to the narratives and descriptions of the message of Jesus Christ. There were numerous apocryphal gospels not considered authentic and faithful to Christ's message by the medieval church; the four canonical Gospels of Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were considered to embody the essence of Christian revelation and so were believed to contain the “good news” of

the possibility of human REDEMPTION through the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. The four versions seemed uniform in intention and based on a common experience, but clearly differed in detail. The supposed authors all knew Jesus, although two of the evangelists, Mark and Luke, were not apostles. A reason for their diversity was believed to be that each began at a somewhat different point. The main difference between the three Synoptic Gospels and that of John was believed to be his greater emphasis on a detailed and more spiritual account of Christ's teaching. All the authors recounted different miracles and parables, since they were probably not witnesses to all of them.

The reading of the Gospels was a fundamental aspect of the Christian liturgy, sermons, and spiritual reading by both the CLERGY and eventually the LAITY. All the inconsistency and opaqueness were rich fodder for learned commentaries, speculation, and explanatory writing by theologians throughout the Middle Ages.

See also APOCRYPHA AND APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT; BIBLE; CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY; GLOSSA ORDINARIA; JEROME, SAINT; LITURGICAL BOOKS; OFFICE, MONASTIC AND CANONICAL; VULGATE.

**Further reading:** "Gospel," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 693–694; Graham Stanton, *The Gospels and Jesus*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

**Gothic art and architecture** Gothic art and architecture were complex and diverse and created over a wide geographical area and chronological framework. In the 14th century the term *Gothic* expressed a certain disdain for styles considered barbarous and linked with the mythical Goths. The term has remained in use to label a multifaceted style of art that succeeded the ROMANESQUE styles and dominated western Europe from the mid-12th to the early 15th century in Italy and much later in northern Europe.

#### ORIGINS AND SPREAD OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

Gothic art and architecture were born in the Île-de-France, contemporary with and a product of the birth of a more sophisticated school and university system, a local prosperity brought about by a strong Capetian monarchy centered in Paris, much better lay education, a better understanding of classical literature, and the development of vernacular literature.

Among the creators of this artistic style was the abbot of SAINT-DENIS near Paris, SUGER, who read the writings associated with DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE and their emphasis on light and a hierarchy of forms. In 1140, he began to rebuild his abbey church, which soon exemplified the characteristics of Gothic architecture. The style let in much more light from windows opening onto

the choir and nave, and the ribs that lightened the vault and better distributed the weight of roofs and columns allowed for thinner walls, a more spacious nave, pointed arches, flying buttresses on the outside to carry weight (which created soaring heights), and the opening up of much larger windows. This style quickly spread to cathedrals at Sens, from 1140; at NOTRE-DAME in Paris in 1163; at Noyon from 1150 to 1235; at CHARTRES after 1194; at RHEIMS, finished in 1275; and at ROUEN and AMIENS soon thereafter. In the early 14th century, Gothic architecture became flamboyant, with extensive decoration on the outside and inside. These new architectural forms had by then found early expressions across Europe, in England at Durham, SALISBURY, Peterborough, YORK, Gloucester, CANTERBURY, and later in its most classic form in WESTMINSTER ABBEY. In Germany it was used at Magdeburg cathedral in 1209, Strasbourg in 1240, and COLOGNE. In Spain, it was soon employed at TOLEDO and Burgos. In Italy, the new MENDICANT ORDERS promoted the development of Gothic architecture, as in the upper basilica at ASSISI in 1253, and the communes soon followed suit, as at SIENA in its cathedral from the 13th century. STAINED GLASS became an important aspect of these buildings.

#### GOTHIC PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

For Gothic PAINTING, the ILLUMINATION of manuscripts attracted the most prestigious artists, but Italian artists mostly preferred painting wood panels or frescoes on church walls to creating illuminations. However, the choice of any of these painters either northern or southern to follow a neatly defined Gothic style in his work should not be underestimated.

The evolution of Gothic sculpture began in the statue columns of portals of these new churches. For them biblical heroes were carved as part of an architectural monumentality. The sculptors used stone to express more lifelike characteristics and human emotions such as the sadness of DEATH, as well as the great themes of their faith. Much of this work expressed complex doctrinal and fundamental concepts such as the Last Judgment in tympanums above doors. The details of this changing style and its actual artifacts can be best followed through the histories of its buildings and artists.

See also ALTARS AND ALTARPIECES; ASSISI; BERRY, JOHN, DUKE OF; CIMABUE, GIOVANNI; DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA; EYCK, HUBERT VAN, AND EYCK, JAN VAN; GENTILE DA FABRIANO; GIOTTO DI BONDONE; IVORY AND IVORIES; LIMBOURG BROTHERS; LOUIS IX, SAINT; MARTINI, SIMONE; MASONS AND MASONRY; MEMLING, HANS; PISANO, ANDREA; PISANO, GIOVANNI; PISANO, NICCOLÒ; PUCELLE, JEAN; ROSE WINDOW; SAINTE CHAPELLE OF PARIS; WEYDEN, ROGIER VAN DER.

**Further reading:** Robert G. Calkins, *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe: From A.D. 300 to 1500* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Michael Camille,

*Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996); Teresa Grace Frisch, *Gothic Art 1140–c. 1450: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, eds., *Gothic Art for England, 1400–1547* (London: V&A Publications, 2003); see the “Art, Architecture, and Manuscript Studies” in Section III of the Bibliography, pp. 835–840.

**Goths** They supposedly originated by the Baltic Sea. By the third and the fourth centuries, Gothic groups had moved south and were living along the northern hinterland of the Black Sea, in what is now modern Ukraine, Romania, and Byelorussia. They were a ruling elite, rather than an entire population. They invaded the Roman Empire in the third century, raiding into the Balkans, Greece, and ANATOLIA, even killing the emperor Decius (r. 249–251) in battle in 251. They were eventually driven back outside the empire in the 260s. Their relations with the empire remained ambivalent and fluid thereafter. At various times they were paid clients, sending soldiers to fight, especially against Persia. But mostly the Goths maintained their own political and cultural agendas, resisting Christianity and intervening in the Roman civil wars, supporting one candidate or another.

#### THE ARRIVAL OF THE HUNS

After about 375, this situation changed completely when the HUNS arrived from Central Asia. Some Goths were overrun by the Huns, while others were granted entry in 375 into Roman territory. By now they seemed to have been converted to ARIANISM and had begun to separate into the VISIGOTHS or western Goths and the OSTROGOTHS or eastern Goths. In 378 the Visigoths killed the Eastern emperor Valens (r. 364–378) and destroyed two-thirds of his army at the Battle of ADRIANOPLE. After that they became allies and settled along the Danube River. In 405–406 a large Visigothic force under ALARIC rampaged through Italy, sacked Rome, and eventually settled in Gaul, then Spain. After the death of ATILA and the subsequent collapse of the Hunnic Empire in the 460s, the Ostrogoths moved into Eastern Roman territory in the Balkans. The Goths had coalesced into two large groups, the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and from then on their different histories were of those peoples.

See also BARBARIANS AND BARBARIAN MIGRATION; ULPHILAS.

**Further reading:** Jordanes, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, ed. Charles Christopher Mierow (Cambridge: Speculum Historiale, 1960); Peter J. Heather, *Goths and Romans, 332–489* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Peter J. Heather, *The Goths* (New York: Blackwell, 1996); A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1936); Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. Thomas J. Dunlap, rev. 2d German ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

**Gotland** In the VIKING era, this large Baltic island was an independent state but a tributary territory of SWEDEN. *The Saga of the Gotlanders* and *The Law of the Gotlanders* indicate its continued consensual links with Sweden. By 1285, this annual tribute became an obligatory tax of 60 marks. The island was an oligarchic republic of peasant proprietors whose assembly dispensed justice. Other than collecting a tax, the king of Sweden did not collect a share of judicial fines or keep a representative on the island until later.

Gotland's wealth was based on its lucrative commercial location and location in the Baltic. At NOVGOROD the Gotlanders possessed a trading center and a church in the 11th century. In 1161, HENRY THE LION renewed the privileges granted to the Gotland MERCHANTS by the emperor Lothair III (r. 1125–37). A community of German merchants was soon established at Visby on the island. A war between Visby and the other inhabitants of the island in 1288 weakened the position of Gotland in the long run and in 1361 the Danish king Valdemar IV Atterdag (r. 1340–75) crushed an army of Gotland farmers and merchants. In the late 14th century, from 1398 to 1407, debilitating attacks of pirates led to an occupation of Gotland by the TEUTONIC ORDER. The island later returned to Danish rule.

See also FURS AND FUR TRADE; RUSSIA AND RUS'.

**Further reading:** Erik Nylén, *Stones, Ships, and Symbols: The Picture Stones of Gotland from the Viking Age and Before* (Stockholm: Gidlunds, 1988); Lena Thunmark-Nylén, *Bibliography for the Viking Age of Gotland* (Visby: Riksantikvarieämbetet och statens historiska museer, 1983).

**Gottfried of Strassburg** (fl. early 13th century) *German court author*

Nothing is known about his life except what can be glossed from his work. In the late 12th century, the theme of fatal love was reproduced in the various Celtic, English and French versions of his story of TRISTAN AND ISEULT. Gottfried took it up early in the 13th century, translated it into Middle High German, and adapted it for German court society. The theme of his unfinished work was to be faithful to love through suffering model, but he diverged creatively to modify certain episodes. He favored the tragic love story over an array of warlike actions that also form part of his legendary material.

See also WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

**Further reading:** Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan with the Tristan of Thomas*, trans. A. T. Hatto (Baltimore: Penguin, 1960); Michael Batts, *Gottfried von Strassburg* (New York: Twayne, 1971); Hugo Bekker, *Gottfried von Strassburg's "Tristan": Journey through the Realm of Eros* (Columbia, S. C.: Camden House, 1987); W. T. H. Jackson, *The Anatomy of Love: The "Tristan" of Gottfried von Strassburg* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

**government** See POLITICAL THEORY.

**Gower, John** (ca. 1327–1408) *highly regarded English court and religious poet*

Very little is known about John Gower's early life. Born about 1327, he probably held a legal office of some kind, perhaps in Westminster. His first major work, probably begun about 1376, was in French, *Miroir de l'Homme* (Mirror of man) or *Speculum meditantis*. In it Gower described the development of sin, the vices and the cardinal virtues, with the remedy available to humans, a special appeal to the Blessed Virgin MARY. Sometime about 1377 Gower retired to the priory of Saint Mary Overy in Southwark. He soon began work on his long Ovidian Latin poem, *Vox clamantis* (Voice of one crying out). Book I, written after 1381, contained a vivid description of the Peasant Rebellions. In it he presented a moral analysis for social decay in ENGLAND. Gower was a close friend of Geoffrey CHAUCER, who gave him power of attorney while away on the Continent in 1378. Chaucer later dedicated *Troilus and Criseyde* to Gower.

In 1390 Gower completed the first version of his most famous poem, written in English but given the Latin title *Confessio amantis* (The lover's confession). He wrote it at the request of King RICHARD II, who had asked him for "som newe thing" to read. *Confessio amantis* was not an autobiography of the poet or Gower's own amorous adventures. After a prologue in which Gower pointed out that any division in the soul introduced by sin created division and strife in the world. The subject of the poem was a man overcome by lust and desire for selfish pleasure. In the remainder of the poem, this lover confessed to Genius, a priest of Venus, and gradually recovered his REASON. He, doing so, overcame the division within himself. The poem ended with a PRAYER for good government and the rule of reason in the commonwealth of England.

Gower's masterpiece contained much medieval moral PHILOSOPHY and was illustrated by a great variety of exemplary tales. Between 1394 and the end of his life, Gower wrote some LATIN poems and, probably, French ballades. He married late in life in 1398, became blind about 1400, and died in 1408.

**Further reading:** John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963); John Gower, *The Mirror of Mankind*, trans. William Burton Wilson, revised by Nancy Wilson Van Baak (East Lansing, Mich.: Colleagues Press, 1992); John H. Fisher, *John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964); A. J. Minnis, ed., *Gower's Confessio Amantis: Responses and Reassessments* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983).

**grace** In the Middle Ages individuals debated about whether a gift of the Holy Spirit was absolutely necessary for humankind to obtain sanctification and salvation.

Beginning with AUGUSTINE's controversies with PELAGIUS, the first Christian centuries were full of debates over the relationship of this gift of GOD and action of the HOLY SPIRIT with human effort, free will, and capacity or agency. These debates were about the relationship and relative value of gratuity and merit earned by human effort in gaining salvation. They continued throughout the Middle Ages. WILLIAM of Ockham followed Pelagius and posited the central role of human will in the process of salvation. BONAVENTURE followed Augustine and essentially only admitted the necessity and value of grace as God's gift. Thomas AQUINAS synthesized his theology of grace with his ARISTOTELIAN concepts of VIRTUE and the central importance of regular practice or habit (*habitus*). Grace was exterior to human acts and likely to make human beings capable of doing good. By doing so it perfected and healed a human nature fundamentally damaged by sin. Thomas integrated grace into a moral theology based on the law as enriched by the Holy Spirit.

See also PREDESTINATION; SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**Further reading:** J. Patout Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1980); Bernard J. F. Lonergan, *Grace and Freedom; Operative Grace in the Thought of St Thomas Aquinas*, ed. J. Patout Burns (New York: Herder & Herder, 1971); Thomas Forsyth Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1960).

**Grail, legend of and Grail romances** The Grail was supposed to be a mysterious dish for food or a drinking vessel used at the Last Supper during Christ's Passion and was the object of legendary quests by knights in ARTHURIAN romances. It was perhaps inspired by Celtic mythology and associated with abundance, nourishment, feasting, and miracles. It first appeared in CHRÉTIEN de Troyes's *Conte du Graal*, carried by a young girl in a procession in the castle of the Fisher King. The Grail was made of precious material, gold decorated with precious stones, exuding a bright glow. In WOLFRAM von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, the Grail became even more marvelous as a stone with magical virtues. It had not yet clearly evolved into the actual chalice from the Last Supper. Robert de Boron (fl. 1200), in the late 12th century, made it that sacred object that was so linked to the Passion and death of Christ. The Grail was now a vessel that Christ used in the Holy Thursday meal and in which JOSEPH of Arimathea later collected blood flowing from Jesus's wounds on the cross. This Christian RELIC had become a symbol of the mystery of the Incarnation and REDEMPTION. Joseph's descendants were called to be the guardians of the Grail. In the *Queste del saint Graal*, or *The Quest for the Holy Grail*, from about 1220, it was linked with the chalice of the MASS and allowed the

heroes of the very difficult quest to find in order to see the mystery of transsubstantiation. GALAHAD, the purest knight, passed all the rigorous tests along the quest and was allowed in ecstasy to contemplate the divine when he reached his goal. The church maintained silence about the Grail throughout the Middle Ages.

See also GAWAIN AND THE GAWAIN ROMANCES; MALORY, THOMAS; ROMANCES.

**Further reading:** Chrétien de Troyes, "The Story of the Grail" in *Arthurian Romances*, trans. William W. Kibler and Carlton S. Carroll (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 381–394; Nigel Bryant, ed. *Merlin and the Grail, Joseph of Arimathea, Merlin, Perceval: The Trilogy of Prose Romances Attributed to Robert de Boron* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001); Pauline Maud Matarasso, trans., *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969); Pauline Maud Matarasso, *The Redemption of Chivalry: A Study of the Quæsta del Saint Graal* (Geneva: Droz, 1979); D. D. R. Owen, *The Evolution of the Grail Legend* (Edinburgh: University Court of the University of St. Andrews by Oliver & Boyd, 1968).

**grammar and grammatical treatises** See SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**Granada** (Gharnata, Illiberis, Elvira) A city with a temperate climate in southern AL-ANDALUS or Andalusia at the foot of the Sierra Nevada. Granada was the last stronghold of the Islamic presence in Iberia. The history of Christian Granada belonged, more than that of any other city of al-Andalus, to the MOZARABS. The city and the surrounding Genil Valley remained under Muslim rule for 781 years, from 711 to 1492. Built on the site of successive Iberian, Roman, and VANDAL settlements, Granada owed its name to that of the neighboring village of Gharnata, itself possibly derived from the Berber place-name Kernata or hill of strangers or the Romance form *granata* or pomegranate.

#### ARAB CONTROL

After the Muslim conquest in the early eighth century, it was governed by the Umayyad Caliphate at DAMASCUS. After 1031 a ZIRID ruler established an independent kingdom. The town fell to the ALMORAVIDS in 1090. A series of Almoravid rulers sent by the central government at MARRAKECH held the city until 1197 against increasing ALMOHAD pressure. By the close of the 12th century, the city had elaborate fortifications with 20 towers to protect it. By 1492 it had a double ring of encircling walls with more than 1,000 towers.

By 1200 prosperity of Granada under Almohad rule made it the fifth-largest city in Spain, with a mixed population of Arab, Spanish, and Berber Muslims; Spanish Christians; and JEWS all living in separate quarters. Muhammad I ibn al-Ahmar (r. 1232–72), prince of Jaén,

seized the city and founded the NASRID dynasty there in 1248. Muhammad was the first of an unbroken line of 21 Nasrid sovereigns who maintained the independence from the RECONQUEST of their state and city for some 250 years. Muhammad I ibn-al-Ahmar became a vassal of King Ferdinand III (r. 1217–52) of CASTILE, by paying him annual tribute and assisting his conquest of another Muslim principality, SEVILLE.

Muhammad's immediate successors formed an alliance with the Marinid sultans of MOROCCO. From 1273 Marinid armies twice defeated the Castilians. The Moroccan kingdom exacted a heavy price for this support, taking several towns from the Nasrids. By then Granada, however, enjoyed a unique position between Christian Spain and the Muslim al-MAGHRIB. The historian IBN KHALDUN and the traveling geographer IBN BATTUTA visited the town. The Nasrid rulers cultivated the arts, literature, and science as part of Islamic civilization. Arabic was the only language used in the city. By the end of Nasrid rule there were no Mozarabic Christian residents. During the rule of Muhammad V (1362–91), much of the ALHAMBRA was built and irrigation and AGRICULTURE flourished.

#### CHRISTIAN CONQUEST

The later history of the Nasrid dynasty and of the city can only be found in unfriendly Christian sources. They recounted how the precarious kingdom fell prey to bitter feuds among the leading noble families. The Nasrids compounded these problems by refusing to pay tribute and fighting about the succession. They were eventually no match for the war of attrition waged from 1481 by the newly united kingdom of ARAGON and Castile, under FERDINAND II and ISABEL I. After a nasty six-month siege Granada surrendered on January 2, 1492. Its last Muslim ruler, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad XI (Boabdil) (r. 1482–83, 1487–92), departed to exile in Morocco.

See also MOZARABS.

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, "The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 636–643; Enrique Sordo and Wim Swann, *Moorish Spain: Córdoba, Seville and Granada*, trans. Ian Michael (London: Crown Publishers, 1963).

**Granada, conquest of** See GRANADA.

**Gratian** (Franciscus Gratianus) (d. 1179) *father of canon law*

Gratian was a monk in the Camaldolese congregation of the Order of Saint BENEDICT. Hardly anything has been found about his life. He was a lecturer at the monastery of Saints Felix and Nabor in BOLOGNA in ITALY when that town was beginning to be known as a center for the study

of LAW. Canon law still lacked a systematic organization or method of study. Over centuries, popes had made legal decisions, councils had issued decrees, and the officials of the church throughout Europe had produced many collections of miscellaneous decisions and opinions. Much of this material contradicted itself and was too widely scattered to be readily found, read, or studied.

For a century before Gratian, scholars had attempted to collect all this material and put it in order, but no one had been successful. Sometime in the 1140s, after years of study, Gratian completed his work in this field. It quickly became the most important textbook on ecclesiastical law for all of western Europe. Gratian called his work *Concordia discordantium canonum* or "Harmony or Reconciliation of Conflicting Canons." In almost 3,800 chapters, he collected decrees from the COUNCILS and the popes, extracts from Roman laws, statements from the fathers of the church, and theological opinions. This became the material that regulated the life of the church for centuries. Making it easy to use and navigate, he arranged the material systematically, according to subject matter. He applied the new techniques of LOGIC and dialectic to resolve conflicting decrees and opinions. Gratian showed that the conflicts among all these texts were frequently caused by different uses of the same terms. He skillfully showed a way of interpreting this material and making practical sense for different situations.

Although it was never officially adopted by the church, "Gratian's Decrees," or the *Decretum*, became the foundational legal guide for popes, bishops, and ecclesiastical courts until it was finally replaced by a new code of canon law in 1917. Made a cardinal by ALEXANDER III, he died in 1179.

**Further reading:** Gratian, *The Treatise on Laws (Decretum DD. 1–20) with the Ordinary Gloss*, trans. Augustine Thompson and James Grodley (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1993); Stanley Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Stephan Kuttner, *Gratian and the Schools of Law, 1140–1234* (London: Variorum, 1983); Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, 3 vols. (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1975); Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

**graveyards** See BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; CEMETERIES AND GRAVEYARDS; DEATH AND THE DEAD.

**Great Church** See HAGIA SOPHIA.

**Great or Old Moravia** See BOHEMIA-MORAVIA.

**Great Schism** See SCHISM, GREAT (1054); SCHISM, GREAT (1378–1417).

**Greece and the Greeks** In the late Roman Empire, Greece was divided in several provinces, the diocese of MACEDONIA, and the prefecture of ILLYRICUM. Its cultural influence remained important. It was one of the last refuges of classical PAGANISM. In 529, JUSTINIAN closed the Academy of ATHENS. In the Middle Ages, Greece was part of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. *Greece* here means roughly the modern country.

#### SLAVIZATION AND RECONQUEST

SLAV invasions affected the region from the mid-sixth century. By the 580s, it was submerged by them, except for some towns, such as THESSALONIKI. Entire cities changed their location. The BYZANTINE reconquest began from the north. By the end of the seventh century, the creation of the Byzantine administrative and military themes of Macedonia and Hellas indicated that the eastern part of northern and central Greece was once again ruled from CONSTANTINOPE. The reconquest of the Peloponnese was accomplished by 805 and Patras regained its metropolitan status. An effective policy of conversion and Hellenization appeared to have followed. There were systematic transfers of population, with Slavs deported to ANATOLIA and Greek speakers moved back into Greece.

#### MEDIEVAL GREECE

Excluding Bulgar raids or the sack of Thessaloniki by Leo of Tripoli in 904, central and northern Greece were sheltered from Arabic invasions until the end of the 11th century. The building of churches and monasteries boomed. Mount ATHOS became the center of Byzantine MONASTICISM.

Around 1100, then again in 1185, central and northern Greece underwent Norman attacks from Southern Italy. The Fourth CRUSADE led to the takeover of the greater part of Greece by the Latins or Frankish KNIGHTS, and the Venetians. Byzantine sovereignty was eventually restored starting from Epiros and then from 1261 extended completely through northern Greece under the emperor Michael VIII (r. 1259–82). The region of the Duchy of ATHENS and especially the Peloponnese (the Frankish MOREA) suffered Latin occupation until the 15th century.

Starting from MISTRA, near Sparta, the Byzantine Greeks progressively conquered the Peloponnese. Mistra then became the seat of a brilliant court, held by one of the branches of the PALAIOLOGOS dynasty. Several of its princes occupied the throne at Constantinople. Though northern Greece was occupied from the late 14th century by the TURKS, the Morea resisted several years longer and fell into their hands only in 1460, four years after Athens.

See also LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE; NICAEA, EMPIRE OF.

**Further reading:** Deno Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966); Harold E. Lurier, ed. and trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461*, trans. Ian Moles (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

**Greek fire** This was a napalmlike substance that could be squirted under pressure from specially designed ships. It was used for the first time with devastating effect on the ARAB fleet besieging CONSTANTINOPLE in 678. Though it was a closely guarded secret, its formula seemed to have included crude oil, sticky resins and sulfur, heated and then sprayed through a pump with a bronze tube, becoming similar to a modern flame thrower. At a distance it doused an enemy with adhesive fire unable to be extinguished with water. It was also used in throwable grenades and in pumps deployed to attack or defend land walls.

See also WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

**Greek Orthodox Church** See CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX.

**Greek studies** See RENAISSANCE AND REVIVALS IN ART.

**Greenland** Huge, Greenland was a mostly ice-covered island in the far North Atlantic that was populated for a time in the Middle Ages. In 985, Erik the Red (d. ca. 1002), banned for crimes from ICELAND, sought exile in an unknown land hitherto only glimpsed by lost navigators. He reached the island and decided to colonize the southern coast. He optimistically, or deceptively, named it Groenland or Green Land. He returned to ICELAND and found colonizers for the new country, who settled on the southwestern and southeastern coasts. The resources at the island were meager, but its walrus IVORY enjoyed a temporary favor back in Europe. A bishopric was established at Gardarr. Two monasteries and a cathedral were built, and parish churches were established. The country and its small population passed under the rule of NORWAY, then DENMARK at the same time as Iceland in the 1260s. It was totally and mysteriously abandoned by 1500, but it seems likely that the settlers decimated the fragile ecological balance of their settlement areas and never adopted to living off the sea.

**Further reading:** Knud J. Krogh, *Viking Greenland: With a Supplement of Saga Texts* (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1967); Finn Gad, *The History of Greenland*, trans. Charles Jones (Copenhagen: A. Busck, 1982– ); Kirsten A. Seaver, *The Frozen Echo: Greenland and the Exploration of North America, ca. A.D. 1000–1500* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996).

**Gregorian chant (plainsong)** The term *Gregorian chant* initially designated the monophonic liturgical chant or singing of the early Latin or Catholic Church. Created at the very beginnings of Christianity, it lasted throughout the Middle Ages. Legend attributed its founding to Pope GREGORY I the Great, who was said to have received knowledge of it from the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove.

Though its real origins have remained much disputed, it was likely a repertory designed for memorization of material and styles of Roman origin that was introduced into Gaul in the eighth century by the political and religious policies of PÉPIN III the Short and then CHARLEMAGNE. It blended with the regional Gallican and Frankish liturgical and musical traditions, giving rise in the ninth century to what has been called Romano-Frankish chant. Over time this was the foundation of a whole corpus of liturgical MUSIC that gradually evolved throughout the Middle Ages. The chants of the 15th century, however, have little in common with those of this old Gregorian and Frankish foundation. It was enriched with OFFICES for saints and new musical forms from the ninth century, the new tropes and sequences.

Gregorian chant was a fundamental part of the liturgy. It elaborated and commented on texts with which it was supposed to have a close relationship. The majority of these texts, especially the older ones, were from the Psalms. This psalmody was derived from synagogue chant. Originally, the singing of psalms was reserved and limited to a cantor, but the congregation of clerics and even the laity were gradually invited and allowed to respond in the form of refrains. This responsorial psalmody was in reality the origin of the main musical forms of Gregorian chant, with the exception of HYMNS.

From the 10th century, the connection with texts was altered by adding polyphony, in which one or more voices were added to the traditional Gregorian melody. Texts were thus more or less obscured. From the 13th century, the rhythms of the texts were modified to allow an ordered progression for multiple voices. Several popes legislated against this musical innovation, considering it a hindrance to a liturgical and spiritual appreciation and understanding of the texts now overwhelmed with polyphonic singing.

Gregorian chant was transmitted almost completely orally until the late ninth century, when the first signs of a written notational scheme appeared. But the spread and

use of such writing was slow, and an oral tradition prevailed throughout the Middle Ages.

See also ANTIPHON; FEASTS AND FESTIVALS; MUSIC.

**Further reading:** Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958); Richard L. Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds. *The New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. 2, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Hendrick van der Werf, *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant: A Comparative Study of Ambrosian, Roman and Gregorian Chant*, 2 vols. (Rochester; N.Y.: Author, 1983).

**Gregorian reform** The inclusive term *Gregorian reform* has designated primarily the reform of the church conceived and attempted by Pope GREGORY VII between 1073 and 1085, but it should also include the ecclesiastical reforms begun in the mid-11th century and affecting almost every aspect of the life of the church. Reform of the moral and pastoral life of the clergy, especially promoting clerical CELIBACY and a serious struggle against SIMONY and NICOLAITISM, had begun well before the pontificate of Gregory VII. This larger program was promoted by all the popes from the mid-11th century. The reform of Pope Gregory concentrated on the question of relations and power of the LAITY over investiture and the property of the church.

Gregory VII sought to give the papacy a greater independence from the imperial power, perhaps in fact to be able to control it. From 1059, the election of the pope had been in the hands of the COLLEGE OF CARDINALS alone Gregory's *DICTATUS PAPAE* of 1075 explicitly claimed the superiority of the pope in the spiritual sphere and his authority over the emperor. This launched a great quarrel between the papacy and the clergy with the empire and the noble elite of CHRISTENDOM taking sides. The papacy from then on often sought to control both the spiritual and temporal spheres and even to intervene directly in the political life of the developing states of western Europe. These pretensions to such wide papal power were also great stumbling blocks to a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Ideally this program meant that the choice of prelates, bishops, and abbots, and benefice holders, canons, and parish priests was to be made in accordance with the rules of the newly elaborated canon law. That meant essentially clerical control, presumably without money changing hands or much lay influence. If investiture in an ecclesiastical office had been given by lay authority, this was to have no bearing on the spiritual aspect of priestly or clerical function or the status of the new officeholder. By 1095, these rules were expanded to include a prohibition on the clergy to pay any kind of

homage to a lay person. Furthermore, the church was to have complete and unrestricted control of the properties linked with an office or a BENEFICE; the family of the cleric or priest would have no right over it or its fruits. These were to remain issues between the clergy and the laity throughout the Middle Ages.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; BONIFACE VIII, POPE; CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS; GREGORY IX, POPE; INNOCENT III, POPE; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY AND DISPUTES; LAITY; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; PAPACY; PASCHAL II, POPE; REFORM, IDEA OF

**Further reading:** John Gilchrist, trans., *The Collection in Seventy-Four Titles: A Canon Law Manual of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Cambridge: B. Blackwell, 1992); Jack Lord, *Saint Peter Damiani and His Canonical Sources: A Preliminary Study in the Antecedents of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1956).

**Gregory I the Great, Saint** (540–604) *Roman magistrate, lawyer, monk, pope, doctor of the church*

Born at Rome about 540, Gregory was the well-educated son of an aristocratic Roman family and the great-great-grandson of an earlier pope, Felix III (r. 483–492). He began his adult life on a career path that would have led him to the highest offices of what was left of the government of the Roman Empire in the West. By 573 he was the prefect of Rome, the highest civil official of the city. However, he renounced this career in 574 and retired into a life of austere monastic contemplation. His vast property holdings he either sold for the relief of the poor or used for the endowment of monasteries in SICILY.

Pelagius II (r. 579–590) became pope in 579, when Rome itself was under siege by the LOMBARDS. The new pope summoned Gregory from his monastery, ordained him a deacon, and sent him as his personal representative to the BYZANTINE court at CONSTANTINOPLE. There he was to tell the emperor of the urgent need in ITALY for defense against BARBARIAN invaders. Gregory stayed in Constantinople for almost six years but had little success since the emperor was too preoccupied with the defense of the eastern frontier against the Persians to help remedy the situation in the West.

About the same time, Leander (ca. 540–ca. 600), the bishop of SEVILLE, was also in Constantinople on a mission for Visigothic Spain. He encouraged Gregory to write the *Moralia*, a commentary on the biblical book of Job that became a model for biblical exegesis for the rest of the Middle Ages. About 585 Gregory returned home and became the abbot of his monastery. At the death of Pelagius II in February of 590, the people of Rome demanded that Gregory succeed him as pontiff. He tried to escape from the troubled city to avoid the responsibilities of the

office at that moment and live a contemplative life, but he finally accepted and ascended the papal throne on September 3, 590.

#### PAPACY AND WRITING

Gregory interpreted primacy of the papal office as first one of service. He was the first to call himself the “slave of the slaves of God.” An idealist, he wanted to eradicate corruption and vice among the clergy and to mobilize the resources of the church for the benefit of the poor. The most pressing of Gregory I’s concerns from the moment of his ascent were the physical well-being of the people of Rome and the wider political situation in Italy. The effects of the flooding of the river Tiber, PLAGUE, and FAMINE made the marshaling of resources and the alleviation of suffering urgent but difficult matters. On receiving news that the LOMBARD duke Ariulf (r. 590–615) was marching on Rome, Gregory, a very competent manager, directed the defense of the city and appointed military governors for other Italian cities as well. In 593, with Rome under siege, Gregory negotiated a truce between Ariulf and the city. In 598 he assisted in the establishment of a formal peace between the Lombards and all of Italy.

Besides being conscious of papal authority, Gregory saw himself as a loyal citizen in the Roman tradition and so a subject of the Roman emperor at Constantinople. However, he saw clearly that the “barbarian” kingdoms of western Europe had become permanent political entities. So he entered into direct relations with the MEROVINGIAN rulers of Gaul. One of Gregory’s most significant acts as pope was the sending in 596 of 40 monks from his own monastery under the leadership of AUGUSTINE to attempt the conversion of the ANGLO-SAXONS. In England his missionaries were successful and established two bishoprics at CANTERBURY and YORK, both directly under papal control.

Soon after he took office, there appeared his *Book of Pastoral Rule*, an extended discussion of the pastoral responsibilities of the office of bishop in the church. In his *Dialogues*, Gregory, with a great credulity in the paranormal, recorded for popular edification the lives and miracles of the holy men and women of Italy and included in Book II the first biography of BENEDICT of Nursia, the father of Western MONASTICISM. In addition to these works, there have survived more than 60 sermons and 854 pastoral letters, all of them read for the rest of the Middle Ages. After years of suffering prolonged attacks of gout and gastritis, yet still an effective and model pastor, Gregory died on March 12, 604.

See also MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES; PAPACY; PURGATORY.

**Further reading:** Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1959); Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1990); Gregory

the Great, *Pastoral Care*, trans. Henry David (New York: Newman Press, 1950); John C. Cavadini, ed., *Gregory the Great* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996); R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

#### Gregory VII, Saint (Hildebrand) (ca. 1020–1085) *Italian pope*

Gregory VII was born Hildebrand, perhaps at Soana in Tuscany, between July 13 and 23, about 1020, the son of Bonizo and Bertha. Reliable evidence about Gregory VII’s origins and early career is rare. He spent his early years at ROME, where he received an education and had contact with the papal court, then still burdened with much corruption. About 1046 as an exile, he became associated in Lorraine with a vigorous reforming group. He probably became a monk then, not at the great reforming monastery of CLUNY.

Returning to Rome in 1049 as a follower of the newly elected pope, Leo IX (r. 1049–54), Hildebrand spent the next 24 years in the service of that pope and his successors. During this period, he was involved in every aspect of reform and the process by which the PAPACY sought to liberate itself from lay control, German as well as Italian, and to establish its rights of jurisdiction over local churches. He was sent on legatine missions in ITALY, FRANCE, and GERMANY, and his influence over both the formulation and the implementation of papal policy grew steadily, so that by the 1060s he had become the most eminent of papal advisers.

Though physically small and weak of voice, Hildebrand possessed a commanding personality. Some of his contemporaries were impressed by his keen glance, his vigorous enthusiasm, and his indomitable persistence and fanaticism with which he denounced what he believed to be wrong.

#### ELECTION AS POPE

When Alexander II (r. 1061–73) died in April 1073, Hildebrand was acclaimed pope during Alexander’s funeral by a crowd on April 22/23, 1073. The cardinals later accepted such popular choice. His enemies later made much of these irregular and uncanonical proceedings. Nevertheless the new pope, Gregory VII, began his pontificate initially without the embarrassment of a contested election.

#### MAIN OBJECTIVES AND CONTROVERSY

Certain objectives dominated Gregory’s policies: the need for reform, the assertion of his absolute primacy in

the church, and his personal vindication against the emperor HENRY IV's (r. 1056–1106) defense of traditional religious and political practices. Gregory was especially concerned with SIMONY, the buying and selling of ecclesiastical office, and the elimination of clerical MARRIAGE to protect ecclesiastical property rights.

At the core of these goals was ending lay control, either royal or aristocratic, over ecclesiastical appointments. This was a control embodied in the ceremony of INVESTITURE, by which a lay ruler conferred church office on his chosen nominee. In the second half of the 11th century more radical reformers began to challenge this principle. Unlike the more moderate reformers, Gregory was convinced that moral reform of the clergy was not attainable without the elimination or minimization of lay control over ecclesiastical offices. He had always espoused the principle that papal primacy of jurisdiction in the universal church or superiority over all temporal rulers was no longer to be limited or questioned. These convictions were reflected in a document known as the *DICTATUS PAPAE*, with the unprecedented claim “that he [Gregory] and his successors may depose emperors.”

Gregory's attempts to realize this objective led to a clash between pope and emperor and to the onset of the “investiture contest.” This conflict outlasted both of the initial protagonists and involved civil war, leading Germany to political disintegration. In the throes of this conflict during his papacy, Gregory excommunicated the emperor Henry IV on two occasions. In response Henry twice sought Gregory's dismissal and sponsored the elections of antipopes.

The first of several dramatic events in this confrontation was Gregory's absolution of Henry IV in January 1077. Henry had appeared before the pope at CANOSSA in abject penitence, which Gregory accepted. This was, for Henry, a momentary personal humiliation but a diplomatic victory. For Gregory, this was pastoral victory but a diplomatic disaster. The second was Gregory's death at Salerno on May 25, 1085. Undaunted by embarrassing setbacks, such as being hustled out of Rome by the NORMANS, Gregory was reputed to have said self-servingly, “I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore, I die in exile.” Since 1606 he has been venerated as a saint in the Roman Catholic Church.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM.

**Further reading:** Ephraim Emerton, ed. and trans., *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); H. E. J. Cowdrey, ed. and trans., *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); John Gilchrist, ed. and trans., *The Collection in Seventy-Four Titles: A Canon Law Manual of the Gregorian Reform* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

**Gregory IX, Pope (Uso, Ugolino dei Conti of Segni)** (ca. 1145–1241) *pope who established the medieval Inquisition*

Ugo or Ugolino di Segni was born around 1145 at Anagni in the Campagna region of ITALY. His father was count of Segni and his uncle was Pope INNOCENT III. Ugo was given a sound education, attending the Universities of BOLOGNA and PARIS, where he studied THEOLOGY and LAW. He was a deeply religious man and pursued his spiritual calling with vigor and enthusiasm. Little has been found about his early years as a priest. In 1198, with the ascension of his uncle to the PAPACY, Ugo di Segni was appointed papal chaplain, then archpriest of Saint Peter's, and finally cardinal-deacon of Saint Eustachio. In May 1206, Pope Innocent III promoted him to cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri.

#### UGO AS CARDINAL

In 1207, Innocent sent Cardinal Ugo as a papal legate to GERMANY to mediate between the rival imperial claimants Philip of SWABIA (r. 1198–1208) and Otto of Brunswick (d. 1218). The legate failed to convince either man to renounce his claims but succeeded in establishing a truce. After Philip was assassinated, Ugo made another trip to Germany in 1209, to convince the German princes to accept Otto as the rightful king.

At the unexpected death of Pope Innocent III in 1216, Ugo di Segni played a pivotal role in the election of the next pope. The College of CARDINALS, searching for someone to succeed Innocent quickly, empowered Cardinal Ugo and Cardinal Guido of Preneste to appoint the new pope. Their selection of Honorius III (r. 1216–27) as pope proved beneficial to Ugo in many ways. In January 1217, Honorius made Cardinal Ugo papal LEGATE to LOMBARDY and Tuscany, directing him to preach a Crusade in those regions. Ugo became a successful mediator between Italian cities, such as PISA and GENOA in 1217, between MILAN and Cremona in 1218, and between BOLOGNA and Pistoia in 1219. In addition to enjoying the support of the pope, he developed a relationship with the young Holy Roman Emperor-elect, FREDERICK II. It would prove to be the most contentious relationship of his long life.

On November 11, 1220, Frederick II was crowned emperor in ROME. At this ceremony, Frederick took a vow to embark on a crusade to the HOLY LAND. As a strong supporter of the CRUSADES, Ugo was later never to forget that Frederick was slow to fulfill his promise.

On March 18, 1227, Honorius III died, and once again the College of Cardinals sought a swift replacement. The previous selection success led the cardinals to approach Ugo di Segni and two other cardinals, asking them to appoint a new pope. On March 19, Ugo di Segni reluctantly accepted and took the name Gregory IX. He was more than 80 years of age.

### PAPACY

The pope's problems with Frederick II escalated. For seven years, Frederick had put off a crusade. The new pope immediately ordered Frederick to fulfill his obligation. On September 8, 1227, Frederick reluctantly set sail from Brindisi. Within three days he turned back, saying that he was seriously ill and that a companion was dying in an outbreak of PLAGUE. On many previous occasions, Frederick had done the same. Gregory no longer trusted the emperor and excommunicated him on September 20, 1227. Gregory wrote an encyclical to justify the EXCOMMUNICATION. The emperor countered with a manifesto condemning the actions of the pope. The pope published his encyclical in the basilica of Saint Peter on March 23, 1228, but was then insulted and threatened by a Roman mob. The pope fled, first to Viterbo and then to Perugia. Three months later, with the pope still in exile, Frederick and a small army on June 28, 1228, sailed for the PALESTINE. He asked the blessing of the pope, but Gregory refused, saying that an excommunicated emperor could not undertake a holy war and released the crusaders from their oath of allegiance to Frederick. Frederick continued and conquered CYPRUS, but when he reached the Holy Land, his mission turned into a diplomatic negotiation. With the sultan of EGYPT, he signed a treaty at Jaffa that resulted in Christian access to the cities of Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethlehem in exchange for permission for the Muslims to keep their MOSQUE at Jerusalem. The following year Frederick had himself crowned king of Jerusalem. Gregory denounced this treaty and mounted a papal army to invade the emperor's kingdom in SICILY. Frederick II returned from the Holy Land and defeated it.

### RECONCILIATION AND CONFRONTATION WITH FREDERICK II

Gregory still remained in exile until February 1230, when he returned to Rome. The Treaty of San Germano was signed by the two on July 20, 1230, restoring the old papal possessions in Sicily to the pope and creating a truce between the two leaders. Frederick's excommunication was removed on August 20, 1230, and the pope and emperor met in reconciliation at Anagni.

The peace between these two strong-willed men was short. The emperor sought unencumbered temporal power, so that the pope would not have any right to interfere in his domains in Italy. Gregory believed the pope should have ultimate power over Italian affairs. Frederick assisted the pope in suppressing some minor revolts as required by the Treaty, but soon began to ignore most of its provisions. Frederick wanted to clarify his authority over Lombardy and TUSCANY, so launched a war and won a key battle at Cortenuova on November 27, 1237. In the pope's eyes, the freedom of Lombardy was necessary for the safety of the pontifical states. To protect Lombardy from the emperor, Gregory allied with

Tuscans, Umbrians, and Lombards to thwart Frederick's progress. Frederick kept winning battles and even seemed to want to restore to the empire power over the Patrimony of Saint Peter and all of Italy. After Frederick invaded SARDINIA, a papal fiefdom, Gregory excommunicated the emperor again on March 12, 1239, believing that there would not be peace as long as Frederick remained emperor. He placed a ban on any German princes who supported the emperor, threatening their excommunication.

Despite these threats, many princes remained aligned with Frederick. Encouraged by this, Frederick declared himself to be the master of the Papal States. Gregory then ordered all bishops to meet in Rome on March 31, 1241. Frederick forbade the bishops to travel to Rome and his troops captured several. Frederick also sent an army to Rome and camped outside the city to intimidate the pope and his clergy. Before a confrontation could come to a lead, Gregory died suddenly in Rome on August 22, 1241, leaving the confrontation with Frederick unresolved.

### ECCLESIASTICAL LEGACY

Gregory IX recognized the importance of education and accepted ARISTOTLE's teachings as a basis for Scholastic philosophy. He commissioned William of Auvergne (ca. 1180–1249) to make Aristotle's work accessible to students. He bestowed privileges on the University of Paris, his alma mater. Gregory had a long and supportive relationship with Saints FRANCIS and DOMINIC. He was a cardinal protector of the Franciscans. He also acted as an adviser to SAINT CLARE OF ASSISI.

Gregory tried to reunite the Roman and Greek churches but failed. The pope saw the Crusades as necessary to the continued growth and defense of Christianity. At the request of King LOUIS IX of FRANCE, he sent a papal legate to Louis's crusade against the ALBIGENSIANS in southern France. Gregory showed little patience with or compassion toward any perceived HERESY. He promulgated a law that condemned unrepentant heretics to burning and repentant heretics to life imprisonment. This was a basic principle for the medieval INQUISITION, through which the church was to pursue heretics for centuries to come.

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Penguin, 1988); Eamon Duffy, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: Immulator Mundi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

### Gregory of Nazianzos, Saint (the Theologian) (329/330–389/390) *writer, poet*

The well-educated son of the bishop of Nazianzos in Cappadocia, Gregory was born about 329/330 and became bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE on November 27, 380–381. He taught rhetoric and chaired the Second Ecu-

menical COUNCIL in 381, when he opposed the followers of Eunomios (ca. 325–ca. 395). He was bishop of Nazianzos from 382 to 384, before his death about 390. His writings included sermons (*Orationes*) and polemics against HERESY. His chief historical role was that of defender of orthodoxy on the one nature of GOD, the three persons of the Trinity, and the humanity and divinity of Christ. He died November 27, 389/390.

See also BASIL THE GREAT, SAINT; GREGORY OF NYSSA, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Georges A. Barrois, trans., *The Fathers Speak, St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986); Leslie Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

**Gregory of Nyssa, Saint** (ca. 335–ca. 394) *theologian*  
Born about 335 and a brother of BASIL of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa was appointed bishop of Nyssa in 371 but was removed for two years in 376–378 on false charges of mismanagement of diocesan business. He returned to the position only after the death of the emperor Valens (r. 364–378). He defended Orthodoxy against ARIANISM at the Council of Constantinople in 381. He was remembered chiefly as a spiritual guide and speculative theologian of great originality who wrote treaties on VIRGINITY, TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE, the Resurrection, in addition to polemics against heretics such as those who followed Eunomios (ca. 325–ca. 395). He died about 394.

See also PLATO, PLATONISM, AND NEO-PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Gregory of Nyssa, *Saint Gregory of Nyssa: Ascetical Works*, trans. Virginia Woods Callahan (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1967); Georges A. Barrois, trans., *The Fathers Speak, St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986); Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Presence and Thought: Essay on the Religious Philosophy of Gregory of Nyssa*, trans. Mark Sebanc (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1995); Anthony Meredith, *Gregory of Nyssa* (London: Routledge, 1999).

**Gregory of Tours, Saint** (Georgius Florentius Gregorius) (538/539–594) *Frankish bishop, historian*

The son of a prominent family in Avergne in south-central FRANCE, Gregory was born on November 30, 538/9. His father was a Roman senator, and relatives of his mother held high offices in the church. He studied at Lyon not only the BIBLE and the lives of the Christian martyrs but also the secular literature. At age 25 he became a deacon in the church in 563. In 573, while he was in Tours to seek a cure at the tomb of Saint MARTIN

for a mysterious sickness he had contracted, Gregory was asked by the people to stay and become their bishop as had many of his ancestors had done.

Two years later the city of Tours fell under the control of Chilperic (r. 561–584), a cruel and callous king of the FRANKS at Soissons, who enforced his orders by blinding those who disobeyed him. For nine years Gregory battled Chilperic to protect people from the king's brutality. Chilperic did not dare attack the bishop openly since Gregory had strong support. Over the years they learned to live together in compromise in an uneasy peace. He worked as a counsellor to the successors of Chilperic. In his last 10 years as bishop, after Chilperic had died in 584, Gregory was involved with only some success in political and diplomatic activity to protect his province. He kept peace and order in the church of Tours, disciplining with firmness those monks and NUNS who were troublesome.

## WRITING

Gregory also found time to write in a rather rustic Latin. He produced a history of the Frankish people between 573 and 591; despite its excessive length and crude style, it is the main source of knowledge about the history, language, religion, and social customs of the Merovingian Franks. Gregory wrote from an ecclesiastical point of view, excusing the crimes of the Frankish kings who favored the church and pointing out the defects in those who did not. Gregory also wrote about MIRACLES and on the lives of the saints, frequently revealing a gullible personal belief that bordered on superstition. His liturgical manual, in which he described a technique to calculate the various prayers from the arrangement of the stars, was another valuable treatise. Gregory died in Tours on November 17, 594, and was quickly accepted by the people of Tours as a saint.

See also CLOVIS; MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, 2 vols. trans. O. M. Dalton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927); Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Books, 1974); Gregory of Tours, *Life of the Fathers*, trans. and ed. Edward James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Walter A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London: Methuen, 1962).

**Groote, Gerard** (Geert, Gerhard, Grote) (1340–1384) *Dutch preacher, mystic, founder of the Brethren of the Common Life and of the Devotio Moderna*

Born of wealthy parents at Deventer in October 1340, Gerard Groote received extensive education in law,

MEDICINE, and THEOLOGY at AACHEN, COLOGNE, PARIS, and PRAGUE. But in about 1374/5 his life changed dramatically when he experienced a spiritual conversion. Influenced by his friend Jan Van RUYSBROECK, he gave up his wealth and possessions and entered a CARTHUSIAN monastery. After two years there, wanting to preach, he was ordained a deacon but never a priest; he subsequently left the monastery. He began to preach in the diocese of Utrecht and attracted large, enthusiastic audiences. Groote's popularity was the result of his preaching well in the VERNACULAR (unlike the LATIN services of the church) and his appeal to the spiritual ideals of the times. This popular religious feeling centered on the imitation of Christ, an idea that all Christians should practice Christ's virtues and imitate his life. Groote preached this message, and although he was never heretical, he angered the church by his criticism of the clergy's sexual mores, wealth, and power. For this reason, in 1384 the bishop of Utrecht ordered Groote to stop preaching on the grounds he was not a priest. Groote obeyed, but he appealed to the pope. Before the pope could reply, Groote died at the age of 44, on August 20, 1384.

Although his career was cut short, the legacy of Gerard Groote was important. His followers formed the BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE, whose aim to teach and thus develop their moral and spiritual qualities. One result of this movement was greatly improved education in the NETHERLANDS and GERMANY.

See also *DEVOTIO MODERNA*; KEMPIS, THOMAS À.

**Further reading:** John Van Engen, trans., *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writing* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988); Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the "Devotio Moderna,"* 2d ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books 1965); R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

**Grosseteste, Robert** (ca. 1168–1253) *English churchman, scientist, exegete, statesman*

Robert Grosseteste was born about 1168 at Stradbroke, Suffolk, of humble parents. There is little information of him until much later in his life. Educated at OXFORD, where he became magister, or master, in 1199, he then studied at PARIS. By 1215, he was back in ENGLAND, where he is believed to have been at the meeting of King JOHN and the barons at Runnymede, where the king accepted the MAGNA CARTA.

As the first English scholar who knew both Greek and some Hebrew, Grosseteste soon rose within the church. In 1224 he was made the first rector of the FRANCISCANS at Oxford, and the next years saw his rise through a series of church positions: archdeacon of Wiltshire, then Northampton and Leicester; a rich prebend in Lincoln; and chancellor of Oxford University. Grosseteste was one of the few medieval churchmen to sympathize with the

JEW. He may have had contact with Jews through learning Hebrew from a rabbi in Oxford. By 1231 he was writing works to try to gain converts from Judaism. In 1232 he gave up many of his posts so that he could remain at Oxford, but in 1235 he was elevated to the bishopric of Lincoln, one of England's largest and richest sees.

From then on Grosseteste was absorbed by the administration of his CATHEDRAL and diocese. From 1239 to 1245 he had to carry out a dispute with the chapter over his rights of visitation or supervision. He finally won, but only after visiting the pope in LYON to gain his support.

Grosseteste was active in support of the PAPACY in England and of papal claims against the barons at the Council of Merton in 1236, but he was also to object to the papacy in matters of perceived abuses, such as papal nepotistic attempts to find positions in England for Italian clerics. In 1253 he refused to place the pope's absentee nephew in a canonry at Lincoln because of his lack of knowledge of English. In addition, he often opposed the policies of the king. In 1244 Grosseteste prevented the granting of a subsidy to the king, stood as a clerical representative to discuss the financial needs of the Crown, and was one of the 12 appointed to a committee to regulate the conduct of the king and his ministers. In 1252 he opposed HENRY III's demand for a 10th of the church's revenues, granted for a crusade. A friend and adviser to SIMON DE MONTFORT the younger, Grosseteste played an important part in the politics of his age.

#### INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE

His most long-lasting influence lay in his writings and his fame as a scholar. Roger BACON was one of his pupils, and Grosseteste appeared in his own time as a universal genius, as evidenced by his long list of works. He produced treatises on law, philosophy, free will, French poems, physics, biblical commentaries, and AGRICULTURE, as well as theology. He produced TRANSLATIONS and commentaries on such works as ARISTOTLE'S *Physics* and *Ethics* and on the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the Ignatian Epistles. His important work on OPTICS and light was also part of the basis of some aspects of his rebuilding of Lincoln Cathedral.

#### DEATH AND REPUTATION

Taken ill during the summer of 1253 while at Buckden in Buckinghamshire, Grosseteste died on October 9 and was buried in the south transept of Lincoln Cathedral. MIRACLES were soon reported at his tomb, but repeated attempts to procure his canonization failed because his public career had at times opposed papal authority. Canonized informally by the people of northern England, he has been described as among the best influences in English public life of the 13th century.

**Further reading:** J. J. McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982);

Robert Grosseteste (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Richard W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

**Guarino da Verona** (Battista, Guarino, Guarini, Veronese) (1370/74–1460) *one of the founders of the idea of a Renaissance education*

Born in 1374 Guarino acquired his expertise in Greek during a stay in CONSTANTINOPLE between 1403 and 1408. He returned with an excellent knowledge of the Greek language and with an impressive collection of Greek manuscripts. He was invited to FLORENCE as a teacher and spent four years there, 1410–14; he left because of a quarrel with Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437), who was likely jealous of Guarino's mastery of Greek. After attempts to settle at Padua and elsewhere, he was called to FERRARA in 1429 by Niccolò d'ESTE (d. 1441), as a tutor to his son, Leonello (d. 1450), and to be professor at the university. Except during a period of employment as Greek interpreter at the Council of FERRARA-Florence (1438–45), he remained at Ferrara for the rest of his life.

#### LEGACY

Lacking much original literary or philosophical ability, Guarino was a dedicated teacher of LATIN and Greek. He demanded a thorough training in the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS, especially grammar, proficiency in writing verse as well as prose, knowledge of classical history and mythology, and rhetorical practice in composing speeches on classical models. In his lectures he commented in detail on the texts of Latin authors. On occasion he had to defend himself for his supposedly overzealous lecturing on the Roman dramatist Terence when his pupils were supposed to be in church. Among his greatest innovations were his ideas that Greek literature and culture had equal importance to those in Latin in education. He translated Plutarch's *On the Education of Children* and revised the Greek grammar of Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, who had been one his teachers. With many distinguished pupils and as a famous exponent of a classical education, he died in Ferrara on December 14, 1460.

See also SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES; VITTORINO DA FELTRE.

**Further reading:** Battista Guarino, "A Program of Teaching and Learning," *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. Craig W. Kallendorf (Cambridge: Mass.: Harvard University Press), 260–309; Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (1972; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

**Guelfs and Ghibellines** The application of the terms *Guelfs* and *Ghibellines* first occurred in the early 13th century in TUSCANY. They were labels for a major cleavage in political and social life in central and northern Italy in the

13th and 14th centuries. The Guelfs were supposed to be partisans of the papacy and an ecclesiastical party. The Ghibellines were believed to be partisans of the emperor or the imperial party. This conflict was grafted onto regional rivalries such as that between Florentine Guelfism and Sienese Ghibellinism and family and factional conflicts within towns. There is little evidence of any sort of consistent ideological motivation in their conflict.

The etymology of the words was enriched by contemporary fantasy and literary conventions. They perhaps were derived from the names of two families. The Guelfs were linked with the Welfs, Bavarian dukes from whom the emperor Otto IV (d. 1218), who was crowned by the pope in 1209 but died in 1218, was descended. The Ghibellines were linked with the Waiblingen family or the SALIAN DYNASTY.

This conflict in Italy had begun in the 1170s under FREDERICK I Barbarossa and the first LOMBARD LEAGUE. This was aggravated during the conflict between the papacy and FREDERICK II. The use of these terms and the conflict itself reached their peaks during the wars between Frederick's heirs and the Guelf and papal forces led for a time by CHARLES I of Anjou, who was victorious in 1266–68. Without leadership the Ghibellines were on the defensive from then on but had occasional victories or successful moments, in particular at the time of the entries into Italy of the emperors Henry VII (r. 1310–13) and Louis of Bavaria (r. 1327–47). After that the terms were really only used to disparage one's enemies in internal communal politics in Italy.

See also ALIGHIERI, DANTE; BARTOLO OF SASSOFERRATO; FLORENCE; MARSILIUS OF PADUA; MANFRED, KING OF SICILY; GREGORY IX, POPE; INNOCENT III, POPE; SIENA; VILLANI, GIOVANNI AND MATTEO.

**Further reading:** Marvin B. Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967–68); Gene A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962); Philip J. Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3d ed. (London: Longman, 1988).

**Guibert of Nogent** (ca. 1053–ca. 1121/25) *historian of the First Crusade, author of autobiography*

Guibert was born on April 15, 1053, in the Beauvaisis in FRANCE and was raised by his mother. He was well educated and became a cleric and eventually an abbot. It is not clear whether he was actually present at the Council of CLERMONT, but he certainly did not participate in the First Crusade. His important history of the First Crusade (*The History That Is Called Deeds of God Done through the Franks*) covered the years 1095–1104 and

essentially reworked the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and FULCHER OF CHARTRES'S work by adding material gathered from actual participants he happened to meet. He met PETER THE HERMIT but knew few or none of the Byzantine participants, including ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, whom he constantly denounced for perfidy. Besides sermons and treatises on saints and relics, he wrote an almost unique autobiography that has been used for psychological insights into the mind of an unusual 12th-century cleric and for information on moral corruption and the mores of French knightly society. In it he also described popular religiosity, the cult of RELICS, and civil conflicts in the town of Laon. He probably died between 1121 and 1125.

**Further reading:** Guibert of Nogent, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Paul J. Archambault (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Guibert of Nogent, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064–c. 1125)*, trans. John F. Benton (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

**guilds** During the Middle Ages guilds were mutual aid and sometimes religious associations based on trade or occupation. Their economic organization and success in the 11th century were important factors in the expansion of towns and urban society. HINCMAR of Rheims in 852 mentioned unregulated groups independent of public and clerical authority that were already based on a mutual oath and given to drinking sessions, works of piety, and support of one another. However, all of these activities were suspect to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities because of their potential for religious dissent and political rebellion. Anglo-Saxon laws at about the same time discussed a number of similar guilds.

By the 12th century, civil powers in their role as preservers of public peace tried to restrict the guilds to their social and religious functions. However, they were soon rivaled by other, more specialized organizations for fraternal charity such as the new and often more clerically controlled religious CONFRATERNITIES. At the same time professional solidarity created trade and artisan communities or guilds that ultimately acted as political pressure groups. In numerous boroughs in England, a *gilda mercatoria* was a community of urban dwellers led by aldermen who had united to preserve royal, fiscal, and commercial privileges. In the 12th and 13th centuries, these older organizations were contested economically by the appearance of other lower-class artisans' organizations and the development of more elaborate and clerically controlled confraternities. By the 14th century, these guilds and similar municipal organizations became more integrated into urban politics and even began to control the regime in power, in FLORENCE, but also in numerous other towns in France and Germany.

## BYZANTINE GUILDS

In Byzantium guilds were state-controlled corporations of traders and artisans. The *Book of the Eparch* illustrated the extensiveness and importance of the guild system in CONSTANTINOPLE in the 10th century. These state-controlled organizations for goods and services, including quality and price, were primarily concerned with the proper and adequate provisioning of the capital city itself. Besides this mission they were concerned with such diverse trades and professions as soap merchants, butchers, SILK traders, GOLD merchants, and NOTARIES. Their regulatory oversight was handled by an imperial official, the eparch of the city.

*See also* CIOMPI REVOLT.

**Further reading:** Antony Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (London: Methuen, 1984); Steven A. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Richard MacKenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250–c. 1650* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); Sylvia L. Thrupp, "The Gilds" in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 3, *Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich and Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 230–280; George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, 4th ed. (London: F. Cass, 1963).

**Guillaume de Lorris** *See* ROMAN DE LA ROSE.

**Guillaume de Machaut** *See* MACHAUT, GUILLAUME DE.

**Guillaume d'Orange cycle** This work was an EPIC poem composed in northern FRANCE in the 11th century; it was one of the most popular CHANSONS DE GESTE, as the origin story of a whole cycle of 24 anonymous poems dedicated to a hero, Guillaume, and his supposed family in the 13th century. The poem's hero was Guillaume or William, the marquis of Gothia and Toulouse, who, under the nominal authority of Louis the German (r. 840–876), third son of CHARLEMAGNE, king of AQUITAINE and ungrateful future emperor, led campaigns in CATALONIA and founded the march of SPAIN. The poet represented him as a brave and ideally devoted knight, a hero of the wars against ISLAM and the protector of the monarchy.

**Further reading:** Joan M. Ferrante, *Guillaume d'Orange: Four Twelfth Century Epics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974); David P. Schenck, *The Myth of Guillaume: Poetic Consciousness in the Guillaume d'Orange Cycle* (Birmingham: Summa Publications, 1988).

**Guillaume le Maréchal** *See* WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

**Guinea** See AFRICA.

**Guinevere** *legendary wife of King Arthur*

Guinevere was the wife of King ARTHUR and the most important woman at her husband's court. In various accounts of the story she was Arthur's second wife and a Roman lady. She shared the responsibilities of ruling the kingdom with her husband. Her sometimes adulterous relationship with the perfect knight, LANCELOT, was at the core of the Arthurian tradition. In some of the versions of the story she was abducted by Mordred, Arthur's nephew or son. Whatever her role in the evolving plots, her fate was intimately connected with the resulting disastrous destruction of the Round Table and King Arthur's ideal court.

See also CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; MALORY, THOMAS; ROMANCES.

**Further reading:** Lori J. Walters, ed., *Lancelot and Guinevere: A Case Book* (New York: Garland, 1996).

**Guiscard, Robert (Robert of Hauteville)** (ca. 1015–1085)  
*Norman adventurer*

Of the early life in NORMANDY of Robert Guiscard very little has been found; he was probably born about 1015 to a certain Tanered of Hauteville in France. In the 1030s his older half-brothers, William (d. 1046), Drogo (d. 1051), and Humphrey (d. 1057), went to southern ITALY to serve as mercenary captains in the wars between LOMBARD dukes and the Byzantine Greeks. Within two decades they had established themselves in strongholds and carried great weight in the affairs of southern Italy. In 1046 Robert joined them in Italy. Robert occupied himself in military campaigns. In 1049 Robert's brother Drogo offered him a castle at Scribla in Calabria and for the next four years Robert lived a life of brigandage and robbery, earning for himself the nickname Guiscard or the "Crafty One."

**MILITARY CAMPAIGNS**

Robert left Calabria in 1053, when a papal army, backed by the forces of the German emperor, threatened Norman possessions in the south. In the Battle of Civitate in 1053, the forces of Norman of APULIA crushed the armies of Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–54) and forced papal recognition of their conquests in the south. Robert spent the next two years completing the conquest of the last Byzantine possessions in Italy. In 1057 Robert's brother Humphrey, count of Apulia, died, and Robert, by now the most famous and formidable leader of the Normans, succeeded him. To his younger brother ROGER, Robert gave the task of driving the ARABS out of SICILY between 1060 and 1091 and adding the island to their possessions.

**ALLIANCE WITH THE PAPACY**

In 1059 Pope NICHOLAS II formally confirmed Robert's titles as duke of Apulia and Calabria and duke of SICILY,

although the island had not yet been conquered. Robert, swore an oath of loyalty, becoming a vassal of the pope, and agreed to pay tribute. Within a few years, Norman relations with the papacy had changed completely. Instead of being viewed as thieves and usurpers, the Normans had become loyal and faithful papal vassals, servants, and allies. While Roger concentrated on capturing Sicily, Robert suppressed revolts in Apulia and Calabria while closing in on the remaining Byzantine stronghold at BARI. In 1071 Bari fell to Robert, and the last Byzantine enclave in the West was taken. In the same year Norman forces finally captured PALERMO, the capital of Sicily.

**COMPLETE CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY**

After dealing with yet another rebellion and surviving a serious illness, Robert renewed his attempts to crush resistance to his rule. In 1077 he conquered Salerno, and in 1080, after years of disputes, wrangling over rights, and exchanging personal insults, Robert renewed his OATH of loyalty to the papacy to Pope GREGORY VII. In return he was confirmed in the possession of his lands in southern Italy. From 1080 on, Robert began to attack the Byzantine Empire itself, across GREECE, the northern AEGEAN SEA, and eventually even CONSTANTINOPLE. During 1081 Robert assembled a massive fleet and army at the ports of Brindisi and Bari. In May 1081 Robert's fleet crossed the Adriatic. In a furious battle at DURAZZO, Robert barely defeated the army of the Byzantine emperor ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and forced him to retreat. Alexios, however, instigated a revolt in Apulia. This revolt, along with an appeal for help from GREGORY VII for aid against the army of the German emperor, Henry IV (r. 1056–1106), sent Robert to the Italian mainland, where he spent 1082 and 1083 in suppressing a revolt in Apulia and preparing for an assault on ROME to rescue Gregory.

**SACK OF ROME AND DEATH**

In 1084 Robert and the Normans entered the city and sacked it, then took Pope Gregory away with them. Gregory was taken to Salerno, where he died in May 1085. Several months earlier Robert had returned to Greece, where he resumed his campaign and captured the island of Corfu. After wintering on Corfu, the Norman army was suddenly struck by an epidemic, possibly typhoid fever, and on July 17, 1085, Robert himself succumbed to it. He was buried at Venosa in Apulia.

See also BOHEMOND I.

**Further reading:** Finch Allibone, *In Pursuit of the Robber Baron: Recreating the Journeys of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia and "The Terror of the World"* (Luton, Bedfordshire: Lennard, 1988); David C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement, 1050–1110* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (New York:

Longman, 2000); John Julius Norwich, *The Other Conquest* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

**guns and gunpowder** See FIREARMS; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Gutenberg, Johann (Johannes Gensfleisch zur Laden)** (1394/1400–1468) *German printer*

Johann Gutenberg was born Johann Gensfleisch zur Laden in Mainz sometime between 1394 and 1400. He was the third child of the patrician Freile zum Gensfleisch and his second wife, Else Wirick zum Gutenberg, whose surname Johann took. Gutenberg's studies and apprenticeship were unclear, except that he learned the trade of a goldsmith while living in Mainz. His father was exiled in 1411 and about 1428 the family left Mainz because of a revolt of craftsmen against the patrician class ruling the town. In 1430 Gutenberg established himself as a craftsman in Strasbourg, where he remained until 1444 or later.

#### INNOVATION OF TYPOGRAPHY

Gutenberg's experiments in printing began during his years in Strasbourg. He was already familiar with the techniques of xylography, a process used to make books and other printed matter in Europe since the 14th century. Typography, however, was reproduction by means a small separate block or type of lead used for each sign or character.

By 1444, he appeared back in Mainz. By 1450 he had a printing plant, for which he had borrowed 800 guilders from a financier, Johann Fust (ca. 1400–66), to produce tools and equipment. In December 1452 Gutenberg had to pay off his debt but could not. They concluded a new agreement, under which Gutenberg received another similar loan and Fust became the dominant partner in the enterprise. By then Gutenberg already printed with movable type. In spite of their successes, their relationship eventually soured in 1455. Fust sued Gutenberg for 2,000 guilders, and in 1455 the partnership was dissolved. Fust won the court action and thereby acquired Gutenberg's materials and tools.

#### THE GUTENBERG BIBLE

Provenance of many of his printed works of this period is unclear, and there are no printed works surviving with Gutenberg's name on them. From the mid-1450s are dated the monumental 42-lines in two columns per page Gutenberg BIBLES, in three big folio volumes. When the first copies appeared in early 1456, Gutenberg, the main creator of the work, was no longer in the partnership. Fust continued printing successfully with Gutenberg's equipment; in the meantime Gutenberg had to start all over again. It is believed that the fruit of his work in these years were a 36-columnar-line Bible and an encyclopedia. Since Gutenberg never put his name on any of his works, all ascriptions are hypothetical.

In 1462 Mainz was sacked. Fust's printing office was destroyed and Gutenberg suffered losses as well. Many typographers left Mainz and scattered their know-how. Gutenberg remained in Mainz, but was again reduced to poverty. He requested the arch episcopal court to award him a pension and obtained it on January 17, 1465. Gutenberg's position at the court gave him some economic support and he carried on his printing activities. The work of this final period in his life have remained unknown.

Gutenberg may have become blind in the last months of his life, living partly in Mainz and partly in the neighboring village of Eltville. He died in Saint Victor's parish in Mainz probably on February 3, 1468, and was buried in the church of the FRANCISCANS in that town.

See also PRINTING, ORIGINS OF.

**Further reading:** Douglas C. McMurtrie, ed. and trans., *The Gutenberg Documents: With Translations of the Texts into English, Based with Authority on the Compilation by Dr. Karl Schorbach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941); Lotte Hellinga, *Caxton in Focus: The Beginning of Printing in England* (London: British Library, 1982); Janet Thompson Ing, *Johann Gutenberg and His Bible: A Historical Study* (New York: Typophiles, 1988); Albert Kapr, *Johann Gutenberg: The Man and His Invention*, trans. Douglas Martin (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996); Pierpont Morgan Library, *Gutenberg and the Genesis of Printing* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1994).

# H

**Haakon I the Good** (Håkon gódi Haraldsson) (ca. 920–ca. 960) *king of Norway known as “Æthelstan’s foster-son”*

Born about 920, a son of King Harold Fairhair (r. 860/880–930/940), Haakon returned to NORWAY from ENGLAND in about 935 to challenge his half brother Erik I Bloodaxe (r. 930–934/935) for the throne by exploiting the civil wars under way. He soon won the support of powerful jarls, or lords, and was proclaimed king in about 936. When Haakon moved against him, Erik fled. He claimed to be king of all of Norway, but his power was confined to the southwest of the kingdom.

Haakon enjoyed a reputation as a just ruler and was called “the Good.” He reformed the district assemblies, the *things*, to make them more representative and easier for him to consult. He created a system of army and naval levies, and he divided the coastal areas into districts that had to provide a certain number of ships and men. A beacon system was built to warn of attacks by sea. Haakon made some attempt to get the Norwegians to accept Christianity by inviting missionaries to travel there from England. He gave up and was remembered at his funeral as a defender of PAGANISM. Around 955, the sons of Erik Bloodaxe launched attacks on Norway with the support of the Danes. At the Battle of Fitjar in about 960, Haakon was wounded and died soon afterward. He was given a pagan burial and was succeeded by Erik’s son, Harald II Greycloak (r. 959/961–968).

**Further reading:** Peter G. Foote and David M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement: The Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1970); Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (1968; rev. ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

**Habsburg dynasty (Hapsburg)** They were a dynasty originally from the upper Rhine region but were firmly settled in AUSTRIA from the 13th century. From 1438, the Habsburgs essentially monopolized the imperial Crown.

The first known members of the family can be traced to the 10th century. Their castle, Habichtsburg (The Hawk’s Castle), later called *Habsburg*, in the Aargau in northern SWITZERLAND, was built in about 1020 and the title count of Habsburg first appeared in 1108. The Habsburgs built up their establishment in southwestern Germany through war, money, MARRIAGE, and the support of the HOHENSTAUFEN in the 12th century.

RUDOLF IV of Habsburg was elected king of the Romans as Rudolf I in 1273 and conceded Austria and a neighboring region called Styria to his sons as FIEFS of the empire; this gave the dynasty a territorial core in the southeast of the empire and made them princes of the empire. Yet the imperial crown escaped Rudolf’s successors. His son Albert I (r. 1298–1308) obtained it but was assassinated, and a grandson, Frederick the Handsome (d. 1330), failed in a double election.

The Habsburgs remained one of the most important dynasties in the empire. They gave themselves the title of archdukes on the basis of a 1358–59 forgery and from the mid-14th century dedicated themselves to uniting effectively their western and eastern principalities. They had successes in Carinthia, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Upper SWABIA all between 1326 and 1363. But this led to clashes with the Swiss cantons, who defeated the Habsburgs, gaining independence. By 1474 the Habsburgs had to accept the territorial consequences of their successive defeats and the divisions of their territories

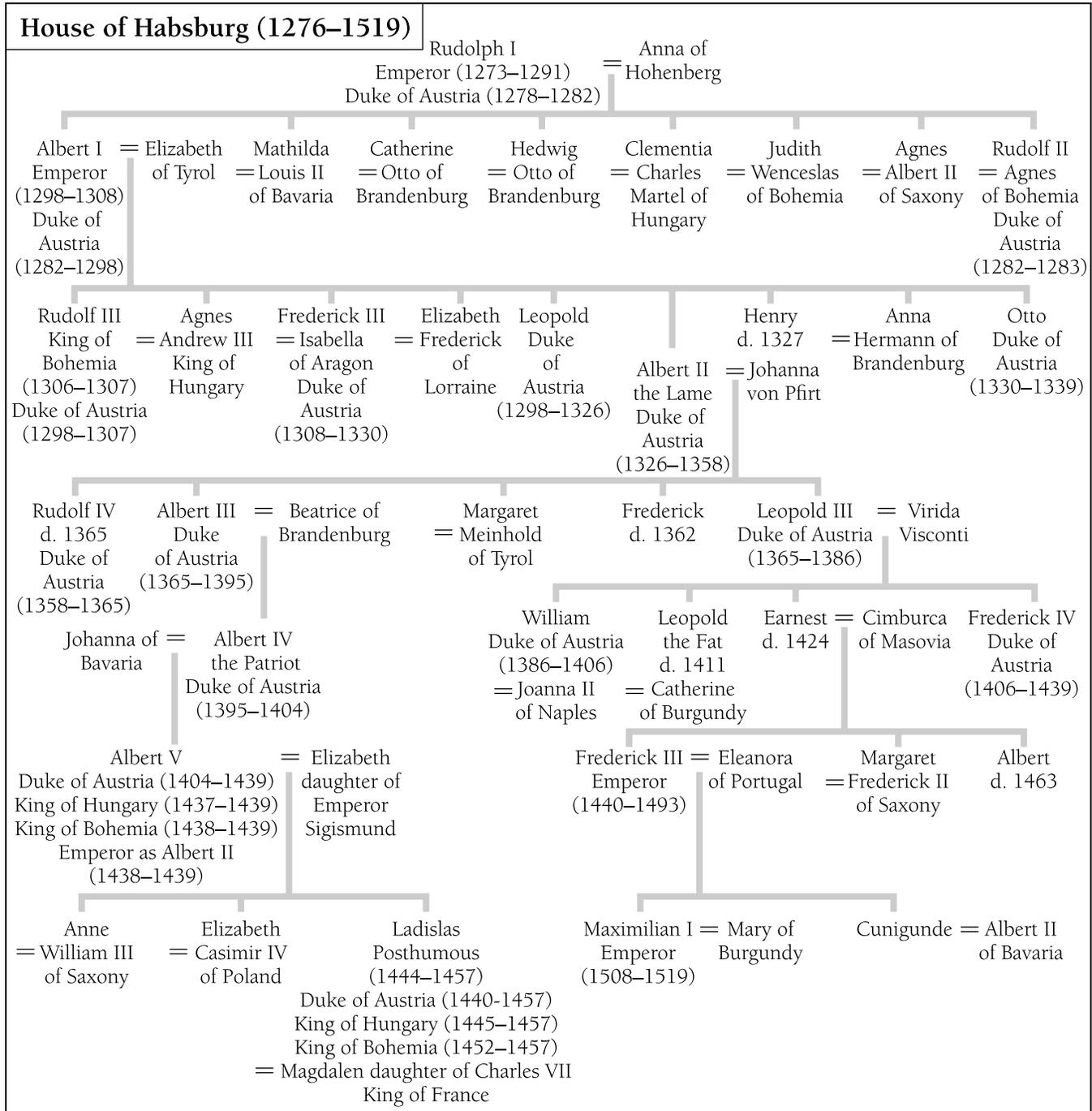
into two branches of the family, the Albertines and the Leopoldines.

The return of the Habsburgs to the imperial throne in the 15th century began their entry into the top-ranking European dynasties. Despite family conflict in Austria, the animosity of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, and the military successes of the king of HUNGARY, Matthias CORVINUS, FREDERICK III (r. 1440–93) managed to hold the throne and even held the Hungarian Crown between 1463 and 1491. He also obtained the hand of the daughter of the

duke of BURGUNDY for his son, the emperor Maximilian (r. 1493–1519). This was the real foundation for the dominance of the family in the 16th century.

See also WILLIAM TELL; VIENNA.

**Further reading:** Gerhard Benecke, *Maximilian I, 1459–1519: An Analytical Biography* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982); Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1273–1700*, trans. C. A. Simpson (1990; reprint, New York: Longman, 1994); Adam Wandruszka, *The House of Habsburg: Six Hundred Years of a European*



*Dynasty*, trans. Cathleen and Hans Epstein (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964); Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995).

**Hadewijch of Antwerp, Blessed (Hedwig, Suster Hadewych)** (fl. 1220–1260) *mystical Dutch poetess*

Little is known about her life. Hadewijch of Antwerp was active, according to references in her work, in the first half of the 13th century in BRABANT. Her literary and theological abilities testified to a good education within an aristocratic milieu. According to her letters, she was the spiritual guide of a small group of women, probably BEGUINES. Her poetry, preserved in four manuscripts, was rediscovered only in the 19th century.

Hadewijch was important as a creator of Dutch prose, a fine poetess, and a much loved spiritual director. She wrote *Visions*, *Strophic Poems*, and *Poems* in rhyming couplets. The strophic poems, 45 in number, were inspired by contemporary courtly poetry, whose images, rhymes, and rhythms she used skillfully. They offered a repeated theme of her love and passionate quest for a spiritual union with GOD. The 14 *Visions* drew their images from the APOCALYPSE. A set of 30 letters of direction or treatises summarized her doctrine and desire to participate in God's very being. Hadewijch created a theological and mystical vocabulary that would be taken up by Jan van RUYSBROECK. She also influenced some members of the congregation of Windesheim. She died about 1260, but where she is buried is unknown.

See also MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN; VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** Hadewijch, *The Complete Works*, trans. Columba Hart (New York: Paulist Press, 1980); Tanis M. Guest, *Some Aspects of Hadewijch's Poetic Form in the "Strofische gedichten"* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975); John Giles Milhaven, *Hadewijch and Her Sisters: Other Ways of Loving and Knowing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Theodoor Weevers, *Poetry of the Netherlands in Its European Context, 1170–1930* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1960).

**hadith (conversation, narrative, talk, report, tradition)**

The Arabic word *hadith* means "recital," "talk," but with an article, *al-hadith*, it designated a collection of the traditional acts or the words of MUHAMMAD. The *sunna*, or the "normative custom of the Prophet," was collected and preserved in it. In ISLAM, the "science of hadith" has been at the core of all theological study. The hadith related what the Prophet, or one of his companions, a person of the next generation or a "follower," was held to have said or done with regard to a problem. The content of the hadith has occupied a central place in Muslim law and jurisprudence. From the eighth century, the hadith consisted of two parts: guarantees of the veracity of the transmission and the text (*matn*) of what was said or done.

Putting the hadith into writing began during the period of the companions and followers. Some then were probably opposed to this recording of such traditions. The Prophet's words were never to be confused with the clearly divine text of the Quran, a distinction not always made in the early period. A systematic organization of material began around 800. One of the most important early collections was that of Ahmad IBN HANBAL in the ninth century. At the end of their early period of codification, several collections acquired a particular fame, such as those by al-Bukhari (d. 870) and of Muslim (d. 875).

Collectors of these traditions sometimes questioned their authenticity and developed standards of accuracy and authenticity to apply to the texts. This concern for authenticity was of great importance to ISLAM and aroused much passionate dispute.

**Further reading:** Binyamin Abrahamov, *Islamic Theology: Traditionalism and Rationalism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998); Munawar A. Anee, *Guide to Sira and Hadith Literature in Western Languages* (London: Mansell, 1986); John Burton, *An Introduction to the Hadith* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance, and Authorship of Early Hadith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

**Hafiz (al-Shirazi, Khwadja Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Baha al-Din)** (ca. 1325–1389/90) *Persian mystic and lyric poet*

Hafiz was born about 1325 in Shiraz, the capital of the province of Fars in IRAN. He grew up in an age when Persian poetry was about to reach the zenith of its accomplishment. For Hafiz his contribution was lyrical poetry, in a metrical form called the *ghazal* or *ghazel*.

As a student, Hafiz learned the QURAN by heart. His name Hafiz means "memorizer of the Quran." His poetry proved that he was very well versed in the literary styles of his day. As were all Persian poets of the time, Hafiz was a court poet and panegyrist dependent on the goodwill of a Sunni patron. As a SHIITE Muslim, Hafiz had to be tactful in the subjects he chose.

There was another religious force underlying the poetry of Hafiz, which was SUFISM, a mystical movement. By the 14th century his poetry had acquired a conventional system of symbols and used as standards forms of the poetic imagery. However, he was persecuted by Shiite religious leaders for his poems about wine.

By the time he was age 30, the poetic talents of Hafiz had been recognized, and he was appointed to the court of the vizier of Shiraz. During these years his fame spread throughout the Islamic world, but he declined all invitations to move to another court. In 1387, after TAMERLANE had conquered all of Iran, he traveled to Shiraz to visit Hafiz for two months. By this time the most fruitful

period of Hafiz's life was over. He died two or three years later in 1389 or 1390 in Shiraz. More than 600 poems have been attributed to Hafiz. Most of them were mystical, musical, and lyrical and were meant to be read and understood on many levels. Hafiz's major work, the *Divan*, was a collection of his odes or *ghazals*.

**Further reading:** Hafiz, *The Ghazaliyyat of Haafez of Shiraz*, ed. Mehdi Nakosteen (Boulder, Colo.: Este Es Press, 1973); Hafiz, *The Green Sea of Heaven: Fifty Ghazals from the Diwān of Hāfiz*, trans. Elizabeth T. Gray (Ashland, Ore.: White Cloud Press, 1995); Hafiz, *Odes of Hāfiz: Poetical Horoscope*, trans. Abbas Aryanpur Kashani (Lexington, Ky.: Mazdā, 1984); Michael C. Hillman, *Unity in the Ghazals of Hafez* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976); Annemarie Schimmel, "Hāfiz and His Contemporaries," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 929–947; G. M. Wickens, "Hāfiz," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.55–57.

**Hafsids, caliphate (Banu Hafs)** The Hafsids, were one of the most important dynasties in the history of late medieval AL-MAGHRIB and Ifriqiya. They derived their name from Abu Hafs Umar (d. 1176), a disciple of the founder of the ALMOHAD movement, IBN TUMART. His descendants filled various offices under the Almohads, including the governorship of Ifriqiya. One of the Hafsids, Abu-Zakariya Yahya I (r. 1228–49), in 1237 rebelled against the authority of the Almohad CALIPH, Abd al-Wahid II (r. 1232–42), supposedly because of the latter's unorthodox innovations. He then expanded his domain westward into the central al-Maghrib, taking the towns of Constantine, Bougie, and Algiers, making the rulers of Tlemcen tributaries. He also compelled the Marinids in MOROCCO to acknowledge his authority. He received appeals for help from the Muslims of al-Andalus under attack in the RECONQUEST.

The power of the Hafsids grew under the son of Abu-Zakariya, al-Muntasir (r. 1249–77), who repelled an attack by the brothers King LOUIS IX of FRANCE and CHARLES I OF ANJOU in 1270. He assumed the titles of caliph and *Amir al-Muminin*, claiming to be the heir of the ABBASIDS of BAGHDAD.

The 150 years after al-Muntasir's death were filled with changes in Hafsids power and stability. The towns of the central al-Maghrib, southern Ifriqiya, and the Jarid region there threw off Hafsids control when it weakened. At various times there were numerous claimants for the throne, but they only ruled over smaller towns and regions. In the 16th century, the dynasty had become limited to the then prosperous region of TUNIS.

Before the Barbary corsairs, the Hafsids had commercial treaties with Italian and southern French towns and with the Kingdom of ARAGON. The region benefited

from an influx of Iberian Muslim refugees, among whom were the forebears of the historian IBN-KHALDUN. Tunis became a great artistic and intellectual center. In the 13th century the Hafsids introduced the MADRASA system of education, previously used only in the lands to the East. The Ottomans ended Hafsids rule in North Africa in 1574.

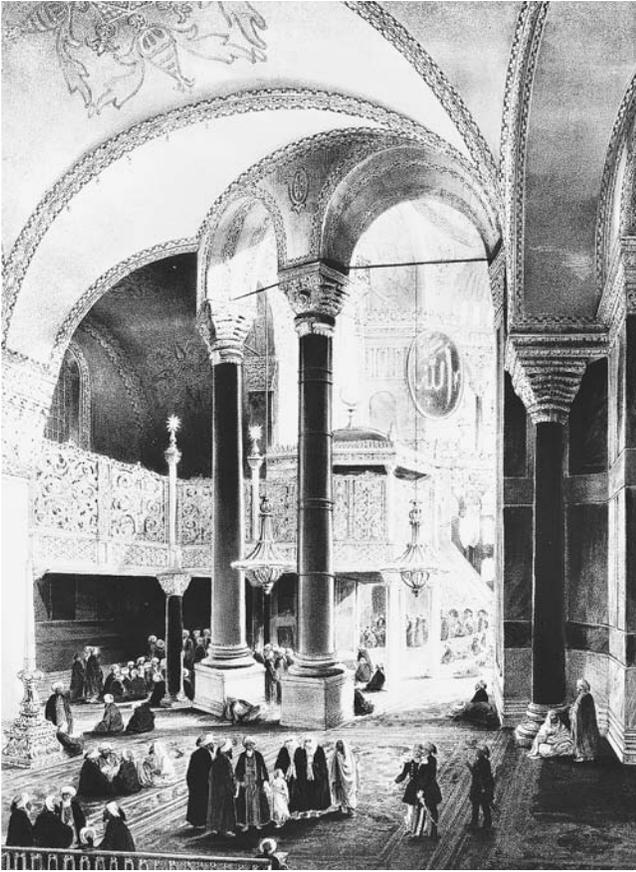
**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 35–37; Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis, 1980); Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

**Haggadah (narrative, recital)** The *Haggadah* was a collection of PRAYERS, excerpts of tales, and songs commemorating the exodus of the Israelites from pharaonic EGYPT. They were collected for recitation in Jewish communities at the Passover meal. The *Haggadah* was composed by various anonymous authors over centuries. The authoritative text now used by Jews throughout the world was written in the Middle Ages. The oldest manuscript was written in the 10th century, followed by an Egyptian manuscript, then the Maimonides' *Haggadah*, and then another from western Europe, the Vitry *Haggadah*. Both of the latter were 12th century. From the 13th century onward, the manuscripts of the *Haggadah* were decorated by artists with miniatures and complex ornamentation. The most beautiful later examples were the Sarajevo *Haggadah*, from Iberia; the Birds' Head *Haggadah*, from 14th-century Germany; and the 15th-century Hamilton *Haggadah*, from Iberia. The Rothschild manuscript of the late 15th century is a product of Jewish-Italian renaissance style.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, JEWISH.

**Further reading:** British Library, *The Illuminated Haggadah: Featuring Medieval Illuminations from the Haggadah Collection of the British Library* (New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1998); David Goldstein, trans., *The Ashkenazi Haggadah: A Hebrew Manuscript of the Mid-15th century from the Collections of the British Library*, written and illuminated by Joel ben Simeon Feibusch Ashkenazi with a commentary attributed to Eleazar ben Judah of Worms with introduction, notes on the illumination, transcription (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1985).

**Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Church of Holy or Blessed Wisdom, Santa Sophia)** Hagia Sophia was JUSTINIAN I's great church in CONSTANTINOPLE, built between 532 and 537. It was dedicated to the holy wisdom, or *hagia sophia*, of GOD. It was erected on the ruins of a fourth-century basilica destroyed in the "Nika revolt" of 532. Exploiting this opportunity to build, Justinian's architects and scientists, Anthemios of Tralles and Isidore of Miletos, were likely inspired by the church of Saint



Interior of Hagia Sophia, including a view of the new Imperial Gallery, with the columns of Ephesus in the foreground (Courtesy Library of Congress)

Polyeuktos, built in the previous decade (524–527). They created a domed basilica on a rectangle of 230 by 250 feet, resting on four arches and supported by four pendentives in the corners of the arches, 55 meters high. This first dome was too low and shallow and collapsed in 558. By 562 Isidore the Younger had replaced it with a steeper ribbed dome, about 100 feet in diameter. Despite partial collapses in 989 and 1346 it has survived to the present day. Viewed from inside the church, the dome, about 840 square meters or 2,700 square feet, seems to hover. It leads one to view a space beyond the dome and into galleries, outer bays, half-domes, and an apse. Justinian himself, when viewing the completed church, was said to have boasted that he had outdone King Solomon.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE; PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

**Further reading:** Cyril Mango, *Hagia Sophia: A Vision for Empires* (Istanbul: Ertug and Kocabiyik, 1997); R. J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture Structure, and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988); Robert Mark and Ahmet S. Çakmak, eds. *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

**hagiography** Hagiography is the story of the lives of the saints and how their practices and ideas might be understood and taught. Under the name of hagiography are included all the texts that recount the lives and MIRACLES of the saints. They were intended to exalt the memory and power of a saint, sometimes as a role model. The most widespread forms were biographies supplemented by collections of miracles and accounts of devotion. These texts were in prose or in verse, in LATIN or in the VERNACULAR.

#### EARLY CHRISTIAN

In early Christianity, hagiography was devotional. The original narratives were enriched with summaries of the lives of the martyrs and confessors, combined with descriptions of the circumstances of their death. In these early stories authors included colorful details about the cruelty of magistrates and executioners, the harshness of interrogations and punishments, and the resistance of the saints. The reactions and behavior of these saints were soon reduced to stereotypes, conventional attitudes, and commonplace circumstances. Many of the rhetorical and supposed details of lives became literary or pious conventions.

#### MEDIEVAL

Hagiographical texts developed significantly between the 12th and 14th centuries, in terms of a changing pastoral conception of sanctity as well as their objectives and publicity. The saints remained heroes but explicitly became behavioral role models for monks and clerics and also the LAITY. Under the influence of the CISTERCIANS and the MENDICANT ORDERS in the 13th century, the pastoral aspect and behavioral possibilities of hagiography were emphasized. Preachers aimed to present to the faithful, through lives of the saints, almost practical models of saintly behavior and orthodox belief. The *GOLDEN LEGEND* was initially compiled for the use of preachers, but also inspired artists and influenced the didactic iconographical representation of saints in the later Middle Ages. During the 13th and early 14th centuries, more sophisticated mystical biographies reconstituted the inner lives of saints from manifestations of their personal devotion, VISIONS, mystical revelations, and prophetic statements.

See also *individual saints*; JAMES OF VITRY; PALAMAS, GREGORY.

**Further reading:** Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, eds., *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Thomas F. Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean

Birrell (1988; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**hajj** (*hadjdj*, *hagg*) The annual great pilgrimage to MECCA, the hajj has always been one of the five pillars, or *arkan*, of ISLAM. An *umra*, or smaller pilgrimage, was a visit to the holy places undertaken at any time and was less regulated by tradition. The hajj was a community event, collective, and obligatory for all Muslim men and women able to perform it once in their lifetime. It was to take place once a year from the eighth to the 12th of the last month of the Islamic lunar calendar, Dhu al-hijjah. The hajj has traditionally included a vast fair and allowed a cultural and social mixing of Muslims. Its purpose was to remove the stain of sin in the eyes of GOD.

#### RITUALS TO BE FOLLOWED

Following the actions of Muhammad's last pilgrimage, pilgrims were to undergo a rite of sanctification and purification when they changed clothes and pronounced a formula of consecration. They were then to be in a state of *ihram*. From then on they were to abstain from all sexual relations and dress modestly and simply for the duration of the pilgrimage. After arrival at Mecca they were to do the *umra* or seven circumambulations around the KABA, the cubical building situated at the heart of a sanctuary. These movements were to be followed by PRAYER, then a run between two small hills nearby, al-Safa and al-Marwa. The hajj itself was to begin on the eighth day of Dhu al-hijjah. On the ninth day, the pilgrims were to meet at the plains of Arafat, then travel through the pass at Muzdalifa. At the valley of Mina, on the 10th day, the pilgrims were to stone a pillar, the *jamarah*, that symbolized the DEVIL. Then they were to sacrifice an animal, usually a sheep; eat a ritual meal; and shave the head. They were to continue such movements and activities such as the stoning for the next few days. The pilgrimage was to end with another procession around the Kaba.

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Muslim hajj followed many of the rites of a pre-Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca but consciously imposed parallels, links, and ideas from the life of Abraham. Access to the interior of the Kaba became more restricted over the centuries. A more explicit but not obligatory veneration of the spring of Zamzam became part of the rituals. Caliphs modified the appearance of the sanctuary; and the Kaba was apparently completely rebuilt in 693 by Umayyads. The hajj always played a political role with the caliph, his representative, or rival present. From 969 the FATIMIDS controlled Mecca, and the authority of the ABBASID caliph over such pilgrimages was almost completely compromised. After 1260, the MAMLUK sultans of EGYPT controlled the ceremonies, and their

pilgrimage caravans were accompanied by a banner symbolizing acknowledgment of their power.

**Further reading:** F. E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); A. J. Wensinck and R. Basset, "Hadjdj," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3.31–38.

**al-Hakim Bi-Amr Allah** (*al-Biamrallah*) (985–1021)  
*sixth Fatimid caliph*

Al-Hakim was born at CAIRO about 985 and became the sixth FATIMID and Shiite caliph as a boy of 11 in 996 on the death of his father. In his youth, he frequented the popular SUNNI circles at al-Fustat. Arbitrary and erratic seeming, madly, he executed SHIITE Berber court dignitaries, persecuted JEWS and Christians, and ordered the destruction of the HOLY SEPULCHER at JERUSALEM in 1009. At times he was pious and compassionate. He banned alcohol and forbade women to appear in public. In 1017, some Persians unsuccessfully proposed making him divine. However, in SYRIA, the DRUZE sect, in which he played a prominent role, was founded. Then, suddenly, al-Hakim abandoned all power to a cousin, al-Zahir (r. 1021–36), his designated successor, and restored property and religious freedom to minorities, disappearing on February 13, 1021, into the desert near Cairo, where he was perhaps murdered at the behest of his sister.

*See also* FATIMIDS; ISMAILIS.

**Further reading:** Marius Canard, "al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah," *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.76–82; Sadik A. Assaad, *The Reign of al-Hakim bi Amr Allah (386/996–411/1021): A Political Study* (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publication, 1974).

**Halakah** (*Halachah* [that by which one walks]) Halakah consisted of rabbinic literature and jurisprudence that focused on the religious obligations of members of the Jewish FAITH. This included interpersonal relationships, religious rituals, and interactions between JEWS and their GOD. Halakah therefore encompasses nearly all aspects of human life and behavior from birth, from agricultural and commercial practices to wider questions of ethics and even THEOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Jacob Neusner, *The Halakhah: An Encyclopedia of the Law of Judaism*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

**Hamdanids** They were an Arab dynasty in MOSUL and ALEPPO whose expansions from about 930 resulted from the decline of the power of the ABBASID CALIPHATE. Their greatest ruler, Sayf al-Dawla (r. 945–967), was a successful adversary of the BYZANTINES, winning a victory over them in 938 on the Upper Euphrates, thus staving off further Byzantine inroads into SYRIA. However, Sayf al-Dawla's

defeat by John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976) in 958, and the pillage of ALEPPO in 962 by Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) began the decline of the Hamdanids, enabling the Byzantines and FATIMIDS to split control of northern Syria by the end of the century, effectively ending Hamdanid power by 1016.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 49–50; Marius Canard, “Hamdānids,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3.126–131.

**handwriting** See PALEOGRAPHY.

**Hanseatic League (Hanse)** The Hanseatic League was a confederation of cities and merchants that dominated the trade of northern Europe by 1250. The term was first used to refer to German merchants active in England in the 12th century. The Hanse controlled maritime traffic from the Baltic to the North Sea and from NOVGOROD to LONDON. It was based on a cartel of some 180 to 200 of primarily German maritime towns, from the NETHERLANDS to FINLAND. By the 15th century it was even active in the Mediterranean. The union was generally headed by the towns COLOGNE in northwestern Germany and LÜBECK along the Baltic coast. Its main object was to protect trade and commercial interests with whatever political and commercial external or internal means necessary. They included financial measures, blockades, and military interventions directed by a diet meeting in Lübeck and all done to protect its privileges and rights. It was eventually replaced by Dutch, English, and other merchants protected by their princes.

Its merchants founded colonial market towns and traded in FURS, grains, metallurgical products such as Swedish steel and copper, salt from the Atlantic coasts, the fine WINE of Poitou and Bordeaux, English wool, and French and Flemish TEXTILES. Its merchants ruled the seas because of the technical design and superiority of their ships. By the end of the 15th century its long-distance fleet numbered a 1,000 ships carrying about 60,000 tons of freight.

See also COLOGNE; DENMARK; GOTLAND; LIVONIA; LÜBECK; PRUSSIA; SWEDEN.

**Further reading:** Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (1964; reprint London: Macmillan, 1970); Albert d’Haenens, ed., *Europe of the North Sea and Baltic: The World of the Hanse* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1984); T. H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse, 1157–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Johannes Schildhauer, *The Hansa: Its History and Culture*, trans. Katherine Vasrovitch (Leipzig: Druckerei Fortschritt Erfurt, 1985).

**Hapsburg dynasty** See HABSBUrg DYNASTY.

**Harold II Godwineson of Wessex** (ca. 1022–1066) *last Anglo-Saxon king of England*

Harold II was born about 1022 and was the second son of Godwine (d. 1053), earl of WESSEX, one of the most powerful men in 11th-century ENGLAND. When EDWARD THE CONFESSOR returned from exile in NORMANDY to become king in 1042, he restored the house of Wessex in England after 25 years of rule by Danish kings. Godwine then attempted to keep the power he had as a royal adviser to the Danes. Not until 1051 did Edward feel strong enough to banish Godwine and his sons. Less than a year later, however, Godwine was reconciled with Edward under threat of a civil war. When Godwine died on April 15, 1053, Harold became the earl of Wessex.

#### CAMPAIGNS AND TRAVAILS

After his father’s death Harold soon became Edward’s most powerful, and even trusted, adviser and military commander. Between 1055 and 1063 he commanded the English armies in campaigns against the aggressive Welsh. Harold finally defeated them and stabilized the border. This triumph greatly enhanced his authority and his reputation. It also established his claim to succeed King Edward, whose only remaining relative was a very young cousin living at the court of HUNGARY who had been married twice and had several children, about whom we know very little.

In 1064, the incident depicted in the famous BAYEUX TAPESTRY occurred. Harold was sent by Edward on a mission of unknown nature to the Continent, but he was blown off course and landed in NORMANDY. There he was imprisoned and taken to Duke William (the future King WILLIAM I), to whom he swore an OATH that seemingly committed him to helping William secure the English kingship after Edward’s death. It has remained unclear whether Harold actually gave his word freely or under duress. When Edward died in January 1066, Harold was clearly in the best position to preserve continuity of English rule in England and was at once selected by the English nobility as Edward’s successor.

Harold’s brief reign was one of frantic activity in defense of England against invasion both by William and by Harald Hardrada (r. 1046–66), the king of NORWAY. Harald attacked first; in September 1066, he landed with a large army in Yorkshire. Harold, who had been in the south awaiting William’s attack, raced northward and crushed the invaders at the Battle of Stamford Bridge on September 25. Two days later William, delayed by unfavorable winds, sailed from Normandy with an army of NORMANS and mercenaries. Harold rushed south to face William with an exhausted and undermanned army. The two sides met near HASTINGS on October 14; after a day of furious fighting, Harold was killed and his army defeated.

**Further reading:** Michael Swanton, trans., “The Life of King Harold Godwinson,” in *Three Lives of the Last*

*Englishmen* (New York: Garland, 1984), 1–40; Kelly De Vries, *The Norwegian Invasion of England in 1066* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999); N. J. Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997); Stephen Morillo, ed. *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1996); Ian W. Walker, *Harold: The Last Anglo-Saxon King* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997).

**Harrowing of Hell (Descent into Hell, Anastasis, Resurrection)** Only implicitly and by allusion did the New Testament speak of Christ's Descent into HELL or into LIMBO and of his purpose. (Matt. 12:40; Acts 2:24; Rom 10:7; 1 Peter 3:18). The formula never appeared in creeds before the fourth century. In the West, its first mention appeared about 404 in the baptismal creed of the Church of Aquileia of the monk Rufinus (ca. 345–410). In the THEOLOGY and liturgy of the Eastern churches, the episode appeared early, in an EASTER and baptismal context, and was contained in the formularies of some early COUNCILS. The main narrative source, the apocryphal



The Harrowing of Hell and Christ's Descent into Limbo, manuscript illumination, France, 12–13th century, MS. M.44, fol. 11v, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (*The Pierpont Morgan Library / Art Resource*)

Gospel of Nicodemus, whose second part was devoted to the Descent into Hell, probably did not originate earlier than the fourth century. It explicitly emphasized Christ's power over death and evil.

From the seventh century, the formula spread. In the West it was notably promulgated by a series of councils of TOLEDO and renewed in the ninth century by the Sixth Council of Arles, under CHARLEMAGNE. The idea was confirmed at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Council of LYON in 1274. From the late fourth century, doctrine affirmed that Christ's soul that descended into HELL, while his body remained in the tomb. Medieval Scholastic thought confirmed this, especially in Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, III, q. 52, a. 3. By then it was affirmed that the Descent into Hell took place during the three days between Christ's death and the Resurrection.

As for what was done by Christ in the Descent into Hell, two main ideas became accepted: There he preached to the imprisoned spirits about his defeat of evil, followed by the salvation of their SOULS. Some of the earliest church fathers, such as Clement of Alexandria (ca. 160–215) and ORIGEN, believed in a universal salvation, affirming that this was offered in the GOSPEL to all spirits and only on the condition that they were of goodwill. John CHRYSOSTOM stated that it was a HERESY to believe in universal salvation after death, adding that only the just under the old law were delivered, and the Gentiles who had neither knowledge nor hope of the Redeemer might be saved, provided they had not worshiped idols and had known the true GOD. GREGORY I THE GREAT reaffirmed that opinion. It could only be the just. The story became a standard part of the repertoire of dramatic performance during the later Middle Ages.

See also DRAMA; REDEMPTION; YORK PLAYS.

**Further reading:** J. A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1930).

**Hartmann von Aue (Hartman von Ouwe)** (ca. 1165–after 1210) *German lyrical and didactic love poet* Hartman von Aue, along with WOLFRAM von Eschenbach, WALTHER von der Vogelweide, and GOTTFRIED of Strassburg, was one of the four most important, diverse, and prolific writers among Middle High German poets. Besides lyrical poems, Hartmann wrote secular and religious epics and was important in the introduction of ARTHURIAN legend and literature into Germany. One of his major objectives was to reconcile the values of KNIGHTHOOD and CHIVALRY from the secular world with the asceticism of monastic religion. Highly esteemed by his contemporaries, he combined an elegant and imaginative style with the use of linguistic innovation, creating a standard for Middle High German writing.

Few historical records or references have been found on which to base much of a biography. What does exist

has been gleaned from short autobiographical comments and remarks by his contemporaries. Hartmann was likely born about 1165 in SWABIA. The *Aue* of his name has been said to refer to a town (Eglisau) on the Rhine River, or to be Obernau near Rottenburg on the Nektar River. As a member of the lower nobility, he was well educated, probably at the monastery of Reichenau, where he became well versed in the classics and the BIBLE and fluent in Latin and French. He called himself a knight; his lord has remained unknown but was probably from the Zahringer family. Hartmann probably wrote his *minnesangs* or love poems by 1180 and from then on explored religious themes. He might have gone on the Third Crusade. Hartmann seems to have written *Poor Heinrich* and *Iwein* after returning from an expedition of some sort. Contemporary literary references suggested that his death occurred between 1210 and 1220.

**Further reading:** R. W. Fischer, trans., *Narrative Works of Hartmann von Aue* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1983); Frank Tobin et al., *Hartmann von Aue: The Complete Arthurian Romances, Tales, and Lyric Poetry* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Susan L. Clark, *Hartmann von Aue: Landscapes of Mind* (Houston: Rice University Press, 1989); Vivian Kim, "Hartmann von Aue (ca. 1160–after 1210)" in John M. Jeep, ed., *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2001), 323–326; Petrus W. Tax, "Hartmann von Aue," *DMA* 6.102–107.

**Harun al-Rashid (Harun ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, the upright)** (766–809) *fifth caliph of the Abbasid dynasty*

Harun al-Rashid was born at Rey near modern Teheran in February 766, the third son of the third Abbasid CALIPH, Mohammed al-Mahdi (r. 775–785). His mother was a Yemeni slave, later freed, who gained great political influence through her husband and son. As a boy, Harun was a nominal leader of military expeditions against the BYZANTINE EMPIRE in 780 and 782. Because of victories in them he received the honorific name al-Rashid, "the Upright." He also gained experience as governor of various provinces. In 782, Harun had been named as second in succession to the throne; however, on his father's death in 785, the new caliph, his brother, al-Hadi (r. 785–786), treated him very badly but then died mysteriously on September 14, 786. Harun was proclaimed caliph. For the first 17 years of his reign, Harun relied to a great extent on his competent vizier and the vizier's sons. The reign has long been considered the high point of the Arab caliphate. This was the era of the *THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS*.

#### CONFLICTS AND CONQUESTS

Although the period was generally an era of peace and prosperity, there was an almost constant series of local insurrections during his reign. In the earlier part of the

reign there were troubles in EGYPT, SYRIA, IRAQ, Yemen, and Daylam, and in 806 a more serious revolt in Khurasan. The problem of holding together such a huge empire as Harun's naturally led to some loss of authority over al-ANDALUS, the establishment of an independent principality in MOROCCO by the IDRISID dynasty in 789 and of a semi-independent one in Tunisia by the AGHLABID dynasty in 800. The danger of further disintegration was increased by Harun's arrangement for succession. It provided for one son, al-Amin (r. 809–813), to become caliph and for another son, al-Mamun (r. 813–833), to control provinces and part of the army.

Harun took an interest in the campaigns against the Byzantines, personally leading expeditions in 797, 803, and 806. In 797 the empress IRENE offered peace and agreed to pay a large sum of money. The emperor Nikephoros I (r. 802–811) denounced this treaty but was forced to accede to an even more humiliating one in 806. The island of CYPRUS was occupied in 805. Though not mentioned in Arabic sources, there seemed to have been diplomatic contacts between Harun and CHARLEMAGNE. The latter apparently was recognized as the protector of Christian pilgrims to JERUSALEM. Harun died at Tus in eastern Iran on March 24, 809, during an expedition to restore order.

*See also* ABU NUWAS AL-HASAN IBN HANI AL-HAKAMI.

**Further reading:** André Clot, *Harun al-Rashid and the World of the Thousand and One Nights*, trans. John Howe (London: Saqi, 1989); Tayeb El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Harun al-Rashid and the Narrative of the Abbasid* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); John Bagot Glubb, *Haroon al Rasheed and the Great Abbasids* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976).

**al-Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib** (625–669/70) *elder son of Ali and Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad*

Born in MEDINA al-Hasan grew up in close contact with Muhammad as his second cousin. He later participated in his father Ali's war against the eventual Sunni caliph, Muawiya (r. 661–80). After Ali's murder in 661, al-Hasan was elected caliph by the partisans of Ali, who had assembled at Kufa with a great army, and prepared to continue the civil war. However, al-Hasan was ready to fight only up to a certain point. After negotiation with Muawiya, he abdicated and settled into a comfortable life at MEDINA. Rumors were spread that the Umayyads had paid him to abdicate. Later rumors claimed that he was poisoned by a wife or the Umayyads after dozens of assassination attempts. He died in 699 or 670. The Shiites consider him the second IMAM after ALI.

*See also* AL-HUSAYN IBN ALI IBN ABI TALIB; SHIA, SHIISM, AND SHIITES.

**Further reading:** Syed Husain M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Wilfred Madelung, *The Succession to*

*Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); L. Vecchia Vaglieri, "(al)-Hasan b. Ali b. Abi Talib," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.240–243.

**Hastings, Battle of** This was the decisive victory of the NORMANS in their conquest of ANGLO-SAXONS in ENGLAND. The Battle of Hastings was fought at a place now called Battle, in Sussex, on Saturday, October 14, 1066. On that day WILLIAM I the Conqueror, duke of NORMANDY, killed HAROLD II Godwinson and most of the fighting aristocracy of England. On the following Christmas Day, William was crowned king. The Normans disputed the accused perjurer Harold's coronation as EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S successor because Harold had previously sworn to support William, in 1051 and 1064. A perjured ruler was a tyrant whom one could attack. Pope Alexander II's (r. 1061–73) backing gave William the moral justification. After his victory, as a token of penance, William built Battle Abbey near the site.

See also BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

**Further reading:** Frank Barlow, ed., *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jim Bradbury, *The Battle of Hastings* (Stroud, England: Sutton Publishing, 1998); M. K. Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings* (London: Tempus, 2002); Stephen Morillo, ed. *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1996).

**Hattin, Battle of Horns of (Hittin)** Near a hill in eastern Galilee, near Tiberias, the Muslims inflicted a great defeat on the crusader forces of the kingdom of JERUSALEM on July 4, 1187. The Muslims, led by SALADIN, defeated the crusaders, led by Guy of Lusignan (1129–94), king of Jerusalem. Most of the crusaders were killed or taken prisoner, so the kingdom of Jerusalem, now defenseless, including the capital, Jerusalem, and its major city, ACRE, quickly fell to Saladin and his army. As soon as the news of the defeat at Hattin reached western Europe, the Third Crusade was proclaimed.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Z. Kedar, ed., *The Horns of Hattin* (London: Variorum, 1992).

**Havelock the Dane** He was the central character of the folkloric *Lay of Havelock the Dane*, an Anglo-French lay and English romance written in the 13th century in Lincolnshire, a part of eastern ENGLAND settled by Danes in the ninth century. Havelock was the rightful king of DENMARK but was robbed of his inheritance by a usurper. He was supposed to drown at sea but escaped and went into exile in England. After many adventures, he married the heiress to the English throne, Goldeboru, and regained his own kingdom, eventually uniting a portion

of England and Denmark under his rule. The story had no basis in fact but was linked with the establishment of the DANELAW and the union of England and Denmark under CANUTE. An entertaining tale for the common people, but not a great work of literature, the *Lay* was one of the few works of vernacular English literature to survive from the period.

See also ANGLO-NORMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Walter W. Skeat, ed., *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, 2d ed. (1915; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

**hawking and falconry** See HUNTING AND FOWLING

**Hawkwood, John (Giovanni Acuto)** (ca. 1320–1394)  
*English military adventurer*

Born in Essex in England about 1320 and a veteran of the battles of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR for EDWARD III in FRANCE, John Hawkwood arrived in ITALY in 1360 and became captain of a private army, selling his and its services to the cities for almost 35 years. In 1361, he was the *condottiere* or mercenary captain of PISA and participated in its wars with other Tuscan cities, among them FLORENCE. Despite a defeat in 1364, he gained great reputation and, through an alliance with MILAN, became one of



John Hawkwood, an equestrian portrait by Paolo Uccello (1397–1475) in the cathedral of Florence, Italy (*Erich Lessing / Art Resource*)

the most successful military leaders in Italy. In 1377 he entered the service of Florence until his death. He became a citizen and commanded its armies and helped extend the influence of the city by dominating much of TUSCANY. An impressive tomb, redone in 1436 by Paolo UCELLO, was erected in the cathedral of Florence for *Giovanni Acuto*, the form of his unpronounceable name in Italian. He died very rich in 1394.

**Further reading:** Hubert Cole, *Hawkwood* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967); John Temple Leader, *Sir John Hawkwood (L'Acuto): Story of a Condottiere*, trans. Leader Scott [pseud.] (London: T. F. Unwin, 1889).

**al-Hazen** See IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABU ALI AL-HASAN IBN AL-HASAN, AL-BASRA.

**heaven (theological and artistic)** Heaven was considered the dwelling place of GOD and his ANGELS, where the saved soul saw or experienced him and thus had the BEATIFIC VISION. What this meant and how much of this might ever be available to humans was much disputed in the Middle Ages. During this life heaven and the Beatific Vision could only be imagined in theological terms and portrayed only vaguely even in the best and most elaborate artistic representations. Getting to heaven could be seen as a journey to a rightful home or a return from exile. For Jews and Christians, there was a sort of heavenly city on Earth, JERUSALEM, which was also sacred to Muslims. The concept of PARADISE or a new and revived, almost physical Garden of Eden embodied heaven's characteristics and those of the place whence humankind had been expelled. This was sometimes related to the idea of an enclosed and wonderful garden, as in the SONG OF SONGS, a place of peace and happiness that artists tried to represent but could only suggest. Access to heaven had been restored by the Passion and resurrection of Christ. Heaven was the goal of salvation, where the saved were sent after the LAST JUDGMENT. The church, as the gateway to heaven through its SEVEN SACRAMENTS and liturgy, was to assist the soul along the way, especially with help of the gift of GRACE granted directly and gratuitously by God.

See also ALIGHIERI, DANTE; ASCENSION; ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN MARY; HARROWING OF HELL; HELL; PREDESTINATION; PURGATORY; REDEMPTION; TRANSFIGURATION.

**Further reading:** Robert Easting, *Visions of the Other World in Middle English* (Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Clifford Davidson, ed., *The Iconography of Heaven* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1994); Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1993); Jean Delumeau, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*, trans. Matthew O'Connell. (New York: Continuum, 1995); Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New

Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Carol Zaleski and Philip Zaleski, eds., *The Book of Heaven: An Anthology of Writings from Ancient to Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

**Hedeby (Haithabu)** A Danish VIKING age trading center and port at the head of the Schlei Fjord, Hedeby was on the Baltic Sea, near Schleswig and Kiel in modern GERMANY. Contemporary Frankish sources mentioned that a Danish king, Godfred (d. 810), settled in 808 merchants from a nearby town called Reric. This probably launched Hedeby's development as a center of TRADE. There had been a late-eighth-century settlement nearby to the south of the center of this new Viking town. Hedeby had the earliest known mint in Scandinavia and a tollhouse. A wide range of handicraft activities were conducted there, working in metal, bone (or antler), and amber, making glass and pottery; and repairing ships. As in most other Viking age towns, by the 10th century Hedeby's streets were paved with timbers. There was a earth-and-timber rampart, and sea barriers to protect its harbor.

A Jewish merchant from CORDOBA visited Hedeby in the mid-10th century and wrote a description of the town. He noted many freshwater wells but considered it a squalid place, remarking that the singing of the inhabitants was "worse than the howling of dogs." He also mentioned the existence of a church and a small Christian community. Hedeby was under the control of Sweden in the early 10th century, then came under German control later in the century. Disputed between the kings of NORWAY and Denmark, the town was sacked twice in the 11th century by the king of NORWAY, Harald Hardrada (r. 1046–66), in 1050 and by the WENDS in 1066. By 1100 Hedeby was then abandoned in favor of Schleswig, probably because the latter was easier to reach by the larger merchant ships then coming into use. In the early 11th century, Hedeby had a population of between 1,000 and 1,500 people but was likely mostly destroyed by fire about 1050.

**Further reading:** Ole Crumlin-Pedersen, *Viking-Age Ships and Shipbuilding in Hedeby/Haithabu and Schleswig* (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum, 1997); Sidney Cohen, "The Earliest Scandinavians Towns," in *The Medieval City*, ed. Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A. L. Udovitch (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 313–325; Else Roesdahl, *Viking Age Denmark*, trans. Susan Margeson and Kirsten Williams (London: British Museum; 1982), 70–77.

**Hedwiga** See JAGIELLONIANS, DYNASTY OF

**hegira** See AL-HIJR; MUHAMMAD.

**Heimskringla** (The circle of the world) It was a collection of epic sagas or a history of the early kings of Norway. Although no manuscript named him as the author, it is certain that *Heimskringla* was written by the Icelandic poet SNORRI STURLUSON in the 1220s or early 1230s. The first of the sagas (the *Ynglinga*) traced the descent of the Norwegian kings from a historical Odin, through the Swedish Yngling dynasty, down to the end of the legendary period. There followed 16 sagas of the kings of NORWAY, from Halfdan the Black (d. ca. 880) in the mid-ninth century and his son, Harald I Fairhair (r. 860/880–930/940), to Magnus V (r. 1161/62–ca. 1184). One-third of *Heimskringla* was *The Saga of St. Olaf*, about the ardent Christian Olaf II (r. 1015/16–1030). It was a dramatic, convincingly characterized, and psychologically realistic depiction of the patron saint of Norway.

Much of the *Heimskringla* consisted of dramatic and fictional reconstructions of events, so its value as a historical source remains unclear. Where it can be checked against independent sources, it has been found to be fairly accurate, but problematic in detail. Snorri wove several historical traditions into a coherent narrative, making *Heimskringla* an impressive work of medieval historiography. As a major source of Norway's historical traditions, *Heimskringla* served a supportive role in the Norwegian cultural and national identity through centuries of foreign rule after its absorption into DENMARK in 1380.

**Further reading:** Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, trans. Samuel Laing (London: Dent, 1961–64); Diana Whaley, *Heimskringla: An Introduction* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College, 1991); Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

**Heinrich Seuse** See HENRY SUSO.

**hejira** See AL-HIJR; MUHAMMAD.

**hell (theological and artistic)** Medieval Christianity took from the New Testament and traditions of Judaism the belief in an eternal punishment in another world created for that purpose. For Christianity the nonbaptized and Christians who died in a state of mortal sin always went to hell. In the *City of God*, Augustine dismissed the idea of a final and universal return to HEAVEN or salvation of all the creatures of GOD. He thus gave the medieval world the doctrine of an assured eternity of punishment for the damned.

In early Christianity, the situation of damned souls before the LAST JUDGMENT was a real theological question, but soon it was assumed that the damned souls would go directly to hell at their death. The destiny of the damned was immediately an eternity of torture in a real and material infernal fire and ethos of punishment. The most

terrible type of punishment was the pain of damnation, or the privation of God and the BEATIFIC VISION. Added to this were psychological torments such as despair, remorse, and jealous rage at seeing the saved already in heaven, even before the Last Judgment. The main physical punishment was fire, but worms, cold, and darkness were added in literary and artistic representations.

#### ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION

In art, hell was the domain of an absolute horror rather unspeakable and barely possible to portray. During the course of the troubled 14th century, there occurred a sophistication, development, and diversification in its punishments. The graphic adaptation of the penalty to the sin being punished gave the images of hell an increased effectiveness. This new style asserted the legitimacy of a punishment and turned its almost entertaining spectacle of cruelty into a moral lesson. Hell was deployed to assist the effectiveness of pastoral care and the denunciation of particularly common sins. It was now better adapted to incite confession of sins in the hope of escaping the just and horrible pains to come.

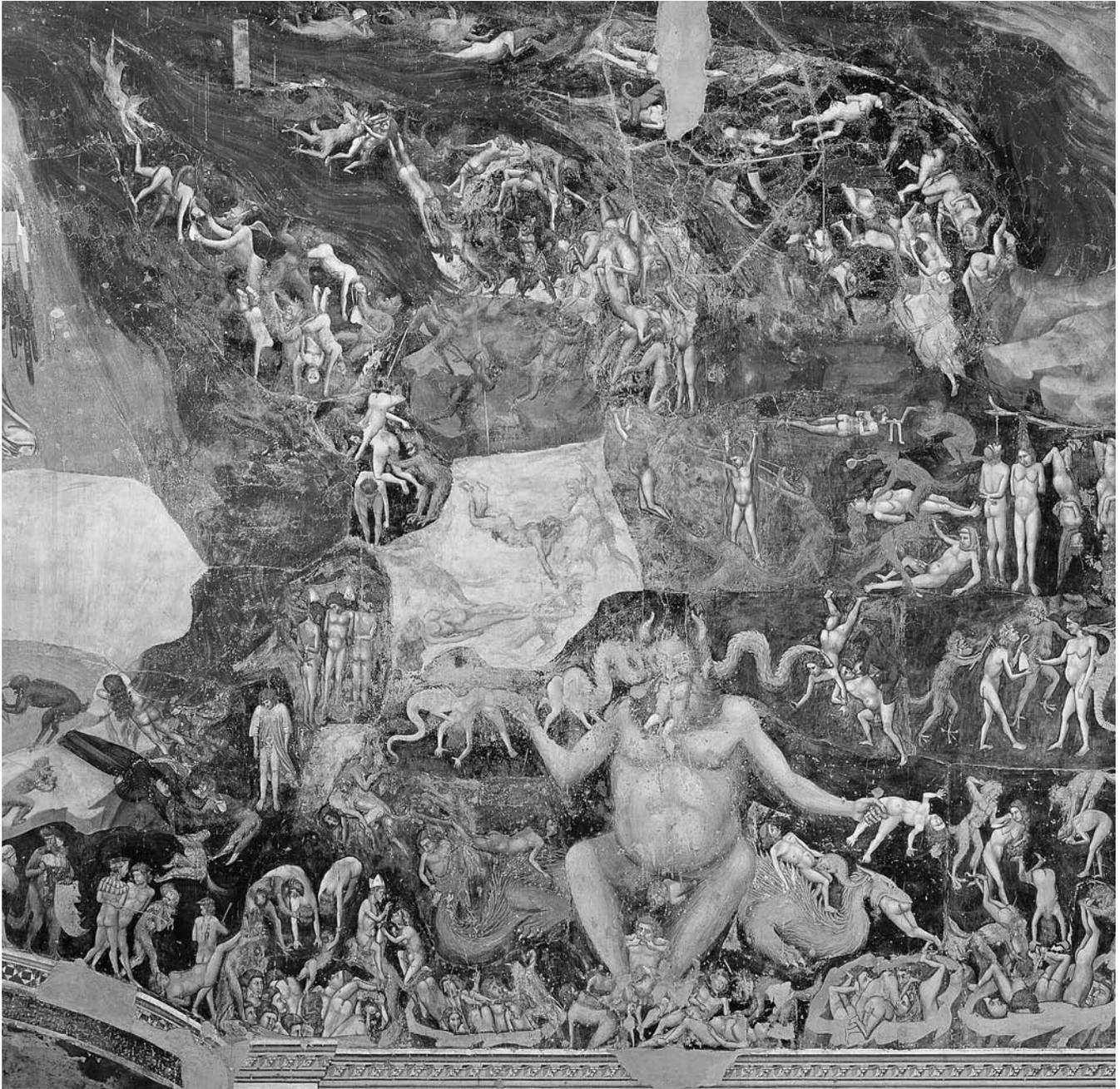
See also ALIGHIERI, DANTE; HARROWING OF HELL; LIMBO; PREDESTINATION; PURGATORY.

**Further reading:** Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Lucinda Byatt (Cambridge: Polity, 1990); Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1993).

**Héloïse** (ca. 1101–1164) *French noblewoman, nun*

Héloïse was born in a noble family in PARIS about 1101. In 1116 her uncle, Fulbert, a canon of Notre-Dame, engaged the already famous ABÉLARD as her tutor. Such an education was rare for a young girl, even among the aristocracy. The master and his young pupil soon fell in love. A son, Astrolabe, was born and the couple agreed to a secret MARRIAGE. This did not appease the anger of Fulbert, who had Abélard castrated. Afterward Abélard encouraged Héloïse to enter the monastery of Argenteuil, and he became a monk at SAINT-DENIS in 1118. Héloïse saw marriage as a brake on Abélard's ability to be a "philosopher" and an obstacle to true love. This reaction has been read as resistance to the church's view of marriage as a social institution and the main criterion of distinction between the clergy and the LAITY.

In 1129, the abbot of Saint-Denis took control of Argenteuil and expelled the NUNS from it. Abélard, who had just been elected abbot of Saint-Gildas, offered Héloïse his hermitage of the Paraclete in Champagne to establish a women's monastery. She became its abbess. Under her direction, the Paraclete received numerous



Hell and the Last Judgment, fresco by Giotto di Bondone in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua, Italy (Scala / Art Resource)

properties and created several priories. Between 1130 and 1135, Abélard and Héloïse resumed regular contact. In their supposed correspondence appear three letters by her in which she recalled the substance and memory of their passion. She mingled that with regret, reproach, and protestations of love. Concerned about her own salvation, she ended it by acceding to the encouragement of Abélard to dedicate herself to her duties as abbess. After 1136, Héloïse and Abélard seem to have finally separated. At Abélard's death in 1142, she had him buried at the Paraclete. She died May 16, 1164, and she too was buried

at the Paraclete. They were reburied in 1817 in the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.

**Further reading:** Betty Radice, trans., *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (New York: Penguin Books, 1974); Peter Dronke, ed., "Heloise," in *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua († 203) to Marguerite Porete († 1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Étienne Gilson, *Heloise and Abelard* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972); Peggy Kamuf, *Fictions of Feminine Desire: Disclosures of Heloise* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); Bonnie

Wheeler, ed., *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

### Henry I (1068–1135) *king of England*

Born in 1068, Henry was the third surviving son of WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR and Matilda of Flanders (d. 1083). Henry I received a good education and could read and write LATIN, an accomplishment rare among the LAITY at that time. It earned him the nickname “Beauclerc.” On his father’s death in 1089, Henry’s brothers, Robert Curthose (r. 1087–1106) and WILLIAM II RUFUS, inherited NORMANDY and ENGLAND, respectively; Henry was left 5,000 pounds, with which he accumulated more land in western Normandy. Robert proved unable to govern efficiently; Henry therefore allied with William, who in 1096 took over Normandy as security for a loan he made to enable Robert for a CRUSADE venture.

#### KING; CAPTURE OF ROBERT; ACCORD WITH THE CHURCH

On August 2, 1100, with Robert on his way home, William was shot by Walter Tirel, possibly with Henry’s connivance, while hunting in the New Forest. Henry seized the royal treasure in nearby Winchester and was hastily crowned three days later on August 5 at Westminster. He issued a charter promising reforms, to win support from the great landowners and the church. He imprisoned William’s hated minister Ranulf Flambard (d. 1128) and recalled the exiled ANSELM, archbishop of CANTERBURY. In November 1100 he married Edith, later called Matilda (1080–1118), the daughter of Malcolm III (r. 1058–93), king of Scotland. This marriage led to peace with SCOTLAND and made Henry more acceptable to the English. These measures helped Henry survive an attack by Duke Robert from Normandy in 1101. In 1104 and 1105 Henry attacked Normandy and in 1106 finally defeated his brother at Tinchebray and annexed the duchy, keeping Robert a prisoner until his death in 1134. In 1107 Henry reached a compromise with the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury over the long dispute about lay control of elections of bishops and abbots. That dispute had caused Anselm to leave for a second period of exile. Henry agreed to give up the custom of lay INVESTITURE or the giving to prelates of the ring and staff that were the symbols of their spiritual office. The pope agreed that prelates should be elected in the king’s presence and then do homage for their property before consecration. In this way Henry and his successors retained basic control of church appointments in exchange for accepting a formal but important ceremony.

#### PROTECTING NORMANDY; ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Along with constant and necessary vigilance to suppress rebellion in Normandy, Henry made diplomatic and

political moves to protect it from attack. In 1109 his daughter, Matilda (1102–67), was pledged to marry the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V (r. 1106–25). In 1113 he agreed that his son and heir, William (1103–20), should marry the daughter of FULK V, count of ANJOU, in 1119. He paid a large pension to the count of FLANDERS and gave substantial estates in England and Normandy to his nephew, Stephen of Blois, the future king of England (r. 1135–54), brother of another potential ally, the count of Blois. So allied, he was able to repel several attacks led by Louis VI (r. 1108–37), king of France, in support of the claim to Normandy by Duke Robert’s son, William Clito (1101–28). Though defeated at Brémule in 1119, Louis continued to support William, making him count of Flanders in 1127; however, William Clito died in 1128.

Though Henry devoted much of his time to Normandy, his reign produced notable developments in the machinery of the government of England. He increased the number of professional administrators, employing competent men, even if they were of humble origin. Many of these were laymen; their chief was Roger, bishop of Salisbury (d. 1139). Roger was the king’s most important official and was responsible for the initial organization of the EXCHEQUER. In judicial affairs more cases were claimed and thus brought to the king’s court. The king’s control was expanded and affirmed by sending justices to tour the county courts and brutal punishments of criminals.

#### SUCCESSION

The great problem of the last years of Henry’s rule was the succession to the throne. He had at least 20 illegitimate children but only one legitimate son, William (1103–20), and one legitimate daughter, Matilda. William’s death by drowning in 1120 while crossing the channel in the “White Ship” was a political disaster. Henry, in hope of an heir, married in 1121 Adelia, the daughter of the duke of Lower Lorraine, another potential ally against France, but the union was childless. Matilda became a widow in 1125, so Henry summoned his daughter home. In December 1126 he made the nobles swear to accept her as lady of England and Normandy. He then arranged her marriage to Geoffrey, son of the count of Anjou. But when Henry died at Angers on December 1, 1135, after eating too many lampreys, his nephew, Stephen, took the English throne. A civil war was fought but ultimately won by HENRY II, Matilda’s son.

**Further reading:** L. J. Downer, ed. and trans., *Leges Henrici primi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Michael Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); Judith A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. Amanda Frost (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001); Charlotte A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility*

*in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

### Henry II Plantagenet (1133–1189) *king of England*

Born on March 5, 1133, Henry II was the eldest son of Geoffrey (r. 1128–51), count of ANJOU, and Matilda (1102–67), daughter of King HENRY I. On her father's death Matilda failed to secure control of ENGLAND and NORMANDY, but Geoffrey conquered NORMANDY and in 1150 invested the young Henry with the duchy. On Geoffrey's death a year later, Henry became the count of Anjou. To these lands he added the duchy of AQUITAIN by his marriage on May 18, 1152, to ELEANOR, daughter of the late duke. These lands were not independent but were FIEFS of the kingdom of FRANCE. For each of them Henry had to do homage to King Louis VII (r. 1137–80) as his overlord. Louis, as were other kings in this period, was trying to convert the vague feudal overlords into real authority and power to govern.

In 1153 Henry led an expedition to claim the throne of England from his mother's rival, King Stephen of Blois (r. 1135–54), in a long civil war. The death of Stephen's son, Eustace (d. 1153), in August made accommodation possible. At Winchester in November Stephen recognized Henry as his heir. Henry left Stephen on the throne for the rest of his life. Stephen died on October 25, 1154, and Henry succeeded peacefully and was crowned on December 19 at Westminster.

#### HENRY AS KING

The new king was tough, intelligent, young, well educated, ambitious, and ruthless. He was constantly on the move within his vast realms. Henry's first objective was to reassert all the rights of his grandfather, King Henry I. He reclaimed royal incomes and lands and CASTLES, destroying those built without royal permission during the civil war. He reorganized the administration of finance and justice. He had the service of able and experienced administrators. He soon reasserted his overlordship of SCOTLAND, the Welsh princes, and BRITTANY. He married his eldest son to the daughter of the king of France, who had as her dowry the Norman Vexin. He had forced his brother, Geoffrey, to take money instead of control of the county of Anjou.

#### QUARREL WITH THOMAS BECKET

Triumphant elsewhere, Henry met some opposition in his attempts to assert his authority over the CLERGY. On the death of Archbishop Theobald in 1162, he arranged the election a year later as archbishop of Canterbury of his chancellor and friend Thomas BECKET. Thomas, once his friend, opposed him, and Henry's reaction was bitter and violent.

The following January 1164, at Clarendon, the king's rights over the church were defined in 16 clauses, the

Constitutions of CLARENDON. Thomas refused to accept them, and Henry now decided to marginalize him. At Northampton in October 1164 Thomas had huge fines imposed on him and his resignation was required. Thomas fled secretly from England and appealed to the pope. Henry had the support of many of the bishops of England and a reasonable case. Most of the disputed rights had been exercised without objection in Henry I's time. Pope ALEXANDER III, locked in his own quarrel with Emperor FREDERICK I, did not offend Henry. Thomas remained in exile until 1170.

In 1170 Henry had his son crowned by the archbishop of YORK, in defiance of the long accepted right of the archbishop of Canterbury to crown the heir. Henry then tried for peace with Becket. Thomas's actions, however, soon drove the king into one of his famous rages. Four of his KNIGHTS, hoping to please the king, hurried to Canterbury and murdered Thomas, who had returned to England, in the cathedral on December 29, 1170. Henry made a great show of repentance and left for IRELAND. Because all parties now desired peace, Henry was reconciled with the church on May 21, 1172, at Avranches. He promised to give up any rights that had been usurped in his time from the church and even permit appeals from ecclesiastical courts in England to the pope's court. The problem of jurisdiction over "criminous clerks" was settled by a compromise in 1176.

#### FAMILY PROBLEMS

From 1173 Henry had to meet rebellion and attack from all sides. He had been constantly unfaithful to Eleanor, and he had not given his grown sons power or independent income. Eleanor and his three eldest sons allied with King Louis VII of France, the count of Flanders, King WILLIAM I THE LION of Scotland, and numerous nobles from throughout his realms. Henry had warning as well as effective, well-paid soldiers and loyal administrators. Eleanor was captured and the other rebels defeated. William the Lion was defeated and imprisoned, then forced to make concessions to gain his freedom in the Treaty of Falaise in December of 1174.

His sons, the later king RICHARD I and the eldest, Henry, "the Young King" (1155–83), were dissatisfied and jealous, eager to rebel and to ally with a new enemy, the young and competent king of France, PHILIP II AUGUSTUS. Philip exploited the situation for his own ambitions. The heir to the throne, Henry, died while in rebellion against his father on June 11, 1183. Finally both Richard and John, the youngest son, allied with Philip against their father. The old king was forced to make a humiliating peace and died two days later on July 6, 1189. He was buried in the abbey church at Fontevrault.

#### LEGACY: GOVERNMENT AND LAW

The most enduring legacy of Henry's reign was in England. The administration and techniques of centralized rule

became more elaborate and professional, with better documentation, yet always under Henry's control. The royal court remained the center of government, but finance and justice became the domains of experts. Judges were sent out on circuits from the royal court with regularity, thus ensuring uniformity and promoting central control. The Assizes of Clarendon in 1166 and of Northampton in 1176 set new rules for the charging of criminals by sworn freemen, who now had to cooperate with royal sheriffs and the itinerant justices.

See also GERALD OF WALES.

**Further reading:** W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Emilie Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored, 1149–1159* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1993).

### Henry III (1207–1272) *king of England*

The eldest son of King JOHN and Isabel of Angoulême (d. 1246), Henry III was born on October 1, 1207. At the death of his father, he ascended the throne on October 19, 1216, and was crowned at Gloucester. Ten days later WILLIAM THE MARSHAL, earl of Pembroke, was appointed regent. On Pembroke's death in 1219, Hubert de Burgh (d. 1243), who served as chief justiciar, became the most powerful man in government. In the first years of the regency, ENGLAND was under papal influence as a result of the problems of John's reign when it was made a papal fief. Efforts were made early in the reign during the regency to maintain peace through negotiating with the future Louis VIII of FRANCE in 1217, confirming the MAGNA CARTA in 1223, and making peace with WALES in 1218.

#### HENRY AS KING

In 1223 Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–27) had allowed Henry to be declared competent and of age for certain limited purposes. In January 1227 Henry declared himself fully competent and commenced an attempt to retake the French possessions that had been lost. In 1228, for baronial support, he agreed to restore forest liberties. By 1230 he was invading Poitou and Gascony to obtain revenue for himself, and he reaffirmed some fiscal liberties of the church to gain its support. By 1232, hoping to act as his own minister, Henry dismissed Hubert de Burgh and alienated the English barons by replacing English officers with Poitevin cronies but was forced to get rid of them in 1234. In 1235 to gain foreign support he married his sister, Isabel (1214–41), to the emperor FREDERICK II. On January 20 of the following year he married Eleanor of Provence (d. 1291). This marriage, which resulted in two sons and three daughters who survived infancy, drew many of his wife's relatives to England in official capacities. The barons again saw the government passing into the control of foreigners. By 1239 Henry's behavior was

such that even his brother-in-law, SIMON DE MONTFORT the Younger, and his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall (1209–72), joined the opposition. Henry made minor concessions but continued to fill state and church offices with foreigners. Baronial opposition to the misgovernment of the king thus continued to grow. In 1242 the barons refused to finance or participate in a French war, and two years later both barons and the church protested, but these efforts failed through lack of leadership when Henry detached his brother Richard from the opposition through an opportunistic marriage with Sanchia, the daughter of the count of Provence.

#### THE SHORT-LIVED BARONIAL REVOLT

In 1252 Henry alienated Simon de Montfort, who had been governor of Gascony. A crisis developed when Henry agreed to help finance the papal struggle with MANFRED in return for the grant of the Crown of SICILY to his son, Prince Edmund of Lancaster (1245–96). This "Sicilian Venture" came to nothing. The barons were now ready for a confrontation. With Montfort as their leader, in 1258 the barons met at the "Mad" Parliament and drew up the Provisions of Oxford, which gave the barons executive power and the right to nominate half of a governing council as well as establishing a committee of 24 to promote further reforms and oversee Henry.

The barons soon quarreled among themselves as Montfort aimed at a more popular government, as the earl of Gloucester became the leader of another faction of more autocratic barons. As a result, in 1261 Henry was able to regain power and obtained a papal bull absolving him from the promises and terms of the Provisions of Oxford. In 1264 the conflict with the barons was referred to LOUIS IX of France for arbitration, and by the Mise of Amiens a decision favorable to the king was made. Although the decision was upheld by Pope Urban IV (r. 1261–64), the barons refused to accept the award, and civil conflict developed. After capturing Leicester and other areas, the baronial forces marched south for provisions. At the Battle of LEWES on May 14, 1264, Montfort defeated the king and captured his son the future (EDWARD I) and his brother Richard, and forced a calling of Parliament.

Since Montfort's position was now becoming too powerful, some of the barons deserted to the side of the king, whose forces, led by his son Edward who had escaped, defeated and killed Montfort at the Battle of Evesham in 1265. With the death of the opposition leader, Henry revoked all his recent acts, confiscated the lands of the rebels, and in the Dictum of Kenilworth in 1266 brought peace for the rest of his reign. By now power had passed to his eldest son, Edward, and the last years of the reign saw the passage of minor reforms at the 1267 Parliament of Marlborough.

One of Henry's greatest achievements was the completion of WESTMINSTER ABBEY in 1269. On November

16, 1272, Henry died at Westminster, and his body was buried in the abbey four days later before the high altar, with his heart buried with his ancestors at Fontevault in France.

**Further reading:** F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947); David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); David Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996).

### Henry III the Salian (1017–1056) *king of Germany, Holy Roman Emperor*

Son of the emperor Conrad II (r. 1024–39), born on October 28, 1017, Henry was crowned king at the age of 10 in 1028. He soon received the duchies of BAVARIA, Carinthia, and SWABIA; became king of BURGUNDY in 1038; and succeeded his father on June 3, 1039. He received the imperial Crown in ROME on Christmas Day, 1046, from the pope, Clement II (r. 1046–47), whom he had appointed in a disputed papal election. Greatly attached to reform of the church, he appointed reforming popes from 1046 to 1054 from among German bishops and supported the CLUNIAC movement. His appointments included Leo IX (r. 1049–54), the pope who began what became the GREGORIAN REFORM. He successfully defended his kingdom against the Hungarians. A marriage to Agnes of Poitou, his second wife, was questioned because of consanguinity in 1043. The first monarch to take the title of king of the Romans, he died suddenly at age 39 on October 5, 1056, with only a minor son to succeed him.

**Further reading:** Karl Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. Ralph Bennett (1909; reprint, Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1973), 47–59; William North, “Henry III (1028/1046–1056),” in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 342–34; Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. Barbara M. Bowlus (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 85–111, 193–194.

### Henry V, king of England (Prince Hal) (1387–1422) *victor of the Battle of Agincourt*

The eldest son of King Henry IV (r. 1399–1413) of Lancaster and Mary de Bohun, Henry V was born at Monmouth on August 9, 1387. His early military training was under Thomas Percy (1344–1403), earl of Worcester, and he was probably educated at Queen’s College, OXFORD, under his uncle, Henry Beaufort (d. 1447), the later bishop of Winchester. Henry’s early years were spent in various military campaigns, and in IRELAND in 1398–99 he was temporarily a hostage of RICHARD II. As a teenager Henry was leading royal forces against Conway,

Merioneth, and Carnarvon, fighting Owian GLYNDWR, fighting with his father at Shrewsbury; two years later capturing Aberystwith; and by 1407 invading SCOTLAND. He also fought in France against the Armagnacs. Ascending to the throne on March 21, 1413, Henry was so secure that he pardoned the Percy family, who had conspired against his father, and gave the remains of Richard II an honorable burial in an attempt to secure acceptance of his father’s seizure of the throne.

In religious matters the devoted Henry followed his father’s policies: the abolition of foreign control of ecclesiastical properties, the repression of the LOLLARDS in 1414, and the arrest of Sir John Oldcastle (d. 1417) three years later. However, he appears to have been favorable to the plan of the lay peers to confiscate some of the church’s wealth.

### VICTORY AT AGINCOURT

In foreign affairs the ruthless Henry revived the English claims to the French Crown. In August 1415, after defeating a conspiracy to remove him from the throne, he led an army of some 20,000 foot soldiers and 9,000 horsemen to attack Harfleur in France. After losing a large part of this army because of illness, he marched to take Calais as a base for further operations. On the way, unable to avoid a vastly superior French army, he fought at AGINCOURT on October 25, 1415, gaining a great victory and capturing the constable of France and the duke of Orléans.

### FURTHER CAMPAIGNS; EARLY DEATH

Henry had to return to England to obtain new supplies and manpower and to build an adequate navy. By 1417 he was back in France to attack Cherbourg, Coutances, Avranches, Evreux, most of NORMANDY, and the strategic city of ROUEN. By making an alliance with PHILIP THE GOOD, the duke of Burgundy, Henry was able to impose on the French the Treaty of Troyes on May 21, 1420. In it he was declared the heir to Charles VI (r. 1380–1422), the regent of France, and the lord of Normandy. He had thus united the thrones of England and France, binding them even further by his marriage to Catherine of France, the daughter of Charles VI.

The teenage French dauphin, the future Charles VII (r. 1422–61), did not accept the treaty and continued to oppose Henry, who had to return to campaigning, capturing Melun in November and making a triumphal entrance into Paris the following month for ratification of the treaty by the PARLEMENT OF PARIS. After making plans for the governing of Normandy, Henry took his French bride to England to be crowned queen and devoted time to internal affairs, reforming the BENEDICTINE monasteries and dealing with James I (r. 1406–37) of Scotland. After a defeat of the English forces on the continent, Henry had to return again to France to restore his control in March 1421. He drove the forces of the dauphin Charles back across the Loire. After a successful siege of

Meaux the following year and while en route to help the duke of BURGUNDY, Henry contracted dysentery and died on August 31, 1422, at Vincennes near Paris at the age of 35. After a funeral procession back to England, he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

**Further reading:** Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell, trans. *Gesta Henricic Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); G. L. Harriss, ed. *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Henry V: The Cautious Conqueror* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1975).

**Henry VI, King** (1165–1197) *Holy Roman Emperor, poet, king of Sicily*

The son of Emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, born in 1165, Henry struggled to unite the Crowns of GERMANY within the empire. He married the NORMAN princess CONSTANCE, daughter of ROGER II of SICILY, in 1185, and inherited a claim to the throne of Sicily, which he took by force in 1194. He became emperor on the death of his father while the latter was on CRUSADE in 1190. After pacifying Germany and seizing Sicily, he pursued another dream to conquer the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. In 1195 he launched a crusade against Byzantium, offering to end the threat only if a large bribe from Alexios III (r. 1195–1203) was paid. Alexios III levied a tax called the “German tax” in 1197 to meet this demand, but the collected funds were never sent. In the meantime Henry died of fever, probably malaria, in Messina on September 28. He left an infant son, the future FREDERICK II.

See also HOHENSTAUFEN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Horst Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Brain A. Pavlac, “Henry VI (1165–1197),” in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 348–350.

**Henry of Ghent (de Gandavo)** (1217–1293) *logician and theologian*

Henry was born at GHENT or Tournai in modern Belgium in 1217. As an adult, he became a member of the secular clergy as canon of Tournai and archdeacon of BRUGES. The influence of the “solemn doctor,” as he was nicknamed, was exercised notably in defense of Augustinianism and in the distinction he made between the essence of and the being of GOD. Only God was essence, and the being of his creatures supposed the creator remained affected by that act of creation. God was the first object of knowledge. Henry, a logician and a commentator on ARISTOTLE, later was active in the condemnation of the Aver-

roism of 1277. He supposedly taught there at the faculty of arts from 1266 to 1277 with SIGER OF BRABANT at the University of PARIS. He died on June 29, 1293.

See also DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN, BLESSED.

**Further reading:** Steven P. Marrone, *Truth and Scientific Knowledge in the Thought of Henry of Ghent* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1985); W. Vanhamel, ed., *Henry of Ghent: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the Occasion of the 700th Anniversary of His Death (1293)* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1996).

**Henry of Susa, Cardinal** See HOSTIENSIS, CARDINAL.

**Henry Suso (Heinrich Seuse, Henry of Berg), Blessed**

(ca. 1295–1366) *German Dominican mystic and reformer*  
Henry Suso or Seuse was born about 1295 near Constance, perhaps on March 21. His name, Sus, Seuse, or Sūs, was taken from his mother. At age 13, he entered the DOMINICAN ORDER and followed their usual course of study, lasting seven or eight years. Suso may have completed the first stage of his studies in THEOLOGY at Constance or Strasbourg in 1322. He then continued them at the Dominican school at COLOGNE, where in 1327 he was a pupil of ECKHART. After returning to Constance, between 1329 and 1334, Suso was suspected of HERESY. He was removed from his ecclesiastical offices and subjected to interrogation. After this he turned from a harsh ascetism to a life of mystical abandonment as recounted in several treatises.

During a difficult time of natural catastrophes, FAMINE and PLAGUE, he dedicated himself to preaching and pastoral work. After journeying throughout GERMANY, in 1347–48 he moved to Ulm and continued his work of spiritual reform. He wrote a collection of his works, *The Exemplar*, in 1362/63. On January 25, 1366, he died at Ulm, where he was buried in the local church of the Dominicans. Pope Gregory XVI (r. 1831–46) proclaimed him a *beatus* or “blessed” in 1831.

**Further reading:** Henry Suso, *Henry Suso: The Exemplar, with Two German Sermons*, trans. Frank Tobin (New York: Paulist Press, 1989); James Midgley Clark, *The Great German Mystics: Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso* (Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Press, 1969).

**Henry the Lion (Henry XII)** (1129–1195) *duke of Bavaria, rival to Frederick I Barbarossa*

Born in January 1129, Henry was the son of Henry the Proud (1108–39), duke of BAVARIA and SAXONY. He became head of a family opposed to the HOHENSTAUFEN and was the second greatest prince in GERMANY after the emperor. His attitude toward FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, his cousin, seems to have been one of loyalty. He kept mainly in his lands of Saxony, rather neglecting Bavaria

and SWABIA. In the north, he tried to regroup his patrimony, including inheritances, new acquisitions, and FIEFS, to make them into a territorial state that he intended to govern as sovereign. This ambition earned him the hostility of a number of lay and ecclesiastical vassals. A second marriage, to Matilda (1156–89) of ENGLAND, a pilgrimage to CONSTANTINOPLE and JERUSALEM, and impressive patronage increased his political prestige. He also conducted several bloody and successful expeditions against the SLAVS in eastern Europe.

He refused to send troops to Frederick I, then in military difficulty with the LOMBARD LEAGUE in ITALY. The emperor later blamed his defeat at LEGNANO on this. Frederick used this and a complaint by a bishop of Halberstadt about Henry's spoliation of church properties in order to summon him before his feudal court. After a long traditional procedure, Frederick condemned him to the loss of his possessions and exile in 1186. The outlaw Henry took refuge in NORMANDY and England, returning to his lands only in 1192. He was able to bequeath to his children only the duchy of Brunswick. After Frederick's death, Henry was the focal point of opposition to his son HENRY VI, but he died on August 6, 1195. His tomb and that of his wife are in a church at Brunswick, where he had built a castle, Dankwarderod, where he erected a bronze lion to represent the prestige of his family.

**Further reading:** Madelyn Bergen Dick, "Henry the Lion (1129/1131–August 6, 1195)," in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 346; Karl Jordan, *Henry the Lion: A Biography*, trans. P. S. Falla (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969).

### Henry "the Navigator" (Infante Dom Henry of Portugal) (1394–1460) *Portuguese prince, duke of Viseu*

The Infante Dom Henry of Portugal was born on March 4, 1394, in LISBON or Oporto in PORTUGAL, the third surviving son of King John I (r. 1385–1433) of Portugal, founder of the Avis dynasty, and his English wife, Philippa of Lancaster (1359–1415). He never married and had no children. Henry's father richly endowed him with lands and titles, but Henry's ambitions could not be easily satisfied within the confines of Portugal. His personality and outlook were formed by the successful conquest of the North African city of Ceuta in 1415. For the rest of his life, he sought to repeat that triumph by continuing the war against the Muslims to enhance his personal glory and fortune in the process.

The penurious Portuguese Crown was reluctant to deepen its involvement in MOROCCO. In 1419 Henry led a relief force to lift the siege of Ceuta, but it was only after the death of John I that he persuaded the new king, his brother, Duarte (r. 1433–38), to embark on another attack in Morocco. The expedition against the city of

Tangier in 1437 ended in a military and personal disaster for Henry. This, however, did not quench or dull his ambitions. He continued to plan new campaigns throughout the 1440s. After the fall of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1453, he responded enthusiastically to the pope's call for a CRUSADE. However, it was only in 1458, two years before his death, that he managed to participate in another successful Moroccan venture, the capture of Qsar al-Saghir, a small town in northern Morocco.

### EXPLORATIONS

The pioneering explorations in the Atlantic, which Henry was influential in launching and which gave him a famous place in history, occurred in the context of his Moroccan ambitions. He built a personal base in the Atlantic by taking Madeira from the Crown in 1433 and some of the AZORES islands later. He also attempted to gain title to the CANARY ISLANDS. For the rest of his life he organized maritime raids and naval attacks against Muslim coastal possessions and shipping. The early voyages were privateering expeditions and only secondarily exploratory. The majority of Henry's successful explorations took place between 1440 and 1446, when his ships progressed from Cape Blanc to as far south as the mouth of the Gambia River on the west coast of AFRICA. The explorations in and past the Gambia River were continued only 10 years later. The final expedition, which reached Sierra Leone, set sail from Portugal in 1460, the year of his death.

In the 1440s Henry began to consider these seaborne explorations in Africa as a source of wealth and personal glory. This was fostered by the praise and admiration lavished on him. Poggio BRACCIOLINI, for example, compared the expeditions to those of Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great.

### LEGACY

The image of Henry the Navigator became that of a creative Renaissance innovator and a fanatical, chivalric crusader. Perceiving himself hard pressed by adverse familial, economic, and social conditions, he amassed land and titles. He also gained personal economic privileges and benefited from profitable enterprises. He placed his clients and retainers in influential posts and attained domestic power, especially during the regency of his less talented brother, Pedro, between 1439 and 1448. Despite his huge debts, Henry made a bequest to his nephew and adoptive son that was so huge that the king made himself heir instead.

Nineteenth-century scholars credited him with major contributions to GEOGRAPHY, astronomy, shipbuilding, and scientific education. Later historians stressed the broader social and economic aspects and successes of the Portuguese overseas expansion and have tended to downplay Henry's role.

**Further reading:** Gomes Eandes de Zurla, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, trans.

C. R. Bearzley and Edgar Prestage, 2 vols. (New York: B. Franklin, 1963); J. H. Parry, *Age of Exploration and Discovery: Prince Henry and the Portuguese Navigators (1394–1498)* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1969); Peter Russell, *Prince Henry “the Navigator”: A Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

**Herakleios I (Heraclios)** (ca. 575–641) *Byzantine emperor* Born in Cappadocia about 575, Herakleios was apparently of Armenian origin. His father, another Herakleios, was an important general under Emperor Maurice (r. 582–602) and became the exarch or governor of northern AFRICA. When the regime of an usurper, Phokas (602–610), fell into chaos, factions in CONSTANTINOPLE urged the elder Herakleios to seize the throne; he sent his son instead. This rebellion succeeded in overthrowing Phokas and made Herakleios emperor on October 5, 610.

Because of Phokas's disastrous mismanagement, Herakleios faced a seemingly impossible situation. The SLAVS and the AVARS had overrun most of the Byzantine provinces in the Balkans and threatened the empire's remaining European territories. The SASSANIAN king of Persia, Chosroes II (Khosrow, r. 590–628), began a war of conquest against the empire's eastern territories and soon overran the rich provinces of SYRIA, PALESTINE, and EGYPT. The empire's military and financial resources were nowhere near adequate to cope with all of these threats, so the next few years were spent in preparation for a counter offense. A precarious peace was purchased at heavy expense from the Avars, and in 622 Herakleios began his attacks to the east. Having personal command of his troops in the field, over the next six years he campaigned vigorously. In the meantime, the Avars and the Slavs laid siege to Constantinople in 626, but the city resisted successfully. His efforts gradually cleared ANATOLIA of Persians, won the support of allies in the Caucasus mountains, and even eventually took the war into Persian territory in IRAQ in 627. Peace was made with the defeated Persians in 629. In 630, as a pilgrim, he solemnly restored to JERUSALEM the True Cross and other Christian relics the Persians had carried off earlier in the war.

However, Herakleios had tried vainly to end religious strife among the Christian factions with little success. According to tradition, Herakleios began the organization of BYZANTINE system of “themes” or military provinces using local native forces backed up by the imperial armies. This system was the basis of the empire's strength and survival for the next four centuries. Herakleios also clarified a “Byzantine” or Greek character more expressly in the empire in terms of the Greek language and culture.

Before Herakleios could complete his work of religious reconciliation and reconstruction, the ARABS, under the seemingly irresistible banner of ISLAM, assaulted and

captured the recently restored provinces. Burned out and disillusioned, Herakleios died on February 11, 641. The Arabs by then controlled SYRIA, ARMENIA, Mesopotamia, and EGYPT. Nonetheless he had founded a dynasty that through the sons of his first wife, Eudokia, directed the BYZANTINE EMPIRE successfully through the following perilous period of forced change and survival of the rest of the seventh century.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Regan, *First Crusader: Byzantium's Holy Wars* (Thrupp, England: Sutton, 2001); Andreas N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, trans. Marc Ogilvie-Grant (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968).

**heraldry and heralds** During the Middle Ages heraldry developed the interdisciplinary science of the study and devising of armorial bearings or arms. Following the rules of blazonry, the new style emblems used colors from a defined set and made them proper to an individual, a family, or a community. These clear rules, though few in number, differentiated a European heraldic system from other systems of emblems.

In the first half of the 12th century a need developed for heraldry with the evolution of military equipment. The new more complex helmets and haubeks made knights unrecognizable in battle or in the newly popular tournaments. Figures such as animals, plants, or geometrical patterns in certain standard positions were painted on bucklers and shields to facilitate recognition in battle or contest. As European society became more complex these practices extended from the knightly class to other orders to give them an identity, eventually becoming hereditary or traditional.

In the 13th century, the use of these emblems was extended to women, the clergy, merchants, artisans, and even peasants. Shortly thereafter they became common to signify towns, trade or guild corporations, religious communities, and governmental administrations. Such armorial bearings were never limited to one social class, and everyone could assume one as long as it was not that of another, though England was always more fussy about who actually could legitimately take on such emblems. By the 15th century, they reflected identities of all kinds of people and institutions as a system of signs with its own language, syntax, and codes. Heralds were the experts and announcers of these identities at tournaments or other events. They were trained to recognize the complex symbolism and attributes of emblems and devices.

*See also* BARTOLO DA SASSOFERRATO; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; NOBLES AND THE NOBILITY.

**Further reading:** Gerald L. Brault, *Early Balzon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry, 1254 to 1310: A Study of the*

*Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); Rodney Dennys, *Heraldry and the Heralds* (London: Cape, 1982); Otfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: A Guide to Heraldry* (London: Cassell, 1981, 1979); Michael Pastoureau, *Heraldry: An Introduction to a Noble Science*, trans. Francisca Garvie (New York: Harry A. Abrams, 1997); Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956); Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, eds., *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

**herbals** See BOTANY.

**heresy and heresies** During the Middle Ages, in Christian belief, heresy was the holding of some heterodox belief or doctrine contrary to an authoritative or orthodox teaching, precept of the faith, or false dogma. Whether such a belief was actually contrary to dogmatic statement or idea or whether the person actually held the belief in question was open to interpretation. Sensitivity to such perceived deviations changed over time during the Middle Ages, as did the ideas or beliefs involved and the reaction of the church and the lay authorities. As the papacy and the state became more authoritarian, concern about heterodoxy, whether real or not, increased. There were much more effort made to define and detect it and an increased harshness in punishments in the later Middle Ages.

The documentation for all of this has overwhelmingly survived only from the side of those trying to find and correct it, thus making it difficult to determine what the accused actually believed, or whether there really were any genuine heretical movements or groups (there likely were) or especially what they might have actually believed or espoused (of which we are much more unsure). Often “heretics” questioned the need for clerical mediation with GOD or the authority of particular priests, bishops, or an individual pope. Both Judaism and Islam were not tolerant of dissent in terms of certain very explicit articles of religion. Expulsion from the community and persecution were applied.

See also ADOPTIONISM; ALBIGENSIANS AND ALBIGENSIAN MOVEMENT; ARIANISM; BOGOMILS; CATHARS; DONATISM; DUALISM; GnosticISM; HUS, JOHN; INQUISITION; ISLAM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; MONOPHYSITISM; NICAIA, COUNCILS OF; PELAGIANISM; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS; WALDENSIANS; WYCLIFFE, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (1969; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, 3d ed. (1977; Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Jeffrey Burton Russell, ed. *Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971);

Robert I. Moore, ed. *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975); Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

**hermetism and hermetic literature** *Hermetic*, *hermeticism*, and *hermetist* were terms referring to a synthesis of NEOPLATONIC and other occult philosophies, founded on a collection of writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (“Thrice-greatest Hermes,” a name given the Egyptian god Thoth), which in fact date from the second and third centuries C.E. Hermetic tradition favored magical, occult, esoteric, or forbidden knowledge, over what could be more publicly revealed.

See also FICINO, MARSILO; MAGIC AND FOLKLORE; MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Ann Ambrose, *The Hermetica: An Annotated Bibliography* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1992); Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation, with Notes and Introduction* (1992; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**hermits and eremitism** The term *hermit* was derived from the Greek word *eremia*, meaning “solitude,” and *eremos*, meaning “desert.” Alone, a hermit was expected to withdraw to a solitary place as an ANCHORITE to practice a disciplined and rigorous asceticism, in contrast to the communal and joint MONASTICISM of groups of practitioners. One should not posit, however, a simple dichotomy between eremitism and cenobitic MONASTICISM, as both traditionally shared a commitment to solitude, contemplation, and ASCETICISM. The sayings of the early hermits primarily in Egypt were compiled into much-studied anthologies that were called the *Sayings of the Fathers*. There were many such individual hermits, both male and female, throughout the Middle Ages. Some were well respected, even as living saints; others suffered the skepticism of their contemporaries and neighbors for their odd practices.

See also ANCHORITES AND ANCHORESSES; ATHOS, MOUNT; AUGUSTINIAN (AUSTIN) FRIARS AND HERMITS; BENEDICT OF NURSIA, SAINT; NUNS AND NUNNERIES; PACHOMIUS.

**Further reading:** Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London: Faber and Faber, 1982); Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933); Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1967); Derwas J. Chitty, *The City a Desert* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966); Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of*

*Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984).

**al-Hijr (Hidjra, hejira, hegira)** The al-Hijr designates the beginning of the Muslim era and corresponds with the year 622 of the Christian CALENDAR. The Latinized form *hejira* or *hegira* was derived from the Arabic *hijra*, which means “migration,” “separation,” “breaking of relations,” but not “flight.”

The event of reference was the clandestine migration organized by the founder of ISLAM, MUHAMMAD, from his hometown of MECCA to the more northerly oasis of Yathrib, which later became MEDINA. Muhammad's religious teaching and the role it gave him had disturbed the commercial and tribal aristocracy of Mecca, who showed their hostility more and more. The different tribes and peoples of Medina, JEWS among them, in search of reconciliation, were already in commercial rivalry with Mecca; they proposed a political and military alliance to Muhammad and his followers, the *muhajirun*, “migrants,” the first Muslims.

Muhammad's departure took place by night, on camel back, with ABU BAKR, the successor to the Prophet and the first CALIPH of Islam. His arrival at Medina took place on September 24, 622, in the Christian calendar. The Muslim year was lunar, so the new era was made to begin not in September 622 but on the first day of that lunar year or July 16, 622. This decision was made in year 16 of the al-Hijr (637 in the Christian calendar) by the second caliph of Islam, UMAR. It also symbolized the willingness to suffer for the faith.

**Further reading:** Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammad*, trans. Anne Carter (1971; reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

**Hildebrand** See GREGORY VII, SAINT.

**Hildegard of Bingen, Saint** (1098–1179) *scholarly abbess*

Hildegard of Bingen was born in 1098 at Böckelheim to a family of the lesser Rhineland nobility. Pledged to God by her parents when she was age eight, she became a nun in 1116 and an abbess in 1136 and in 1150 founded her own monastery, Saint Rupert's (Rupertsberg) at Bingen. Her first writings had been approved by Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–53) and BERNARD of Clairvaux by 1147. From then on she led the life of a much loved abbess, a famous writer, and a prophetess with VISIONS speaking out about the conflicts of her time. She traveled through Germany, even PREACHING in public, visiting reform monasteries, admonishing corrupt priests, and attacking CATHARS on heretics at COLOGNE and Mainz.

She carried on a huge correspondence, more than 450 letters, with influential men such as the emperor

FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA and with bishops, monks, and simple lay folk. She wrote visionary works, the *Book of Life of Merits* and the *Book of Divine Works*, and the *Scivias*, all illustrated by her concern for the mysteries of creation and the final things and days of this world. She also wrote on medicine, the natural sciences, scientific observation, human psychology, and food recipes. She was probably the first woman in the medieval West to compose music and hymns that have survived.

An object of popular devotion during and after her life, she was never canonized. She died on September 17, 1179.

**Further reading:** Hildegard of Bingen, *The Book of the Rewards of Life*, trans. Bruce W. Hozeski (New York: Garland, 1994); Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, trans. Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990); Hildegard of Bingen, *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen*, 2 vols., trans. by Joseph L. Baird, Radd K. Ehrman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994–); Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Barbara Newman, ed., *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098–1179*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1998).

**Hilton, Walter** (ca. 1343–1396) *English religious writer*  
Walter Hilton was born about 1343 in the diocese of Lincoln in England. He was a native of the same area as RICHARD ROLLE. He began his studies in CANON LAW at the University of CAMBRIDGE, and perhaps practiced law for Thomas Arundel (1353–1414), then bishop of Ely. It At Cambridge, under the influence of the FRANCISCANS and the Augustinian William Flete (ca. 1325–ca. 1390), he began to write. Around then he wrote *About the Image of Sin* for NUNS or recluses and made translations of other spiritual texts, including William Flete's *About Remedies for Temptation*. He left Cambridge in about 1384, to become a HERMIT. Eventually he was an Augustinian canon at Thurgarton Priory, where he died on March 24, 1396. It was there that he wrote a series of works in English, the most famous of which was *The Scale of Perfection*. By then he had become a contemplative and spiritual guide much sought after in Yorkshire in his lifetime. Hilton's writing was popular with aristocratic women such as Blanche of Lancaster, the wife of Edmund of Lancaster (1245–96); Cecily Neville; and Eleanor Roos, but also among a wider lay public. He was not the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, which was often attributed to him. As were the other English mystics of the period, Hilton was anti-intellectual, individualistic, and passionately attached to the example of Christ, emulated by practicing the VIRTUES.

**Further reading:** Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, trans. John P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward (New

York: Paulist Press, 1991); Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Thomas H. Bestul (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2000; Joseph E. Milosh, *The Scale of Perfection and the English Mystical Tradition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

**Hincmar of Rheims** (ca. 806–882) *Carolingian bishop, politician*

Born about 806, Hincmar was educated at the monastery of SAINT-DENIS, near Paris, where he was a disciple of Abbot Hilduin (806–842) and gained the confidence of CHARLES THE BALD. As a member of the Carolingian court in 845, he became the archbishop of RHEIMS. During the 36 years of his episcopate from 845 to 882, Hincmar struggled to impose his authority in that diocese and province, against other bishops and against several popes. Most of his written work was ecclesiastical and legal, aimed at order for the church and society. Asserting his authority as bishop, Hincmar deposed the clerics, who appealed over his head to the papal court. Consolidating his authority as metropolitan over his suffragans, he was in conflict with the bishop of Soissons and his own nephew, the Bishop of Laon. These bishops appealed to the pope against the decisions inspired by a rival metropolitan and the emperor Lothair. Hincmar defended the rights and authority of the archbishop of Rheims over those of Trier and Sens. Hincmar claimed that no other archbishop had authority over that of Rheims, which was subject only to the pope. However, his relations with the papacy were often strained, and he was among the first to doubt the FALSE DECRETALS.

Concerned about maintaining society, he developed a doctrine for the model good prince, strove to limit the marauding of undisciplined soldiers, and promoted a Christian model of MARRIAGE while firmly opposing divorce among the nobility. A loyal supporter of Charles the Bald against Lothair I (r. 840–843), he wrote a ritual for Charles's consecration at Metz in 869. In the theological sphere, Hincmar opposed the ideas on PREDESTINATION and the Trinity developed by the monk Gottschalk of Orbais (ca. 805–865). Hincmar was always ready for passionate controversy. As a historian he wrote the last part of the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* and composed a *Life of Saint Remigius* in about 878. Hincmar established the library of Rheims, where there are manuscripts annotated in his own hand. He died December 21, 882 at Épernay near Rheims while fleeing from a VIKING attack.

See also JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE.

**Further reading:** Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), 202–283; Peter R. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); Michel Sot, "Hincmar of Reims," *EMA* 1.676–7; George H. Tavad,

*Trina deitas: The Controversy between Hincmar and Gottschalk* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1996).

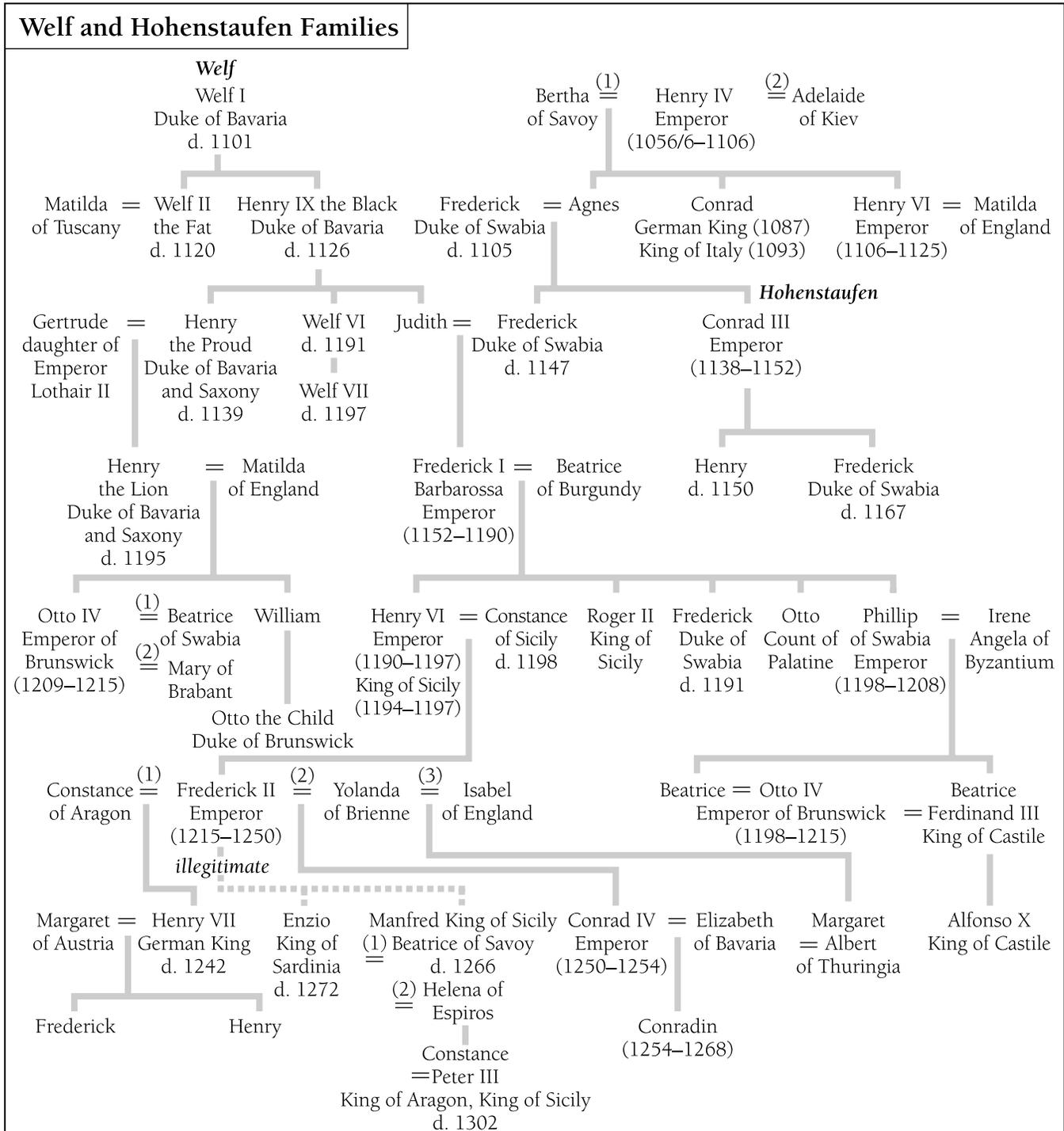
**hippodromes** Hippodromes were arenas for chariot racing. Long, narrow hairpin-shaped hippodromes such as the Circus Maximus in ROME, which could accommodate 150,000 people, were common in major cities throughout the empire. Charioteers were immensely popular figures. The Hippodrome in CONSTANTINOPLE was situated beside the Great Palace. From an imperial box the emperor viewed the chariots with four horse teams as they raced around the central area in sets of seven laps. Fans developed competing circus factions, each with their respective racing colors. The Green and Blue factions were popular in Constantinople in the sixth century. These circus factions frequently rioted. In 532 BELISARIUS ended the "Nika revolt" by killing thousands in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. The decline of racing in the seventh century paralleled the decline of cities, although in Constantinople the Hippodrome remained in use until the city was sacked during the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

**Further reading:** Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986).

**history** See CHRONICLES AND ANNALS; NAMES OF HISTORIANS IN INDEX.

**höfische Minne** See COURTLY LOVE.

**Hohenstaufen dynasty (Staufen, Waiblingen)** They were a German dynasty who ruled the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE in the 12th and 13th centuries. The name was based on their castle, Staufen, in SWABIA in modern Württemberg. In the 10th century, the Hohenstaufen were counts of Weiblingen, from which was derived their Italian name or Ghibelline. They belonged to a middle sector of the German nobility, wielding influence primarily within the duchy of Swabia until the second half of the 11th century. In 1079 the head of the family, Frederick I (d. 1105), married Agnes, Emperor Henry IV's (r. 1056–1106) daughter. He was appointed duke of Swabia after defeating a revolt led by Duke Rudolf of Swabia (d. 1080), who had been elected an antiking. Frederick I's sons, Frederick II (r. 1105–47) and Conrad, the future Emperor Conrad III (r. 1138–52), remained loyal to the emperor, Henry V (r. 1106–25), in the early 11th century. Conrad eventually succeeded to the imperial throne and was followed by his nephew, FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Frederick gave his son, Frederick, the duchy of Swabia and arranged for his other



son, HENRY VI (r. 1190–97) to marry CONSTANCE, through whom the family inherited rights to SICILY. Another son, Philip of Swabia (r. 1198–1208), was elected emperor to succeed Henry, but the opposition of Pope INNOCENT III caused a civil war in Germany. The emperor FREDERICK II managed to exercise control over southern Italy and even in Germany despite the rabid opposition of several popes. At the death of Frederick,

he was succeeded by his son, Conrad IV (r. 1250–54), and then his illegitimate son, MANFRED, led the family until his defeat by CHARLES I OF ANJOU in 1266. The dynasty ended with the execution of Conradin or Conrad V (r. 1254–68), Conrad IV's young son, by Charles I in 1268.

See also GREGORY IX, POPE; GUELFs AND GHIBELLINES; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES.

**Further reading:** Michael Frassetto, "Staufen" in John M. Jeep, ed., *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2001), 732–734; Karl Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. Ralph Bennett (1909; reprint, Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1973); John Larner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216–1380* (London: Longman, 1980); Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World: The Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

**Hohenzollern dynasty** The German dynasty, best known for the modern dynasty in Brandenburg-Prussia, was originally from SWABIA, the castle of Zollern. The first Zollern were mentioned in 1061 and were linked with the HOHENSTAUFEN. Count Frederick III (d. ca. 1200) was made burgrave of NUREMBERG in 1191–92 by the emperor HENRY VI. His sons shared his possessions in 1204. Conrad I (ca. 1186–1261) inherited the burgraviate and founded both a Franconian and a Brandenburg branch; Frederick IV (1300–32) took over the Swabian possessions. The Franconian branch stopped calling itself Zollern. The designation Hohenzollern reappeared for the Swabian branch in 1350. It did not designate the Zollern of Brandenburg-Prussia until the 18th century.

The further rise of the Hohenzollern in the 14th century was based on inheritance or on obtaining in fief the property of extinct dynasties and gifts and appointments of the emperor CHARLES IV of the burgraves of Nuremberg to the rank of prince of the empire in 1363. In 1415 the feudal investiture of Frederick IV (r. 1415–40) as margrave of Brandenburg later included the title of imperial elector in 1417. Imperial connections continued to be the foundation of the 15th-century Hohenzollern dynasty.

**Further reading:** William Bradford Smith, "Hohenzollern" in John M. Jeep, ed., *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland, 2001), 364–367.

**Holland** As a county, Holland initially belonged to the duchy of Lotharingia, which then included part of western FRISIA, between the Rhine and Amstel Rivers. The county was established at the beginning of the 10th century by a Frisian leader, Dirk I (ca. 921–ca. 928), who organized a territory he had conquered from the VIKINGS. In 922, he was created count of Holland by Charles the Simple (r. 893–923), king of FRANCE. His descendants ruled the county, which gradually grew, through both the reclamation of land from the sea and by strategic marriages with the families of the counts of Zeeland and FLANDERS.

Under Count William II (r. 1234–56), Holland gained influence in GERMANY, William was elected an antiking in 1247 by the German princes who were rebelling against FREDERICK II and Conrad IV (r. 1250–54). The count's attempts to gain imperial power in 1254 failed; he

returned to Holland, where he died two years later. In 1299 the old Frisian dynasty died out and Holland was inherited by the Avesnes family, the counts of Hainault, who had been ruling as imperial princes over an important group of counties in the Low Countries. Under the Avesnes family and later the Bavarian house of WITTLESBACH between 1299 and 1417, the county prospered as a result of the development of TRADE and industry. By the late 15th century, Holland had begun to overcome the HANSEATIC LEAGUE and replaced them in the Baltic trade. In 1436 Holland and Hainault were united with Burgundy.

**Further reading:** H. A. Heidinga, H. H. van Regteren Altena, eds., *Medemblik and Monnickendam: Aspects of Medieval Urbanization in Northern Holland* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1989).

**Holy Lance** The Holy Lance was supposedly the spear that pierced Christ's side. According to Christian tradition, a Roman legionary, Longinus, pierced Christ's side with his lance to end his Passion. This lance later disappeared. In the fourth century, a lance, considered that of the Passion, was rediscovered in JERUSALEM at the same time as the True Cross. It was venerated at Constantinople. According to an Armenian tradition from the 13th century, the Holy Lance had been taken to ARMENIA by Saint Thaddeus or Jude and was deposited at a monastery.

#### THE HOLY LANCE AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

In 1098, during the First Crusade, the discovery of another lance of Longinus renewed the hope of the desperate crusaders laying siege to ANTIOCH while themselves besieged by an army of Turks. This led to a spirited offensive that captured the city. On June 10, 1098, a certain Peter Bartholomew, a peasant in the army of RAYMOND IV of Toulouse, claimed that Saint Andrew appeared to him and revealed where this holy lance was hidden. Despite skepticism by the papal legate ADHÉMAR of Le Puy, the leaders of the Crusade believed the tale. On June 14, their excavations in Saint Peter's church near Antioch discovered the lance. The crusaders saw this as a sign of God's favor. Later other leaders of the Crusade opposed to Raymond cast doubt on the authenticity of the lance. Peter Bartholomew was challenged and subjected to an ordeal by fire in which he died, somewhat discrediting the lance among the crusaders.

#### OTHER LANCES

The idea that the lance was a fraud was recognized in the West, but the Christians of the East kept a memory of the discovery of this important RELIC; some considered it a nail of the cross, and others thought it to be the lance that JEWS had used to pierce an image of Christ.

According to other Eastern sources, it was later given by Raymond to the emperor ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and became part of the imperial treasure. According to a

Genoese source, Raymond recovered it but later lost it at his defeat in ANATOLIA in 1101. If a lance had remained at Constantinople, it could have been among the relics of the Passion bought in 1241 from the Latin emperor Baldwin II (r. 1240–61) by King LOUIS IX for SAINTE-CHAPELLE. On the other hand a holy lance of Constantinople from the fourth century fell into the hands of the OTTOMANS at the end of the siege of 1453 and was sold by Sultan BAYAZID II (r. 1481–1502) to Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92). It has been in Rome in Saint Peter's since that date.

See also RELICS.

**Further reading:** Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

**Holy Roman Empire** (The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, Western Christian Empire, *Sacrum Romanorum Imperium*) In theory the Holy Roman Empire existed between 800 and 1806. Its rulers rarely actually referred to themselves as “Holy Roman Emperor,” and the institution itself was not called that until 1254. The concept had its origins in the crowning of CHARLEMAGNE in 800 at Rome as the successor to universal rule of the Roman emperors. The contemporary Byzantine ruler, the empress IRENE, took this as an insult to Byzantine pretensions to sovereignty and refused to recognize it. The CAROLINGIAN successors to Charlemagne continued to suggest that they were in the succession to the Roman emperors.

#### EARLY HISTORY

In the 10th century, the new Salian rulers of central Europe and GERMANY realized the value of this tradition. The Holy Roman Empire became a political organization in 962, when the king of Germany, OTTO I, was crowned emperor. He assumed its universalistic ambitions and claimed the heritage of both the Roman and the Christian empires. Part of this was supposedly the perpetual union of Germany with northern Italy. OTTO III elaborated this concept into an idea of empire that encompassed the “four nations” of Germany, Italy, Gaul or FRANCE, and the SLAVS. The foundation of such an empire was also connected with the idea of imperial protection of a universal Catholic Church or CHRISTENDOM with a special relationship with the papacy. These prerogatives amounted to interdependence in the eyes of most of the emperors and in the thought of most of the imperial political apologists. In its most basic terms, this meant that no king of Germany was a legitimate emperor without papal consent and a coronation in Rome. On the other hand, no one could be elected pope without imperial consent. These ideas were the foundation of the many conflicts between the emperors and the popes throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, and the popes

consistently sought to assert their dominance in this relationship. This conflict was fought out primarily in Italy but also in Germany itself as the popes undermined allegiances of vassals and towns to most of the emperors. This long conflict between the church and the state can be best followed through entries of particular popes, emperors, and political institutions and thought. It was not really settled by 1500 as the balance of power and authority between the two rulers swung back and forth, sometimes involving intervention by the rulers of other states.

See also ALEXANDER III, POPE; BONIFACE VIII, POPE; BULLS, PAPAL AND IMPERIAL; CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS; DONATION OF CONSTANTINE; FALSE DECRETALS; FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA HOHENSTAUFEN; FREDERICK II, EMPEROR AND KING OF SICILY; GREGORIAN REFORM; GOLDEN BULLS; HABSBERG DYNASTY; HENRY III, THE SALIAN; HENRY VI, KING OF GERMANY AND HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; HOHENSTAUFEN DYNASTY; INNOCENT III, POPE; INNOCENT IV, POPE; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY AND DISPUTES; LOMBARD LEAGUE; LOUIS I THE PIOUS; MARSILIUS OF PADUA; PAPAL STATES; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES; SALIAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Friedrich Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (New York: Praeger, 1968); Jonathan W. Zophy, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Dictionary Handbook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980); Jonathan W. Zophy, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

**Holy Sepulcher** This was the complex of Golgotha or Calvary, the site of Jesus's crucifixion, and the tomb where Christ's body was placed on the evening of Good Friday and rose from the dead on Easter Sunday. It was a major sanctuary for Christianity. The hill of Golgotha, and the tomb, hidden in the Roman period, were rediscovered under CONSTANTINE about 326. Around the tomb was built the rotunda of the Anastasis. It had an ambulatory where a liturgical procession might take place. There was also a great five-aisled basilica.

#### DESTRUCTIONS AND REBUILDINGS

A Persian invasion of 614 destroyed it. It was subsequently restored by Patriarch Modestus, and that is the building described by a pilgrim in 670. The second destruction was ordered in 1009 by the fanatical Caliph AL-HAKIM. The structure of the rotunda remains, but the tomb was badly damaged. The great basilica disappeared, and was to be replaced by a court with porticos.

In 1048 the emperor Constantine Monomachos (r. 1042–55) negotiated a restoration. The crusaders modified not one building, adding a choir in the Romanesque style, that was consecrated in 1149 on the 50th anniversary of the capture of JERUSALEM. The Latin clergy also needed buildings for canons around a great CLOISTER. After the fall of the Latin kingdom, the sharing of the area among different Christian communities,

caused the compartmentalizing of space, destruction, and redecorating. It is divided into a western part, the tomb, and on the east there is the basilica.

**Further reading:** Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, England: Sutton, 1999); Charles Couâsnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, trans. J.-P. B.





The main door of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, 1860–90 (Courtesy Library of Congress)

and Claude Ross (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1974).

**Holy Spirit** In Christian thought in the Middle Ages, as has generally remained the case now, the Holy Spirit was the third person of the Trinity. Also considered the active spirit of GOD in the world, the Holy Spirit has usually been thought of as consubstantial, coequal with the Father and the Son or Christ. In comparison with CHRISTOLOGY, reflection on the Holy Spirit developed late among the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. Begun by Tertullian (fl. 200) and ORIGEN, it reached a full expression in the East with BASIL, GREGORY NAZIANZOS, and GREGORY OF NYSSA, whose views triumphed at the Council of Constantinople (380–381) and were introduced to the West by AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO. During the Middle Ages, concepts changed and there was a strong appreciation of the special role of the Holy Spirit in PRAYER, as an inspiration for innovation in the organization and structure of the church, and in the sacramental liturgy and underlying theological concepts of Baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, priestly ordination, and Christian life more generally.

However, a question about the nature of this Trinitarian relationship contributed to a divide between the Eastern and Western Churches. It was about whether the Spirit proceeded from the Father alone or from the Father and the Son. This was at the heart of the problem of the *FILIOQUE* CLAUSE, which was a major aspect in an early and continuing break between the two religious traditions.

See also PALAMAS, GREGORY; PENTECOST; SEVEN SACRAMENTS; TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE.

**Further reading:** Stanley M. Burgess, *The Holy Spirit: Medieval Roman Catholic and Reformation Traditions (Sixth-Sixteenth Centuries)* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997); Eugene Egert, *The Holy Spirit in German Literature until the End of the Twelfth Century* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973).

**Holy Week** During the Middle Ages the week before EASTER was the holiest week of the Christian year. Each of its days, including Monday, was called a “holy day.” In early Christianity, the three days of the death and Resurrection, from Friday to Sunday, were identified with Christ’s Passion and resurrection on Easter. In the Middle Ages, the three days evolved include Holy Thursday, when holy oils were consecrated, public penitents reconciled, and the Last Supper commemorated. Friday was for Christ’s Passion, the adoration of the cross, and a fast, and Saturday recalled the time when Christ was in the tomb leading up to his Resurrection.

See also CRUCIFIX AND CRUCIFIXION.

**Further reading:** J. G. Davies, *Holy Week: A Short History* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1963); O. B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1965); Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 245–271; Richard William Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

**Holy Year** This was a year proclaimed by the pope when he granted a special INDULGENCE, called a Jubilee, to any pilgrims who traveled to ROME. It was a plenary indulgence for the remission of temporal penalties for SIN. It was instituted by BONIFACE VIII in 1300 to demonstrate the importance of the PAPACY to the faithful, so that he might gain support in his political struggles. He decreed its celebration once every 100 years. In the 14th century, however, this interval was changed to 50 and then to 33 years, and, in 1470, Paul II (r. 1464–71) fixed it at once every 25 years. One of its major features was the opening ceremony of breaking open the Holy Door by the pope at Saint Peter’s. Its benefits included a plenary

indulgence and the benefits of pilgrimage to a site of devotion.

**Further reading:** Herbert Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee* (1900; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1980); Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

**homilies** See SERMONS AND HOMILIES.

**homosexuality** The medieval taboo against sexual relations between people of the same gender was based on interpretations of biblical verses: Leviticus 20:13: "If anyone lie with a man as with a woman, both have committed an abomination, let them be put to death; their blood be upon them," and Leviticus 18:22: "Thou shall not lie with man as with woman: it is an abomination." Such acts became acts against nature. Saint Paul described those who perform these "acts against nature" as idolaters who will not enter the kingdom of HEAVEN. The wrath of GOD was to be invoked against such sinners, and linked destruction of the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. It was feared that FAMINE, earthquakes, and pestilence at the very least would result from such sin. Any such activity could be a capital offense in the Middle Ages.

The word employed to describe this activity against nature was *sodomy*. It referred to any sexual activity of men with men or with women that did not lead to procreation. The enforcement of laws against such activities was irregular. The authorities seemed not even to consider the possibility of lesbianism. However, an absolute prohibition remained in effect throughout the Middle Ages. Heretical sects, Muslims, and enemies of all kinds were often charged with sodomy.

See also CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION; SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES.

**Further reading:** Thomas Stehling, trans., *Medieval Latin Poems of Male Love and Friendship* (New York: Garland, 1984); John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Michael J. Roche, *Forbidden Friendship: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Michael Goodich, *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1979); Francesca Canadé Sautman and Pamela Sheingorn, eds., *Same Sex Love and Desire among Women in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

**hope** Hope became defined as one of the three theological virtues during the Middle Ages. In the 12th century, William of Champeaux (d. 1121) expressed an idea of hope that was later cited by BONAVENTURE and Thomas

AQUINAS. One should hope for pardon, GRACE, and salvation. Peter ABÉLARD asserted that hope was the expectation of some spiritual and ethical gain from a total and unwavering confidence in God's fidelity, mercy, and justice. As part of a theology of the VIRTUES, hope became one of the three to be cultivated and practiced. It was contrary to despair and linked a presumption of salvation.

**Further reading:** Charles Livingstone Allen, *Faith, Hope, and Love* (Old Tappan, N.J.: F. H. Revell, 1982); Jacques-Guy Bougerol, "Hope." *EMA* 1.689–90; Antonellus Engemann, *The New Song: Faith, Hope, and Charity in Franciscan Spirituality* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1964); Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange, *The Theological Virtues*, trans. Thomas a Kempis Reilly (St. Louis: Herder, 1965); Josef Pieper, *Faith, Hope, Love* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997).

**horses** The horse was among the chief nonhuman sources of power in WARFARE and in agricultural LABOR in the Middle Ages. Horses were associated with warfare and the NOBILITY. Germanic tribes used them for mobile military expeditions at the end of the antique world. This changed the art of war. However, until the eighth century, Germanic armies, and even those in the nomadic tradition of the HUNS, used them primarily for transportation, dismounting in order to engage in actual combat. In the eighth century, CHARLES MARTEL had traditionally been credited with the use of the horse for mounted combat. Technological improvement, including stirrups, permitted riders to stay mounted and able to attack and fight from horseback.

#### MILITARY USES

Because of their importance for military purposes, horses began to be bred and raised with special care. Their relative value increased in comparison to that of other domestic animals, such as cows, and especially oxen, which up until then were mostly used for work and transportation. By the end of the eighth century, Frankish mounted warriors had to be supported by the incomes from 12 pieces of land, as compared to the support for the infantry, who were granted only four. High officials at the Carolingian court were employed to run stables for warhorses. From the 11th century, horses had become the essential symbols and attributes of KNIGHTHOOD, and their qualities were favorite subjects of EPIC literature.

#### LABOR

By the 12th century on, horses were widely used for plowing and for drawing vehicles, replacing slow oxen. Prices of such work animals decreased, and horses were then affordable for mundane transport, haulage, and general agricultural work. Two kinds of horses were now systematically bred: for warfare and for work.

See also TOURNAMENTS.

**Further reading:** Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1994); R. H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989); Ann Hyland, *The Horse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (1962; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

**Hospitallers (Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, Knights of Malta)** The order had its earliest origins in a hostel for sick pilgrims established in JERUSALEM by merchants from Amalfi in about 1070. After the First Crusade it was recognized as a religious order by Pope Paschal II (r. 1099–1118) in 1113, enabling them to amass property from donations and build an extensive set of fortifications and castles in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The order had adopted the AUGUSTINIAN RULE by 1153. The goal of the new order was to continue to provide charitable aid and housing to pilgrims in the Holy Land. The master of the order, Raymond du Puy (d. 1160), reorganized the order as a military force, effectively turning its monks into soldiers. Thereafter, just as the TEMPLARS, they were an important but undisciplined military force for the crusader armies in PALESTINE. After the crusaders were expelled from the Holy Land in 1291, the Hospitallers moved their headquarters, first to CYPRUS and then to RHODES between 1309 and 1522, when it was conquered by the OTTOMAN Turks. After their dissolution much of the sequestered property of the Templars accrued to the Hospitallers. To support their endeavors in Palestine, they developed extensive landholdings across Europe. A general chapter meeting periodically held the supreme authority within the order. When Rhodes fell to the Ottomans, they retreated to the island of Malta, they became the Knights of Malta in 1530.

See also MILITARY ORDERS.

**Further reading:** Alan Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece, and the West 1291–1440: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum, 1978); Anthony Luttrell, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers, and the Crusaders, 1291–1440* (London: Variorum, 1982); Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967).

**hospitals** The hospital establishments in the West were linked with monasteries and were founded in the Frankish period, though there were foundations or

almshouses as early as the fourth century. They were under initially the responsibility of the clergy, but benefited from a legal autonomy and links with the LAITY that allowed them to receive gifts and legacies, the essential origins of their resources, freely. Not until the 11th and especially from the 12th century, was there any real growth in the number of hospitals and in particular in the towns. This was linked to the rise of urban populations and new economic wealth that produced feelings of guilt about its acquisition but also to a new sympathetic charity for those left behind by economic and social growth and change. The lay founders of these institutions often wished to leave a memory of their own names attached to foundations as graphic proof of their virtue, prestige, charitable intentions, and generous piety.

These establishments, despite their lay initial benefactions, were considered from the outset religious places subject to canon and ecclesiastical regulation and laws. Exempted from taxes and ecclesiastical tithes and protected from patrimonial alienation by MORTMAIN, they enjoyed various liberties and fiscal privileges. Their beneficiaries could be the victims of financial or any kind of misfortune, sickness, and old age, as well as pilgrims. The care they offered consisted primarily of providing to whomever appeared in need of spiritual and moral nourishment and some material comfort for the well-being of both body and soul of pilgrims or the sick.

In the later Middle Ages, despite temporarily swollen gifts during plagues, the temporal property and resources of many hospitals generally declined during the recurrent demographic and financial crises and wars that marked the last centuries of the period. Their permanent revenues collapsed, as did those from most all their landed estates. Buildings were damaged or destroyed. Many of even the largest and best established hospitals disappeared, while those often not much more than individual houses totally vanished.

See also CHARITY AND POVERTY; NUNS AND NUNNERIES; PILGRIMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE SITES.

**Further reading:** Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Medieval Hospital, 1070–1570* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, 2d ed. (New Rochelle, N.Y.: A. D. Caratzas, 1991); S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, Vol. 2, *The Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); John D. Thompson and Grace Goldin, *The Hospital: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975).

**host desecration libel** This was a slanderous though widely accepted story about JEWS who supposedly desecrated consecrated hosts, in other words, what was



The exterior of the 15th-century Hospital of Beaune, now the Musée de L'Hôtel-Dieu, in the city of Beaune in Burgundy in France and founded in 1443 by Nicholas Rolin, the chancellor of the duke of Burgundy (Courtesy Edward English)

believed by Christians to be the body of Christ. Tales about the desecration of the host by doubting Christians or unbelievers circulated in medieval Europe, particularly after the year 1200, as devotion to the Eucharist grew. From 1215 the doctrine of transubstantiation was propagated throughout CHRISTENDOM. It made the claim that after the consecration during the MASS the host actually became Christ's real flesh and blood, the historic body that suffered on the cross. Liturgy, THEOLOGY, and popular preaching disseminated and expounded these ideas, often using miracles to illustrate the powers of a consecrated host or Eucharist. Stories began to circulate of the accidental abuse or even the intended desecration of the host by Jews, heretics such as the CATHARS, or unbelieving or skeptical Christians. These then resulted always in a miraculous demonstration of the host's power and gave proof of the doctrine of the real physical presence of Christ in the host.

#### PROFANATION AS A PRETENSE FOR ANTI-SEMITISM

A narrative developed in the late 13th century about the profanation of the host by the Jews. From the 1280s there were accusations of a Jew's obtaining a host through theft, purchase, or bribery and then inflicting torture on it with boiling water, knives, axes, or needles. The Jew supposedly did this to ridicule Christ or to reimpose the pain of the Passion. An early accusation took place in PARIS in 1290 and became exemplary. Jew was accused and executed. At the same time his wife and children and other Jews supposedly converted. Similar tales also developed in German-speaking lands, especially in the Rhineland, where RITUAL MURDER accusations were well entrenched in the 13th century.

The accusation of host desecration, spread in preaching, the recounting of religious tales, the iconography of religious art, and vernacular drama. By 1300 it was well

established in the religious narratives of late medieval culture. It was a particularly common accusation leading regional pogroms in FRANCONIA, BAVARIA, AUSTRIA, and, in the later 14th and 15th centuries, in BOHEMIA and eastern Germany. In such attacks it usually began as an alleged insult by Jews to the Eucharist, in public, during a eucharistic procession, or in some private event. It was quickly turned into a violent mass movement to take revenge for Christ. Lynching and mass murder might begin and spread throughout whole regions. By the 15th century, accusations of host desecration were made as a preliminary justification of the expulsion of Jewish communities from towns and regions.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM.

**Further reading:** Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1943).

**Hostiensis, Cardinal (Henry or Henricus de Bartholomaeis of Segusio or Susa, Suza)** (ca. 1200–1270) *Italian canon lawyer, political theorist*

Born at Susa about 1200 to a family named Bartolomei, Henry studied canon law at BOLOGNA, and then taught at PARIS, where he held the post of archdeacon. He may also have taught at Bologna. He was from a similar intellectual background as Ugolino de' Segni, later Pope GREGORY IX, and Sinibaldo Fieschi, later Pope INNOCENT IV, and probably benefited from their patronage. After going to ENGLAND with the Savoy relatives of the queen of HENRY III, he climbed the ecclesiastical hierarchy in his home region. Bishop of Sisteron in 1244, he was archbishop of Embrun from 1250 to 1261, then served in the entourages of Pope Urban IV (r. 1261–64) and Clement IV (r. 1265–68), popes of French origin. He was in ROME as cardinal-bishop of Ostia from 1262 to his death on October 25, 1270.

Hostiensis received his nickname from the location of his cardinalate, Ostia near Rome. He was one of the most important 13th-century scholars of CANON LAW. He provided the PAPACY with theoretical arguments to assert authority against temporal power, especially that of the emperor. His *Golden Summa*, probably written about 1250, and his commentary on the *Decretals*, written toward the end of his life, promoted papal sovereignty. Only the pope possessed power absolutely. For Hostiensis, the power or sovereignty of the pope could be exercised absolutely not just in the spiritual, but also in temporal matters. The emperor was merely the pope's vicar.

See also POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London: Longman, 1995); Clarence Gallagher,

*Canon Law and the Christian Community: The Role of Law in the Church according to the Summa Aurea of Cardinal Hostiensis* (Rome: Università Gregoriana, 1978); John A. Watt, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965).

## houses and housing

### PEASANT DWELLINGS

The peasant houses of the early Middle Ages were made of earth and wood for the walls and vegetable material for the roofs. They were built by the locals according to regional traditions. The houses of northern regions and many southern ones sheltered both people and beasts, with one or two rooms forming a somewhat unhealthy core area for human habitation. The demographic and economic expansion of the 11th and 12th centuries encouraged a development and elaboration of farming buildings and housing. From then on separate buildings such as the the dwelling itself, barns, or stables were constructed around an often enclosed courtyard on more elaborate farming establishments. Construction was made



A medieval house in the city of Cluny in Burgundy (Courtesy Edward English)

more durable and solid. However, chimneys had not yet replaced earthen hearths and there were few rooms with windows, fewer with glass. So most rural houses were dark and smoky, as security still had priority.

#### HOUSING IN THE CITY

City houses, at least during the early phases of urbanization, tended to have the same traits as vermin-infested peasant houses with as much concern for security. From the 13th century, houses had to be built in towns whose populations were growing within a limited and crowded area. The practice of building upward grew, and houses were divided into separate and smaller units for lodging. Built of flimsy and flammable materials, houses usually hung over the street. On the ground floor there was often a shop or a workplace, to be in direct contact with the street and customers. A single hall or room was for living and working. The other chambers were the family's more-or-less private domain, though actual privacy was not to be had, or as yet much expected. In the 14th and 15th centuries, certain rooms became more specialized and differentiated into kitchens, the wardrobe, or bathing areas. By this time the houses of prominent or great really stood out amid ordinary houses, becoming urban castles or fortresses with elaborate spatial arrangements for large households of servants, retainers, and relatives. These larger establishments, almost compounds within a town, were provided with gardens, storehouses, apartment flats, stables, and a particular family church or chapels and private oratories. Such mansions promoted the spread of windowpanes, chimneys, and decorative tiles or brickwork. As they became more built of stone or brick, they became less full of vermin that lived in the walls. Other types of disease-bearing creatures were not much affected.

See also CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS; FURNITURE.

**Further reading:** Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*, trans. Henry Cleere (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Richard A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

**Hrabanus Maurus (Rabanus, Magnentius Maurus)** (ca. 778–856) *reformer in the fields of pedagogy, pastoral care, and missions*

Born about 778, Hrabanus followed a usual career course for the children of the Frankish elite destined for the religious life. An oblate at the monastery of FULDA in 788, he was a young student at the court of CHARLEMAGNE in about 797 and a student of ALCUIN at Tours about 800. He returned to Fulda on Alcuin's death in 804. He became a teacher there and was elected its abbot in 822. Under his guidance, the community grew to some 600 monks. He paid a price for his loyalty to LOUIS I THE PIOUS and to Lothair I (r. 840–855). He had to renounce

the position of abbot at the time of the victory of Louis the German (r. 840–876) in 842; he was later reconciled with Louis but had to leave the monastic life and accept the archbishopric of Mainz, his birthplace, where he died on February 4, 856.

#### LEGACY

He was one of the most important members of the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE and its reform movement. His literary output began with the composition in about 810 of the collection *Praises of the Holy Cross*, figurative verses. He propagated a treatise on the monastic life called *On the Institution of Clerics*, which affirmed the need for a training in acceptable classical literature to gain knowledge and understand the Scriptures. He translated into German an *Abridgement of the Grammatical Art of Priscian* and composed treatises of biblical exegesis, the most famous the *Commentary on Matthew's Gospel*. He was also active in reform of the church at synods and councils at Mainz in 847. His famous and sophisticated Pentecost hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* can give an excellent idea of the depth and breadth of his abilities and religious interests.

**Further reading:** Hrabanus Maurus, *The Life of Saint Mary Magdalene and of Her Sister Saint Martha: A Medieval Biography*, trans. David Mycoff. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1989); M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900* (London: Methuen, 1931); Diane O. Le Berrurier, *The Pictorial Sources of Mythological and Scientific Illustrations in Hrabanus Maurus' De rerum naturis* (New York: Garland, 1978); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 314–322.

**Hrotswitha of Gandersheim (Hrotsvit, Hrosvit, Hrotswith, Rotswitha, "Strong Voice")** (ca. 935–ca. 1002) *first German poetess*

Born about 935, she was a nun in Sandersheim Abbey in Saxony, was educated there, and eventually became a canoness. The first two books of Hrotswitha's rediscovered work were a eulogy on CHASTITY, consisting of poems in dactylic meters with interior rhymes, called *Legends*, and dramatic dialogues in rhymed prose, or *Dramas*, her reworking of the classical playwright Terence. The two historical poems subordinated the successes of political power to sounder dynastic piety. These were considered important monuments to the learning and sophistication of 10th-century Ottonian culture. She died about 1002.

See also CELTIS, CONRAD; OTTO III, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR.

**Further reading:** Hrotswitha, *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: A Florilegium of Her Works*, trans. Katharina Wilson (Woodbridge, England: D. S. Brewer, 1998); Hrotswitha, *The Plays of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, trans. Katharina Wilson (New York: Garland, 1989); Peter Dronke, ed. "Hrotswitha," in *Women Writers of the Middle*

*Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua († 203) to Marguerite Porete († 1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Katharina M. Wilson, *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: The Ethics of Authorial Stance* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

**Hugh Capet** (941–996) *king of France, founder of the Capetian dynasty*

Hugh was the son of Hugh the Great (d. 956) and of Hedwig, sister of Emperor OTTO I. Born in 941, on his father's death in 956 he became duke of the FRANKS and a powerful lord in FRANCE. In 978 he entered an alliance against King Lothair (r. 954–986) with his cousin, Emperor Otto II (r. 961–983), and Adalbero of Laon (ca. 955–1031), archbishop of RHEIMS. After the death of Louis V the Sluggard (r. 986–987), the nobles elected him king as opposed to one of the last Carolingians, Charles of Lorraine (953–991). Crowned by Adalbero, he had to face an invasion by Charles within the support of some of the nobility and the church. He captured Charles and held him prisoner. Hugh then reigned from 987 to 996 and died on campaign on October 14, 996. He succeeded because of his merits, but also because of the inability of his rivals to unite against him. He was succeeded by his son, Robert II the Pious (r. 987–1031).

See also CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev, *Hugh Capet of France and Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1951).

**Hugh of Saint Victor** (ca. 1096–1141) *theorist of the organization of knowledge and approaches to teaching*

Born in Saxony about 1096, Hugh of Saint Victor began his education with the regular or Augustinian canons of Saint Pancras in Hamersleben, who were supporters of the GREGORIAN REFORM. He entered the convent of Saint Victor at PARIS as a young man, in about 1115. By 1127 his ideas and famous teaching had made him the founder of a “School of Saint-Victor.”

His most famous work, the encyclopedic *Didascalicon*, discussed the art of reading, learning, and teaching. According to Hugh, the disciplines of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, or the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS, were a scholastic program intended to contribute to a better understanding of God. Written around the same time, a manual on cloistered living was influential for the later normative literature and discipline in monastic life. He also wrote the first *Summa* of THEOLOGY and a treatise on the SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

Hugh reflected an organization of knowledge and a exegetical science based on the doctrine of the three senses of reading the Scripture: history, allegory, and moral teaching or tropology. A modest person and an

attractive scholar, Hugh gained confidence of many of his contemporaries and left a rich correspondence, notably with BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. He warned his students against the seduction of ABÉLARD'S ideas on ethics, as well as contemporary theories of love and the “doctors of allegory,” whose speculations lacked a historical foundation. He died on February 11, 1141, in Paris.

See also BIBLE; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Hugh of St. Victor, *The “Didascalicon” of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); *Hugh of St. Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1951); Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Richard Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 2, *The Heroic Age*, with notes and additions by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

**Huguccio (Hugh or Ugo of Pisa)** (ca. 1150–1210) *teacher of theology and canon law*

Born about 1150, Huguccio studied THEOLOGY and likely CANON LAW at the University of BOLOGNA, before beginning teaching there. Among his pupils was the future Pope INNOCENT III. He was elected bishop of FERRARA in 1190 and remained in this position until his death. He wrote a study of the signs of the apostles, a dictionary of etymology, and a celebrated *Summa on Gratian's Decretum*, all between 1180 and 1190. The latter was a synthesis of the ideas of a school based on, among other themes, the thought of the Decretalists, political practice, and ideology as it had developed during the papacy of ALEXANDER III, and the newly appreciated Roman law.

Huguccio's work not only influenced an Anglo-Norman school but also was fundamental for all later canon law and the political and religious thought of medieval Europe. He was an ardent defender of the independence of the papacy and believed that the pope was at the summit of the church's hierarchy, though that still consisted of the mass of believers. For him, the church could not err. The pope could not be judged, save in cases of HERESY as determined only by the College of CARDINALS. Otherwise, the pope's judgment prevailed over that of any council.

Against most lay opinion, he asserted that clerics could not be taken before a secular court even in feudal matters. Nevertheless he granted some independence to an emperor, king, and city, since their powers were also derived from GOD. He believed that an emperor drew legitimacy from a proper election and a coronation by a pope. The pope might depose an emperor, but his imperial subjects could not do so on their own. The emperor of course did not have the same power against a pope. The

spiritual sword represented by the pope remained superior to temporal authority represented by the emperor. This superiority could authorize an intervention by the pope in temporal affairs. Huguccio was also interested in a hierarchy of the sources of law, the theory of contracts, etymology, and MARRIAGE. He died on April 30, 1210.

See also CONCILIARISM AND CONCILIAR THEORY; PAPACY; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** Wolfgang P. Müller, *Huguccio, the Life, Works, and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, Press, 1994).

**Hulegu (Hülegü Hulagu)** (1217–1265) *Mongol khan of Persia*

Born in 1217 the grandson of JENGHIZ KHAN, in 1251 Hulegu was entrusted by his brother, the Great Khan Mongke (r. 1251–59), khan of Persia, with the mission of destroying the ASSASSINS. He conquered their stronghold at Alamut and western IRAN. In 1258 he marched eastward and destroyed BAGHDAD, ending the ABBASID caliphate and annexing IRAQ to the khanate. Then he conquered SYRIA and parts of PALESTINE. When his army was about to fight the MAMLUKS of EGYPT, he was summoned to the assembly of the MONGOL princes at the Mongol capital at Karakorum, where his brother had recently died.

The Mamluks defeated his army with him absent at AYN JALUT in Palestine, saving EGYPT from Mongol attack. Hulegu was a Buddhist married to a Christian-Nestorian wife, firmly opposed to ISLAM, and favorably disposed to Christianity. He was vaguely allied with the king of ARMENIA and the prince of ANTIOCH, as well as receiving embassies from King LOUIS IX of FRANCE and the PAPACY. He was the founder of the dynasty of the Mongol Il-khans or IL-KHANIDS, of IRAN, who ruled until 1343. He died in 1265 and was succeeded by his son, Aqaq (r. 1265–82).

**Further reading:** Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); W. Barthold and J. A. Boyle, "Hülägü," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3:569; David Nicolle, *The Mongol Warlords: Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, Hülegü, Tamerlane* (New York: Sterling, 1990).

**humanism** The *studia humanitatis*, or humanism, was the recovery and reevaluation of the classical culture of Rome and then Greece. The ideas of Francesco PETRARCH, with his interest in reading the classics, his epistolary contacts with friends and various contemporary scholars and rulers, and finally his own literary output, were fundamental to its revival. His literary work increasingly centered on the rediscovery and application of the *studia humanitatis*. Among these early humanists was some assumption that humankind, with its strength and rationality, was capable of choosing its destiny and place in the world. These ideas

ran counter to the alleged views of medieval education on the subject of human capability on its own.

Humanism was much enriched by the discovery of manuscripts from which classical texts corrupted over the centuries could be reconstructed. Philology was especially cultivated. Translations of the rediscovered texts were also fundamental. These classical works were seen not just as rhetorical and stylistic models, but also as ethical and moral examples on which to base the formation of new society in general and the education of citizens and subjects in particular. Similar humanistic impulses had been cultivated in the earlier Middle Ages, especially during the CAROLINGIAN Renaissance and the Renaissance of the 12th century and were built upon by this later humanism.

See also ALBERTI, LEON BATTISTA; BRUNI, LEONARDO; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; FICINO, MARSILIO; FLORENCE; MEDICI FAMILY; MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI PICO DELLA; VALLA, LORENZO.

**Further reading:** Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955); Eugenio Garin, *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic life in the Renaissance*, trans. Peter Munz (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965); Benjamin G. Kohl, *A Renaissance Humanism, 1300–1500: A Bibliography of Materials in English* (New York: Garland, 1985); Jill Krayer, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

**Humbert of Silva Candida** (ca. 1000–1061) *cardinal*

Born in Lorraine in about 1000, Humbert joined the monastery of Moyennoutier and followed Bishop Bruno of Toul to ROME. When Bruno became Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–54), he employed Humbert at the papal court as an adviser for ecclesiastical reform. In 1050, the pope promoted him to cardinalate of Silva-Candida.

Humbert wrote the treatise *Against Simony*, which was a strong denunciation of such evils in the church, which he believed had its fundamental origin in the selling of offices and in appointments by lay rulers. In 1054 Humbert was sent to CONSTANTINOPLE by the pope to discuss problems of church unity with Patriarch Michael I Kerularios (r. 1043–58). His conviction that lay authority could not be imposed on the church and that the BYZANTINE traditional union of church and imperial state was also at that heart of the evils he had already denounced. All this led him to pronounce an EXCOMMUNICATION on the patriarch on behalf of the pope. This resulted in the final breach between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. He died on May 5, 1061.

See also BERENGAR OF TOURS; DAMIAN, PETER; REFORM, IDEA OF; SCHISM, GREAT (1054); SIMONY.

**Further reading:** Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to*

*the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

**Humiliati** They were a religious movement in northern ITALY from the late 12th to the 14th century whose members wore a humble woolen garment and tried to follow the evangelical ideal of an apostolic life. First appearing in the towns of LOMBARDY among the laity, the earliest Humiliati consisted of married people who remained in the world but formed communities practicing CELIBACY. They lived in poverty and only from the fruits of their own labor and, abstained from swearing oaths or bearing arms. They usually wore simple gray garments, fasted frequently, discussed religious ideas with each other at Sunday meetings, and did public PREACHING. These often unsupervised religious activities drew the suspicion of the clerical teaching authority of the church, and they were condemned along with the WALDENSIANS in 1184. They differed from most of these other heretics in terms of the spiritual value they put on manual labor and the state of matrimony.

The absorption of most of the Humiliati to the church was brought about in 1201 by Pope INNOCENT III, who organized them into three orders to be governed by a general chapter. The first consisted of clerics, canons, and nuns, the second, of continent LAITY living in houses of men and women according to a monastic rule. The third group, that of married people, was also given a simple monastic-like rule. By the mid-13th century, the movement had been absorbed into a clerically controlled system, usually the FRANCISCAN and DOMINICAN orders.

The Humiliati were active in economic life, particularly agriculture and in the textile industry, where working together they produced cloth. They accumulated considerable landed wealth. With their good social and moral reputations, they were in demand to fill public offices. They enjoyed real respect among the other laity.

See also HERESY AND HERETICS.

**Further reading:** Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Sally Mayall Brasher, *Women of the Humiliati* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

**humility** Humility was understood as a virtue, submissiveness to GOD. For BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, humility was a virtue acquired from true self-knowledge and the love that led to the example of the self-abasement of Christ. The Virgin MARY provided another admirable example.

#### VARIOUS PERSPECTIVES ON HUMILITY

In his THEOLOGY of the virtues, Thomas AQUINAS considered humility as a kind of modesty. It was a virtue that tempered the SOUL and prevented it from having an excessive desire for greatness. It fortified the soul and drew it to the pursuit of great acts as derived from right

REASON. Knowledge of one's weakness was an element of humility. While acknowledging God's gifts in oneself and in others, the practice of humility did require people to value themselves below their neighbor in any way. Humility prevented excessive self-confidence and was cultivated properly with temperance and gentleness. Behind the theological virtues, the intellectual virtues, and JUSTICE, humility was the first among other virtues. It prepared and helped the soul to gain salvation.

Another point of view was adopted by BONAVENTURE, a disciple of FRANCIS OF ASSISI. For them humility was a sister of poverty, and the foundation of Christian perfection. Humility consisted in external and internal contempt of the self assumed for the love of Jesus Christ. Bonaventure believed that Christian perfection consisted of humility or the external and internal annihilation of the self.

**Further reading:** Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Steps of Humility*, trans. George Bosworth Burch (1940; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942); Roberta C. Bondi, *To Love as God Loves: Conversations with the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); Jacques-Guy Bourgerol, "Humility," *EMA*, 1.702.

**humors** See MEDICINE.

**Hundred Years' War** The Hundred Years' War was a dynastic military struggle between the kings of France and England that lasted with various levels of intensity between the somewhat artificial dates of 1337 and 1453. In 1328, the extinction of the line of "direct" CAPETIANS was felt in the kingdom of FRANCE as a break in dynastic continuity. The consecration of King Philip VI (r. 1328–50) of VALOIS, the nearest heir in the male line, caused no controversy. However, 12 years later, King EDWARD III of ENGLAND, already engaged in an armed conflict with the king of France in FLANDERS and Gascony, chose to shift the focus of the struggle from economic issues to one of dynastic succession. He claimed the French Crown as the nearest heir through the female line, his mother, Isabel.

Despite their numerical superiority, the French armies suffered a series of reverses at the Battles of Sluys in 1340, CRÉCY in 1346, and above all at POITIERS, a disaster marked by the capture of the king in 1356. For the English, despite these initial successes and the political, social, and economic crisis that did serious damage to France, Edward III managed only temporary territorial gains. The war then went through several stages and several generations of combatants, with the English king, HENRY V, actually assuming the crown of France in 1420. At times it did tremendous damage to lands in France. In the end the English were expelled from most of the Continent by 1453. Its history can be best followed by the careers of several kings of France and England, its principal battles with their effects on the economy and society of its main theatre of war in France.

# Battles and Campaigns of the Hundred Years' War

 Plantagenet territory, c. 1300  
 Plantagenet territory recognized by the Treaty of Bretigny, 1360  
 Area recognizing Plantagenet kingship, 1420-28  
 Major battle with date  
 0 120 miles  
 0 120 km



North Sea



See also AGINCOURT, BATTLE OF; CRÉCY, BATTLE OF; CONDOTTIERI, COMPANIES, AND MERCENARIES; CHARLES V THE WISE; CHARLES VII; HENRY V; JOAN OF ARC, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years' War* (1945; reprint, New York: Capricorn Books, 1965); Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years' War: England and France at War c. 1300–c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War*, Vol. 1, *Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War*, Vol. 2, *Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

**Hungary (Magyarország)** The heart of medieval Hungary was centered on the Carpathian Basin between the Danube and Tisza Rivers. For much of the later Middle Ages, the kings of Hungary controlled regions in the Balkan Peninsula and much of TRANSYLVANIA among other areas, such as modern Romania. It maintained possession of most of these territories until the arrival of the OTTOMANS in central Europe in the 16th century.

The conversion of the MAGYARS or the Hungarian people and the establishment of a Christian kingdom of Hungary occurred during the second half of the 10th century. A seminomadic state headed by the early members of the Árpád dynasty had been established on the basis of seven tribes and three “allied” Turkic tribes. This conglomeration had threatened and attacked Ottonian and Frankish Germany at the beginning of the 10th century. After defeats of Merseburg in 933 and at Augsburg or at LECHFELD in 955, the Hungarian people and culture began a profound transformation. Christianization was the main driving force behind these changes. King STEPHEN I won the crown at the end of a bloody war of dynastic succession and imposed a new Christian order often established with harsh measures.

The 11th and 12th centuries saw the development once again of new internal dynastic rivalries and threats from the expansionist ambitions of the German Empire and later from Byzantium under the KOMNENOI dynasty. Béla III (r. 1172–96), though raised at the court of Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80), managed to maintain Hungary and strengthen its ties with the West.

#### THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

In the first half of the 13th century Hungary organized a crusade against heretics in BOSNIA and converted the CUMAN, later nomads from the East. The invading Mongol troops of Batu Khan (r. 1227–56) failed to crush the kingdom of Hungary. However, after a victory at the Battle at Muhi in April 1241, Béla IV (r. 1235–70) fled the country and took refuge in nearby DALMATIA until the departure of Mongol troops, who had no real desire to occupy Hungary. Béla IV's main task then was the

reconstruction of a ravaged country after the serious devastation caused by the Mongols. He founded the town of BUDA near Pest in 1243. The two towns became the capital of Hungary from the end of the 14th century.

During the last 10 years of his reign, Béla had to share power with his son, Stephen V (r. 1270–72), who in 1262 had been given the title of *junior king* and took control of the eastern half of the country. They opposed one another in war in 1264–65, but neither gained dominance until the death of Béla IV in 1270. These circumstances favored a dispersal of royal power and the setting up of autonomous territories under the control of the barons, who already had gained power through their control of the new fortresses built after the invasion of the Mongols.

The male line of the Árpád dynasty was extinguished in 1301. After a troubled interregnum, the claimant supported by the papacy, Charles Robert I of Anjou (r. 1307/08–42), gained the Hungarian throne, bringing the country under the Angevins of NAPLES and SICILY. After winning a series of wars over the local baronage, he pursued a policy of economic and political reforms. Stimulated by the booming demand for gold and silver in the early 14th century, new mines became a new foundation of wealth for the then prosperous kingdom of Hungary. Charles Robert forged political alliances with his neighbors, reinforced by dynastic links. These finally gave Charles Robert's son, Louis I the Great (r. 1340–82), the throne in POLAND in 1378 and allowed the grandson of John the Blind (r. 1310–46) of Luxembourg, the emperor SIGISMUND to acquire the Hungarian throne. These new dynasties sought to construct a collection of kingdoms in central Europe, united in effect only by a personal union around a reigning dynasty.

#### FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS

One of Hungary's main problems in the 15th century was the advance of OTTOMAN power up through the Balkan Peninsula. Sigismund's army suffered a devastating and humiliating defeat at NICOPOLIS in 1399. Later John HUNYADI carried on an effective series of wars of defense against the Turks with his private mercenary army from 1439. He won an important victory at Belgrade in 1456, which halted the Turkish advance for decades. However, he died shortly afterward during an epidemic. Because of the prestige of John Hunyadi, his son, Matthias CORVINUS, was elected king. Until his death in 1490, he was a successful military leader and had one of the most cultivated courts in all of Europe. After his death, Hungary fell into chaotic and incompetent rule, civil strife, and economic decline and was no match for the Turks in the sixteenth century.

See also BOHEMIA-MORAVIA; HABSBERG DYNASTY; PAN-  
NONIA; VLACHS; WALLACHIA.

**Further reading:** János M. Bak, György Bónis, James Ross Sweeney, eds. *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, Vol. 1, 1000–1301 (Bakersfield, Calif.: Charles

Schlacks, Jr., Publisher, 1989–1992); János M. Bak and Béla K. Király, eds., *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1982); Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi and ed. Andrew Ayton (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001); Erik Fügedi, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles, and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak (London: Variorum, 1986); Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (London: Palgrave, 2000); Géza Perjés, *The Fall of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Mohács 1526–Buda 1541*, trans. Mário D. Fenyő with a foreword by János M. Bak (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs, 1989).

**Huns** They were Turkic-Uighur invaders from central Asia with a terrible reputation for brutality who set in motion a great movement of people in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Huns do not appear in Western sources until the second century C.E. when they settled between the Volga and Don Rivers. At the end of the fourth century, they moved toward the Caucasus and conquered the ALANS, who, allied with the Huns, destroyed a Gothic kingdom of 375. By then they were a confederation of various peoples.

#### THE HUNS AS A PEOPLE

Hunnish civilization has been reconstructed from Western written sources from the late antique world and from archaeological sites occupied by the Huns and other nomads between the late fourth and early fifth centuries. These sites were found from PANNONIA in the regions of the middle and lower Danube, to the steppes north of the BLACK SEA, and along the Volga River. They consisted mainly of isolated TOMBS, with the cremation or inhumation of the body under mounds containing ritual offerings. Funerary furnishings have been found that comprise a great number of elements of harnesses, no stirrups or spurs, numerous double-edged swords, bone arrowheads, and ornaments of a clothing common among the aristocracy of the barbarian kingdoms up to the sixth century. The Huns lived by hunting, gathering, and maintaining flocks of sheep as a mobile supply of food and hides.

The Huns were considered extremely predatory. Conducting their warfare with a merciless efficiency, they took few prisoners and showed little pity. They were described as virtually living on horseback, dismounting only when absolutely necessary or when engaging an enemy more directly.

#### AGGRESSIONS AND CONQUESTS

By 425, the Huns had built a state in Pannonia. ATTILA, who rose to power in 445, began regularly launching raids from there against the Eastern Empire between 441 and 448 and obliged the emperor to pay large tributes.

Until 450, because of his friendship with the Roman general, Aetius, he maintained good relations with the Western emperor. In 451, however, Attila led Huns across the Rhine near Mainz. They ravaged the province of Belgica Prima, burned the city of Metz on April 7, and laid siege to the town of Orléans from the end of May. The siege was abandoned in mid June because of the approach of troops and those of the VISIGOTHS and FRANKS. The Huns confronted the Romans and their allies near Troyes, on the Catalunian Plains. The Huns, though defeated in a bloody battle, were able to return to Pannonia without pursuit. In spring 452 they entered northeastern Italy, sacked Aquileia, and pillaged the whole north of the peninsula. However, Attila died after their return to Pannonia in 453. The Hunnic empire was disputed among the sons of Attila and disintegrated. The Huns were soon chased back by the Gepids to the steppes, where they reintegrated themselves with other nomadic peoples of Turkic origin from Asia to form new confederations of peoples.

See also AVARS; BULGARIA AND THE BULGARS; GALLA PLACIDIA.

**Further reading:** Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*, ed. Max Knight (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1973); E. A. Thompson, *The Huns* (1948; reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Colin D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila: Fifth Century Byzantium and the Barbarians* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960).

**hunting and fowling** In the Middle Ages, hunting could be seen as protecting human crops and livestock from the animal world and providing humans with food and clothing. For many of the elite it was an important distraction or amusement. Indeed all social groups practiced it when they had an opportunity. For a PEASANTRY seeking meat, this meant traps, snares, simple nooses, and nets for migrating birds, pits filled with pikes, or enclosures containing bait to attract wild animals. On occasion the nobility practiced this lower-class form of hunting, but they asserted their class distinctions by devotion to hunting with hawks or falcons and dogs. Hawking, described by FREDERICK II of HOHENSTAUFEN in the 13th century, involved the complex training of birds of prey. Another form of hunting by the elite was done on horseback with packs of hounds. This form demanded luck, endurance, and skill in personal combat, mounted or dismounted, with a dangerous wild boar. Accompanied by a common feast, hunting was also a time of male bonding and conviviality. Women were sometimes allowed to take part in falconry.

#### CLASS INTERESTS

From the mid-14th century, of all the animals hunted by dogs, the stag became the most preyed upon. These royal



A young man hawking, Giacomo Jaquerio (15th century), Castello della Manta, Manta, Italy (Alinari / Art Resource)

chases took on an obvious social snobbery. Consequently, rulers maintained forests for their exclusive use. This system excluded the peasantry from hunting and tried to confine it to shameful and illegal poaching with the threat of serious consequences if caught.

Hunting literature arose in the 14th century; its great classic was the *Book of the Hunt* of Gaston Phébus (1331–91), lord of Foix-Béarn, from 1387. This work contained information on the natural history of the ANIMALS to be hunted. It described the world of raising and training dogs. Phébus dwelled on the virtues of the chase, indeed, asserting that all hunters—rich or poor, great or small—would eventually gain a kind of afterlife in paradise where they could hunt.

**Further reading:** Frederick II, *The Art of Falconry*, ed. and trans. Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1943); John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988); John M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979); Marcelle Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love: The Chase in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974).

**Hunyadi, John Corvinus** (János, Johannes, John de Hunyad) (ca. 1387–1456) *regent of Hungary, commander of the Hungarian army*

Born about 1387, Hunyadi spent his youth at the court of the emperor SIGISMUND and distinguished himself in arms from an early age. The last years of Sigismund and the short reign of his son-in-law, Albert (1437–39), witnessed increasing Turkish pressure in southern HUNGARY. Under both John Hunyadi had held military commands as voivode of TRANSYLVANIA and as captain of Belgrade in 1440. From 1441 on Hunyadi was constantly in the field and inflicted several defeats on the OTTOMANS in 1442–43. By 1444 Hunyadi forced the Ottoman sultan MURAD to agree to a truce. For the first time since their invasions in the late 14th century, the TURKS had been thwarted by a Hungarian army. However, the king of Poland and Hungary, Ladislas I (r. 1440–44), violated the truce and in 1444 led a Hungarian army to a great slaughter at the Battle of Varna, where Hunyadi barely escaped with his life.

#### HUNYADI AS REGENT

The death of the king again produced a domestic crisis in Hungary. The new king, Ladislas V Posthumous (r. 1453–57), was a minor, and Hunyadi was appointed regent of Hungary in 1446. In the face of seditious activities by bands of soldiers in the north and jealous threats from the nobility, Hunyadi skillfully maintained political order by playing off the interests of the lesser nobility against those of the great magnates. He also reformed the Hungarian army into an effective fighting force, which was devoted to him.

After the Turkish capture of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1453, Hungary again became the main target of the Turkish armies. Hunyadi defeated the army of Sultan MEHMED II at Belgrade in 1456 earning the title “defender of the faith” from the pope. Three weeks later, however, Hunyadi died of the PLAGUE on August 11, 1456. After King Ladislas died in 1457, the Hungarians elected John Hunyadi’s second son, Matthias CORVINUS, king of Hungary and under his rule Hungary flourished culturally and materially.

**Further reading:** P. Engel, “János Hunyadi: The Decisive Years,” in *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi*, ed. János M. Bak and Béla K. Kiraly (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 99–119; Joseph Held, *Hunyadi: Legend and Reality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

**Hus, John** (Jan Huss) (ca. 1369–1415) *martyr to a religious and nationalistic movement in Bohemia*

Born about 1369 Jan Hus was a professor and preacher at the University of PRAGUE. He agreed with the liturgical and ecclesiastical ideas and provocative actions of his compatriots Milič of Kroměříž (d. 1374) and Matthew of Janov (d. 1394). The source for their ideas was the work

of the Oxford theologian John WYCLIFFE. He demanded radical reform to end the Great SCHISM. In a reorganization of the institutions of self-government of the University of Prague, Hus favored Czech national interests in January 1409. In response the ecclesiastical and some of the university authorities intensified their attacks against Hus. From 1412 he openly opposed King Wenceslas IV (r. 1363–1419) about the lucrative sale of plenary INDULGENCES.

During this period Hus produced his major works, in particular the treatise *On the Church* in 1413, in which he, agreeing with his Oxford master, demanded the radical reform of the present divided and schismatic church even with the cooperation of secular powers. Not expecting a new social order to evolve, he sought merely the improvement of existing social circumstances through better relations between the rich and the poor and between the lords and the peasants. He also proposed the suppression of the CLERGY. Trusting in the protection of the Bohemian Crown and the promise of the council fathers, Hus agreed in autumn 1414 to attend the Council of CONSTANCE. Shortly after his arrival and in the face of a safe conduct, he was condemned for HERESY. His death by burning at the stake on July 6, 1415, sparked a vehement wave of protest in BOHEMIA and the rapid propagation of his reform ideas. Its rallying sign became a demand for the communion of the laity to include both bread and wine or UTRAQUISM.

### THE HUSSITES

Supported by a resolute and sympathetic Bohemian nobility, the teaching of the university reformers spread out into the countryside. The growing opposition of the university authorities to these ideas only strengthened the movement, especially in southern Bohemia, where the influential community of the TABORITES was founded in spring 1420. The declaration of a mostly German crusade launched against them led the nationalistic Hussites to unite for a “holy war” to defend their independence and the ideas that became the “Four Articles of Prague.” Those involved the freedom to confess and express the divine word, the ability of the laity to take wine at communion, the secularization of significant amounts of church property, and the punishment of those who were guilty of mortal sins.

After 14 years of wars, crusades, and Hussite military expeditions outside Bohemia and into the neighboring countries, those four articles served as the basis for a peace accord that was concluded by the delegates of the Hussite federations with Emperor SIGISMUND of Luxembourg and representatives from the Council of BASEL. This produced a degree of religious toleration, essentially unique for the time. On the other hand, much of the seized and secularized goods of the clergy went to enrich the pockets of the nobility. The late-15th-century Bohemian monarchy then had to deal with two new estates, one based on the greater,

and the other on the lesser nobility. At the same time, the royal towns formed another autonomous or third estate. A religious and political compromise in March 1485 effectively ended the Hussite period and inaugurated a monarchy based on a system of estates.

See also BOHEMIAN BRETHREN; ŽIŽKA, JAN.

**Further reading:** John Hus, *The Letters of John Hus*, trans. Matthew Spinka (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972); Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968); Frantisek Michálek Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424–1437*, trans. John M. Klassen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Josef Macek, *The Hussite Movement in Bohemia* (New York: AMS Press, 1980).

### al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib (the Prince of Martyrs) (626–680) *third Shiite imam*

Born in MEDINA in 626, al-Husayn was one of the grandsons of the Prophet MUHAMMAD and the son of the fourth CALIPH, ALI IBN ABI TALIB, and Fatima (d. 632/633), the Prophet's daughter. After the death of caliph Muawiya ibn Ali Sufyan (r. 661–680), al-Husayn moved against the Umayyads and headed for the town of al-Kufa. He was brutally massacred with a few faithful companions at the Battle of KARBALA in 680, an event that Shiites consider fundamental and a traditional cause of lamentation. Al-Husayn was greatly revered by both the SUNNA branch of ISLAM and the Shiites.

See also AL-HASAN IBN ALI ABI TALIB.

**Further reading:** Syed Husain M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Laura Veccia Vaglieri, “(al)-Husayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.607–615.

**Hussites** See HUS, JOHN.

**hymns, hymnals, and hymnology** From the Latin word *hymnus*, a hymn in the Middle Ages was a lyrical chant or song, in metrical or rhythmical verses. They were intended to enrich the spirituality and experience of the OFFICES and of the liturgical idea of the day in poetic terms, while doubling as a solemn expression and profession of faith. They could take place at the beginning of the office or after a reading on whose lessons the hymn was supposed to promote reflection. There evolved an alternation of hymns with the recitation of psalms linking them to an hour of the day. Some of the great figures of early Christianity, such as Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–ca. 367) or AMBROSE of Milan, produced hymns.

Monastic rules, such as that of Saint BENEDICT, specified a liturgical role for hymns from the sixth century and promoted the development of repertoires proper to the different hours of the liturgy of the monastic office. Before the 11th century, hymns were sung almost exclusively by monks. Thereafter, communities of canons and most clerics celebrating the office began to incorporate hymns into their rituals and ceremonies.

#### HYMNALS

In the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the first Frankish monastic hymnals were developed; they were soon replaced by an approved hymnal by Saint Benedict of Aniane (d. 821), the great Carolingian reformer. It was in part devised by ALCUIN at Tours. Several additional collections and hymns were created in the Carolingian period, such as the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, likely

by HRABANUS Maurus. All these enriched the repertoire. In terms of surviving manuscripts, the earliest known hymnals were made in the eighth century and were in the form of composite books bound with much other material used in the liturgy. Through the whole of the Western Middle Ages, no one repertoire was able to dominate all liturgical traditions. By the central Middle Ages, the hymnal, along with all the other books touching on the office, was essentially integrated into the BREVIARY.

**Further reading:** David W. Music, *Hymnology: A Collection of Source Readings* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Éric Palazzo and Christopher Walter, "Hymn, Hymnology." *EMA* 1.708–709; Joseph Szövérfy, *A Concise History of Medieval Hymnody* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); Ruth Ellis Messenger, *The Medieval Latin Hymn* (Washington, D.C.: Capitol, 1953).

# I

**Iacopone da Todì** See JACAPONE DA TODÌ.

**Iaroslav the Wise** See YAROSLAV THE WISE.

**Ibelin family** The Ibelins were a crusader family who wielded power and influence in the Latin kingdoms of JERUSALEM and, later on, CYPRUS. An ancestor, Balian, took part in the early Crusade. In PALESTINE, he entered the service of Hugh of Puiset. After becoming the constable of Jaffa and marrying the heiress of Ramallah, he became one of the richest barons in the kingdom.

In 1132 Balian supported King FULK V against his own lord of Jaffa, captured that town, and was granted the estates at Yabneh or Ibelin. There he built the fortress from which the family took its name in 1136. Known as “Balian the Old of Ibelin,” he owned lands throughout Palestine. His sons then married daughters of the major families of the kingdom. By the middle of the 12th century, the family was among the most powerful families in the kingdom. In 1175 his youngest son, Balian II, even married the widow of King Amalic (r. 1162–73/74), Maria Komnene, a BYZANTINE princess. By the reign of BALDWIN IV the Leper (r. 1173/74–1185), the Ibelin family was deeply involved in the government.

## CONSOLIDATION AND CYPRUS

After the Third Crusade, in the 1190s, they became leaders of the crusader nobility at ACRE. At the beginning of the 13th century, Philip Ibelin moved to Cyprus, where he gained large territories, becoming regent during the minority of King Hugh I (r. 1205–18) of Lusignan. Other members of the family strongly opposed FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN as king of Jerusalem. They were naturally

ardent defenders of the privileges of the local nobility, demanding government by a local crusader oligarchy. The king was merely the chief feudal lord of the kingdom. This concept was part of the *ASSIZES DE JERUSALEM*, written in 1245 much under the influence of John of Ibelin (ca. 1200–66). In the 14th century, the family declined and the male line died out. At the same time the female line married into the greatest clans of Cyprus and Latin Greece.

**Further reading:** Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, trans. John L. La Monte (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

**Iberia** See AL-ANDALUS; ARAGON; CASTILE; NAVARRE; PORTUGAL; SPAIN.

**Ibn al-Athir, Izz al-Din (Abu l’Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad)** (1160–1233) *Arab historian*

Ibn al-Athir was born probably in Mosul on May 13, 1160. He knew SALADIN and spent most of his life in ALEPPO. His partisan historical work is especially useful for understanding BYZANTINE military affairs in ANATOLIA in the second half of the 12th century, for the events of the Third Crusade, and for the conquest of CONSTANTINOPLE by the Fourth Crusade. He died in May or June of 1233.

See also CRUSADES.

**Further reading:** Franz Rosenthal, “Ibn al-Athir,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.724; Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades*

through *Arab Eyes*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Schochen Books, 1985); Amidu Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification: On Hall and Nazm in Arabic Theoretical Discourse* (Stuttgart: In Kommission bei Steiner Verlag, 1998).

**Ibn al-Haytham, Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan, al-Basra (al-Hazen)** (965–1040) *physicist, astronomer*

Ibn al-Haytham, or al-Hazen, was born about 965 at AL-BASRA in southern IRAQ, where he was probably educated. In his youth he gained sufficient fame for his knowledge of physics that he was called to EGYPT by the FATIMID ruler AL-HAKIM to attempt to regulate the flow of the Nile. Failing in this effort, he was disgraced but established himself as a copyist of mathematical manuscripts. He continued to practice this scribal art in CAIRO for the remainder of his life but at the same time pursued scientific studies and published a number of original works and two catalogs of his own work.

#### ASTRONOMY

The primary objective of al-Hazen was the explanation of phenomena by both mathematical and physical hypotheses. His interest in astronomy was motivated by the perceived discrepancy between an Aristotelian model of the celestial spheres and a Ptolemaic mathematical model. His *On the Structure of the World* described the Aristotelian world of four elements and the Ptolemaic celestial spheres. In it he inserted a discussion of the perception of lunar and solar eclipses based on his assumption that the Moon and Sun were solid physical bodies. In *On the Light of the Moon*, he refuted an ancient concept that the Moon reflected the Sun's light as a mirror does. Rather, he believed that the Moon was self-illuminating. He also believed that the eye received two primary impressions in vision, light and color. Therefore, he concluded that only a physical effect of the Sun's light rays on the Moon rendered the Sun's color and light visible. This idea opened the possibility of reconciling the ideas of ARISTOTLE and of the quantitatively inclined Ptolemy.

#### OPTICS

Ibn al-Haytham's greatest scientific achievements were in optics. In the discussion of the nature of vision at the beginning of his *Thesaurus Opticus*, he argued that light physically affected the eye. From this he argued that the assumption by mathematical opticians of emission of visual rays from the eye, though useful for geometric analysis, was wrong. Light rays, rather, proceeded from the visible object to the eye and were always accompanied by color. These mixed rays of light and color moved in all directions from a visible object. They were perceived when the object was in the visual field of the eye, each point on the surface of the visible object emitting a ray perpendicular to the lens of the eye. The eye physically received only

the rays of light and color, and the mind interpreted the patterns produced as forms at various distances. His work on the theory of vision was translated into Latin in the late 12th or early 13th century and was the basis of all discussions of optics in the West until the 17th century.

Ibn al-Haytham has been called a founder of modern physics and was certainly one of the greatest Muslim students of physical theory. He died in 1040.

**Further reading:** A. I. Sabra, "Ibn al-Haytham," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 6.189–210; J. Vernet, "Ibn al-Haytham," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.788–789.

**Ibn Battuta, Abu Abdallah (Shams al-Din Abu Abd Allah, Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Battuta)** (1304–1369) *Muslim traveler*

Abu Abdullah ibn Battuta was a Berber, born in the city of Tangier, Morocco, on February 25, 1304, into a family of Muslim legal scholars. A devout Muslim himself, he left Tangier at the age of 22 after finishing his education. On June 14, 1325, he set out to make the HAJJ, the pilgrimage to MECCA and MEDINA, planning to return decades later in 1349.

#### FIRST STAGE ACROSS NORTH AFRICA TO DAMASCUS

Ibn Battuta took 10 months to cross North Africa, passing through modern Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, before arriving in ALEXANDRIA, the main port of Egypt. There he saw the Lighthouse at Alexandria, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. From CAIRO, Ibn Battuta traveled up the Nile River to Aswan and then overland to the port of Ahdhab on the Red Sea. Forced to return to Cairo because of local disturbances that disrupted travel, he set out across the Sinai Peninsula to JERUSALEM. After seeing the important sights of PALESTINE, Ibn Battuta traveled on to DAMASCUS, where he arrived on August 9, 1326. There he met some of the famous Islamic scholars in the ancient city and even married.

#### THE FIRST PILGRIMAGES

Ibn Battuta joined a pilgrim caravan in September of 1326 and journeyed south by the Derb-el-Haj, the main pilgrim road to Medina and Mecca, for 55 days. After reaching only Medina in mid-November, he headed off to IRAQ and stopped in al-Najaf in southern Iraq, a holy city to the SHIITE sect of Islam. From there, he went south to the port of al-Basra, making a side trip to Persia or Iran. Back in Iraq he went on to BAGHDAD, still in ruins after its sacking decades before by the Mongols in 1258. He joined a caravan headed south for Mecca.

#### EAST AFRICA, ANATOLIA, AND THE MONGOLS

Ibn Battuta stayed in Mecca from September 1327 to the fall of 1330, studying Islamic law. Using his knowledge to

finance his future travels, he became an itinerant *qadi*, or Muslim legal scholar. Leaving Mecca, he traveled to modern Yemen, and then to Africa, modern Somalia, Mombassa, and Tanzania.

From east Africa, Ibn Battuta sailed to Oman in Arabia and then went back to Mecca for a third pilgrimage in 1332. He then traveled up the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, then crossed ANATOLIA. From the city of Sinope on the BLACK SEA, he sailed to the Genoese port of Caffa in the Crimean Peninsula and headed inland to the steppes of southern RUSSIA, entering the domains of the MONGOLS. At the request of one of the Mongol khan's wives, he escorted her back to her native CONSTANTINOPLE, where he met the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III (r. 1328–41). Ibn Battuta stayed there for five weeks and then returned to the Mongol capital at New Sarai on the Volga River.

#### CENTRAL ASIA, INDIA, SUMATRA, AND CHINA

By this time, Ibn Battuta incredibly had become a wealthy man, claiming he was welcomed by princely courts and showered with presents. Now with an entourage, he traveled across the steppes to Khwarizm, south of the Aral Sea. From there he went by camel to BUKHARA and SAMARKAND. Leaving Samarkand, he went south across the Amu Darya River to Meshed through eastern Iran and then into Afghanistan. He passed over the Hindu Kush Mountains and reached the Indus River in September of 1335.

Ibn Battuta sent word to the court of the sultan in Delhi of his planned visit. The Mogul emperor was a patron of scholars and welcomed him warmly, maintaining him there for seven years in the capacity of judge, or *qadi*. However, he offended the sultan, was put under house arrest for five months, but then was named to an embassy to the court of the last Mongol ruler of China. Unfortunately, his ship was wrecked by a violent storm off the south coast of India. Afraid of returning to Delhi, he sailed for the Maldives in the Indian Ocean, where a queen befriended him and gave him an official post. He became involved in local politics, however, and was forced to leave in August 1344 for Sri Lanka. Having more adventures, he eventually visited Sumatra and China in 1346. Ibn Battuta was impressed by Chinese civilization but deplored its "paganism." He left China in the fall of 1346 and returned to the West, where he saw on his way the results of the Black Death. He made another pilgrimage to Mecca in November of 1348 and reached FEZ in Morocco on November 8, 1349.

#### HOME AGAIN, AL-ANDALUS, AND AFRICA

By then 45 years old and away for 24 years, he returned to Tangier, where his mother had died only a few months previously. Ibn Battuta then joined an army to defend the fortress of Gibraltar from Christians. After its successful defense and still driven by wanderlust, he traveled through Muslim AL-ANDALUS and visited the cities of Malaga and GRANADA. Still eager to travel, in 1352 Ibn

Battuta set out with a caravan to MALI, TIMBUKTU, Niger, and southern Algeria. He arrived back in Fez in January of 1354 and settled down at last. The sultan there provided him with assistance to record a dictated narrative of his travels. *Al-Rihla* (The journey), an elaborate and detailed report, was finished in December of 1355. Ibn Battuta spent the rest of his life as a judge near Fez, where he died in 1369 at the age 64. Scholars have accepted that he actually did much of what he claimed, except the visit to Constantinople and the period in China. He was at the same time much influenced by the earlier accounts and style of another Muslim traveler, Ibn Jubayr (1145–1217).

**Further reading:** Ibn Battuta, *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, A.D. 1325–1354, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1958–1971); Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Battūta: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1929); Rose E. Dunn, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

#### **Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad ibn Muhammad (iman of Baghdad) (780–855) scholar, teacher**

Ibn Hanbal was born in 780, the son of a soldier in the ABBASID army. His intellectual life was primarily concerned with lexicography, jurisprudence, and the traditions of ISLAM, especially as found in the *HADITH*. He traveled about the Muslim world in pursuit of his studies but lived primarily at AL-BASRA in IRAQ, though he made five pilgrimages to MECCA. Eventually he moved to BAGHDAD, where he gained reputation as a teacher. There and throughout his life, he never accepted payment for his teaching. Opposing rationalistic speculation, he said that only the QURAN and the *HADITH* were of value for the study of LAW and THEOLOGY. He was persecuted for his defense of the orthodox position on the eternity of the Quran, even restrained from teaching until a new CALIPH, al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), officially supported his position. His sons collected his work on the *hadith*, the *Musnad*, but most of the rest of his writing has been lost. He had two children by his two wives, six by a concubine, and died in 855.

**Further reading:** Nimrod Hurvitz, *The Formation of Hanbalism: Piety into Power* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002); Walter M. Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna: A Biography of the Imām Including an Account of the Mohammedan Inquisition Called the Mihna, 218–234 A.H.* (Leiden: Brill, 1897); W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998).

**Ibn Khaldun, Wali al-Din Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad (1332–1406) historian, philosopher, statesman**  
Ibn Khaldun was born on May 27, 1332, in TUNIS. His Yemenite family had settled in SEVILLE after the Muslim

conquest and were prominent in the political and intellectual life of the city. Shortly before the Christian RECONQUEST, they left and settled in Tunis, where Ibn Khaldun studied the traditional religious sciences, including LAW, and the rational sciences. He also was trained for a career in government.

In 1352 the HAFSID ruler of Tunis gave Ibn Khaldun a minor position in the chancery, but he soon moved to FEZ. Between 1354 and 1362, Ibn Khaldun pursued there his scholarly interests and was actively involved in the political life at the Marinid court. Implicated in a plot against the ruler, he was imprisoned in 1357 for 22 months. Under a later ruler he again held high positions but soon became discouraged by court intrigues.

Prevented by the Marinid court from joining a rival court at Tlemcen, Ibn Khaldun returned to GRANADA, where he received a royal welcome from Muhammad V (r. 1354–59, 1362–91). In 1364 Muhammad V sent Ibn Khaldun to Seville on a mission to Peter I (r. 1350–69), king of CASTILE. Ibn Khaldun declined an offer by Peter to have his ancestors' possessions returned if he entered royal service. Ibn Khaldun's intimacy with Muhammad V, whom he tried to direct toward his ideal of philosopher king, aroused the suspicion of the king's Nicier or chief official, and Ibn Khaldun had to leave Granada in 1365.

Ibn Khaldun accepted an invitation from the Hafsid ruler of Bougie and became a minister in his regime. When the ruler was defeated and killed by a cousin a year later, Ibn Khaldun entered the service of that cousin but soon had to leave because of court intrigue. Thoroughly disappointed with court politics, he then tried to spend most of his time on research and teaching.

#### WRITING AND PATRONAGE

Soon afterward Ibn Khaldun retreated to a castle in central Algeria, where he spent three years in seclusion. He intended to write a history of contemporary AL-MAGHRIB but started with his *Muqaddimah* (Introduction to history), whose introduction set forth his ideas about history. This grew into a general theory of history, or in his words a science of civilization. He now wanted to write a universal history based on this new science. In 1379 he returned to Tunis with the permission of the new Hafsid ruler to consult books and archives. Under the ruler's patronage he wrote the history of the al-Maghrib and began his history of Islam. His influence with the ruler and popularity among students provoked jealousy, and he again had to leave in 1382 for EGYPT under the pretext of a pilgrimage to MECCA.

The last two decades of his life Ibn Khaldun lived in CAIRO, the capital of the MAMLUK Empire, enjoying the patronage of the sultans Barquq (r. 1382–89, 1390–99) and Faraj (r. 1399–1405). He was appointed chief judge, though only for six brief terms. Most of his time was devoted to teaching and research. He completed his history and made a pilgrimage to MECCA and two trips to

DAMASCUS, the second occasioned by a campaign of Faraj against TAMERLANE in 1400. There Tamerlane invited Ibn Khaldun to visit his camp. Their discussions, as reported in his autobiography, were mostly about political conditions in Egypt and al-Maghrib. Ibn Khaldun died on March 17, 1406.

#### LEGACY OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY

Ibn Khaldun's fame has rested on the *Muqaddimah*. There he explained a general theory of civilization and the conditions for development. He intended it as a guide for understanding and writing history. He believed that the permanent conflict between the Bedouin and a highly developed urban society was always crucial in history. Civilization was an urban phenomenon fostered by local intellectuals protected and united under strong dynastic rule. The division of labor that resulted from such security and cooperation made possible, beyond the elementary necessities of life, the production of luxuries and the development of science. Indulgence in luxuries, however, led to a cultural degeneration and loss of group solidarity, which destroyed the state and with it civilization. So another, less civilized group, its solidarity unspoiled, inherited the earlier civilization. Ibn Khaldun's history of the al-Maghrib, written with the insight of a participant, gave a perceptive description of the rise and fall of dynasties and the role of tribal BERBERS and ARABS. The other parts of his universal history generally lacked the insight and value of his work on North Africa. His autobiography, the most detailed one in medieval Muslim literature, offered a perceptive description of his experience and life until 1405.

**Further reading:** Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, 3 vols., 2d ed., ed. and trans. Franz Rosenthal (1958; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967); Fuad Baali, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Michael Brett, *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999); Walter Joseph Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun in Egypt: His Public Functions and His Historical Research, 1382–1406, A Study in Islamic Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist, and Philosopher* (Lahore: Universal Books, 1978).

**Ibn Rushd, Abu l-Walid Muhammad (Averroës, the Commentator on Aristotle)** (1126–1198) *physician, jurist, philosopher, commentator on the works of Aristotle*

Ibn-Rushd or Averroës was born in 1126 at CORDOBA and became a student of THEOLOGY, mathematics, MEDICINE, jurisprudence, and PHILOSOPHY. He traveled widely and died in MOROCCO. His writings greatly influenced Christian theologians, especially Thomas AQUINAS, who read translations of his writings. At the age of 27, Ibn Rushd

was invited to the ALMOHAD court at MARRAKECH to help establish Islamic educational institutions, translating, abridging, and commenting on works of ARISTOTLE in 1169.

#### CAREER AND WRITING

Ibn Rushd was appointed a judge in SEVILLE at the age of 44, just as he finished translating and abridging Aristotle's *On the Soul*. This book was later translated into LATIN by MICHAEL Scot. Two years later he was transferred to Córdoba, his birthplace, where he served 10 years as a judge. During that time Ibn Rushd wrote further commentaries on the works of Aristotle, including *The Metaphysics*. He was called back for a time to Marrakech as a physician to the CALIPH there, before a return to Córdoba to be chief judge.

Ibn Rushd was a deeply religious man, as was clear in the depth of his faith and knowledge of the QURAN and prophetic traditions, quoted in support of his views in his writing. For Ibn Rushd true happiness was achieved through religious belief and psychological health. One could not enjoy this health unless one's ways led to happiness in the hereafter as a result of a strong belief in GOD. Ibn Rushd commented that ISLAM sought true knowledge, the knowledge of God and of creation.

#### LEGACY IN PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY

In philosophy, his most important work was written in response to AL-GHAZALI's work. Ibn Rushd was criticized by many Muslim scholars for this book, which, nevertheless, had a profound influence on European thought, from the 13th century on. On fate he believed that humans were not in full control of their destiny, which was not fully predetermined. He wrote three commentaries on the works of Aristotle, known to the West through translations. These three commentaries probably correspond to different stages in the education of pupils. In addition, Ibn Rushd wrote many books on the questions of THEOLOGY; in them he tried to apply his knowledge of philosophy and logic.

#### LEGACIES IN MEDICINE, ASTRONOMY, TRANSLATIONS

In medicine, his well-known book *Kitab al-Kulyat fi al-Tibb* was written before 1162. Ibn Rushd wrote on various aspects of medicine, such as diagnoses, cures, and prevention of diseases. In astronomy, he wrote a treatise on the motion of the spheres. Ibn Rushd's writings were translated into various languages, including Latin, English, German, and Hebrew. Ibn Rushd has been considered one of the greatest thinkers and scientists of the 12th century. His commentaries were even used as standard texts instead of the treatises of Aristotle in the 14th and 15th centuries. His books were read in Europe until the advent of modern experimental sciences. In reality,

however, Ibn Rushd did not hold many of the views attributed to him by Christians. He died in 1198.

**Further reading:** Oliver Leaman, *Averroës and His Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Ralph M. McInerny, *Aquinas against the Averroists: On There Being Only One Intellect* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1993).

#### Ibn Sina, Abu Ali al-Husayn (Avicenna) (980–1037) philosopher, physician

Ibn Sina was born at Kharmatain, near BUKHARA, in 980 and was educated there. He displayed extraordinary precocity, and when he was 10 years old, he had mastered the Quran and learned algebra. He went on to study LOGIC, Euclid, and the *Almagest*, and then, as a diversion, MEDICINE.

Twenty-one when he composed his *Book of the Sum Total*, whose ideas he later illuminated in a 20-volume commentary, after serving as physician to the sultan, he was promoted by Sultan Mansur II (r. 976–999) to the office of grand vizier. After a political revolution overthrew the SAMANID dynasty in 1005, Ibn Sina left BUKHARA and wandered from place to place gaining employment as a physician.

About 1012 he was able to begin his great work on MEDICINE. It presented a summary of the doctrines of the ancient Greek physicians, the *Canon of Medicine*. He became a physician to the Persian sovereign for a while. Acknowledging his failing health, he freed his slaves, gave his wealth to the poor, and died near Hamadan, at the age of 57 or 58 in 1037 while accompanying a military campaign.

Ibn Sina or Avicenna wrote nearly 100 works on PHILOSOPHY, mathematics, and medicine and at least seven treatises on ALCHEMY. His *Canon of Medicine* acquired a great reputation in Europe and was translated into LATIN and Hebrew.

**Further reading:** Avicenna, *Avicenna on Theology* (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1979); Soheil Muhsin Afnan, *Avicenna, His Life and Works* (1958; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press 1980); Lenn Evan Goodman, *Avicenna* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Sirat al-Shaykh al-Rais, *The Life of Ibn Sina: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, ed. William E. Gohlman (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974); David B. Burrell, *Knowing the Unknowable God: Ibn-Sina, Maimonides, Aquinas* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986).

#### Ibn Tumart (the Mahdi of the Almohads) (ca. 1080–1130) Berber leader, founder of the Almohad movement

A Masmuda tribal BERBER born about 1080 in a mountain village in southern MOROCCO, Ibn Tumart showed remarkable piety as a youth. In pursuit of religious learning, he left home in 1105 or 1106 to study Islamic THEOLOGY, and

jurisprudence in MARRAKECH, CÓRDOBA, BAGHDAD, DAMASCUS, and ALEXANDRIA and perhaps even met AL-GHAZALI. About 1118 he returned to North AFRICA, where he preached in towns and villages against the immoral behavior of the inhabitants, calling upon them to act in accordance with Islamic law. More specifically, he denounced such actions as drinking wine, playing musical instruments, and the appearance of women in public places without the veil. His public criticism of the ALMORAVID sultan, Ali ibn Yusuf (r. 1106–42), and some prominent theologians led to Ibn Tumart's banishment from Marrakech, the Almoravid capital. In 1115/6 he fled to his birthplace in the ATLAS MOUNTAINS and set about recruiting disciples among his fellow Masmuda tribesmen to overthrow the Almoravid dynasty and effect a moral revolution.

#### IBN TUMART AS MAHDI

In 1121 Ibn Tumart began a militant phase of his life when he proclaimed himself to be the long-awaited Mahdi, the infallible, divinely inspired guide who would lead erring humankind to righteousness and restore JUSTICE on Earth. Righteousness was to be found in the absolute unity of GOD and adoption of the Quran and HADITH as the sole sources of Islamic law. This was to be accomplished by fighting in Ibn Tumart's armies to overthrow the corrupt and heretical Almoravid dynasty.

The Almoravid rulers crushed the nascent movement and Ibn Tumart had to flee again in 1125 to a more remote mountain village, Tinmel. For the next five years he continued to gather converts and soldiers. The local BERBERS were acquainted with only the simplest aspects of Islam, so Ibn Tumart's mission at first had to be education. To increase the solidarity among his followers, loose tribal ties of the Berbers were made more stratified and hierarchical. This also reinforced the religious loyalty due to him as the Mahdi. Now with an obedient and disciplined fighting force, he launched a military campaign against MARRAKECH in 1130. Unaccustomed both to complex siege warfare and to fighting outside the mountains, Ibn Tumart's Berbers were defeated at the Battle of al-Buhayra in August 1130. They retreated back into their mountain fortress. Shortly thereafter, Ibn Tumart fell ill and died in the same year.

Saying he was on retreat, Ibn Tumart's lieutenants kept his death a secret for as long as three years before installing a successor. This was a testimony to the strong influence of his personal leadership. Although Ibn Tumart died before his followers accomplished their later spectacular victories in North Africa and SPAIN, there can be no doubt that these conquests would not have been possible without the genius of the religious inspiration and sociopolitical organization that he contributed to the movement.

**Further reading:** J. F. P. Hopkins, "Ibn Tūmart," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.958–960; Michael Brett and Werner Forman. *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1980).

**Iceland and Icelandic literature** Medieval Iceland was an island in the North Atlantic only settled in the Middle Ages. Located near the Arctic Circle northwest of Europe between the Atlantic and the Arctic Oceans, it was sometimes called Thule. Iceland was colonized by a mixture of Norwegians and Celts from about 870. Celts, probably Irish monks, had discovered and inhabited the island before the Scandinavians. From 874 a group, traditionally led by Ingólfr Arnarson, settled at the place now called Reykjavík. By 930, about 40 families settled in Iceland for various reasons, but especially for land. In forming its government, this society sent to Norway a "specialist" who returned with a code that formed the basis of subsequent Icelandic legislation. In effect a community was established that eschewed kings and any kind of obedience to outsiders. It entrusted the exercise of power to those already there who could prove antiquity of family and held wealth. This effectively meant peasant-fishermen and free proprietors, the usual backbones of Scandinavian societies. Their state can be described as a relatively plutocratic oligarchy, or one dominated by a wealthy few, with a popular assembly, the Althing, charged with discussing and deciding, all executive, legislative, and judicial questions.

The literary output of this small society was astonishing: *Eddas*, skaldic poetry, translations from Continental literature, sagas and related texts, and even learned literature, clearly among the richest of the Western Middle Ages. This system of society and governance endured until 1262–64, when the island, divided by internal conflict, passed under Norwegian and then Danish rule.

#### THE ICELANDIC MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The Icelandic sagas or related texts have allowed scholars to follow the establishment of this society and its survival despite the obvious rife antagonism and conflict. An essential factor in Icelandic history was the adoption in 999, by unanimous consent, of Christianity. The church introduced not just a writing preferable to runes, but all kinds of texts, biblical and classical. Two bishoprics were set up, with churches and monasteries. From then on, Iceland had a national church with the great lay chiefs as the main dignitaries and with clerics skilled not just in the Christian traditions, but also able to write in the VERNACULAR local chronicles, sagas, the *Eddas*, and skaldic poems.

#### SAGAS

The sagas were prose narratives, sometimes enriched with skaldic verse collections and even long poems. They were composed in Iceland from the 12th to the 14th century. The word itself was derived from the verb *segja*, "to say" or "to recount." The sagas purported to "say" or "recount" a sort of history. They were careful and moralistic narratives, soberly composed, that

emulate classical Latin historiography and medieval LATIN HAGIOGRAPHY.

The various categories of this literature were historical sagas that retraced the lives of the kings of NORWAY or DENMARK, including SNORRI STURLUSON'S *HEIMSKRINGLA* (The circle of the world) from about 1225. There were also Icelandic sagas or family sagas, whose heroes were the great colonizers of the island or their immediate descendants. Very similar to these Icelandic sagas were the contemporary sagas, that is, chronicles of events contemporary with their authors. There were also legendary sagas about ancient Germanic heroes and translations or adaptations of courtly texts from the romantic tradition such as those by CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES.

### EDDAS

The name *Eddas* designated two different but complementary Old Icelandic genres. The first type were the *Poetic Edda*, or *Elder Edda*, 30 or so poems of differing length, age, and provenance. Their authors were unknown, but in general they were probably written by Icelanders, around the end of the 12th century. They can be classified according to the gods they celebrate: Odin, Thor, Freyr, and Freyja.

Very different were the *Prose Edda*, or the *Edda of Snorri*, works by the great Icelandic writer, historian, skald, and saga writer Snorri Sturluson, written from about 1220. Snorri grieved that the composition of skaldic poetry was disappearing under the influence of Christianity. Without knowledge of the old religion and its myths, composing authentic skaldic poetry was impossible. Snorri determined to disseminate those religious traditions. Along with the other *Edda*, these works have preserved the mythological world and system of pagan northern Europe.

**Further reading:** Peter Hallberg, trans., *Old Icelandic Poetry: Eddic Lay and Skaldic Verse* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975); Lee Hollander, trans., *The Poetic Edda*, 2d ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962); Patricia Ann Terry, trans., *Poems of the Elder Edda* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Jean I. Young, trans., *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: Tales from Norse Mythology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Jesse L. Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Jesse L. Byock, *Viking Age Iceland* (London: Penguin Books, 2001); Carol J. Clover and John Lindow, eds., *Old-Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature* (New York: Johns Hopkins Press for the America-Scandinavian Foundation, 1957); William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland: Priests, Power, and Social Change, 1000–1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

**Iconoclasm and Iconoclastic controversy** (726–843) Greek for the “breaking of images,” *iconoclasm* refers to any attempt to destroy religious images or icons, and more specifically to the serious attempt by eighth- and ninth-century Byzantine emperors to remove from the empire what they perceived as a form of religious idolatry. It can be considered a religious doctrine.

Old Testament and Jewish prohibitions against idolatry had a continuing influence on the church in both East and West. It probably accounted for ecclesiastically supported iconoclasm before 726, when Emperor Leo III (r. 717–741) ordered that an image of Christ in the Great Palace be removed. This imperial support of such prohibitions was new. An order in 730 mandated the destruction of religious images. The patriarch Germanos I (r. 715–730) was forced to resign, and Leo III, intent on demonstrating his control over the Eastern Church, replaced him with the Iconoclast Anastasios (r. 730–754). Real persecution began during the reign of Constantine V (r. 741–775), who rejected the veneration of all RELICS and who explicitly maintained that the Eucharist was the only true and acceptable image of Christ. The state was then at war with MONASTICISM, which supported icon production and veneration. Persecution declined during Leo IV's reign between 775 and 780, and Iconoclasm was condemned in 787 at the Seventh Council of Nicaea, convened by Empress IRENE to restore icons. With this the first period of Iconoclasm (726–787) ended.

The ninth-century revival of Iconoclasm under the emperor Leo V (r. 813–820) and the patriarch Theophilos (r. 824–842) constituted its second period (815–843). Backed by the army, Theophilos, the last Iconoclastic emperor, again singled out monks for punishment. Theophilos's widow, Theodora, and the patriarch Methodios (r. 843–847) stopped Iconoclasm in 843 without calling a council. Thus, from 726 to 843 the Iconoclast movement was a potent and disruptive force in Byzantium. Imperial usurpers and rebels such as Artabasdos (r. 741–743) promoted the cause of images against iconoclast emperors who were trying to strip the church of its iconophile (those in favor of the use of icons) bishops, strongly persecuting those who resisted. Iconoclasm failed because of the basic popularity of icons. This was strongly expressed in the riots and intense devotion to images by ordinary citizens, many of whom venerated small icons in private.

See also ICONS.

**Further reading:** Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1977); Kenneth Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for*

*Icons* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990); Daniel Sahas, ed., *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

**icons, history and theology of** Icons were movable, portable images in PAINTING or MOSAIC or in a wooden panel, showing Christ, the Virgin MARY, a saint, or a religious scene. In Greek *icon* meant “image” or “resemblance,” and designated a religious work of art or image that was the object of a cult. Its scale, technique, or medium—painting, mosaic, marble, IVORY, ENAMEL, gold, bronze, or cloth—was unimportant. The BYZANTINES sought realism in the portrait and valued the artist’s skill in expressing the spiritual qualities and the miraculous capabilities of the subject.

Icons have been omnipresent in the Eastern Church, in churches, monastic cells, private homes, shops, public monuments, and the imperial palace. Important in every aspect of private and public life, icons continued the traditions of classical portraiture, in technique, hieratic frontal aspect, and commemorative function. However, medieval icons rather emphasized the magical and religious value of these images. The number and scale of these icons exploded from the sixth century. From that time also have survived the oldest icons, those created at Saint Catherine’s monastery at the Sinai Peninsula, at KIEV, and at ROME. The veneration and making of such images were never limited to the Eastern Church.

MIRACLES attributed to these icons grew, giving them supernatural power. Icons became much like RELICS as vehicles with supernatural capabilities. Distinctions between the image and the person represented began to disappear. They became true and magical mediators between humans and GOD, the source of support against evil. Icons were deployed to protect cities during wars and catastrophes. They allowed viewers to commune with the divine or sacred personage represented, who was believed actually to be almost present by some. There was always some opposition to such beliefs or practices in both the East and the West. In the Byzantine Empire this led to long period of ICONOCLASM.

**Further reading:** Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (1990; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London: George Philip, 1985); Léonide Ouspensky, *The Meaning of Icons*, ed. Urs Graf-Verlag and trans. G. E. H. Palmer and E. Kadloubovsky (Boston: Boston Book and Art Shop, 1952); Léonide Ouspensky, *Theology of the Icon*, 2 vols., trans. Anthony Gythiel (New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1992); David and Tamara Talbot Rice, *Icons and Their History* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1974).

**al-Idrisi (Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abd Allah ibn Idris al-Ali bi-Amr Allah)** (1100–1165) *geographer, traveler*

Al-Idrisi was born in 1100 in Ceuta in MOROCCO, a descendant of the HAMDANID dynasty, who had ruled Malaga in AL-ANDALUS until 1057 and over Ceuta and Tangier in Morocco until 1084. He studied at CÓRDOBA. In his youth he traveled widely, visiting ANATOLIA, North AFRICA, Spain, FRANCE, and probably even the English coast. At the invitation of ROGER II, the Norman king of SICILY, he went sometime before 1144 to live at Roger’s court in PALERMO. As a descendant of a dynasty who ruled in Muslim Spain and North Africa, he had a considerable knowledge of those regions. He might have potential as a useful tool in Roger’s ambitious plan to rule the entire western Mediterranean.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL INTERESTS

Roger also had a keen theoretical interest in geography. Since 1139 he had provided support for an ambitious project on a world geography, based on Greek, LATIN, and Arabic literature as well as on contemporary research. There was even a commission to gather information, of which Al-Idrisi became a leading member.

At the order of Roger, al-Idrisi constructed a silver celestial sphere with an enormous map of the world in disk form or a planisphere form on a silver base. As a commentary for it, he wrote a large geography of the world. Completed in January 1154, it became known as *The Book of Roger* in recognition of the king’s patronage. In this original and unique work al-Idrisi divided the known world, in accordance with Greek tradition, into seven regional climates and described each in detail. The book has long been generally recognized as the most detailed and accurate account of the known world in the 12th century. It included information about ethnic groups, their cultures, general economic life, and commerce. *The Book of Roger* contained 71 maps, some in color, among the most accurate produced in the Middle Ages in Europe and the Islamic world. Al-Idrisi used the geography of Ptolemy and many works of Arab geographers as sources, though some escaped him. He also relied on reports of contemporary travelers and, for the regions he had visited, his own observations and memory. His descriptions of the countries of Europe were original and generally precise.

After the death of Roger in 1154, al-Idrisi produced an enlarged but lost version of his geography for Roger’s son and successor, WILLIAM I. Al-Idrisi left Sicily, perhaps as a result of the anti-Muslim riots in Palermo in 1161. Later he composed a shorter compendium of world geography. Al-Idrisi also wrote a pharmacological treatise and some poetry. He died probably in Ceuta about 1165.

**Further reading:** S. Maqbul Ahmad, “Al-Idrīsī,” in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 7.7–9; al-Idrisi, *India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitab Nuzhat*

*al-Mushtaq Fi'khtiraq al-Afaq of al-'Sharif al-Idrisi* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960); G. Oman, "Al-Idrīsī," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.1032–35.

**Idrisid dynasty (Adarisa, Hasanids)** They were the dynasty who reigned from 789 to 925/926 over the western al-MAGHRIB or MOROCCO. The founder, Idris I (r. 789–793), was a descendant of ALI, who had fled ABBASID persecutions. He was subsequently nominated as an IMAM by the BERBERS in the region of Volubili. The Idrisids introduced SHIISM to northwestern Africa. They founded the city of FEZ and peopled it with al-Qayrawani and Andalusian scholars, thus making it a great new center of Islamic learning. After several dynastic quarrels, their control slowly collapsed, and the region became a bone of contention between the more powerful FATIMIDS of Ifriqiya and the Umayyads of Spain. After Fez fell in 926, various branches of the dynasty retained power in outlying areas of Morocco until 1974.

**Further reading:** C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 20–21; Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis Publishing, 1980); D. Eustache, "Idrisids (Adarisa)," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.1035–1037.

**Ifriqiya** See AL-MAGHRIB.

**Igor (Ingvar)** (ca. 877–945) *grand prince of Kiev, leader of expeditions against Constantinople*

Igor was born in 877, probably the son of RURIK of NOVGOROD. He succeeded OLEG as prince in 912. In its first attack against CONSTANTINOPLE, the RUŚ fleet was destroyed by GREEK FIRE. His second attack in 945 was met on the Danube with proposals for a new but less advantageous commercial treaty, to which he agreed. He had a reputation for greed and military failure. Igor met his death in 945 at the hands of Slavic tribesmen while he was trying to raise their tribute. After scalding to death the murderers of her husband, Igor's widow, Saint Olga (d. 969), ruled Kiev as regent between 945 and 961 during the minority of their son, Sviatoslav (r. 962–971/972).

**Further reading:** George Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1948).

**Il-Khanids (Ilkhans)** This was the MONGOL dynasty established by HULEGU in the 1260s. The great khan of Persia, Mingko, sent his brother, Hulegu, to establish or recover and consolidate Mongol conquests in western Asia, after Jenghiz Khan's death in 1227, as much of the control of the Islamic world south of the Oxus River had subsequently revolted against Mongol control. Hulegu

defeated the ISMAILIS and ASSASSINS in northern Persia in 1256 and routed a caliphal army in IRAQ. He then murdered the last ABBASID of BAGHDAD, al-Mustazim, in 1258. His army advanced into SYRIA without him, where the Mongols were defeated by the MAMLUKS of EGYPT at the Battle of AYN-JALUT in PALESTINE in 1260. Nevertheless, Hulegu became ruler on behalf of the great khan of all the regions of Persia, Iraq, the Caucasus, and eastern ANATOLIA and assumed the title of il-khan, remaining subject or subordinate to his brother.

#### THE KINGDOM CONSTITUTED

The Il-Khanid kingdom was now in place, but had many enemies, still including the Mamluks. The surrounding Mongol khanates to the north were hostile because of disputed territories in the Caucasus mountains and north-eastern IRAN. The Il-Khanids tried half-heartedly to form anti-Muslim alliances with European Christian powers, remnants of the crusader states, and the Armenians in Cilicia. Hulegu's wife was a Nestorian Christian, so the early Il-Khanids were somewhat favorably inclined to Christianity and Buddhism.

The Il-Khanids held power against all these external foes without much help from the Christians. After Kublai Khan's death in 1294, their links with the great khans in eastern Asia were slight. The cultural and religious pressures of Persian and Islamic culture led to the conversion to ISLAM of Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304). Abu-Said (r. 1317–35) was the last great Il-Khanid. He made peace with the Mamluks in 1323 and thus ended the fighting over Syria, but his kingdom was still wracked by internal strife and he died without a legitimate heir. The years after his death were accordingly filled with a succession of ephemeral khans, until finally the Il-Khanid Empire was replaced by local dynasties in the mid-14th century.

#### LEGACY

Despite frequent warfare and internal conflict, the Il-Khanid period was prosperous for Persia. With the conversion of the Ghazan, a reconciliation commenced between the Mongol-ruling class and their Persian and Muslim subjects. The Il-Khanid capitals of Tabriz and Maragha were great centers of learning and artistic accomplishment. The connections of the Mongols with such differing cultures as those of Christian Europe and China drew new intellectual, commercial, and artistic influences into Persia. The Il-Khanid kingdom was for a while at the center of TRADE between the east and India and the Mediterranean.

**Further reading:** Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John A. Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 149–51; Bertold Spuler and Richard Ettinghausen, "Ilkhans," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.1120–1127; Linda Komaroff and Stephen Carboni, eds., *The Legacy of*

*Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2003).

**illumination** This was the decoration, of all types, drawn or painted by hand on manuscripts, described as either illumination, miniature, or manuscript painting. The decoration of a manuscript might include historic scenes and decorative aspects such as ornamental letters, frames, and borders. It might include all that facilitates reading and comprehension assisted by color and design. Illumination was done out of a desire to beautify a manuscript and give some idea about the aesthetic pretensions and intentions of authors and artists.

Using PARCHMENT, illuminators could display technical refinements and exploit color. During the Middle Ages, manuscript illumination illustrated and explained texts with painted scenes. In the CAROLINGIAN period illumination became more explicitly pedagogical, helping transmit religious and political content by image. Illumination included more elaborate and directive devices to facilitate reading a page or navigate through texts. Illuminators used initials and color or paragraph signs that marked line endings or subdivisions or chapters with more complex content.

See also CODICOLOGY; LIMBOURG BROTHERS; PAINTING.

**Further reading:** J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992); Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Bezalel Narkiss, *Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collections, 1983).

**Illyricum and the Illyrians** In the Middle Ages this was a region in the Balkan Peninsula that once comprised PANNONIA, ALBANIA, MACEDONIA, and Dacia along the coast of the Adriatic Sea and inland. It was divided into two parts after 395, when JUSTINIAN I transferred its capital to Justiniana Prima, a city he founded about 530 near his birthplace. After Justinian I's death in 565, Illyricum suffered invasions by LOMBARDS, AVARS, SLAVS, SERBS, and CROATS. In the seventh century many inland sites were abandoned, including Justiniana Prima. The ninth-century BYZANTINE themes or military regions of Durazzo (Dyrrachium) and THESSALONIKI were then created out of the former prefecture.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); J. J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians* (Cambridge, Mass.: B. Blackwell, 1992).



Illumination showing Solomon and Sheba from the *Giant Bible of Mainz* (1452–53) (Courtesy Library of Congress)

**imam and *imamah* (supreme leadership)** The Arabic word *imam* designated the man who stood in front of worshipers to lead ritual prayer in ISLAM. But it had a wider and more profound meaning according to the particular belief in the *imamah*. That imam was to be the supreme political and religious leader of the Muslim community. The term was therefore usually synonymous with *caliph*. The latter term was applied to the exercise of temporal functions; the former, *imam*, was often limited to religious, but not necessarily spiritual, leadership.

A fully developed SUNNI doctrine of an imamate emerged in the 11th century. It held that a designation of the imam was dependent on acceptance by the Muslim community and that there could be only one imam at a time. This person had to be descended from the tribe of the QURAYSH, to be of legal majority, to possess the quality of good character, and to have a good knowledge of the legal system, or sharia. His primary duty was to protect Islam and the FAITH by upholding the sharia. He could, according to Sunni doctrine, be invested by appointment by his predecessor or by election.

In Shiite doctrine, the imam was also a spiritual as well as a political leader. The first imam was ALI, who was succeeded by his sons and grandsons. Any legitimate imam was considered to be divinely guided and immune from SIN, and a source and storehouse of all religious

knowledge. He held a perfect knowledge given by GOD of all things. This knowledge was identical with that of MUHAMMAD, but, unlike the Prophet, an imam did not transmit any new divine revelation. There were 12 imams. The last, the Mahdi, was said to be hiding until an apocalyptic moment in the future.

Shiite doctrine insisted that the imamate, or *imamah*, must descend directly through the line of Ali. Rejecting the Sunni doctrine of election, the Shia held instead that the imam could only be designated by God through the Prophet or another imam.

See also ISMAILIS.

**Further reading:** Wilferd Madelung, "Imama," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.1163–1169.

**impeachment and attainder** The legal processes of impeachment and attainder were used by the English PARLIAMENT to further its political power, protect its interests, and punish its enemies. They amounted to a removal from office, punishment of the accused's family, and an attempt to recover damages allegedly done to the Crown and state. They became important to the law, politics, and local and national disputes over land tenure in ENGLAND in the 14th and 15th centuries. Acting out of its origins as a court, Parliament used the obvious political potentials of impeachment and attainder to protect and assert its political status in the last two centuries of medieval English history.

#### IMPEACHMENT

Originally impeachment was a means of trial in a private dispute, in which the defendant was prosecuted both by a community and by the Crown as a party to a case involving the rights of the Crown. Proceedings tended to be held in the courts of the royal chancery or in a special council that could bypass the slow common-law courts altogether. Impeachment was used effectively by the Good Parliament of 1367 to control and censure the behavior of the king's ministers. This was the first example of what became the procedure of parliamentary impeachment and indictment. The first step in this process was taken by the finding of a meritorious case against an individual by the Commons as a whole; then the circumstances of case and the accused were passed on to the House of Lords for the rendering of a judgment.

#### ATTAINDER

Attainder developed in particular in the second half of the 15th century as a parliamentary way of ensuring, speeding, and applying penalties according to the ancient common-law idea of outlawry and reducing delays in enforcement and punishment. Not only did an outlawed felon lose chattels or property to the Crown and lands to a lord, but a blood line and succession could be considered

tainted and thus heirs were to be disinherited forever. Parliament and the royal courts imposed these penalties swiftly without any or much of a chance for a defense by the accused. In the dynastically obsessed late-15th century, it was applied to some of the men who were among the major players in English politics and were the greatest landowners of the kingdom. During the Wars of the Roses, even ordinary people tried to obtain and use parliamentary attainder against their enemies.

**Further reading:** John G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); George A. Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

**Incarnation** See CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

**incest** In the Middle Ages incest designated sexual relations between a man and a woman linked by bonds of some kind of kinship, who could not then ever marry. These rules varied over the course of the Middle Ages. In medieval canon law, it was frequently applied to a wide circle of kinship, both spiritual and real. The incestuous character of a union at times was alleged to have a marriage pronounced null, that is, never to have taken place. This was a convenient vehicle for dissolving unions since divorce was not accepted by the church, the sole judge of matrimonial disputes in the Middle Ages.

#### CANON LAW

Roman law had suppressed incest in the penal code as a public crime against natural law and punishable by exile to an island. Such a union was not and could never be a permissible union or a legitimate marriage. Jewish law in the Old Testament enumerated the degrees of kinship in detail that forbade sexual relations. Disapproval of incest was included in the multitude of provisions issued by COUNCILS in the early Middle Ages. Sexual union was forbidden between relatives in a direct line forever. In a collateral line it was applied to the sixth degree or third cousin, according to Roman computation of kinship. The violation of these prohibitions exposed a person to EXCOMMUNICATION and confiscation of property. "Classical" canon law, from the 11th to the 13th century, oscillated between the seventh degree according to canonical computation and the fourth degree according to canon 50 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Canon law allowed people, by showing and invoking its discernment, to end a marital union. To make a wide prohibition of kinship known and respected, the calling of bans or the naming of those intending MARRIAGE became obligatory for all Christendom at the Fourth Lateran Council. Nonetheless, their absence did not entail the nullity of a marriage.

### REAL CONDITIONS

Life in the isolation of rural communities, the absence of social mobility for most people, and the social ambitions and objectives of nobilities led inevitably to endogamy or the marriage between kin in any case. Because spiritual kinship resulted from baptism or confirmation, marriage was forbidden between godfather and godmother, and between godfather or godmother and godchildren. Legislation was abundant but not very coherent. The effectiveness of these measures has remained even more difficult to evaluate.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001); James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

**Indiction** This was a medieval system of dating used in documents based on 15-year cycles. It was used as an aid to date documents more securely. The term originally meant “a levy of foodstuffs for the imperial government.” From September 1, 312, onward, it referred to a 15-year tax cycle. From 537 all imperial documents were to be dated by the year of the Indiction (first year, second year, and so on, of the 15-year cycle). By itself this means little to modern historians unless the first year of the cycle can be related to a calendar year. This is complicated by the induction year starting on 1 September, 24 September, or 25 December.

See also CALENDARS AND THE RECKONING OF DATES; FORGERY.

**Further reading:** R. Dean Ware, “Medieval Chronology,” in *Medieval Studies*, ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1976), 213–237, especially pp. 225–227.

**Indo-European languages** The vast majority of languages spoken in Europe are from this group. The original home of proto-Indo-Europeans was likely in the region bordered by the Dnieper River on the west, the Caucasus on the south, and the Ural Mountains on the east. Between the third and second millennia B.C.E., the inhabitants of this area spread westward. As they moved, separate languages developed. By the year 500 much of the future linguistic pattern of Europe had been essentially determined.

### NON-INDO-EUROPEAN IN EUROPE

By the end of the Middle Ages, invaders from the early Middle Ages speaking non-Indo-European languages, such as the HUNS, AVARS, and BULGARS, had long been absorbed. Other such languages were spoken. By 711 until the conquest of GRANADA in 1492, Arabic was used in SPAIN. As this area was gradually reconquered, Arabic retreated in Europe but left words in religious

and technical vocabularies, such as *algebra*, *caliber*, and *zero*. Hebrew, another non-Indo-European language, flourished in the Iberian Peninsula. It was maintained by Jewish communities elsewhere in Europe as a religious and literary language.

In the meantime from the end of the ninth century, a Finnish Ugric language was introduced to modern-day HUNGARY; other non-Indo-European languages were the related Finnish and Estonian in the northeast by the Baltic Sea.

### LATIN-BASED INDO-EUROPEAN

The church functioned as a linguistic agent with Latin as its language but had to cope with the social, political, and linguistic decentralization that took place as regions began to use a vernacular. Latin was used in the administrative centers throughout the old Roman Empire, including the Iberian Peninsula, present-day France, Switzerland, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, Romania, western Germany, and Austria.

Local dialects developed in individual regions and became national languages. The common language of the old Roman Empire around 500 was a set of varieties of dialects of Latin rather than distinct languages. By the 11th century, each of these regions had developed a language that reflected this long period of independent changes away from Latin.

### NON-ROMANCE INDO-EUROPEAN

Some regions maintained non-Latin languages, generally where access was difficult, such as the Pyrenees (Basque) and part of the rugged Dalmatian area (Albanian). In frontier areas that the Romans had controlled only tenuously or briefly, such as Britain, the NETHERLANDS, and part of BELGIUM, there were tribal dialects, many of which developed national languages. There were Celtic inscriptions from the early centuries of the Christian era, a GOTHIC translation of the BIBLE from the sixth century, and numerous Old Church Slavic texts from the ninth century.

**Further reading:** Vladimir Ivanov Georgiev, *Introduction to the History of the Indo-European Languages*, 3d ed. (Sofia: Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1981); Sydney M. Lamb and E. Douglas Mitchell, eds., *Sprung from Some Common Source: Investigations into the Prehistory of Language* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991); Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London: J. Cape, 1987); Victor Stevenson, *The World of Word: An Illustrated History of Western Languages* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 1999).

**indulgences** Indulgences were amnesties obtained from the merciful GOD, acting through the medieval church, of the guilt and resulting just punishments due for SIN. From 1215, the technical meaning of the term

*indulgence* was clearly established as “an extrasacramental remission, granted by the church, of the temporal penalty due to sins already pardoned.” In the pardon of a sin, the guilt of such an offense to God was removed by a confession with proper repentance and clerical absolution. A temporal penalty, however, persisted and had to be paid in this world or in a then newly conceived place called PURGATORY. An indulgence diminished this burden or obligation to undergo suffering.

#### PRINCIPLES OF INDULGENCES

The principle of indulgences was based on the idea of a stored-up treasure of merit and was part of the church. It was accumulated by merits of Christ, the Virgin MARY, and the saints. A member of the church could draw upon this accumulation for, in an exchange, the merits collected there for helping in the remission of punishments due the sins of others or one’s self. The granting of indulgences was restricted to the pope as the self-proclaimed trustee of this, the church’s treasure. The pope could delegate this role to other high clerics such as cardinals or bishops. Though the indulgence was granted by the church, the sinner remitted his fault before God.

Indulgences were based on practices of penitence or expiatory works done in a quantitative way such as fasts, prayers, almsgiving, and bodily mortifications according to the gravity and nature of the fault. In the 11th and 12th centuries, general remissions of such dues were developed and granted for most sins. These partial boons took place on the occasion of the consecrations of a church, the constructions of an abbey, during PILGRIMAGES, or the translations or displays and movements of RELICS. Soon plenary indulgences that pardoned all faults and remitted entire penalties were granted by the pope. With the need to promote and finance the Crusades, the 13th century saw a massive growth in the use of the plenary indulgences. Such obtaining of plenary indulgences became so lucrative that the papacy tried to control them by requiring that they be proclaimed only by papal or episcopal letters that were only obtained by a fee or a share of the take.

#### LATER MIDDLE AGE

In the 14th century, the number of indulgences being granted exploded. Requests addressed to the pope from always needy monasteries, churches, confraternities, bishops, and princes grew almost exponentially. The granting of such indulgences was still linked with the promotion of a cult devoted to a particular saint, the celebration of feasts, or the organization of pilgrimages or other such endeavors. The celebration of a HOLY YEAR or Jubilee involving a trip to the churches of Rome was based on obtaining a plenary indulgence. On the occasion of the first, propagated by Pope BONIFACE VIII in 1300, thousands of the faithful flocked to Rome greatly enriching papal coffers and those of the tourist industry

in the city. The frequency of jubilees increased in the course of the 14th century and the financial aspect further overpowered the spiritual and pastoral aspects. In the later Middle Ages the idea that even the dead could become the beneficiaries of indulgences became popular. One could make a donation in some form and earn remittance for souls suffering punishment in PURGATORY. The papacy vainly made some halfhearted effort to stem the abuses of the sale of such indulgences, but their growth continued barely unabated, damaging the reputation of the papacy and the church in the eyes of many of the laity.

**Further reading:** Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1896); Alexis Henri Marie Lépiciér, Cardinal, *Indulgences, Their Origin, Nature, and Development* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1895); William Edward Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939–62); Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

**infancy** See CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD.

**infanticide** See CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD.

**ink** See PALEOGRAPHY.

**Innocent III, Pope (Lothar of Segni, Lothario dei Conti de Comitibus)** (1160–1216) *canon lawyer, promoter of the Fourth Crusade*

Born in 1160, the son of Trasimund, count of Segni, and Clarissa of Scotti, Lothar of Segni studied THEOLOGY at PARIS and LAW at BOLOGNA. At about the age of 30 he attained the rank of CARDINAL deacon. He owed his elevation to the cardinalate to his uncle, Pope Clement III (r. 1182–91), but he was already well recognized for his outstanding ability and energy.

#### THE PAPACY

After the pontificate of Pope Celestine III (r. 1191–98), Lothar was chosen pope by his fellow cardinals on January 8, 1198. The new pope was faced with two principal tasks: to combat the rise of HERESY, then a serious threat to the unity of the church, and to restore the political fortunes and prestige of the PAPACY in ITALY. Despite his youth at the time of his election, Innocent was described as having a commanding presence, a dynamic personality, and remarkable rhetorical gifts that he could fully and ably use to defend the papal office and its pretensions. The most enduring achievements of his pontificate were

in reforming ecclesiastical government, updating canon law, promoting the administrative centralization of the church and acceptance and support for the FRANCISCAN and DOMINICAN ORDERS, and, above all calling and directing the important Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

As pope, he considered himself the successor of Saint Peter and the vicar of Christ on this earth, with supreme authority in the universal church and ultimate responsibility for that church. He believed that the jurisdictional powers of the bishops derived from his own fullness of power. He acted out of that belief in his vigorous and wide-ranging judicial activity, his extension and consideration of papal rights over episcopal appointments, and his effort to exert authority over national churches by the dispatch of cardinal LEGATES endowed with the broadest of powers to represent his interests.

Matrimonial conflicts opened the way for Innocent's intervention in the politics of the kingdoms of LEÓN, ARAGON, and FRANCE. A disputed election to the archbishopric of CANTERBURY allowed him to intervene in ENGLAND because of King JOHN's refusal to accept Cardinal Stephen LANGTON as archbishop. He was consistently motivated by an ideal that he had articulated at the start of his pontificate: "Ecclesiastical liberty is nowhere better cared for than where the Roman church has full power in both temporal and spiritual matters."

#### SEEKING POLITICAL HEGEMONY

The seeking of temporal power certainly lay behind his efforts to reestablish papal hegemony in the city of ROME and in the papal territories or states, where the German emperors FREDERICK I and HENRY VI had extended imperial control at the expense of the papacy. Innocent's Italian policy to control the HOHENSTAUFEN met with some success because of the complex conditions as usual prevailing in GERMANY and Italy. Henry VI, already ruler of Germany and large parts of northern Italy, had acquired by marriage the Norman kingdom of SICILY and almost all southern Italy. Henry sought real control over all these territories, thus threatening the papal freedom of action on the peninsula and reducing the Holy See to only the territory around Rome itself.

Henry VI died four months before Innocent became pope, and his widow, CONSTANCE, died a few months later, leaving their three-year-old son, the future emperor FREDERICK II of Hohenstaufen, under papal guardianship. Although Innocent ignored his upbringing, he defended Frederick's rights as king of Sicily as almost a papal vassal. It was clearly, however, in the interest of the papacy to sever the connection between Sicily and the empire, which was threatening to squeeze the power of the popes in Italy. Between the years 1198 and 1209, he tried to control imperial politics by arbitrating between rival claimants to the imperial throne. But unable to enforce his will on them and later disappointed in the attitude of his own candidate, Otto IV (d. 1218),

whom he had crowned emperor after Philip of Swabia (r. 1198–1208), Innocent deposed Otto. Finally, in 1213, Innocent threw his support behind the candidacy of the young Frederick of Hohenstaufen. In return, Frederick pledged not to reunite the German and Sicilian kingdoms, a pledge that he broke immediately after Innocent's death.

#### FURTHER PAPAL ASPIRATIONS

Innocent's imperial policy did not achieve all of its goals, as did his attempts to restore Christian control over PALESTINE, to revive the crusading movement, and to put it under papal leadership. His efforts led to the disastrous Fourth CRUSADE (1202–04), which seemingly eluded his control and was diverted into attacking and sacking of the Christian city of CONSTANTINOPLE. The resulting bitterness in the Eastern Orthodox Churches perpetuated and reinforced the schism with the Latin Church.

Such questionable results also followed Innocent's launching a crusade against the ALBIGENSIAN or CATHAR heretics in the south of FRANCE. Fought with great ferocity and benefiting ultimately the northern French nobles and the French Crown, it ended aristocratic protection of that heresy. However, that was accomplished at the cost of degrading still further the moral authority of the crusading ideal. On the other hand, Innocent's insightful sponsorship of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, who set an example of dedicated poverty and preached the GOSPEL to the poor and neglected, certainly did more to respond to the growth of heresy than any of his more violent methods.

#### THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL

Innocent issued a compilation of canon law in 1210, the first officially promulgated collection of papal and ecclesiastical laws. In them, Innocent sought to supervise more closely the administration of local churches and to consolidate the centralization of the church around the Holy See or pope. Preceded by two years of careful preparation, and assembled in November 1215 at the Lateran basilica in Rome, the Fourth Lateran Council was attended by more than 400 bishops, 800 abbots and priors, and representatives of secular rulers. It was probably the greatest and most influential of medieval assemblies of any kind. Its decrees began with a profession of FAITH, in which was definitely enunciated the doctrine of transubstantiation, resolving the long medieval dispute about the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The council established procedures for combating heresy and to require all bishops who suspected it in their sees to hold there a regular INQUISITION. All adults were to confess their sins at least once annually to their own parish priests. Further decrees required bishops to ensure an adequate explanation of the gospel by appointing qualified priests as preachers and an adequately endowed position at all cathedral and metropolitan

churches to support a teacher charged with improving the education of the clergy. Other decrees forbade the foundation of any new religious orders, required episcopal supervision and visitation of monasteries, tried to eliminate practices by which ecclesiastical positions became hereditary, sought to curtail abuses in the trade in RELICS and the superstitions surrounding them, and aimed in numerous other regulations to promote a general improvement in the quality of religious life and the practices of the church.

Innocent suddenly died on July 16, 1216, not long after the close of his important council. The council's decrees influenced the life and institutions of the church for centuries.

**Further reading:** Lothario dei Segni, *On the Misery of the Human Condition*, trans. Margaret Mary Dietz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969); *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III Concerning England (1198–1216)*, trans. and ed. Christopher R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953); Norman P. Tanner, ed., "Lateran IV, 1215" in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1, *Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 227–71; Christopher R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976); Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198–1216* (New York: Longman, 1994); James M. Powell, ed., *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?*, 2d expanded ed. (1963; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994).

**Innocent IV, Pope (Sinibaldo de' Fieschi)** (1190/1200–1254) *canonist, ardent advocate of expansion of papal power*

Sinibaldo de' Fieschi was a member of a noble Ligurian family from near GENOA. Born between 1190 and 1200, he studied at Parma and then the University of BOLOGNA; a career as a canonist followed. He moved up the hierarchy of the church's administrative machine; after 1226 as jurist at the Roman Curia, he was head of the pontifical chancery.

Appointed as a CARDINAL in 1227, he was important in the regime of GREGORY IX, with whom he shared a similar canonistic training and a strong antagonism against the emperor FREDERICK II. He was rector of the march of Ancona in the PAPAL STATES from 1234 to 1239. After his election as pope on June 25, 1243, as Innocent IV, he left ITALY for LYON, where he called a COUNCIL that lasted from June to July 1245. At that meeting, he tried to reunify the Roman and Eastern Churches and began a policy of complete and unrelenting opposition to Frederick II, even condemning him as the ANTICHRIST.

Innocent IV tried to enrich and expand the doctrinal and legal apparatus and justification of papal power. In his writings on canon law, he developed the doctrine of the fullness and absoluteness of both the spiritual and the

temporal power of the office of pope. In his thinking, the pope held without restriction the power of Christ as his vicar. He readily claimed the capacity to depose monarchs and release vassals from oath of allegiance. Innocent died at NAPLES on December 7, 1254.

*See also* INNOCENT III, POPE.

**Further reading:** J. A. Watt, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965); Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (1955; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

**inns and taverns** Accommodations for travelers in the Middle Ages covered a wide range of possibilities. Inns were only one of these and often were tied to taverns. It was not until the 11th and 12th centuries that commercial inns began to regain the importance they had had in the classical era. With the economic revival of the central Middle Ages, there was once again a demand for safe temporary residences along the road system of Europe.

In the early Middle Ages, religious houses provided hospitality for wayfarers and especially pilgrims. From the 11th century on, European roads were in use by a growing number of merchants, ecclesiastical and secular officials on business, pilgrims, kings, nobles, and clerics. A wider variety of accommodations developed to serve this new traveling public. To cover the expansion of travel connected with the CRUSADES and PILGRIMAGES, hospices, usually built and staffed by members of religious orders, grew up along pilgrimage routes, especially in mountainous, unsavory, or isolated areas. They were supported by gifts from travelers grateful for the simple shelter they provided.

The increasing number of MERCHANTS involved in international and long-distance commerce in the 12th century, especially from the great Italian city-states such as PISA, GENOA, and VENICE, needed not only shops where they traded but also secure warehouses for their goods and adequate lodging for them and their entourage. Such all-purpose establishments had flourished in the Muslim world; from the 13th century they developed in Europe.

#### PROLIFERATION OF INNS

From the time of this commercial revolution in the 13th century, inns soon overshadowed other forms of accommodation, becoming more numerous and prosperous. ITALY and southern FRANCE boasted large networks of inns. Like taverns, inns were built in cities, near the main gates; concentration also developed on main roads and near university towns with their populations of itinerant students and masters. They were of all sizes, with prices reflected in the amenities they offered, from merely cheap

and adequate shelter to large, comfortable, and well-furnished buildings with a courtyard and stabling for HORSES and pack animals. They might have dining halls, large kitchens, and numerous, sometimes even private, bedrooms. Travelers were normally expected to sleep at least two to a bed, more often three or four. One would pay a much higher price for single occupancy. Food often might be obtained but was billed separately. Many innkeepers did not own their inns but leased them from local owners. Some did succeed in becoming owners and forming GUILDS. Many were immigrants who catered to their compatriots.

**Further reading:** Noël Coulet, "Inns and Taverns," *DMA* 7.468–77; J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 4th ed. (1892; reprint, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1950); Nobert Ohler, "Hospitality and Inns," in *The Medieval Traveler*, trans. Caroline Hillier (Woodbridge, England: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), 79–96; Jonathan Sumption, "Hospitality" in *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1976), 198–206.

**Inns of Court** In the Middle Ages and since, the Inns of Court were institutions for the training of students in the common LAW of ENGLAND. Near the old walls of medieval LONDON, they were established between the old city and the royal courts, then at Westminster, in the late 13th and the 14th century. Their origins and curriculum in the early period have remained unclear.

Sir John FORTESCUE listed four greater and about 10 lesser inns or inns of chancery. His four greater Inns of Court with at least 200 students were Lincoln's Inn, the oldest; Inner Temple; Middle Temple; and Gray's Inn. According to Fortescue, the 10 lesser inns of chancery were for beginning students. The course of study might include such nonlegal subjects as Scripture, history, music, and instruction on proper comportment. Most of the students had to be members of noble families who were willing to maintain and could afford to pay for the long course of study.

By the 15th-century instruction in the common law was carried out by senior student lecturers called readers. Mock or moot trials were conducted by less advanced students called apprentices. The inns resembled the universities of the day in their teaching methods. Students, unlike those at OXFORD or CAMBRIDGE, were not likely to assume clerical orders. Such a system furthered the growth of an English common law and developed with only indirect influence from the ideas and procedures of the Roman law then taught in the universities.

**Further reading:** Samuel E. Thorne, ed., *Readings and Moots at the Inns of Court in the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: B. Quaritch, 1954–1990); John Hamilton Baker, *The Third University of England: The Inns of Court and the Common-Law Tradition* (London: Selden Society, 1990).

**Inquisition** During the Middle Ages, and for far longer, the papacy and hierarchy of the Catholic Church paid close attention to the defense of orthodoxy and the suppression of dissent on ecclesiastical matters and dogma. With the expansion and consolidation of the papal monarchy from the 11th century, the popes took a strong hand in promoting and enforcing orthodoxy by their own system of inquisition and ensuring that bishops paid attention to an inquisition at the diocesan level. All were ready to find such deviation whether it existed in any articulate form or not.

#### PAPAL ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

The institutionalization of an ecclesiastical body to set and carry out regular procedures and enforce clear norms developed only in the late 12th century. Pope Lucius III (r. 1181–85) in 1184 in conjunction with the emperor FREDERICK I ordered archbishops and bishops to pursue any heretics in their dioceses. Public authorities were to collaborate with them and facilitate enforcement and punishment. Judgment about what was orthodox or herodox was to be the task and responsibility of the clergy, in reality the popes. Pope GREGORY IX politicized these efforts explicitly when he cited the alleged practices and ideas of the emperor FREDERICK II to employ heresy as yet another reason to depose him. At that moment allegiance to the emperor became heresy and thus tied to unorthodox beliefs that must be eliminated.

From the late 12th century, the apostolic see or the papacy appointed teams of inquisitors with specific instructions on what they were to investigate and prosecute. This led to a set of norms circulated in inquisitorial "manuals" that contained the procedures and questions that dictated the duties of the friars who generally held these repressive offices.

#### AN INQUISITION, ABUSES, AND LOCAL RESPONSE

Inquisitors were assigned to work in areas fixed and assigned by the papacy or where someone or something had alerted them of heresy in the area and called on them to assist in dealing with it. When an inquisitor first arrived anywhere, he proclaimed a period of grace when anyone who had had any contact with heretical ideas or practices was required to confess and declare repentance, thus precluding condemnation and dire consequences. The inquisitor then compiled a list of people who were named local informers who were only too often acting against enemies. The cleric in charge then summoned the accused suspects, examined them, and either acquitted them, assigned a penance, or turned them over to the secular authorities for punishment that could include death by burning. Such extreme penalties were carried out sporadically, since the accused victims ran away or had political and social connections to escape such punishments. The local populace sometimes rioted

against the inquisitors, who were perceived to be greedy, or at other times turned in those deemed heretical or deviant. The whole procedure was always open to abuses by the clerics in charge, who had broad scope to interpret what they were able to unearth. The Inquisition functioned throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and in Spain evolved into the more explicitly political Spanish Inquisition.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; FREE SPIRIT, HERESY OF; HERESY AND HERESIES; WITCHCRAFT.

**Further reading:** Edward Peters, ed. *Heresy and Authority on Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980); Bernard Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981); Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Water L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974).

**insanity, treatment of** The vague and pejorative term *insanity* can be seen as anachronistic for any real understanding of medieval attitudes and ideas about those with psychological problems. ISIDORE of Seville distinguished between a congenital intellectual deficiency and acquired mental problems and resulting behavior. Later medieval medical and legal terminology became more specific and was tied to more sophisticated classifications, but notions among the mass of people remained fluid, variable, and perhaps not so understanding or forgiving. All of this was complicated by the presence of medical conditions, such as epilepsy, that were not understood, by unconventional conduct of a person, and by the acceptance of the possibility of possession of a person by the DEVIL.

#### TREATMENT ITSELF

The treatment of the insane in the Middle Ages was quite often characterized by tolerance, and reactions to various forms of illness ranged from benign neglect to harsh ostracism, the latter more often experienced by deviants such as heretics and lepers. Confinement in cells or with chains was not torture or treatment but protection for the community and for the violent themselves. Many people afflicted with mental problems were not systematically hidden away and often could lead productive lives. The destitute and the socially displaced were hospitalized. In the later Middle Ages, with urbanization and the perceived growth and more concentrated numbers of the mentally ill, society tended toward more harsh confinement and treatment. They remained, however, somewhat protected, even exempted from the consequences of their actions by the law and by the church. Those deemed insane were considered incompetent and incapable of

making binding commitments and transactions, but also incapable of inheriting or exercising financial power. In criminal cases, insanity often conferred some protection from findings of guilt and punishment. Treatment remained palliative rather than curative as the ill were subject to supposed helpful diets, purges, and even surgical intervention. All this was done to try to balance the humors affecting mood and character. The attitudes toward the ill and treatment of mental illness essentially followed the same lines for Islam and Judaism.

See also EXORCISM; HOSPITALS; MEDICINE.

**Further reading:** Penelope Reed Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children: Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974); Thomas Francis Graham, *Medieval Minds; Mental Health in the Middle Ages* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1967); Judith S. Neaman, *Suggestion of the Devil: Insanity in the Middle Ages and the Twentieth Century* (New York: Octagon Books, 1978).

**institutes** See CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS; JUSTINIAN I.

**interdict** The interdict, along with EXCOMMUNICATION and suspension, was one of the main ecclesiastical censures. Personal interdict involving essential expulsion from the community of faithful was similar to excommunication. A general interdict on a place suspended religious services in parishes, towns, dioceses, or kingdoms until those responsible did penance. This punishment was rare until about 1100.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the interdict became a common weapon in the arsenal of the PAPACY in its struggle against lay powers. Pope INNOCENT III frequently and systematically used this procedure against his adversaries. The interdict against PHILIP II AUGUSTUS in 1198 was laid on the whole kingdom of FRANCE. The pope wanted the king to repudiate a new wife and recall his legitimate wife. Philip resisted for two years but relented in 1200.

Interdict allowed mitigating circumstances and exceptions since it had to affect thousands of innocent people. The consequences of an interdict could still be devastating since the sick were deprived of extreme unction or last rites when in danger of DEATH and the dead were denied BURIAL in consecrated ground. Later the harshness of these measures was relaxed by Popes BONIFACE VIII, Martin V (r. 1417–31), and EUGENIUS IV. These popes had seen that interdiction was becoming less ineffective since it was perceived as unfair to too many people. It had also fallen into disrepute because it had been used too frequently for political rather than spiritual reasons.

**Further reading:** Edward James Conran, *The Interdict . . .*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1930); Edward B. Krehbiel, *The Interdict: Its History and Its Operation, with Especial Attention to the*

*Time of Pope Innocent III, 1198–1216* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1909).

**investiture controversy or disputes** This was a struggle over who performed *investiture*, a public and symbolic act by which a lay person conferred on a cleric a property, an office, or rights by using a material symbol. This implied control over a piece of land, the means of production, the right to levy taxes, or an office in the secular or ecclesiastical sphere. The gift, given symbolically, demonstrated real possession. It was usually linked with power and control, ranging from a scepter, a lance, a staff, a crosier, or a straw to a branch, a knife, a lump of earth, or a cord.

Investiture permeated medieval society and was fundamental to the granting of lordships. The most important investitures involved positions of power, whether exercised by the LAITY or the clergy. Moreover, they were usually accompanied by an act of homage as a vassal. The ensuing dispute over who could grant to whom was in reality a conflict over who held ultimate authority over the temporal or spiritual world.

#### THE QUESTION

From the early Middle Ages, kings exercised control over lay counts as well as bishops. Both actually received the dignity of their office from the secular ruler. From the 11th century, the church began to react to the growth of royal control over sacramental offices, which until then had primarily concerned the ecclesiastical authorities alone. The so-called investiture contest was about the conferring by the LAITY of a sacramental office embodied in the giving of the crosier and the ring. It constituted a refusal to empower lay rulers or proprietors of churches to choose officeholders or to control their selection. Lay control was thought by the church to be dominated by familial and material concerns irrelevant to the criteria and background required for appointment to ecclesiastical offices.

#### SOLUTIONS

IVO OF CHARTRES offered a solution that split a religious office, episcopal, abbatial, or priestly, into spiritual and temporal components, and each one might be the object of a particular investiture. The former had to be conferred by an ecclesiastical superior, the latter by the lay holder. The layman should deferentially allow the church investiture to precede his. The Concordat of WORMS in 1122 regulated episcopal elections in the empire and effected a compromise, ending this aspect of the conflict between clericalism and the laity, religious power and lay power. The symbolic crosier and the episcopal rings could not be conferred except by any prelate or churchman of high standing. Lay princes were to invest only the secular patrimony represented by a scepter.

See also CANOSSA; GREGORY VII, POPE; SIMONY.

**Further reading:** Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Investiture Disputes* (London: The Historical Association, 1958); Karl F. Morrison, ed., *The Investiture Controversy: Issues, Ideals, and Results* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971).

**Iona (Hy)** See COLUMBA, SAINT.

**Iran (Persia)** *Iran*, a word developed in the SASSANIAN period in the third to the seventh centuries, properly meaning “Aryans,” became synonymous with *Persia*. *Persia* etymologically actually only designated a province in the southwest of modern Iran, modern-day Fars.

When the last of the Sassanian kings, Yezdegerd III (r. 632–651), was murdered by one of his subjects in 651, Iran was divided among its new Arabic provincial governors and became subject to a rapid Islamization. It was in northeastern Khorasan that Iranian culture began to flourish once more from the 10th century. This involved a blossoming of Persian court poetry and a language that borrowed its script from the Arabic conquerors and was enriched by the Arabic vocabulary. There were revolts in the ninth century against the Arabs and for the restoration of ZOROASTRIANISM, the old religion.

Over time the SHIITE movement developed in Iran more than elsewhere. The SELJUK TURKS became masters of the country in the 12th century, and there was a turning of culture toward the West. The MONGOL invasion in the 13th century devastated AGRICULTURE and led to a process of nomadization. The Mongol IL-KHANID dynasty, however, after its conversion to Islam, ushered in a period of cultural and slow economic recovery that led to a renewed Iran under the Saffarids in the 16th century.

See also HERAKLEIOS I, BYZANTINE EMPEROR; ISLAMIC CONQUESTS AND EARLY EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** John Andrew Boyle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5, *The Saljuk and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); R. N. Frye, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4, *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuks*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6. *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); David Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797* (New York: Longman, 1988).

**Iraq** Iraq is a modern ARAB state in the Near East established in the 20th century, extending over both parts of ancient Mesopotamia. Its northern part was Jazira, formerly Assyria, and the southern part was Iraq proper or Sawad, formerly Babylonia. Though the term was not

used in the Middle Ages, *Iraq* means Mesopotamia or the land between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers as a whole. The frontier between the two regions was at the latitude of the limit of palm cultivation. Iraq consists of the alluvial plains between the Tigris and Euphrates, whose waters end in the marshes of the Shatt al-Arab and then the Persian Gulf. From antiquity, Iraq has been an extremely fertile region because of the restoring floods carried down by the two rivers and complex IRRIGATION systems to support a rich culture.

### HISTORY

Iraq in the Middle Ages had a variable political history and saw numerous dynasties. Mesopotamia had been conquered by the Arabs at the victory of al-Qadisiyya in 637 over the SASSANIAN or Persian armies. In 637/638 the new conquerors founded a new town, AL-BASRA, near the Persian Gulf and then in 639 established the town of al-Kufa. The latter replaced Seleucia Ctesiphon as capital of the province. Iraq was the scene of bloody encounters between the fourth CALIPH, ALI, and his opponents. Ali was assassinated at al-Kufa, and his son, AL-HUSAYN, was killed in 680 at Karbala.

Under the Umayyad dynasty, the governors, the most famous of whom was al-Hajjaj, had to quell several rebellions, centered at least in part of Iraq. With the accession of the Abbasids, Iraq became the central province of the Muslim Empire. Their capital was installed in the new town of BAGHDAD. Founded by AL-MANSUR in 762, Baghdad was eclipsed as capital of the empire only by Samarra, founded by al-Mutasim (r. 833–842) between 836 and 872. Under the Abbasid dynasty, Iraq enjoyed great economic and intellectual prosperity. But it was also the scene of many conflicts, such as the rising of the Alids, the revolts of the Zani, and the periodic raids of the Qarmates. This political instability culminated in the establishment of the regime of the BUYID emirs, SHIITE by confession, who governed in place of the Abbasid caliphs from the mid-10th century to 1055. Favored by SUNNI discontent, the SELJUK Turks took power and restored Sunni ISLAM to religious dominance. The MONGOLS invaded Iraq and took Baghdad in 1258, ending the by then shadowy Abbasid caliphate. Iraq then went into a long period of decline caught on the border between the OTTOMAN Turks and various and often more prosperous dynasties in control of IRAN.

### RELIGION

The majority of the medieval inhabitants of Iraq were Sunni, but the Shiite element was always extremely important, especially in the south. There the two greatest sanctuaries of Shiism were situated at al-Najaf and Karbala. Its Christian population belonged to two churches. Most were members of the NESTORIAN Church of the East, whose patriarch resided at Baghdad. A minority

belonged to the Jacobite Church of ANTIOCH, whose primate resided at Takrit.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; ISLAMIC CONQUESTS AND EARLY EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State* (Leide: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990); Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); Tariq Jawad Janabi, *Studies in Mediaeval Iraqi Architecture* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, Ministry of Culture and Information, State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, 1982).

**Ireland** Though mentioned in the first century C.E. but never conquered by Rome, Ireland only emerged from prehistory in the fifth century with the alleged establishment of Christianity in 431 by Palladius (ca. 364–420/430), who had been sent by Pope Celestine I (r. 422–443) as first bishop to the scattered Christian communities already established there. A second fifth-century missionary, PATRICK, has left little record in contemporary written sources but has traditionally been given credit for completing that conversion. Irish society between about 600 and about 800, according to texts and literary saga material, such as *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, was dominated by five large provincial kingdoms, Ulster, Leinster, Connachta, Munster, and Mide, with their centers at Emain Macha, Tara, Cruachu, Emly, and Uisnech. This older structure was later divided up into some 150 petty kingdoms, each separate and autonomous with its own king. Severe plagues also devastated the country before 800 and whole groups of people simply vanished.

### KINGS AND VIKINGS

New dynasties such as the Uí Neill fought successfully to dominate other rival groups. So from the midseventh century, the concept of a high kingship began to take hold. The following centuries of Irish history were dominated by the efforts of successive local rulers to dominate Ireland. VIKING raids started in 795. Vikings settled in particular around the new town of DUBLIN. By 1000 a new dominant dynasty in Munster had arisen, under the leadership of Brian Boru or Bóruma (r. 1002–14). Most of the two centuries before the invasion of the Anglo-Normans were full of the almost constant clashes of rival claimants to the high kingship. This ended in 1172, with the invasion of HENRY II, king of England.

### THE ENGLISH ARRIVE

The English king HENRY II decided to take advantage of these Irish civil wars to launch a conquest of the island. He justified his intervention as an attempt to spread Christianity, and particularly more orthodox Roman

Catholicism, in the Celtic countries. He obtained a papal endorsement for his military expedition in 1170/1. During the ensuing long war, Ireland united under the kings of Connaught. In the end Henry's armies conquered the island and established a colonial regime. DUBLIN and its surroundings, the Pale, became the heart of the English domain, but most of the rest of the country was parceled out to English barons. This remained the condition of the country through the rest of the Middle Ages. There were occasional revolts, but in general Ireland was divided between highly privileged Anglo-Irish nobles living near Dublin and the rest of the population, the oppressed native Gaelic peasantry now reduced to serfdom. While the Celtic church was suppressed, efforts to suppress the Irish language, traditional laws, and customs were never successful. There were revolts but none amounted to much.

See also BRENDAN; SAINT; COLUMBA, SAINT; COLUMBAN, SAINT; EDWARD I, KING OF ENGLAND; JOHN LOCKLAND, KING OF ENGLAND.

**Further reading:** Lisa Bitel, *Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990); Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (New York: Longman, 1995); John A. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland*, 2d ed. (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1998); John A. Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

**Irene (the Athenian)** (ca. 752–803) *empress of Byzantium*  
Irene was born in Athens about 752 and later married Emperor Leo IV (r. 775–780). She was regent for their son, Constantine VI (r. 780–797), from 780 to 790 with the aid of two eunuchs, Staurakios and Aetios. In 783 Staurakios launched a successful attack against the SLAVS to retake control of GREECE. In 787 he helped Irene restore the worship of ICONS at the Seventh Ecumenical Council of NICAIA II. In 790 Constantine VI removed Irene and her advisers, but they returned to the palace in 792 and succeeded in overthrowing, blinding, and killing Constantine VI in 797. Her military and foreign policies were disastrous. Her negotiations to marry CHARLEMAGNE in 802 were resisted by Aetios and may have resulted in her overthrow by Nikephoros I (r. 802–811) that same year. Her rule had been a disaster, and she died in exile on the island of Lesbos on August 9, 803.

**Further reading:** Lynda Garland, "Irene: The Unknown Empress from Athens." in *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204* (New York: Routledge, 1999) 51–129, 265–75; Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610–1071* (New York: Random House, 1966); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).



A fifth-century ivory carving of the Byzantine empress Irene, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

**Irnerius (Guarnerius, Gernerius, Wernerius)** (ca. 1055–ca. 1130) *lawyer, legal commentator*  
Little has been discovered about Irnerius's life and origin. Born about 1055, he taught law at BOLOGNA at the end of the 11th century and became famous as a great legal scholar for his commentaries on Roman LAW. He worked

at the court of Countess Matilda of TUSCANY (1046–1111) and later for the emperors Henry V (r. 1111–25) and Lothair III (r. 1133–37). He was considered one of the founders of the law school and of the University of Bologna. He died about 1130.

See also GRATIAN; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**Further reading:** Herman Kantorowicz, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law: Newly Discovered Writings of the 12th Century*, ed. William Warwick Buckland (1938; reprint, Aalen: Scientia, 1969), 33–37; Hastings Randall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (1895; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936); Richard Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 1, *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

**irrigation** Irrigation was practiced by medieval ARAB and by LATIN farmers who needed to adopt that style of AGRICULTURE because of the introduction of new crops from the East, whose climate was characterized by a monsoon season of heavy rain. These were sugarcane, rice, cotton, watermelon, and oranges, all of which could not be grown without irrigation. The introduction of these crops growing in the summer stimulated the development of rotation with crops that could grow in the winter. But all required continuous cultivation and large quantities of water.

The Romans had adopted water-lifting devices from the arid Near East and built aqueducts still used in the Middle Ages. Most irrigation around the medieval Mediterranean was by gravity flow from continuous or intermittent streams. The Arabs supplement the old gravity-flow irrigation with the use of a wheel powered by moving water or of animals to raise water with buckets or a chain of pots. This device enabled single families, primarily in Arab dominated regions, to produce an agricultural surplus for the families and for the new cities from continuously cultivated land. Disputes over water distribution were constant everywhere in courts and frequent subjects in legal codes, though most were resolved locally. Water was mostly viewed as a common or public resource and was not controlled by lords and ecclesiastical institutions.

See also AGRICULTURES; MILLS, WATER AND WIND.

**Further reading:** Thomas F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970); Thomas F. Glick, *Irrigation and Hydraulic Technology: Medieval Spain and Its Legacy* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

**Isaac I Komnenos (Comnenus)** (ca. 1005–1061) *reforming Byzantine emperor*

Isaac was born about 1005/06. After his overthrow of Emperor Michael VI (r. 1056–57) in 1057, his brief reign seemed to promise a restoration of Byzantium's military

power. His reforms alienated the civil bureaucracy, whose incomes from pensions and salaries were cut drastically. In addition, new tax surcharges on the provinces and the collection of unpaid taxes did not make him popular. The patriarch Michael I Keroularios (r. 1043–58) turned against him when he revived the antimonastic legislation of the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969) and appointed Michael PSELLOS as his chief minister. Isaac removed Keroularios and appointed Constantine III Leichoudes (r. 1059–63) in his place, alienating his followers within the church. Threats from Petchenegs and Hungarians were beaten back. Isaac became increasingly isolated, and when he fell ill in 1059 Psellos persuaded him to retire to a monastery, where he died in 1061.

**Further reading:** Michael Psellos, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953), 275–331; A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

**Isaac II Angelos** (1155–1204) *Byzantine emperor*

Born about 1155, Isaac was related to the Komnenoi family. He was proclaimed emperor after the death of Andronikos I (r. 1183–85) in 1185. His general Alexios Branas (d. 1187) repulsed WILLIAM II's invasion from Italy in 1185. From then on his reign can be best characterized by decline. In 1187, while he peddled state offices to renovate the Great Palace, Alexios Branas revolted but was soon defeated by Conrad of Montferrat, Isaac's new brother-in-law. In that same year an expedition failed to recover CYPRUS from the rebel ISAAC I KOMNENOS. The VLACHS and Bulgarians revolted under Peter of Bulgaria and Asen I (r. 1187–96). In 1190 Isaac II vainly resisted the passage of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA during the Third CRUSADE because of his agreement with SALADIN. Frederick I's successful occupation of ADRIANOPLE later forced Isaac to adopt neutrality by 1190. In 1195 Isaac was overthrown and blinded by his brother, Alexios III (r. 1195–1203). Eight years later he was replaced briefly on the throne by his son, Alexios IV (r. 1203–04), only to be overthrown the following year by Alexios V (r. 1204). He died in late January of 1204 just before the sack of CONSTANTINOPLE by the crusaders and Venetians.

See also DANDOLO, ENRICO, DOGE OF VENICE; VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFROI DE.

**Further reading:** Niketas Chroniatēs, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Chroniatēs*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 197–248, 301–309; A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California

Press, 1985); George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

**Isaac of Stella** (ca. 1100–ca. 1172) *English Cistercian preacher*

Born in ENGLAND about 1100, Isaac went to FRANCE in about 1130 for the teaching of the great masters of CHARTRES and PARIS, Peter ABÉLARD, William of Conches (ca. 1101–54), and GILBERT of Poitiers. There he acquired a taste for scholastic disputation and innovation. Entering the Cistercian Monastery of Pontigny in about 1143, he moved to Stella in 1146 and then, to find even more solitude and simplicity, founded Les Châteliers, where he died about 1172. Though using well the best sources from the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH and ancient PHILOSOPHY, his works had a limited contemporary influence in the Middle Ages, except for his letters on the canon of the MASS and MYSTICISM. Rediscovered in the 20th century, he is now considered to be among the most profound metaphysicians of the 12th century.

**Further reading:** Bernard McGinn, *The Golden Chain: A Study in the Theological Anthropology of Isaac of Stella* (Washington, D.C.: Cistercian Publications, 1972).

**Isabel I (Isabella the Catholic)** (1451–1504) *queen of Castile, founder of the modern Spanish state*

Born in Madrigal on April 22, 1451, Isabel was the daughter of John II (r. 1406–54) of CASTILE by his second wife, Isabel of PORTUGAL, and was the half sister of Henry IV (r. 1454–74), who succeeded to the Castilian throne in 1454. Henry had recognized Isabel as his heir over the claims of his own daughter, Juana. Her royal paternity was questioned unsuccessfully by the king's opponents. However, when Isabel married FERDINAND OF ARAGON in 1469, Henry transferred succession back to Juana.

#### THE THRONE SECURED

When Henry died, Isabel immediately claimed the throne on December 11, 1474. In the ensuing civil war, Juana was supported by some of the great Castilian nobles and the Portuguese king, Afonso V (r. 1438–81). Afonso's army was defeated at the Battle of Toro in 1476, and he made peace in 1479. In that same year Ferdinand succeeded to the throne of Aragon and associated Isabel with his rule there in 1481. Juana was sequestered in a convent.

#### UNIFICATION INTO SPAIN

The process of unification of the country was solidified by the achievements of Isabel and Ferdinand, the most significant of which was the completion of the reconquest of the peninsula from the Muslims. Begun in 1481, the war to conquer GRANADA lasted until 1492, ending in a complete Christian victory. The generous peace terms that allowed the inhabitants to retain their Islamic

religion and laws were soon violated. There followed a failed Moorish revolt in 1502. Adult Muslims who refused Christian baptism were then expelled from Spain. Earlier, in 1492 the Catholic monarchs ordered the expulsion of all unbaptized Castilian JEWS, nearly 150,000 in all. The INQUISITION became the Spanish Inquisition, established at the monarchs' initiative in 1478, and sought to uncover and correct the backsliding of all the "New Christians" or baptized Jews and Moors.

#### ROYAL OFFSPRING

Isabel had five children. The marriage of her daughter, Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), to Henry VIII (r. 1509–47) of England eventually resulted in a divorce controversy that was part of the English Reformation or break with Rome. The marriage of Joan or Juana the Mad (d. 1555) to Philip I the Handsome (r. 1504–06) of BURGUNDY, son of the German emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519), produced the successor to the Spanish Crown and the Holy Roman Empire, Charles I of Spain or Charles V (r. 1519–58). Isabel who died on November 26, 1504 in Medina del Campo, nearly undid the unifying work of her reign by leaving the Castilian throne not to her husband Ferdinand but to her perhaps demented daughter. Ferdinand retained control of the succession nonetheless.

**Further reading:** Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975); Peggy K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Townsend Miller, *The Castles and the Crown: Spain, 1451–1555* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1963); Nancy Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

**Isaurians and the Isaurian dynasty** The Isaurian people were originally from rural Isauria, a mountainous region in the southern interior of ANATOLIA. This name was later given to an eighth-century Byzantine ruling dynasty.

Isauria was almost the only part of the Byzantine Empire that could furnish large numbers of native, tough, warlike soldiers in the fifth century. The emperor Leo I the Thracian (r. 457–474) recruited them to counteract Ostrogothic control of the army. In 466 Leo married his daughter, Ariadne, to an Isaurian chieftain named Tarasiodissa, who took the name Zeno when he became emperor (r. 474–491). During Zeno's reign, the OSTROGOTHS were replaced by an Isaurian dominance in the army. When Zeno died, the Isaurians were displaced by the emperor Anastasios I (491–518). After an Isaurian rebellion, with the last of the rebel leaders killed in 497, large numbers of the survivors were transported to Thrace, where they were settled in colonies.

#### THE DYNASTY

Theophanes the Confessor reported that the first Isaurian ruler, Leo III the Syrian (r. 717–741), was sometimes



A fifth-century statue in Barletta, in Southern Italy, perhaps of Leo I, who recruited large numbers of Isaurians for the Byzantine Empire (Courtesy Edward English)

called an Isaurian, though in reality he was from SYRIA. Nevertheless, the name stuck for his dynasty, a dynasty closely tied to the era of ICONOCLASM and to a successful struggle with the ARABS in Anatolia. Though vilified in the ecclesiastical sources for their iconoclasm, the dynasty produced a series of able soldiers and reformers of the military, administration of government, economy, and law, such as Constantine V Kopronymos (r. 741–775).

See also IRENE, EMPRESS.

**Further reading:** Pavlos E. Niavis, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I (AD 802–811)* (Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos, 1987); George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956); Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

**Isidore of Seville, Saint (Isidorus Hispalensis)** (560/570–636) *Spanish cleric, encyclopedist*

Isidore was born between 560 and 570 into a Hispano-Roman family about the time his father, Severianus, moved the family from Cartagena to SEVILLE. The move from Cartagena was probably occasioned by the turmoil caused in Gothic SPAIN when the BYZANTINE emperor JUSTINIANIAN sought to restore imperial power there. However, Visigothic rule survived and flourished. His father died when Isidore was young, and he was raised and educated by his older brother, Leander (ca. 540–ca. 600), who

became bishop of Seville and was King RECARED's chief adviser during the Third Council of TOLEDO in 589. This council officially replaced the ARIANISM of the VISIGOTHS with Roman Catholicism.

The many consequent challenges of ecclesiastical administration were taken over by Isidore, who in about 599 or 600 succeeded Leander as archbishop of Seville. Isidore's main instrument to promote change was the calling of provincial and national church councils, attended by the Visigothic king and nobility. Isidore was especially concerned with religious correctness, a concern that generated theological textbooks, studies of Christian numerology, physical geography, a liturgical manual, a critical study of controversial writings, and his most significant and encyclopedic work, the *Etymologies*.

#### THE ETYMOLOGIES

Isidore labored over the *Etymologies* from 622 to 633. After his death in 636, it was edited by a student, Braulion. This compilation of knowledge was based on Isidore's preoccupation with the origins of words. Each topic was introduced by an examination of its name. Isidore assumed that understanding a name was the first step to understanding the thing named and distinguishing it from other things. *Etymologies* was a digest or dictionary of knowledge gathered over a lifetime of reading and an attempt to record all Isidore deemed necessary for a Christian education. For hundreds of years the work had great popularity because no other source presented such a handy treasure of information. Isidore died on April 4, 636.

See also SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**Further reading:** Kenneth Baxter Wolf, trans., *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990); Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912); Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, rev. ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

**Islam (surrender or total submission to God's will)**

Islam is a monotheistic system of beliefs based on the QURAN. The Arabic root *slm* means "to be at peace," "to be safe." The verb *aslama*, from which it is derived, acquired in Muslim Arabic vocabulary the sense of "to submit to God's law and thus be safe." Islam is thus submission to GOD and to his Prophet. The words *Islam* and *Muslim* refer to ISLAM as a religion. They can also refer to Islam as a society and a culture. Islam involves an inner aspect of belief and external practices to demonstrate that FAITH.

*Muslim*, related to the Persian *musulman*, is the present participle of the verb *aslama*, which means "one who submits, who puts him- or herself in the hands of God." At the time of MUHAMMAD, this term retained a certain ambivalence, since the one who became a Muslim often did no more than recognize Muhamad as a sort of

overall tribal chieftain more powerful than the others. This word also conveyed one of the fundamental Muslim conceptions of human religious history, according to which the prophets before Muhammad and their followers “submitted to God.” As such, Adam, Moses, and Jesus were “Muslims.”

In the traditions or HADITH ascribed to the Prophet, in defining Islam the emphasis is submission to God expressed by external works, mainly the prescribed acts of worship, but also all good works. Further Muslim institutions are the five pillars: confession of faith, canonical PRAYER, legal almsgiving, the RAMADAN FAST, and pilgrimage or HAJJ. These are the five individual obligations of all Muslims who have reached maturity. To these we must add the communal obligation that is JIHAD, which comprises the “effort” to defend or even propagate this religion, holy war, and the internal struggle to be a good Muslim.

The interiority of Islam as a religion can be further understood through six fundamental ideas. First, one must have FAITH in the divine unity of Allah with his divine attributes. Second, one must have faith in the “prophets” and “messengers,” who have all delivered the same message. Their message is now sealed and fulfilled forever by Muhammad. There can be no new prophets. Third, one must have faith in angels. Fourth, one must believe in the “holy books,” particularly those revealed to the JEWS and Christians before they “falsified” them. Fifth, one must have faith in a Last Judgment (*Yawm ad-Din*) and RESURRECTION. Finally, one must have faith in predestination (*qadar*) with humans having a choice between good and evil. These articles of faith have often generated passionate theological debates and sects.

See also ARABIA; ARABS; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; ISMAILIS; KALAM; SHIA, SHIISM, AND SHIITES; SUNNA, SUNNIS, SUNNITES, AND SUNNISM.

**Further reading:** Antony J. Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Vol. 1, *The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Bernard Lewis, ed., *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, ed. *Islamic Spirituality*, 2 vols. (New York: Crossroad, 1987–1991); W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998).

**Islamic art and architecture** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Islamic conquests and early empire** After the death of MUHAMMAD in 632, newly united and religiously inspired Arabic armies moved north from the region around MECCA and MEDINA to spread Islam and to gain booty and land. They had an amazing success against the BYZANTINE and SASSANIAN Empires, capturing DAMASCUS

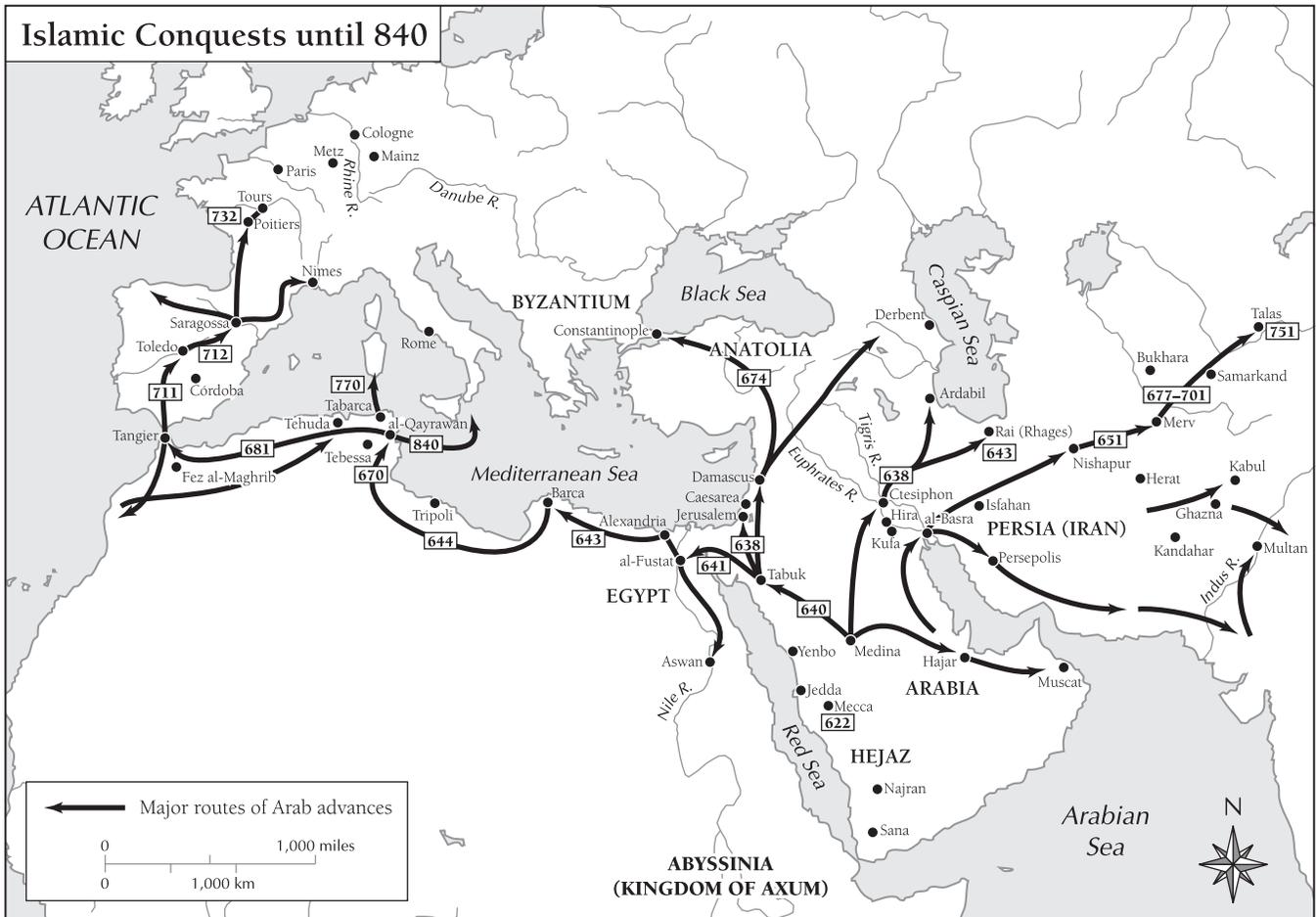
in 636; Ctesiphon, the Sassanian capital, in 637; and JERUSALEM in 638. Over the next several decades, they conquered EGYPT, IRAN, parts of central Asia, North Africa, and in 711 most of the Iberian Peninsula. They almost captured the city of CONSTANTINOPLE on several occasions. They did this with little destruction of local cultures or economies, usually merely replacing the governing elites with Arabs and later with converts to Islam, by which time these elites had often alienated much of their subject populations.

Just how this was accomplished so quickly and so permanently in most cases is not clear. Historians have posited several causes: excellent military leadership, especially by generals such as KHALID IBN AL-WALID; fast-moving and inspired armies; exhausted military resources and manpower among the Byzantines and Persians, who had just finished fighting a long and devastating war; and the discontent of local populations who welcomed the Muslims as potential liberators from extortionate and religiously intolerant monarchies. Religious historians have asserted divine intervention because of the mission of ISLAM or the moral decay of Christians. These newly conquered regions were then subject to the CALIPHATE AND CALIPH, who exercised temporal and spiritual leadership. There was considerable political and religious conflict among Muslims over who should occupy this position, leading to wars and the eventual founding of permanent divisions within Islam.

See also ABBASID DYNASTY; ABU BAKR; ALI IBN ABU TALIB; BAGHDAD; DHIMMI; AL-FUSTAT; AL-HASAN IBN ALI IBN ABI TALIB; AL-HUSAYN IBN ALI IBN ABI TALIB; KARBALA, BATTLE OF; KHARIJITES; SHIA, SHIISM, AND SHIITES; SUNNA, SUNNIS, SUNNITES, AND SUNNISM; AL-TABARI, ABU JA FAR MUHAMMAD IBN JARIR; TOURS, BATTLE OF; Umayyads; AL-WALID ABD AL-MALIK.

**Further reading:** Fred Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Fred Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1988); Gerald R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, AD 661–750* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

**Ismailis (Ismailiyya, Ismaili sect, Seveners)** This was a SHIITE sect that emerged in the ninth century and was named after Ismaili Ibn Jafr al-Sadiq (d. 762), one of the descendants of ALI, the nephew and son-in-law of MUHAMMAD. The Ismailis believed that the office of the IMAM, the “vicar” of the Prophet whom they worshiped as a divine spirit, was reserved for Ismaili descendants and particularly for Muhammad, his son. They believed that this Muhammad was actually hidden away, the occultation



(*ghaybah*), and destined to return to his faithful followers in the future. Influenced by Persian Gnostic theories, as well as Neoplatonism and Eastern MYSTICISM, they interpreted the QURAN allegorically (*batin*). They considered spiritual exercises more important than sacred practices, a religious and political radicalism that required them to organize secretly and, when necessary, to defend themselves by developing efficient PREACHING techniques.

In the ninth and 10th centuries they prospered in Persia or IRAN, IRAQ, and parts of Arabia, where the Karmatians, Bedouins from eastern Arabia near modern Bahrain, converted to Ismailism and created a powerful state. During the same periods another, less radical, Ismaili group, the FATIMIDS, established an empire in North AFRICA and conquered EGYPT in 974, ruling it until 1169 as CALIPHS. After the fall of the Karmatians in the 12th century, most Ismailis recognized the Fatimids as the true IMAMS.

An Ismaili sect in Persia developed its own theology at the end of the 11th century and opposed the Fatimids and their supporters, the Nizaris, on the grounds that their conformity was not compatible with true Ismaili beliefs. This more extremist sect became the ASSASSINS in the 12th and 13th centuries, known for their recourse to

murder and terrorism in diffusing and protecting their faith. Ismailis were active during the 12th century over large parts of the Muslim world. However, they lacked any central unifying political or theological core. Their numerous sects soon grew apart from one another but have survived to the present.

**Further reading:** Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Farhad Daftary, ed., *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Isma'ilism: A Study of the Historical Background of the Fatimid Caliphate* (1940; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1975).

**Italian Renaissance** See RENAISSANCE AND REVIVALS IN ART.

**Italy** Medieval Italy was a peninsula in southern Europe, bordered on the north by the Alps and on the west, south, and east by the Tyrrhenian, Mediterranean, and Adriatic Seas. Italy was one of the most important

centers of medieval civilization, and its historical, economic, and cultural evolution was profoundly connected with all the main cultural developments in Europe and the Mediterranean area. During the Middle

Ages Italy rarely had any kind of political unity. It was divided into several regions, each with its own history and independent of the historical capital, ROME, which had become the seat of the PAPACY.



After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century, Italy was dominated by Germanic dynasties and tribes, including the OSTROGOTHS and eventually the LOMBARDS. The BYZANTINE EMPIRE kept a foothold on the peninsula at RAVENNA and through most of the south. The wars in the sixth century between the Byzantines led by the emperor JUSTINIAN I and his skilled general BELISARIUS, and the Ostrogoths, some of whom had settled in the country under the last Western emperors, were extremely destructive. The Lombards easily took control of most of the peninsula in the late sixth century, establishing their capital at Pavia. The Byzantines held on to their rule in Ravenna and its surroundings, as well as in APULIA, NAPLES, Calabria, and SICILY, until the 12th century. Pope GREGORY I proclaimed papal sovereignty over central Italy at Rome in 590, laying the foundation of the PAPAL STATES.

#### CAROLINGIANS AND BEYOND

In the eighth century the papacy appealed to the FRANKS for help against Lombard domination. PÉPIN III THE SHORT recognized in certain ways the territorial claims of the popes over the regions between Rome and Ravenna in 755. CHARLEMAGNE defeated the Lombards in 774 and incorporated most of Italy into the Carolingian Empire. He was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome by the pope in 800. When the Carolingian Empire broke up in the 10th century, Italy was divided into several small principalities, which were oppressed in the south by ARABS from North AFRICA. The emperor OTTO I and his successors the HOHENSHAUFEN tried to impose their control over Italy for the rest of the Middle Ages. Some, such as FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA and FREDERICK II, experienced temporary success. The conflict between the partisans of the emperor (the Ghibellines) and the partisans of the pope (the GUELFs) was almost continuous until the 14th century.

#### RISE OF THE CITIES

The rise of the cities dates from the 11th century. In them a landed feudal aristocracy and the newly wealthy merchants struggled for power, contributing a new divisiveness to an already fractious Italian Peninsula. Cities such as GENOA, PISA, and VENICE took over TRADE and commerce on the seas. The more landlocked towns such as FLORENCE and SIENA controlled the financial aspects of what has been called the commercial revolution. These towns all fought against one another as well as the German emperors. More consolidated area states such as the Papal States and the later kingdom of Naples, which had grown out of the Norman and Hohenstaufen kingdoms, joined these chaotic conflicts, which lasted beyond 1500. All of this detracted from the sense of Italian identity among the people and regions of Italy, a problem that was compounded by real differences in language from region to region.

See also CHARLES I OF ANJOU; ESTE FAMILY; GREGORY IX, POPE; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; INNOCENT III, POPE; MEDICI

FAMILY; MILAN; NORMANS IN ITALY; PALERMO; RENAISSANCE AND REVIVALS IN ART; SFORZA FAMILY; VISCONTI FAMILY.

**Further reading:** J. K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000–1350* (London: Macmillan, 1973); Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979); Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3d ed. (1969; reprint, London: Longman, 1988); Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

#### Ivan III the Great of Moscow (Vailievich) (1440–1505) *grand duke of Moscow*

Ivan was best known for his role in consolidating Muscovite rule. Born on January 22, 1440, in MOSCOW, Ivan was the oldest son of Basil II (r. 1425–62). He was married when he was 12 to Princess Maria of Tver. When Basil died in 1462 the 22-year-old Ivan became the grand duke of Moscow without being confirmed in the traditional way by the Mongol khan. Ivan limited his allegiance to the Golden Horde to gifts instead of explicit tribute and finally neglected to give anything at all. Several MONGOL attempts to subjugate the Russians had failed by 1485. In the meantime Ivan III absorbed lands in modern Belarus and Ukraine and Moscow's nearby old rivals, NOVGOROD and Tver. These two former semiautonomous principalities were now reduced to the status of provinces of Moscow, while their princes joined the ranks of the Moscow nobility. Ivan furthermore considered himself the rightful heir to all the former Kievan lands. Much of Ivan's reign was occupied with successful diplomacy and war against LITHUANIA. In 1503 Lithuania recognized Russian control over parts of Smolensk Chernigov.

After the death of his first wife, Ivan married Sophia, or Zoë, Palaeologa, a BYZANTINE princess and niece of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI (r. 1449–53). The MARRIAGE was sponsored by the pope, who hoped to subjugate Russia under Roman allegiance and establish a wider front against the OTTOMANS. After the marriage, Ivan introduced a complicated court ceremonial on the Byzantine model to Moscow and began to use the old Greek titles of *czar* and *autocrat*. During the reign of Ivan and his son, Basil III or Vasily (r. 1505–33), Moscow became known as the Third Rome, or the center of an Orthodox faith and church.

An impressive building program in Moscow took place under Ivan, directed primarily by Italian artists and craftsmen. New buildings were erected in the KREMLIN, and the Kremlin walls were strengthened and furnished with towers and gates. Ivan died on October 27, 1505, and was succeeded by his younger but surviving son, Basil III.

**Further reading:** John Lister Illingworth Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow* (London: Macmillan, 1961); Ian Grey, *Ivan III and the Unification of Russia* (London: English Universities Press, 1964).

**Ivo of Chartres, Saint (Yvo, Yves, Carnotensis)** (ca. 1040–1115) *French canonist, bishop, theologian*

Ivo was born in about 1040 in northwestern France, most likely at Chartres. He studied at the monastery of Bec in Normandy under LANFRANC, and later at Paris. Early on, he obtained a benefice in the church of Nesle in Picardy, and in about 1078, he became prior of regular canons at the church of Saint-Quentin in Beauvais. Elected bishop of Chartres in 1090, he had to be consecrated by Pope URBAN II at Capua late that year. He was soon in conflict with the local lords and had to be supported by King Philip I (r. 1059–1108). But the king's divorce and his adulterous and bigamous marriage had to be denounced by Ivo in 1092; from then on, their relations were not friendly. However, in 1104 Yvo assisted in finding a solution to the king's matrimonial difficulties with his expertise in canon law. He died on December 23, 1115, and was quickly venerated at Chartres as a saint.

His reputation was, and has remained, based on his three important pre-Gratian canonical collections. The first was the *Decretum* from probably about 1094/5, a systematic study and compilation of canon or ecclesiastical law as it stood in his day. His second great work, the *Panormia*, was the most important; it was a smaller and more systematic manual for judges that allowed them to find texts for their decisions or opinions in clear cases more easily. The third, done between 1093 and 1095, was the *Tripartita*, which contained papal decretals, conciliar texts, and a short version of his *Decretum*.

**Further reading:** Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Pantheon, 1983); Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 1, *Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

**ivory and ivories** An ivory was made by working on the dentin on teeth to form a sculpture. During the Middle Ages it was a major medium of artistic creation.

Artists copied the material, the techniques, the types of objects made, and the stylistic models of the ancient world.

The preferred material was the elephant's tusk, either from lesser-quality tusks from India in the early Middle Ages or from the preferred tusks of African elephants in the later Middle Ages, after trade with that region became more developed. Artists often had to find substitutes for it and turned to the tusks of walruses, or to deer antlers. Their use was constrained by the curve and thinness of irregular animal tusks. Exploiting the natural translucence and whiteness of the material, artists sometimes added gilding or polychrome.

In Byzantium artists in the early Middle Ages followed antique classical styles. By the 10th and 11th centuries they were producing numerous delicate and small plaques and triptychs for religious use and decorative caskets for secular buyers or patrons in several specific workshops. In the West in the time of the barbarian kingdoms ivory work was scarce. However, during the eras of the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires, old traditions revived to produce beautiful workmanship for the ornamental bindings of deluxe liturgical books in particular.

In the ROMANESQUE era, artists were carving crosses and reliquaries but also secular chessmen or counters for various GAMES. By the 13th and 14th centuries there were centers of innovation and production in the Rhineland, England, Italy, and especially Paris. These artists created statuettes and groups of figures as well as bas-relief diptychs and triptychs, mirror backs, writing tablets, and caskets involving secular and classical images. Parisian ascendancy declined from the 1400s because of competition from Italian pieces. Having begun their ivory production with large and impressive ALTARPIECES, both had begun to specialize in almost mass-produced secular and decorative objects.

*See also* GREENLAND.

**Further reading:** Robert P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ans Sacro from Arnsefi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980); Benjamin Burack, *Ivory and Its Uses* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1984); Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

# J

**Jacob ben Meir** See TAM, JACOB BEN MEIR (RABBENU TAM).

**Jacobus or Jacopo da/de Voragine** See JAMES OF VORAGINE (JACOBUS DE VORAGINE, JACOPO); GOLDEN LEGEND.

**Jacopone da Todi (Jacopo de'Benedetti) Blessed** (ca. 1230–1306) *Franciscan poet*

Jacopone da Todi was born to a noble family in Umbria, probably about 1230. He married and lived a secular life as a notary. His religious conversion in 1268/9 and retirement from law were results of finding a hair shirt on the body of his wife when she was killed in an accident at a party. After starting a life of poverty as a MENDICANT, in 1278 he joined the third order of and eventually became a friar in the FRANCISCAN ORDER, in which he was linked to the SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS. During the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII, Jacopone personally contested the legitimacy of the pope's election. After the pope's victory over his opponents, the Colonna cardinals of Jacopone was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. He likely served his sentence of solitary confinement in an underground cell of the Franciscan convent, of San Fortunato in Todi. Despite his appealing to Boniface VIII, the EXCOMMUNICATION against him was not removed until the accession of Benedict XI (r. 1303–04) late in 1303. Jacopone died a few years later on December 24/25, 1306, in the convent at Collazzone, near Todi.

In the meantime while in prison, Jacopone wrote and became known for his 100 or so VERNACULAR poems called *Lauds*. These prayerful poems enjoyed wide circulation in the 14th and 15th centuries, especially among the Franciscans. These mystical poems became part of

the spiritual and religious canon in the later Middle Ages.

See also CELESTINE V, POPE, SAINT, AND THE CELESTINE ORDER.

**Further reading:** Jacopone da Todi, *Jacopone da Todi: The Lauds*, trans. Serge and Elizabeth Hughes (New York: Paulist Press, 1982); George Terhune Peck, *The Fool of God, Jacopone da Todi* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1980); Evelyn Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi, Poet and Mystic, 1228–1306: A Spiritual Biography* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1919).

**Jacquérie** The term *Jacquérie* was based on “Jacques Bonhomme,” an insulting nickname for rustics, because of the short jacket they often wore. It came to designate the revolt of the peasants around PARIS in May and June of 1358. This social rebellion caused such upheaval that the word became synonymous with any French peasant revolt.

Launched unplanned from a riot between looters and peasants on May 29, 1358, at Saint-Leu-d'Esserent, the *Jacquérie* spread in a few days into the villages around Paris, and its influence was felt as far as the neighboring regions of Champagne and NORMANDY. Always characterized by violence against nobles, the uprising looted CASTLES and almost captured the market and town of Meaux. It was bloodily suppressed on June 10 at Mello, near Creil, by an army of nobles led by the king of NAVARRE, Charles II the Bad (1332–87). An aristocratic counterrevolution then gave evidence of the nobles' hatred and fear of the “nonnobles.”

The *Jacquérie* was born out of misery and a reaction of a once-thriving rural world devastated by taxes,

landlord oppression, and war. The leaders were primarily village notables, rural artisans, or country priests. The peasants tried to develop but only got the merest hint of an alliance with contemporary Parisian rebels, led by Étienne Marcel (ca. 1317–58). They were no match for the fierce repression carried out by an aroused nobility in league with rich townspeople.

Before and after this episode, there were many other peasant uprisings. In the 12th and 13th centuries, peasant communities frequently opposed seigniorial interests. In the later Middle Ages, there was a succession of popular movements and rebellions across Europe, many of which recalled the Jacquérie in various ways.

See also CIOMPI; PEASANT REBELLIONS.

**Further reading:** Rodney H. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London: Temple Smith, 1973); Michel Mollat and

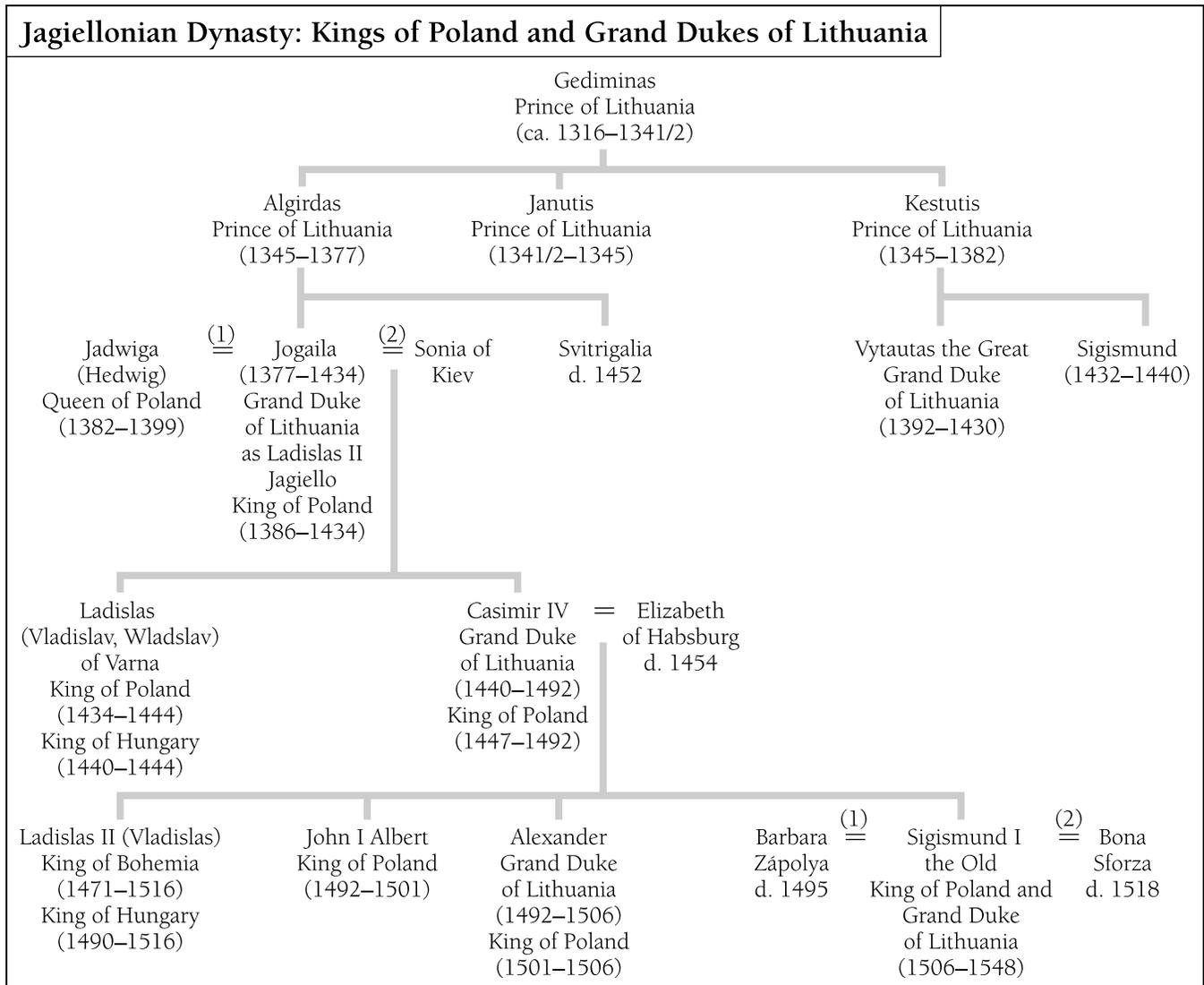
Philippe Wolff, *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages*, trans. A. L. Lytton-Sells (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973).

**Jacques Coeur** See COEUR, JACQUES.

**Jacques de Molay (Molai)** See JAMES OF MOLAY.

**Jacques de Vitry** See JAMES OF VITRY.

**Jagiellonian dynasty** The Jagiellonians were descendants of Gediminas (born about 1275), the grand duke of LITHUANIA from about 1316 to 1341/42. Through his successful resistance to the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, he extended his power over Belarus and parts of Ukraine. He accompanied this influence with strategic marriages



of his 12 sons and daughters. One of Gedymin's sons, Algirdas, grand duke or prince between 1345 and 1377, had 21 sons and daughters. One of them, Jogaila, who took the name Ladislas or Wladyslaw at his baptism at CRACOW in 1386, assumed the title and power of grand duke in 1377.

Until 1392 Ladislas united the throne of POLAND with that of Lithuania as grand duke. Lithuania thus was united to Poland by a dynastic union. Vytautas (r. 1392–1430), Ladislas's brother and duke of Lithuania, maintained good relations with his sibling until the end of his life. Wars broke out after Vytautas's death in 1430. By 1440 Casimir IV had taken over Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania. Casimir's elder brother, Ladislas III, became king of Poland (1434–44) after his father's death and was king of HUNGARY from 1440. His death at the head of the army at the Battle of Varna against the TURKS in 1444 precluded any attempt at Polish–Hungarian union.

Casimir's eldest son, Ladislas II, was king of BOHEMIA between 1471 and 1516 and in 1490 became the king of Hungary. Jagiellonians held both kingdoms until the death of Ladislas's son and successor, Louis (r. 1516–26), at the Battle of Mohács against the Turks in 1526. In Poland, after the death of Casimir, the new ruler was another son, John I Albert (1492–1501); in Lithuania John's brother, Alexander (1492–1506, also king of Poland from 1501), became grand duke. From 1490 to 1526, the Jagiellonians reigned over three of the major countries of central Europe.

**Further reading:** Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 1, *The Origins to 1795* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Pawel Jasienica, *Jagiellonian Poland*, trans. Alexander Jordan (Miami: American Institute of Polish Culture, 1978).

**al-Jahiz, Abu Uthman Amr ibn Bahr al-Fukaymi al-Basra (the Goggle or Bug-Eyed) (ca. 776–868/869)**  
*Arabic scholar, naturalist*

Born to perhaps a slave family about 776 in AL-BASRA in present-day IRAQ, al-Jahiz had an unfortunate appearance that was attested by sources that specify it as the reason he lost his lucrative post as tutor to the children of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861). Al-Jahiz spent extended periods in BAGHDAD and Samarra. Among other topics he studied were the recently available translations of classical scientific work from the Greek. Al-Jahiz obtained a great deal of oral information from the sailors, nomads, and people of all classes and occupations in AL-BASRA. In politics and religion he followed the rational approach of the Mutazili school of thought. He defended the legitimacy of the ABBASID dynasty and

wrote polemicals against both the JEWS and the Christians for which he was richly rewarded.

#### THE BOOK ON ANIMALS

Of the writings traditionally attributed to al-Jahiz, about 200 are probably genuine; of them fewer than 30 have survived. By far the most important of his scientific works was his *Book on Animals*, a literary work meant to amuse. It treated only the larger mammals, some important birds, and, with special enthusiasm, insects, especially flies, gnats, scorpions, and lice. The work has been called a kind of national zoology, which he enriched with the results of his own study and from Aristotelian sources.

#### CLASSIFICATION AND JUDGMENTS

Al-Jahiz distinguished among running, flying, swimming, and crawling animals and between carnivores and herbivores. He also classified them as doglike, catlike, and ruminants such as CAMELS. He classified the birds as birds of prey, those with few defenses, and small birds. He rejected the old division of animals into useful or harmful to humans. The latter had their uses in a divine plan for the universe or nature. Al-Jahiz displayed interest in the physical adaptation of animals and accepted the possibilities of spontaneous generation and a type of animal language. He also discussed the effects of drugs, alcohol, and castration on animals and their sexual practices, including sodomy.

Al-Jahiz formed his own judgments and even conducted his own investigations, remarkable for their innovative methodologies. He was critical of all traditions, even of the QURAN, and was skeptical of ALCHEMY, considering it possible in principle yet dubious because over thousands of years many great scholars had failed to achieve any practical result. He died in al-Basra in 868 or 869.

**Further reading:** al-Jahiz, *Sobriety and Mirth: A Selection of the Shorter Writings of al-Jahiz*, trans. Jim Colville (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); M. Plessner, "Al-Jahiz, Abu Uthman Amr ibn Bahr," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 7.63–65; "Al-Jahiz," *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism* 25:268–335; Oscar Löfgren, *Ambrosian Fragments of an Illuminated Manuscript Containing the Zoology of Al-Gahiz* (Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1946); Fedwa Maltidouglas, *Structures of Avarice: The Bukhala in Medieval Arabic Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985); Said Husayn Mansur, *The World-View of al-Jahiz in Kitab al-Hayawan* (Alexandria: Dar al-Maaref, 1977); Charles Pellat, ed. *The Life and Works of Jahiz*, trans. D. M. Hawke (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

**Jalal al-Din Rumi** See RUMI.

**James I the Conqueror (Jaume, Jaimey)** (1208–1276) *king of Aragon, count of Barcelona*

The son of Peter II (r. 1196–1213), James was born in MONTPELLIER on February 2, 1208, and reigned under the guardianship of his half-Byzantine mother, Mary of Montpellier (d. 1213), and then a regency council from 1213 until 1227. After reaching his majority in 1227, James concentrated his energy on the RECONQUEST from the Muslims and became famous for his successes, which included the capture of the BALEARIC ISLANDS, VALENCIA, Murcia, and territories south of the Ebro. He was skilled diplomatically and reached an understanding with King LOUIS IX of France, freeing CATALONIA from French suzerainty in 1258. In return, in the Treaty of Montpellier in 1258, he renounced his claim on LANGUEDOC, with the exception of Montpellier, part of his maternal inheritance.

On the domestic front, James successfully worked to protect the well-being of cities and Catalan TRADE by improving the administration of justice and issuing a new maritime code. He established the CORTES of ARAGON, an assembly of CLERGY, nobilities, and city representatives. After a very long reign, he died on July 27, 1276.

See also BARCELONA; MAJORCA.

**Further reading:** Robert Ignatius Burns, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim–Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*, Vol. 1, *Precarious Balance, 1250–1410* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

**James of Molay (Molai)** (1243/54–1314) *last grand master of the Templars*

Born between 1243 and 1254, James reorganized the order of the TEMPLARS in Europe after the loss of PALESTINE in 1291 and, from its center at PARIS, administered its valuable and extensive properties. It became known or rumors circulated that he and some of his KNIGHTS were interested in the occult. From 1306 he was repeatedly accused of WITCHCRAFT and HERESY by the lawyers of the French Crown, who denounced him to Pope CLEMENT V. The motive for such action was probably the desire of the Crown and PHILIP IV to dissolve the wealthy order and to confiscate its wealth and property. In 1311 he was formally condemned of HERESY and vice and, refusing to confess, was burned at Paris on May 19, 1314, still pleading his innocence.

See also HOSPITALLERS; MILITARY ORDERS.

**Further reading:** Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Peter Partner, *The Murdered Magicians: The Templars and Their Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

**James of Vitry (Jacques de Vitry, Jacobus Vitriaco)** (1165/70–1240) *French bishop, cardinal, traveler, preacher, prolific writer, compiler of sermon collections*

Born between 1165 and 1170, James of Vitry obtained a post at Argenteuil in the diocese of PARIS even before he became a priest. Attracted there by the reputation for holiness of MARIE OF OIGNIES, in about 1208 he settled at Oignies, in the Sambre Valley some six miles east of Charleroi, then part of the diocese of Liège. Ordained priest at Paris, probably in 1210, he returned the next year to Oignies and entered Saint Nicolas, an abbey of AUGUSTINIAN CANONS. He preached in FRANCE against the ALBIGENSIAN heretics and was active in the Fifth CRUSADE. He was soon appointed bishop of Saint John of ACRE in 1216. In 1228, Pope GREGORY IX accepted his resignation from that see, and he returned to be bishop of Liège, then the cardinal of Tusculum in 1229. From then he was active in the affairs of the papal court until his death in Rome on May 1, 1240, but was later buried back at Oignies.

#### WRITINGS

He had written *The Life of Marie of Oignies* before he left for the East in 1216. This was among the earliest medieval biographies of a woman. His *Oriental History* was a travel book and brief account of the first three Crusades up to 1212. It owed much to the work of WILLIAM



The execution of Grand Master of the Templars James de Molay and Grand Preceptor of Normandy Geoffroy de Charnay as ordered by Guillaume de Nogaret (March 18, 1314), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Snark / Art Resource*)

OF TYRE. The work, also a guide to the Holy Land, was a scathing attack on MUHAMMAD and early ISLAM. As a famous preacher, he left some 400 sermons divided into four series, which contained instructions appropriate to the various states and conditions of life, of prelates and priests, monks, NUNS, canons, students, pilgrims, crusaders, MERCHANTS and laborers, widows and married women.

**Further reading:** Thomas Frederick Crane, ed., *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the "Sermones vulgares" of Jacques de Vitry* (1890; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1971).

**James of Voragine (Jacobus de or da Voragine, Jacopo)** (ca. 1230–1298) *Dominican bishop of Genoa, author of sermon collections*

Born at Varazze near GENOA about 1230, Jacob entered the DOMINICAN ORDER in 1244. Without a university education, he rose through the ranks of the order, becoming prior of the province of Lombardy between 1267 and 1277 and between 1281 and 1286. He took part in the Council of LYON in 1274. Then, on the death of John of Vercelli (d. 1283), he became the interim master general of the Dominicans between 1283 and 1285. In 1292 he was elected archbishop of Genoa, where until his death in 1298 he vainly tried to promote church reform and peace between its GUELF AND GHIBELLINE factions. His firm support for the eventually deposed master general Muni de Zamora (d. 1300) between 1285 and 1293 placed him in opposition to the "university" element within the order. For him, the pastoral mission of the Dominicans was of the utmost importance. He died on July 13/14, 1298, and was beatified in 1816.

#### WRITINGS

Voragine's name remains justifiably attached to his work of Christian evangelization and particularly to his *Golden Legend*. Compiled in the mid-1260s and an immensely successful hagiographical collection, it was a main part of a Dominican effort to circulate and unify the Christian legends and exemplary stories of the saints. Jacob was more concerned with clarification of tradition than hagiographical innovation. Voragine continued such work with three collections of sermons between 1275 and 1285. These 306 sermons on 81 saints were based in part on the material of the *Golden Legend*, enriched with scriptural and patristic texts and references. The primary function of all this was to help friars and other clerics to prepare for PREACHING. The success of this collection encouraged James to continue, compiling an additional 159 sermons on Sunday Gospels and the 98 sermons for Lent. These were model sermons for clerics firmly structured and written out; they were well circulated in the order. He also wrote a chronicle of the city of Genoa.

*See also* HAGIOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

**Jan Hus** *See* HUS, JOHN.

**Janissaries and the Janissary Corps (Devshirme)**

The Janissaries were the shock troops of OTTOMAN expansion. They were composed mostly of Christian boys taken in the *devshirme* (collection), the levy exacted on non-Muslim male youths living in the sultan's domains and called "yeni geri" or new army. The boys taken in this manner converted to ISLAM and became the sultan's slaves for life. Some went into the civil administration. Others were trained for the military Janissaries. The Janissaries played a crucial role in the Ottoman conquest of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1453.

*See also* DHIMMI.

**Further reading:** Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries* (London: Saqi, 1994); V. L. Ménage, "Devshirme," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2.210–213.

**Jan van Ruusbroec** *See* RUYSBROECK, JAN VAN.

**Jaroslav the Wise** *See* YAROSLAV THE WISE, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEVAN RUSSIA.

**Jaufré Rudel** (fl. 1111/20–1148) *troubadour, lord of Blaye*  
He was born between 1110 and 1120 and became the lord of Blaye in France. Of his six surviving authentic songs, Jaufré's most successful was directed to love from afar, or *amor de loing*, which gave this rather pathetic lyrics their leitmotif and theme. In this song and in *Qan to rius*, he voiced a yearning for a distant love, interpreted by some as a woman, the Virgin MARY, GOD, or the Holy Land. Others have underlined the ambiguity in his fusion of love objects from both profane and Christian traditions. The legend of his love for a countess of TRIPOLI sprang from a fictional biographical life. He flourished between 1120 and 1148 and might have died on the Second Crusade.

*See also* COURTLY LOVE; WILLIAM IX, DUKE OF AQUITAINE.

**Further reading:** Jaufré Rudel, *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufré Rudel*, ed. and trans. George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein (New York: Garland, 1983); *The Songs of Jaufré Rudel*, ed. Rupert T. Pickens (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978).

**Jean de France, duke of Berry** *See* BERRY, JOHN, Duke.

Jean de Meun (Jehan Meung Chopinel, Clopinel) See ROMAN DE LA ROSE.

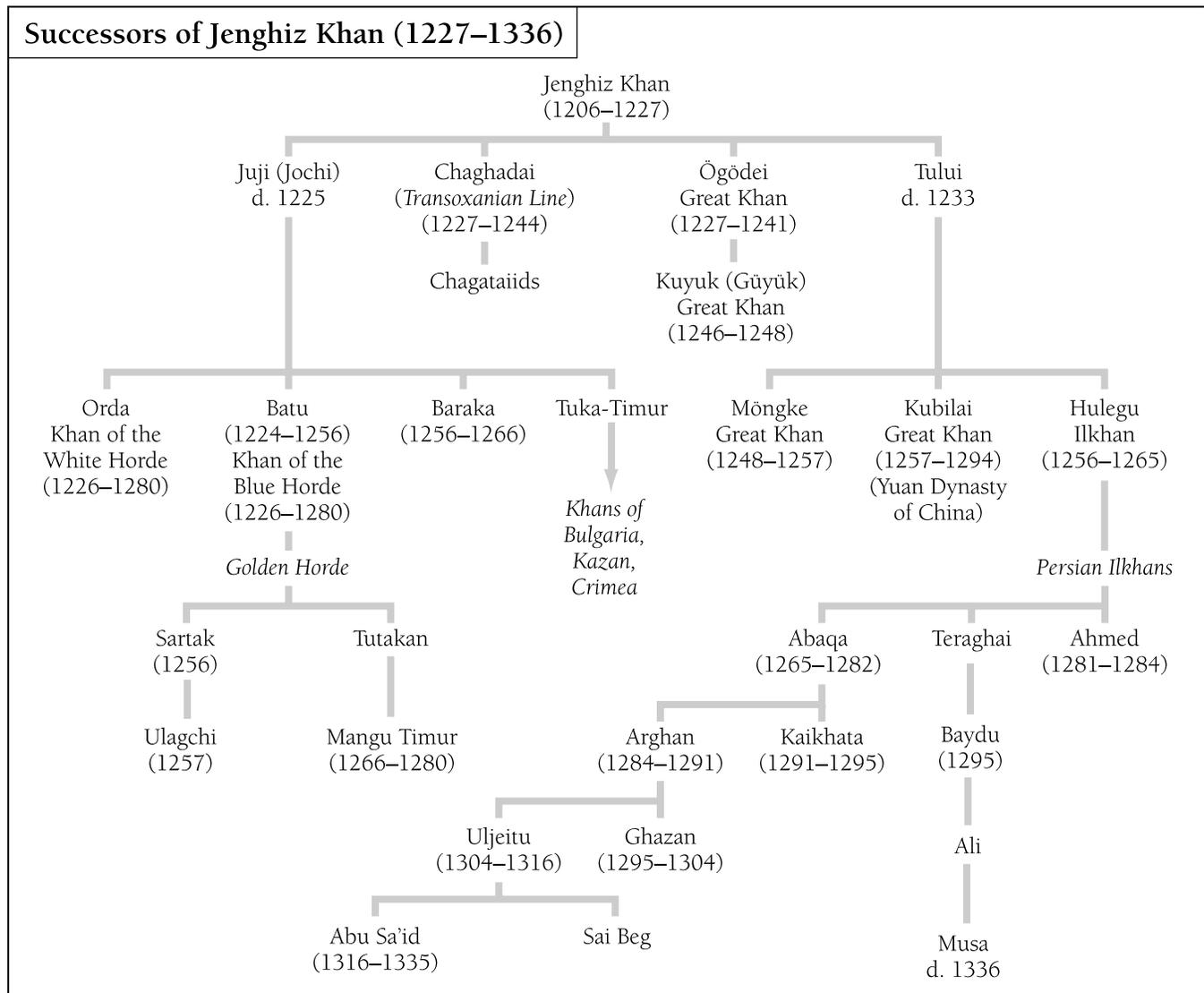
**Jenghiz Khan (Genghis, Chinggis, Chingus, Temujin)**  
(ca. 1154–1227) *Mongol chieftain*

Jenghiz Khan was the creator of the Mongol nation and the founder of one of the largest empires that ever existed. Jenghiz Khan, whose original name was Temujin, was born about 1160 on the banks of the river Onon in the far northeastern corner of present-day Mongolia. He was left an orphan at the age of nine; his father, Yesugei, was killed by the Tatars, who in the second half of the 12th century had replaced the MONGOLS as the dominant tribe in eastern Mongolia. Temujin's mother was then deserted by her husband's followers, who wished to prevent his succession to his father's position. The family was reduced to conditions of great hardship.

After Temujin had grown into manhood, he was taken prisoner by another group of Mongols, who intended to keep him in perpetual captivity. However, he escaped and soon became the protégé of the ruler of the Keraites, a Christian tribe in central Mongolia. It was with their aid and another young Mongol chieftain and their friend, Jamuka, that Temujin was able to rescue his wife, who had been carried off. He then wiped out the Tatars and overthrew his allies the Keraites after reorganizing the Mongol military. It was at this time in 1206 that a number of Mongol princes acclaimed Temujin as their ruler, giving him the title by which he is known in history, Jenghiz Khan or Genghis Khan, which can mean "Universal Monarch."

**EXPANSION**

By 1205, Jenghiz Khan had already attacked the Tanguts, a people of Tibetan origin in China, and two further campaigns against them in 1207 and 1209



opened the way for an assault on China proper. In 1211 the Mongols invaded and overran the whole of the region north of the Great Wall. In 1213 the wall was breached, and their forces ran wild over the North China plain. In the summer of 1215, Peking was captured and sacked, with the Chin emperor fleeing. Leaving one of his generals in charge of further operations in North China, Jenghiz Khan returned to Mongolia to devote his attention to events in Central Asia. The acquisition of Afghanistan gave the Mongols a common frontier with Sultan Muhammad II (r. 1200–20) of the KHWARIZMSHAHS, the hereditary rulers of Khiva, who had only recently conquered much of western Central Asia as well as Afghanistan and the greater part of Persia or IRAN.

#### CONQUESTS WEST AND IRAN

War was soon precipitated by the rash execution of Jenghiz Khan's ambassadors and a group of merchants accompanying them at the frontier town of Otrar. Jenghiz personally set out from Mongolia in the spring of 1219 and advanced on BUKHARA, which fell in March 1220, and on SAMARKAND, which capitulated a month later. From Samarkand, Jenghiz sent his two best generals in pursuit of Muhammad, who met his sad end on an island in the Caspian Sea. Continuing their westward sweep, the Mongols crossed the Caucasus Mountains and defeated an army of Russians and Kipchak TURKS in the CRIMEA before returning along the northern shores of the Caspian to rejoin their khan on his way back to Mongolia. Jenghiz passed the summer of 1220 in the mountains south of Samarkand, capturing a city, Termez, in the autumn, and then wintered in what is now Tajikistan. Early in 1221 he crossed the Oxus River to attack the Persian province of Khurasan, which he subjected to such devastation that it supposedly never fully recovered. In the late summer Jenghiz Khan advanced southward through Afghanistan to attack Sultan Jalal al-Din (r. 1220–31), the son of Muhammad. Jalal al-Din was decisively defeated and captured, escaping only by swimming across a river. With Jalal al-Din's defeat the campaign in the west was virtually complete for the moment. Jenghiz returned by slow stages to Mongolia, which he did not reach till the spring of 1225. By the autumn of 1226, he was again at war with the local Tanguts. He died, while a campaign was in progress, in the Liupan Mountains in Kansu on August 25, 1227, maintaining a traditional nomadic way of life until his death.

**Further reading:** Ala al-Din Ata Malik Juvayni, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle, with a new introduction and bibliography by David O. Morgan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Urgunge Onon, ed. and trans., *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan: The Secret History of the Mongols* (Leiden: New York: E. J. Brill, 1990); Robert Marshall, *Storm from the East: From Ghenghis Khan to*

*Khubilai Khan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Leo de Hartog, *Genghis Khan, Conqueror of the World* (London: Tauris, 1989); Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

**Jerome, Saint (Sophronius Eusebius, Hieronymus)** (ca. 341–420) *ascetic, biblical scholar*

Born in Strido in DALMATIA about 341, the well-educated Jerome produced biblical commentaries, translations of Greek works, as well as a paraphrase of the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS of Caesarea, a number of homilies on the thought of ORIGEN, and a world history from Abraham to 325. He also wrote polemics against ARIANISM and other heresies. He spent several years as a hermit in the Syrian desert, and he was secretary to Pope Damasus I (r. 366–384) from 382 to 384. He retired in 386 to Bethlehem, where he died in 420. As a doctor of the church, he became famous for his translation of the BIBLE into Latin, the VULGATE, which became the most commonly used version during the Middle Ages and for far longer.

*See also* FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

**Further reading:** Irena Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997); J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1975); Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

**Jerusalem (al-Quds, the Holy)** Jerusalem was in the Middle Ages and to the present day an important religious center and focus of abiding controversy among Christians, JEWS, and Muslims. The conversion of CONSTANTINE I and his mother, Helena (ca. 250–330), to Christianity brought Christian control to Jerusalem. Helena visited the city in 326 and discovered a tomb she identified as the HOLY SEPULCHER of Christ. A nearby rocky hill she identified as Golgotha. Constantine I built three basilicas, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, another on the Mount of Olives, and a third one in Bethlehem. The emperor JULIAN THE APOSTATE's attempt to rebuild a Jewish Temple did not derail the rapid transformation of the city into a center of Christian pilgrimage.

In 451, at the Fourth Ecumenical COUNCIL AT CHALCEDON, the city became one of the five patriarchates. In 614 the Persians captured the city and carried off the true cross. The emperor HERAKLEIOS I recaptured the city and returned the relic to it in 629, but in 638 the patriarch of the city, Sophronios, was forced to surrender Jerusalem to the ARABS. After a siege of seven months, the town capitulated into the hands of Caliph UMAR, on lenient terms. Civil and religious freedom was granted in exchange for an annual tribute. The Muslims claimed the esplanade of Solomon's Temple, revered already as the place of

Muhammad's ascent to heaven, and immediately built a modest MOSQUE there. Under Caliph ABD-AL-MALIK IBN MARWAN the DOME OF THE ROCK was built, and under his son, AL-Walid (r. 705–715), the el-Agsa mosque.

#### CENTER OF THREE RELIGIONS

Jerusalem thus became one of the three Holy Cities of ISLAM, with MECCA and MEDINA. The JEWS were authorized to live there again; they established their quarter near the Wailing Wall and built a synagogue on Mount Zion. Relations between the Muslim occupants and the Christians remained relatively amicable under the Umayyads, then under the Abbasids, despite frequent minor problems and occasional violence. In 803, CHARLEMAGNE obtained from HARUN AL-RASHID the at least symbolic possession of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, of which the patriarch of Jerusalem sent him the keys, and a right of protection over the CHRISTIAN establishments of PALESTINE. A Frankish law of 810 provided for a periodic levying of alms that were sent to Jerusalem. The Frankish "protectorate" was kept up in reality in the ninth century, and as a shadow in the 10th century.

#### DIMINUTION OF TOLERANCE

The consequence of the BYZANTINE conquests of Nikephoros Phokas (r. 963–969) and the campaign of John Tzimiskes (r. 969–976) produced a more repressive policy toward Christians. In 1009, the FATIMID caliph, AL-HAKIM, confiscated the property of churches there, forbade Palm Sunday processions, and destroyed shrines and chapels associated with Christ's tomb. Some were rebuilt in 1049 financed by Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–55). The emperors of Byzantium took over the role of protector of the holy places. Gifts from King STEPHEN I of HUNGARY fostered the restoration of several Latin churches and monasteries. But new destruction took place when the SELJUKS captured Jerusalem in 1071 and when the town was reoccupied by the FATIMIDS in 1098.

#### CRUSADES

On July 15, 1099, after a siege of a month, the army of the First CRUSADE took Jerusalem. The capture of the town was accompanied by three days of massacres of the resisting Muslims and Jews with perhaps 20,000 victims, and the pillage of Muslim sanctuaries. The crusaders made Jerusalem, from which they expelled Jews, Muslims, and non-Christians, the capital of the Latin Kingdom. GODFREY OF BOUILLON took the title of "advocate of the Holy Sepulcher." The crusaders installed a Latin patriarch and substituted Latin clergy for Greek clergy. Many sanctuaries were restored and repaired. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher was rebuilt in 1149 and in the basic form it stands today. The Dome of the Rock became a church, the Lord's Temple. The town's fortifications were restored and strengthened and a citadel was built, the Tower of David.

#### COMPROMISE

SALADIN retook Jerusalem for Islam in 1187. The crusaders ruled it again from 1229 to 1243, making practically no changes to the urban structure save for the conversion of the two mosques on the Temple esplanade into churches and the use of other Muslim buildings for Christian worship. After the reconquest by Saladin, the Jews were readmitted and the Eastern Christians were tolerated, but the Latins were expelled. In 1229, after the treaty between the emperor FREDERICK II and the sultan of EGYPT, al-Malik al-Kamil (r. 1244–60), the defenses of the city were partially dismantled. Jerusalem was once more in the possession of the Latins, except the Temple esplanade, where the important mosques were restored to Islam.

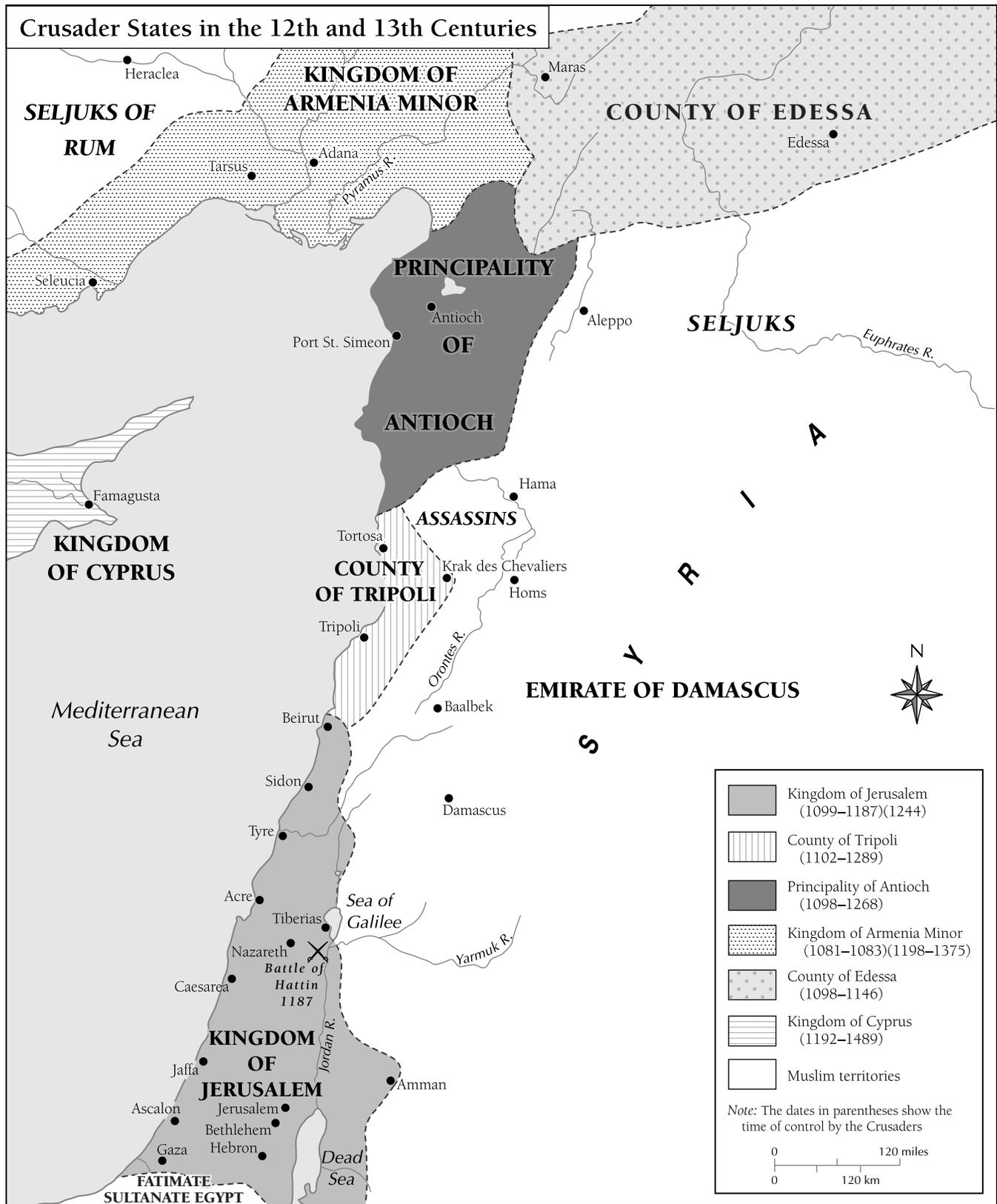
#### A MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN SOLUTION

The equilibrium agreed upon by the treaty of 1229 did not last. Deprived of most of its defenses, the town was assaulted in 1239 by the Egyptian sultan's troops, and in 1244 it was finally occupied by troops from the retreating Khwarizm states. Back under the control of the sultans of CAIRO, who in 1342, after a treaty with King Robert the Wise (r. 1309–43) of NAPLES, allowed the FRANCISCANS to settle on Mount Zion and take possession of the supposed site of the LAST SUPPER. The friars were soon granted the right to officiate at the altars and at the particular chapels of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher assigned to the Latin Church and to assist Western pilgrims. Save at rare moments of tension and conflict, the flood of pilgrims did not slow much. The Muslims usually contented themselves with imposing a "right of entry" tax to enter and move about. The MAMLUKS of Egypt controlled the city until it was taken over by the OTTOMANS in 1516.

See also BAYBARS I, SULTAN; JERUSALEM, LATIN KINGDOM OF.

**Further reading:** Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem, an Architectural Study* (London: Published on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem by the World of Islam Festival Trust, 1987); Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

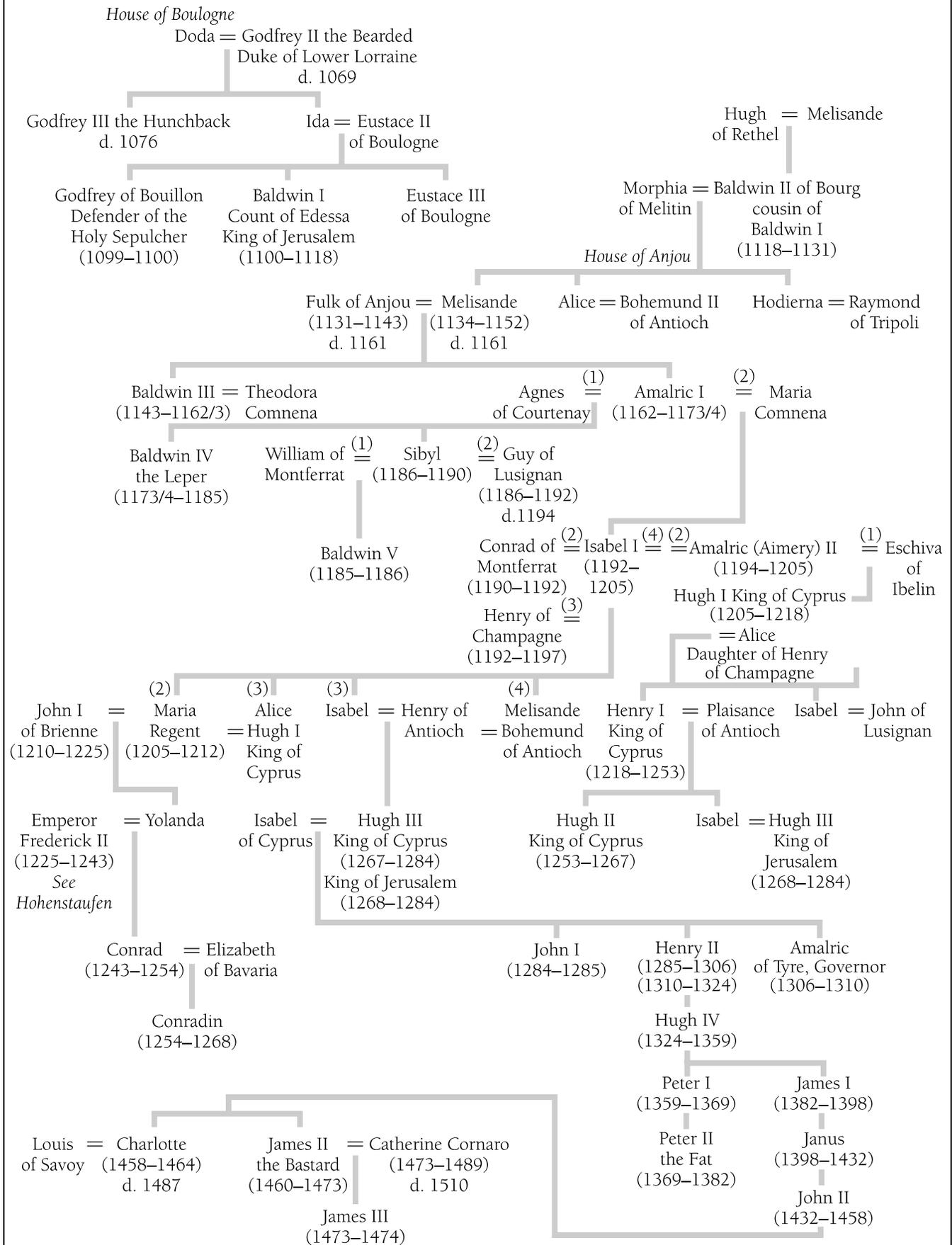
**Jerusalem, Latin Kingdom of** On July 15, 1099, the crusaders conquered Jerusalem and proclaimed the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The majority of JEWS and Muslims living there were murdered or fled. Those Muslims who survived were expelled. JERUSALEM became the capital of the new kingdom but remained unpopulated.



In 1113, an ordinance of King BALDWIN I prescribed the colonization of the city by Christians, including those of Eastern sects. The royal government was concentrated around the Tower of David in East Jerusalem. Power was

vested mainly in the churches and religious houses, under the authority of the patriarch. Under the new regime, economic activity was marginal, with resources primarily derived from pilgrims and pious donations.

# Kings and Queens of Jerusalem and Cyprus (1099–1489)



The crusaders built religious buildings in the north, among them the ROMANESQUE church of Saint Ann, and added to already existing churches and MOSQUES, which were converted into Catholic churches.

The kingdom grew in the 12th century, and Jerusalem prospered, even though the center of economic and social activity was in the coastal area, where most of the crusaders' settlements were established. Crusader authorities gradually opened Jerusalem's doors to JEWS and Muslims, whose work as craftsmen helped boost the economy. In 1187, after the crusaders' defeat at the Battle of HATTIN, much of the kingdom of Jerusalem was conquered by SALADIN, who allowed Jews to resettle in the city. The title of king was maintained by several would-be rulers for centuries, but the kingdom was gone.

See also ASSIZES OF JERUSALEM; BALDWIN IV THE LEPER; CRUSADES; HOSPITALLERS; JERUSALEM; SALADIN; TEMPLARS.

**Further reading:** Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972); Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 vols., trans. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

**Jewish art and architecture** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE, JEWISH.

**Jews and Judaism** Judaism was and is the religion and associated culture of the Jewish people. It meant the whole of the doctrine, religious, moral, and philosophical ideas, and the rules of life, or HALAKHAH, generally recognized by religious Jews. After the biblical and Hellenistic periods, Judaism progressively took on a different shape from that found in the Hebrew BIBLE. The biblical heritage certainly lived on in a monotheistic basis with GOD as the creator of the universe and with strict ritual practices such as the sabbath, feasts, alimentary rules, and ceremonial laws. The TALMUD or the *Mishnah* was accepted as a codification of moral, social, and religious laws, whose compilation had been completed early in the third century. The *Gemara*, a discussion of the propositions of the *Mishnah*, was completed early in the sixth century. It sought to elucidate these practices in a contemporary situation almost completely different from the world described in the Bible. Judaism had become a religion in a changed context, lacking a Temple and a homeland for a people now in a wide and frequently powerless diaspora. All these conditions necessitated and initiated doctrinal reflection and development to ensure cultural and religious survival. Medieval Judaism had to be marked by essentially voluntary

acceptance by individuals and groups or communities under the spiritual leadership of masters or sages of law, later known as rabbis, sometimes backed by a mercantile elite of families. They interpreted the Talmud and applied its rules to communities, thus in many ways making the Jews self-segregating. These communities were to be self-governed on the basis of rabbinical legislation and interpretations.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, JEWISH; ASHER, BEN JECHIEL; ASHKENAZ AND ASHKENAZIM; ELEAZAR BEN JUDAH BEN KALONYMUS OF WORMS; GERSHOM BEN JUDAH; JEWS AND JUDAISM: RELATIONS WITH CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS; JUDAH BEN SAMUEL HALEVI; KABBALA; KALONYMUS FAMILY; KHAZARS; MAIMONIDES, MOSES; SEPHARDIM.

**Further reading:** Nicholas de Lange, *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Daniel R. Frank and Oliver Leaman, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Elie Kedourie, ed., *The Jewish World: Revelation, Prophecy and History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979); Norman Roth, ed., *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Patricia Skinner, ed., *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2003); see also "Jews in the Middle Ages," in the bibliography, pp. 847–849.

**Jews and Judaism: relations with Christians and Muslims** The history of the Jews in medieval Europe was of a minority at first integrated into the Christian West but, though sometimes prosperous and at peace, only too often periodically persecuted. Judaism was the religion and associated culture and meant the whole of the doctrine, religious, moral, and philosophical, and the rules of life, or HALAKHAH, generally recognized by religious Jews.

In the eyes of the church of the Middle Ages, the Jews had stubbornly refused to recognize Christ as the messiah. This characterization was compounded by the Gospels, which were readily interpreted as portraying Jews as guilty of the death of Christ. Jews were perceived as a different and separate group within CHRISTENDOM. In simplistic terms this anti-Judaism was not based on racial attitudes, as it was much later, but on religious differences. In ISLAM, Jews were regarded as "people of the Book" (*ahl al-Kitab*, possessors of Scripture) and subject to the tolerant rules accorded them by the DHIMMI. Their Scriptures were regarded as authentic but corrupted and were superseded by the QURAN.

#### TOLERANCE ALTERNATING WITH PERSECUTION

Jews had spread throughout the Roman Empire and remained scattered after the fall of that empire. Many Jews converted to Christianity either willingly or through

coercion. But by the end of the Middle Ages even conversion did not alleviate their suspect status.

Among the worst confrontations of the early Middle Ages was an attempted suppression of Judaism in Spain after the conversion of the VISIGOTHS to Catholicism. In royal laws and ecclesiastical councils the Visigoths tried to change and reduce the multifaceted cultural roles that the Jewish minority had played. The Jews resisted and welcomed the Muslim invaders in the eighth century. Under the Carolingians in the ninth century, especially those of CHARLEMAGNE and LOUIS I THE PIOUS, were a comparative happy and prosperous era for the Jewry of the West. Their communities grew and multiplied, especially in the Rhine Valley in northern Europe.

#### NEW RELATIONS FROM 1096

The year 1096 was a turning point in the history of the Western Jews. On their way to the First CRUSADE, bands on the fringe of various armies sought out Jews and annihilated the communities of Worms, Mainz, and Neuss. Elsewhere, as at Spreyer and Cologne, churchmen and townspeople managed to protect many Jews. Despite these ominous signs at the beginning of the century, the 12th century was a period of accommodation and, for the most part, personal security.

The status of the Jews as outsiders with a certain mobility who were separate from local societies had given them opportunities for trade and commercial activities in the expanding economies of the 12th and 13th centuries. On the other hand the church tried to isolate them from contact with Christians. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 propagated such measures in an overall goal of marginalizing the heterogeneous elements of all types. The Jews were then to be marked by the wearing of a distinctive sign. Cohabitation and meals in common with Christians were forbidden. In the late 13th century, the kings of France and England taxed Jews heavily and as fully as they could. They then expelled them when this extorted resource ran dry.

#### LATER MIDDLE AGES

The late Middle Ages was in general a difficult period for Western Jewry. In addition to experiencing expulsions from various regions and kingdoms, the Jews became scapegoats for economic and health problems. The worst of this was the persecution of 1391 in Iberia, which signalled a big step in the decline of a once flourishing Spanish Judaism. The Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492 by King FERDINAND and Queen ISABEL, the Catholic kings who had recently captured GRANADA from the Muslims, thus completing the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Even those who had been converted for generations, called disparagingly MARRANOS, became suspect for practicing the religious rites and rules in secret. Many of these Sephardic Jews migrated elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

#### CULTURAL INTERACTION

Despite these tensions and persecutions there was much productive cultural contact and interaction between Christians and Jews during the Middle Ages, especially in the Iberian Peninsula. Collaboration and mutual learning occurred between scientists, astronomers, astrologers, physicians, and philosophers in Spain and in Italy and southern France. The Jews facilitated the arrival of IBN-RUSHD or Averroës's commentaries to the Latin intellectual world. MAIMONIDES's *Guide to the Perplexed* assisted Christian philosophers and theologians to resolve some of the problems posed by ARISTOTELIANISM. There were periodic discussions and debates among scholars on fundamental problems and aspects of the two religions. There were numerous enriching mutual encounters about the exegesis and the content and messages of the BIBLE.

#### JEWES IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

The Jewish communities at Byzantium remained numerous and relatively flourishing, because of the maintenance of the classical Roman attitude that recognized Judaism as a licit religion and thus subject to toleration. They were, however, also permitted to exist because they were viewed odd but continuing symbols of the triumph of Christianity and were in any case in line to be converted at the end of the world. They were specially taxed, excluded from many aspects of society, and affected by legal incapacities, but these were less severe than those relative practices and laws existing in Western Christendom.

See also AL-ANDALUS; ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, JEWISH; ASHKENAZ AND ASHKENAZIM; BLOOD LIBEL; DHIMMI; HOST DESECRATION LIBEL; PETER THE VENERABLE; SEPHARDIM.

**Further reading:** Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Mark R. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); R. Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann, eds., *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Joachim Prinz, *Popes from the Ghetto: A View of Medieval Christendom* (New York: Horizon Press, 1966); see also "Jews in the Middle Ages," in the Bibliography, pp. 847-849.

**jihad (gihad, djihad)** Sometimes translated wrongly as "Holy War," *jihad* derived from an Arabic root meaning basically "to strive." There were a greater and a lesser jihad. Jihad was considered by some groups, for example,

by the KHARIJITES and the Ibadis, to be a sixth pillar of ISLAM. All Muslims were obliged to wage the greater spiritual jihad in the sense of striving against SIN and sinful inclinations within themselves aiming to perfect their spiritual life. The lesser jihad includes missionary activity for Islam and armed conflict with evil. For some Muslims this included the creation of Muslim states governed by Muslim law, the Shariah, where possible.

See also JUST WAR.

**Further reading:** Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* 1955; E. Tyan, "Djihād," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2.538–540.

### Joachim, abbot of Fiore (ca. 1133–1201/02) *Italian prophet, mystic*

Joachim was born the son of a notary between 1130 and 1135 at Celico near Cosenza in Calabria. He worked for a time as a notary for the Norman government then in Calabria and SICILY. While on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he decided to enter the monastic life. He returned to Sicily and Calabria and entered the CISTERCIAN abbey of Sambucina in 1159. At the Cistercian monastery of Corazzo, Joachim was ordained a priest in 1168 and elected abbot in 1177/8.

Preferring a solitary life of meditation and writing, in about 1185 Joachim retired to the BENEDICTINE monastery of Casamari, where he began to write his commentary on the Book of Revelation. In 1191 he left the Cistercian order and moved to San Giovanni in Fiore, in Calabria, where he founded a hermitage. A group of his followers there eventually organized into the order of San Giovanni in Fiore (Florensians). It was a strict, reformed branch of the Cistercians. It was approved in 1196 by the pope, and its members were known as the Florensians. He died on March 30, 1201/2, in Fiore.

#### WRITINGS AND INFLUENCE

In his later years, Joachim increasingly believed that he possessed unusual illumination about Christian Scripture and doctrine and that he was subject to special revelation and able to interpret all kinds of portents. Encouraged by Pope INNOCENT III, Joachim recorded his interpretations and visions and submitted them to the PAPACY for consideration and approval shortly before his death in 1201/02. Although Joachim probably had no intention of disseminating heretical doctrines, some of the ideas drawn from his theological and ecstatic writings influenced later heterodox thinkers, who were to cause problems for the church authorities and society for the next 200 years. He was condemned for his views on the Trinity at the Fourth Lateran Council.

#### THOUGHT AND LATER INFLUENCE

Joachim's thought was founded on his concept of the Trinity and its implications for the understanding of

human history. In his *Book of Figures* and in several other works, Joachim divided history into two dispensations, or eras, to be followed by a third. The first was the dispensation of the Old Testament, or former covenant, which culminated in the first coming of Christ. A second age was a second dispensation, or new covenant, of the Christian church. This would culminate in a second coming of Christ. Joachim believed he was living near the end of the second age and only two generations remained before a second advent of Christ. According to this view, then, history was divided into three periods, the ages of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The third age, which was supposed to arrive about 1260, was the age of the Spirit or an age of love, liberty, and freedom in which the principal institution in the world would be MONASTICISM and the corrupt, visible, hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church would be superseded by a spiritual church.

The teachings of Joachim in particular were condemned in 1256 by Pope Alexander IV (r. 1254–61). However, the ideas of Joachim, especially on the concept of a golden age of the Spirit and the threefold division of history, remained influential in Western thought from the 13th century onward.

See also APOCALYPSE AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; BIBLE; OLIVI, PETER JOHN; SALLMBENE DE ADAM; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS; UBERTINO DA CASALE.

**Further reading:** Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985); Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, rev. ed. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); Stephen Wessley, *Joachim of Fiore and Monastic Reform* (New York: Lang, 1990).

### Joan, Pope, legend of *legendary woman pope*

This legend, whose first traces appeared around 1255, was believed throughout the later Middle Ages, and its memory persists even now. Apart from a romantic aspect, it explored a fundamental taboo of the church, the rejection of women priests. It also posed a troubling and threatening question: what happens when a supreme and divinely sanctioned power was usurped by a person deemed inappropriate.

This legend became extremely popular during the reigns of certain unpopular popes. It further played a role in controversies from the 13th century about the status of the Roman Church and its *magisterium* or teaching authority. At the time of the Great SCHISM about 1400, this tale of Pope Joan was treated as a proper legal case, fact, or precedent and was used to justify declaring a papal election null and void. Later, the Hussite movement and then the 16th century Reformation found in her story a striking example of a corrupt Roman Church.

## THE LEGEND

According to the version that circulated from the late 13th century, around 850, an English woman from Mainz disguised herself as a man to follow her lover, who was devoted to the male world of studies. She was very successful in her own studies. Taking the guise of a man, she was able to enter the hierarchy of the papal court and finally even to be elected pope. However, Joan did not renounce the pleasures of the flesh and soon found herself a pregnant pope. She died during a procession from Saint Peter's to Saint John Lateran across the center of Rome, after having publicly given birth to a child in the street. Supposedly from that time, the sex of the popes was manually verified during their coronation. Papal processions ever since skirted this direct route between the Vatican and the Lateran, going by the Church of San Clemente in order to avoid the supposed place of her giving birth. A statue or an inscription once immortalized the memory of this incident, and a marker or vague shrine is still there.

## ORIGINS

The origins of this story appeared for the first time in a chronicle written around 1255 by the Dominican John de Mailly at Metz. The quickness and geographical extent of the legend's circulation suggested that the idea of a cross-dressing female pope had existed for some time at Rome. The legend was widely circulated in DOMINICAN and FRANCISCAN circles. The detour around the notorious place of giving birth was maintained in the coronation ritual. In 1474, the history of Joan appeared in the official *Lives of the Popes* written by the humanist Platina (1421–81), the librarian of the Vatican. Such a story appealed to those with little respect for an individual pope or for the corrupt and hypocritical institutional church that was so bad that it allowed a woman into its highest position of authority.

See also HUS, JOHN; PAPACY; WOMEN, STATUS OF.

**Further reading:** Alain Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Peter Stanford, *The Legend of Pope Joan: In Search of the Truth* (New York: H. Holt, 1999).

**Joan of Arc, Saint (Jeanne d'Arc, Jeanne la Pucelle, the Maid of Orléans)** (1412–1431) *leader of King Charles VII of France's armies to dramatic victories*

Joan was born at Domrémy in Champagne, perhaps on January 6, 1412, one of five children and the daughter of peasants, Jacques and Ysabeau d'Arc. Some time in 1425 Joan began to have visions. As she testified at her trial: "When I was thirteen, I had a voice from God to help me govern myself." The voice was that of Saint Michael, who, with Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, "told me of the pitiful state of FRANCE, and told me that I must go to succor the King of France." This was a message to help King CHARLES VII to carry out his claim

to the throne of France by defeating the English and the Burgundians.

Joan twice went to the captain of the Valois garrison at Vaucouleurs, requesting in vain an escort to King Charles VII at Chinon. She finally was able to set out in February 1429 and arrived 11 days later at Chinon. Immediately examined for orthodoxy, two days later she was allowed to see the king. Somehow persuaded of her possibilities, in April 1429 Charles VII sent her to Orléans as captain of some soldiers. With the duke of Alençon and Jean, the Bastard of Orléans, later count of Dunois, Joan led the relief of the city. She thus helped alleviate the greatest immediate threat to Charles's position, so for the first time in his reign he had a military triumph.

Charles followed her advice to use the moment provided by the relief of Orléans to carry out his coronation at RHEIMS, becoming the legitimate king in the eyes of many. After a series of victorious battles and sieges on the way, Charles VII was crowned at Rheims on July 18, 1429. Joan was at his side and occupied a prominent place in the ceremonies after the coronation.

## CAPTURE AND TRIAL

During a skirmish outside the town of Compiègne's walls the following May (1430) against the duke of BURGUNDY's troops, Joan was captured. The Burgundians handed Joan over to the English, who wanted to try her for HERESY before a court of the INQUISITION. Charles VII could or would do nothing. Joan's trial, technically an ecclesiastical trial for heresy, lasted from April 1431 to nearly the end of May, ending with Joan's recanting and admission of error on May 24. However, Joan and her accusers differed about the exact nature of this confession and abjuration. Two days after she signed it, she recanted her admissions. The third phase of her trial began on May 28. This time she was tried as a relapsed heretic. Conviction for that meant release to the secular arm and execution. She would be turned over to the English to be burned. Joan was convicted of being a relapsed heretic and burned at the stake in the marketplace of ROUEN on May 30, 1431. On July 7, 1456, a commission declared Joan's trial null and void and freed her from the taint of heresy. Joan was not canonized until May 16, 1920, with her feast becoming a French national holiday.

**Further reading:** Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2000); Willard R. Trask, trans., *Joan of Arc: In Her Own Words* (New York: Turtle Point Press, 1996); Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (New York: Knopf, 1981); Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood, eds., *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc* (New York: Garland, 1996); Charles T. Wood, *Joan of Arc and Richard III: Sex, Saints, and Government in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).



The Execution of Joan of Arc from *Les Vigils de Charles VII* by Martial de Paris, 15th-century manuscript illumination, Ms. Fr. 5054, fol. 7, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Giraudon / Art Resource*)

**Johannes Andreae (Giovanni d'Andrea)** (ca. 1270–1348) *Italian teacher of canon and civil law*

Born about 1270 in Bologna or at Rifredi near FLORENCE, Johannes Andreae or Giovanni di Andrea as a layman studied THEOLOGY, canon or ecclesiastical law, and civil law, taking a doctoral degree between 1296 and 1300. He taught at the Universities of BOLOGNA and PADUA and was only the second married professor of canon law known from the Middle Ages. He even claimed that he consulted his wife on legal questions. His youngest daughter, Novella, according to one dubious story, used to read his lectures when he was ill. According to the tale, she had to conceal herself behind a curtain to prevent distracting the students' attention by her famous beauty. He died of PLAGUE at Bologna on July 7, 1348, and was buried there.

#### WRITING AND IDEAS

His output was substantial, including treatises on canon law, an important work on legal procedure, and a biography of Saint JEROME. He was an ardent proponent of absolute papal supremacy. He thought that everyone must obey the Holy See, including infidels. Canon law had a universal application. The papal power of deposition of the emperor seemed to him evident, since

the Holy Father or Pope could act in the name of GOD. His compilations and work were not always original but became foundational. One of his ideas influenced HOSTIENSIS: that the pope, as the successor of Christ and Saint Peter, could not err. Any order of the supreme pontiff came from God and was thus of immediate and legal application. The pope was not subject to the laws of COUNCILS. The pope gave authority to councils; the reverse was not true or even possible, although a heretical or criminal pope could be subjected to the jurisdiction of a council. The pope could change conciliar laws by his mere will, was the judge of all, and could be judged by no one.

See LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (New York: Longman, 1995); Stephan Kuttner, "Johannes Andreae and His Novella on the Decretals," *The Jurist*, 24 (1964): 393–408.

**John II Komnenos (Comnenus)** (1087–1143) *capable, devoted and successful Byzantine emperor*

John was born to ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and his wife on September 13, 1087. He succeeded to the throne with

some opposition on August 15/16, 1118. During the first part of his reign, the austere John campaigned in the Balkan Peninsula, against the nomadic Petchenegs, winning a decisive victory in 1122. In 1129 he forced SERBIA to acknowledge BYZANTINE lordship, having defeated help sent by HUNGARY, Serbia's chief ally. After 1130 he turned his attention to ANATOLIA, where he campaigned against the Turkish rulers of central Asia Minor. He conquered Armenian Cilicia in 1137 and went on in 1138 to besiege ANTIOCH, forcing its prince, Raymond of Poitiers (1099–1149) to take an oath of fealty. John suspended the exploitative Venetian commercial privileges but was eventually forced to reaffirm them as necessary for economic well-being. His ambitious, but probably unrealistic, plans to restore Byzantine power throughout the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Levant ended abruptly when he died of a poisoned arrow, either assassinated or a victim of a freak hunting accident on April 8, 1143.

See also KOMNENE, ANNA.

**Further reading:** John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Niketas Chroniatēs, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Chroniatēs*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

**John VIII Palaiologos** (1392–1448) *Byzantine emperor*  
Born December 16/18, 1392, John became emperor in 1425, having been co-emperor since 1408. THESSALONIKI fell to the OTTOMANS in 1430, and before his reign ended the despotate of Morea began paying tribute to the Ottoman sultan, MURAD II. John's attempt to get aid from the West was contingent on a union of the two churches. It was supposed to be accomplished early at the COUNCIL of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1438–39. In response, Pope EUGENIUS IV preached a Crusade that was crushed by the Ottomans at the Battle of Varna in 1444. Thus, the West was incapable of saving BYZANTIUM while in CONSTANTINOPLE John VIII (r. 1425–48) was unable to accomplish anything to further the union of the two churches. He died on October 30/31, 1448.

See also FILIOQUE CLAUSE, DISPUTE OVER.

**Further reading:** Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964); Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, Vol. 2, *The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978).

**John XXII, Pope (Jacques Duèze, d'Euse, Duèse)** (ca. 1245–1334) *elderly pope in Avignon*

Jacques Duèze, subsequently Pope John XXII, was born about 1245 at Cahors, FRANCE. His parents were affluent; it has even been suggested that they belonged to the nobility. Jacques was educated first at a DOMINICAN priory

in his native village and afterward at Montpellier. He then went to PARIS and Orléans, where he studied both LAW and MEDICINE.

Leaving university life, Duèze was still at a loss as to what profession to follow, but after he became a close friend of a bishop, the young man decided to enter the church. He probably believed that his new friend's influence would help him advance in his clerical career. The future pontiff had to wait a long time but in the end was not disappointed, for in the year 1300, at the request of Charles II of Anjou (r. 1285–1309), the king of NAPLES, he was elevated to the episcopal see of Fréjus in France. After finishing his studies at Paris and Orléans, he was a professor of canon law at the University of Toulouse. Then in 1308 he was appointed the chancellor of Naples by Charles. Along with having connections to the Angevin dynasty, he showed himself a cleric of fine ability in ecclesiastical business. In 1310 Pope CLEMENT V summoned him to AVIGNON about the legality of suppressing the TEMPLARS and on the potential condemnation of the memory of Pope BONIFACE VIII. Duèze was in favor of suppressing the Templars but rejected the condemnation of Boniface. In 1312 Duèze was made bishop of Porto, and four years later was elected, as an old man of about age 70 and thus considered only as temporary holder of the pontifical crown, as Pope John XXII on August 7, 1316.

#### HIS PAPACY

Early in his papacy the throne of GERMANY became vacant. Louis IV of Bavaria (r. 1328–47) and Frederick of Austria both contended for it, and Pope John offended many by supporting Frederick (d. 1330). Later he raised doubts about his intellectual competency by preaching an unorthodox sermon that asserted that the souls of those who die in a state of GRACE go straight into Abraham's bosom or LIMBO but do not enjoy the BEATIFIC VISION of the Lord until after the Resurrection and the LAST JUDGMENT. This doctrine was laughed at and hotly opposed by many clerics, notably one of whom even preached against it before the pope himself at Avignon. John retracted his theory on his deathbed.

John was also frequently accused of avarice and of practicing ALCHEMY. He did make great efforts to raise money, imposing numerous new taxes unheard of before his PAPACY. He manifested considerable ingenuity in collecting money for the papacy and had no sympathy for the ideals of radical clerical poverty common during his reign, especially with the FRANCISCANS. The tradition that he dabbled in alchemy reflected a common perception and may have some basis. He did issue a stringent bull against alchemists, but it was directed against charlatans, not against those who were seeking the high-minded philosophers' stone with earnestness and aid of scientific knowledge.

## SCIENTIFIC INTERESTS AND WEALTH

Some of this time was probably devoted to scientific studies. Various works of a medical nature have been ascribed to him, such as a collection of medicinal prescriptions, a treatise on diseases of the eye, and another on the formation of the fetus. But his laboratory activities in the papal palace also may have focused on alchemy. His friendship with Arnold de Villanova (ca. 1240–1311), a famous physician, astrologer, and alchemist, lent some credence to this theory. When he died on December 4, 1334, the pontiff left behind a vast sum of money and a mass of priceless jewels. It was commonly asserted among the alchemists of the day that the money, jewels, and 200 huge ingots were all made by the late pope. In the papal treasury at his death he did leave 750,000 florins—a vast sum at the time. The story of this unbounded wealth gradually spread. One of the pope's medieval biographers credited him with having made an enormous quantity of GOLD. The wealth accumulation must be more accurately based on his fiscal and administrative skills.

See also AVIGNON AND THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes and Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (1949; reprint, New York: T. Nelson, 1963); Yves Renouard, *Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*, trans. Denis Bethell (London: Faber, 1970); Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).

**John Balliol** (ca. 1249–1315) *king of Scotland*

Born perhaps as early as 1245 as the son of Count John of Harcourt (d. 1269) and a descendant, through the female line, of King DAVID I, John Balliol was proclaimed king of Scots with the support of King EDWARD I of ENGLAND. He crowned at Scone in 1292. Edward actually intended to be the overlord of SCOTLAND, but John took advantage of Edward's Welsh wars to secure his and Scotland's independence from the Crown. But in 1296, Edward defeated him during an invasion attempt in England and then conquered a large part of Scotland. Edward held John captive in England. Many other Scots, however, refused to accept his deposition and continued to recognize him as the legitimate king. A regency for him was established in northwestern Scotland and acted in opposition to Edward until 1306, when ROBERT I THE BRUCE was proclaimed king. John died, forgotten, and in retirement in 1315 in Normandy.

See also WALLACE, WILLIAM; WILLIAM I THE LION, KING OF SCOTLAND.

**Further reading:** A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

**John Chrysostom, Saint** See CHRYSOSTOM, JOHN.

**John Duns Scotus** See DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN, BLESSED (DOCTOR SUBTILIS).

**John Hunyadi** See HUNYADI, JOHN CORVINUS.

**John Hus** See HUS, JOHN.

**John Lackland** (1167–1216) *third Angevin king of England*

Born on December 24, 1167, in Oxford, John was the youngest son of King HENRY II and ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE. When Henry first assigned provinces to his sons, John received no share, hence his nickname "Lackland." He grew up in an atmosphere of family feuds, rebellion, and treachery. During his youth, his mother was his father's prisoner, and his brothers constantly quarreled with their father and among themselves. They even allied with the most dangerous enemy of their house, the kings of FRANCE. In 1176 John, as his father's favorite, was betrothed to Isabelle, the richly endowed coheir of the earl of Gloucester. A year later Henry made him lord of IRELAND. John, however, repaid Henry's affection and support by joining his brother RICHARD I LIONHEART, and PHILIP II AUGUSTUS of France against him in 1189. This was the final blow to his sick father. When Richard I Lionheart became king in 1189 and was preparing to go on CRUSADE, he made lavish grants to John in England and made him count of Mortain in NORMANDY, but Richard excluded him from any real role in the English government.

John tried by every means to obtain power in England or recognition as Richard's heir. He put himself at the head of the opposition to Richard's chancellor, William Longchamp (d. 1197), the bishop of Ely, and chased him out of the country but failed to win over the Council of Regency. Richard's return resulted in John's total defeat, but he eventually regained Richard's favor and most of his personal property through the mediation of their mother.

## JOHN AS KING

On Richard's death on April 6, 1199, John was accepted as ruler in NORMANDY and England. He was crowned king at Westminster on May 27, Ascension Day. But ANJOU, MAINE, and BRITTANY declared Arthur (1187–1203), the son of his older brother Geoffrey, who had died in 1186. Philip II Augustus of France, as lord, claimed to have the power to adjudicate matters concerning these French fiefs. In May 1200 at Le Goulet, Philip recognized John as heir to Richard's lands in return for substantial concessions and a large payment as a "relief."

Shortly afterward, after his first childless marriage had been annulled, John married Isabella (d. 1246), daughter of Adhémar or Aymer, count of Angoulême. His position in France was still tenuous. Arthur remained a focus of rebellion in Anjou and Poitou. In 1201, in the course of a renewed dispute with John, an important family of the LUSIGNANS appealed against him to the court of King Philip II Augustus. John could not appear, so his French fiefs were declared forfeit. Philip set out for Normandy with an army to enforce the sentence. John captured Arthur, who was perhaps blinded and then murdered, possibly by John himself, in April 1203. He could not stop King Philip's advance into Normandy. By July 1204 Normandy, essentially united to England since 1066, was controlled by the king of France.

In July John lost one of his best advisers with the death of Hubert Walter (d. 1205), the archbishop of CANTERBURY. The monks of Canterbury chose their superior, then the king's nominee, as the new archbishop. INNOCENT III rejected both and arranged the election of the learned Cardinal Stephen LANGTON. John declared that his customary rights had been infringed, refused to admit Langton, and seized the property of the monks. The pope promptly laid the INTERDICT on England from March 24, 1208. In November 1209 John was declared excommunicate but not deposed. He responded by seizing more property of the clergy and by not confirming other ecclesiastical appointments. Neither the interdict nor the EXCOMMUNICATION seriously disrupted the government of England, but heavy taxes and the capricious treatment of a few barons and their families fostered in 1212 a conspiracy against John just as the king of France was preparing an invasion. By a cunning bit of negotiation he turned his papal opponent into his protector. In May 1213, having agreed to accept Langton, he gave over England and IRELAND to the Roman Church, only to receive them back as fiefs on payment of an annual tribute.

#### ALLIANCE WITH THE PAPACY

John now prepared an attack on Philip. In 1214, with the emperor Otto IV (d. 1218) of Brunswick and Philip's enemies in the Low Countries, he led an army into France. Philip won a decisive victory over Otto and John's other allies at BOUVINES on July 27, 1214, that destroyed hope of recovering Anjou and Normandy and harmed his prestige at home. In January 1215 John received demands for reform. Pope INNOCENT III's heavy-handed attempts at peacemaking only made things worse.

In April 1215 John heard that a large group of barons had met at Brackley and renounced their fealty to him. On May 17 they were admitted to LONDON. Outmaneuvered, John was forced to restore lands and castles to his opponents. He made promises of new reforms and of the observance of old customs in a comprehensive charter, the MAGNA CARTA, dated June 15, 1215, at Runnymede.

#### MAGNA CARTA AND DEATH

These promises were not new and were the result of negotiations. No medieval king could submit to such coercion. John claimed that his oath had been extracted by force and fear. On these grounds the pope immediately annulled it. Civil war broke out later in the summer. The rebels adopted the idea of substitution of another king. Louis VIII (r. 1223–26), was invited to claim the throne. Louis arrived in England in May 1216 with some success, but John recovered with the help of loyal barons and foreign mercenaries. His sudden death from dysentery, overwork, and excessive eating and drinking at Newark on October 19, 1216, robbed him of victory. He was buried at his own request beside Saint WULFSTAN in Worcester Cathedral. His death made reconciliation of the rebels easier. Within a year Louis had retired from England, and the country settled down to the long minority of John's young son, King HENRY III.

*See also* WILLIAM THE MARSHAL.

**Further reading:** S. D. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); James Clarke Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Ralph V. Turner, *King John* (New York: Longman, 1994); W. L. Warren, *King John* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); W. L. Warren, *King John* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961).

#### John of Capistrano, Saint (Giovanni Capistrano, Capestrano) (1386–1456) Italian Franciscan reformer, preacher

Born at Capistrano near L'Aquila in central ITALY on June 24, 1386, John studied law at Perugia and became a judge there in 1413–14. In 1415, he became an Observant FRANCISCAN. In 1426 he helped successfully to defend his fellow friar, BERNARDINO of Siena, against accusations of idolatry and HERESY. In 1443 he became vicar general of the Italian observant Franciscans and in 1446 he was in charge of the order's separation into the Conventual and Observant Franciscans. He acted as inquisitor against dissident Franciscan elements, the FRATICELLI, in 1426–27 and in 1449, and against later supposed adherents of the heresy of the FREE SPIRIT in 1437. From 1436 he promoted reform of the lay third order of the Franciscans and of the Franciscan female Order of Poor Clares, or Clarisses. In 1445 he wrote a new commentary on the rule for Franciscan nuns.

A political mission to Burgundy and Flanders in 1442 and 1443 provided him with the opportunity to spread the reformed observance in the north of Europe. He carried these ideas in 1451–53 to AUSTRIA, GERMANY, and POLAND. He had been sent by Pope PIUS II to work against the spread of doctrines linked with John HUS. As itinerant preacher in various regions of Italy, he was intensely active in promoting the CRUSADE and domestic

peace. He was further renowned for his PREACHING on ethical and social questions, especially against luxury and sexual vice. A defender of papal primacy, between 1438 and 1444, he wrote a treatise on the authority of the pope over that of a COUNCIL. Appointed a preacher of the Crusade against the TURKS after the fall of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1453, he took part in the victorious siege of Belgrade in 1456 but died in Slovenia on October 23, 1456. He was canonized much later, in 1690.

See also HUNGARY; HUNYADI, JOHN CORVINUS.

**Further reading:** Mary H. Allies, *Three Catholic Reformers of the Fifteenth Century* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972); Johannes Höfer, *St. John Capistran, Reformer*, trans. Patrick Cummins (1943; reprint, St. Louis: B. Herder, 1947).

### John of Gaunt (1340–1399) *English soldier-statesman, fifth duke of Lancaster*

Born in March 1340, John of Gaunt was the fourth son of King EDWARD III; his name is from his birthplace, GHENT. He was created earl of Richmond in September 1342. Trained in military skills, he took part in an expedition to FRANCE at the age of 19 and on May 19, 1359, he married Blanche, younger daughter and coheir of Henry of Lancaster (1299–1361). After this marriage and the death of Henry he was created earl of Derby in April 1362 and in November duke of Lancaster.

For the next years Lancaster was active in various military campaigns, which mainly failed, serving under his brother, EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE, in SPAIN in 1367; as captain of Calais two years later; and as lieutenant in AQUITAINE in 1371. After the death of his first wife in September 1369, he married Constance of Castile in 1372. He then relinquished the title of earl of Richmond and ambitiously became king of CASTILE. In 1384–85, he invaded the kingdom of LEÓN, but met a humiliating failure and finally gave up there in 1388.

#### BACK IN ENGLAND

On his return to ENGLAND, Lancaster took an active part in politics as head of the court party that was opposed by the “Good Parliament” of 1376. At the same time he supported John WYCLIFFE against the upper clergy of England, and protected him at the Council of LONDON the following year. With the accession of King RICHARD II in 1377, he exercised strong influence at court, advising on the French war, serving on the Scottish border, and making a truce there in 1380. In 1381 he served on several commissions to deal with the PEASANT REBELLION in 1381 and reform of the royal household. In 1385 he quarreled with Richard and, though reconciled, tried to continue to serve as a mediator between the king and his opponents. In 1388 he was made lieutenant of Gascony and in 1390 the duke of Aquitaine.

After he married his daughter, Catherine, to Henry III of Castile (r. 1390–1406), he renounced claim to the kingship of that country. After helping with a reconciliation between the duke of Gloucester and King Richard, he retired. On the death of his second wife, in 1396 he married Catherine Swynford (d. 1403). The children of his last marriage were the line through which Henry TUDOR (eventually King Henry VII [r. 1485–1509]) later claimed the throne. He died on February 3, 1399, and was buried in Old Saint Paul’s in LONDON. After his death Richard seized his estates. This forced Lancaster’s son, Henry of Bolingbroke, to claim the throne as Henry IV (r. 1399–1413).

See also CHAUCER, GEOFFREY; HUNDRED YEARS’ WAR; IMPEACHMENT AND ATTAINDER.

**Further reading:** Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity: 1361–1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1992); P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

### John of Paris (Jean Quidort, Jean le Sourd) (ca. 1225/40–1306) *Dominican political theorist*

Jean Quidort, or John of PARIS, as a student of Thomas AQUINAS played an important role in the controversies of the 13th and 14th centuries over the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers, notably at the time of the conflicts between Pope BONIFACE VIII and King PHILIP IV the Fair of FRANCE in the early 14th century. He is generally considered as holding a moderate position on the autonomy of both the civil power and the ecclesiastical.

In 1302 he wrote *On Royal and Papal Power*, in which he posited a dualism of powers, that of the prince and that of the pope. Human beings pursued two ends in this world, happiness on Earth and salvation in the afterlife. They lived in society in accordance with human nature but required a spiritual authority for salvation. Spiritual authority accrued to Christian priests as heirs to Christ, especially in matters of morals. The unity of the church demanded a unity of spiritual power as it was embodied in the PAPACY. There should be only cooperation between the two powers, with the spiritual power holding only a superior dignity. Secular power, too, was from GOD. Thus the two powers were distinct but complementarily and mutually related. However, councils were superior to the papacy. John died on September 22, 1306.

See also POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** John of Paris, *On Royal and Papal Power*, trans. J. A. Watt (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971); Joseph Canning, *A History of*

*Medieval Political Thought, 300–1450* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

**John of Plano Carpini (di Carpine)** (ca. 1180–1252)  
*Franciscan traveler, papal envoy to the Mongols*

John was born at Piano di Carpine, near Perugia in ITALY, in about 1180. Saint FRANCIS sent him to SAXONY as a warden of the FRANCISCAN ORDER in 1221. He became the head of the Franciscan provinces of GERMANY by 1228, SPAIN by 1230, and finally Saxony by 1233. He further played a strong role in the establishment and spread of the order into Scandinavia, BOHEMIA, POLAND, DENMARK, and HUNGARY. Despite his age and obesity, and because of his experience and his knowledge of Holy Scripture, he was sent by Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) to Russian princes inviting them to join the Western Church and to the MONGOLS to explain the Christian faith and propose a nonaggression pact with the West and cooperation against ISLAM. John left LYON in FRANCE, picked up a companion at CRACOW (Benedict of Poland), and passed through PRAGUE, Cracow, and KIEV by February 3, 1246. The Mongol khan Batu (d. 1255) sent him on to his nephew, the Khan Guyuk (d. 1248). On July 22, 1246, he arrived at Sira Ordu near the Mongol capital at Karakorum, where he was present at Guyuk's coronation, after completing a 3,000-mile journey. He had talks with Guyuk's advisers, several of whom were Christians, and received from them an offer to the pope and the kings to accept Mongol sovereignty. He set out on November 13, crossed Asia in misery in midwinter, reached Kiev on June 9, 1247, and arrived back at Lyon in November. INNOCENT IV then sent him to King LOUIS IX and made him archbishop of Antivari in DALMATIA in 1248. He died in that office on August 1, 1252.

During his journey and his sojourn, John had gathered, by interrogating people along the long way as he had been assigned to do a great deal of information on the armaments, tactics, religious beliefs, and customs of the Mongols. A new attack on the West was feared. On returning to Lyon, he wrote his *History of the Mongols*. He added to that a short account of his journey, in which he listed witnesses who would attest to its truthfulness. A brave and relentless traveler, Plano Carpini was a well-informed observer to whom western Europe owed its first detailed knowledge of the Mongols and Central Asia.

**Further reading:** Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (1955; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); Leonardo Olschki, *Marco Polo's Precursors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943); J. J. Saunders, "John of Plano Carpini: The Papal Envoy to the Mongol Conquerors Who Traveled through Russia to Eastern Asia in 1245–1247," *History Today*, 22 (1972): 547–555.

**John of Salisbury (Parvus)** (ca. 1115–1180) *English bishop, humanist*

Born in Old Sarum near Salisbury about 1115, he began in 1136 a career as a gifted but not rich student and then scholar in the schools of PARIS. There he studied with Peter ABÉLARD. He also studied with William of Conches (d. 1160) at CHARTRES, a center of humanistic studies of the arts and of the LATIN classics. He became well educated in RHETORIC, literary analysis, LOGIC, and LAW, both ecclesiastical and Roman or civil. In 1148 John probably entered the service of Theobald (d. 1161), archbishop of CANTERBURY, in which he remained until 1150. From there he moved to ROME, assuming a post in the papal court. By 1153 or 1154 he was back at Canterbury, employed as Theobald's private secretary.

In 1159 John completed his first major work, *The Statesman's Book (Policraticus)*. It was the first medieval study of the relationship between a state and a prince. John's analyses of the conduct of good and bad princes exemplified his understanding of the power then being exercised by the newly centralized monarchies and princely regimes of the 12th century. The *Metalogicon* was written shortly after *The Statesman's Book* and was a work of educational theory, which evaluated and defended the value of the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS. In it John referred to the newly discovered works of ARISTOTLE.

About 1162 Thomas BECKET, whom John had befriended while Becket was still chancellor of ENGLAND, succeeded Theobald as archbishop of CANTERBURY. John enthusiastically sided with Becket in his controversy with HENRY II of England and in 1164 went into exile with him. Early in 1170 he returned to England and was present at Becket's murder or martyrdom on December 29. While in exile, he wrote the *Papal History*, an unfinished but fascinating account of the papal court during the years 1148–52. John remained at Canterbury, at work on an unfinished biography of Becket, until 1176, when he was elected bishop of Chartres, an office he held until his death on October 25, 1180. Charitable, honest, and reasonable, he has long been considered as a model Christian humanist of the 12th century whose innovative political theory distinguished between the physical person of the king and the power he represented for the state.

*See also* KINGS AND KINGSHIPS; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** John of Salisbury, *Memoirs of the Papal Court*, trans. Marjorie Chibnall (London: Thomas Nelson, 1956); John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, trans. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon, a Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium*, trans. Daniel D. McGarry (1955; reprint,

Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); Hans Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1950); Michael Wilks, ed., *The World of John of Salisbury* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).

**John Scottus Eriugena (John the Scot Eriugena, Erigena)** (ca. 810–ca. 877/879) *Irish or Scot scholar*

John Scottus, probably an Irishman or perhaps a Scot, knew Greek. He lived at the court of CHARLES I THE BALD in the third quarter of the ninth century, taught the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS there, and took part in the controversy over PREDESTINATION raised by Gottschalk of Orbais (ca. 805–68). In the 12th century, WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY misidentified Eriugena with another monk from Malmesbury and provided us with dubious anecdotes. One took place at a dinner during which Charles I the Bald and Eriugena, sitting opposite each other at the same table, chatted comfortably. The king asked him, “What separates a ‘Scot,’ or Irishman, referring to Eriugena, from a ‘sot?’” Eriugena replied, “Nothing but a table.” William of Malmesbury also imagined that Eriugena died while teaching, stabbed by the pens of his angry pupils. These stories were associated with Eriugena throughout the Middle Ages.

#### IDEAS AND WRITING

According to Eriugena, preference must be given to Scripture, the starting point for all philosophical or theological speculation. Moreover, adherence through FAITH to revealed truths was indispensable in the speculation. Christians must seek to understand what they believed. This quest for understanding was the work of human reason, helped by divine GRACE and guided by the experience of those who had interpreted Scripture in the past or by tradition. His ideas and those of contemporary neoplatonism converged. Despite the reverence that Eriugena accorded to the FATHERS of the CHURCH, their authority was not in his eyes supreme. Authority derived from true reason rather than from authority.

Most of his work was thus a commentary on Scripture. But, as he acknowledged, any attempt to interpret Scripture was an infinite task. Each verse of the BIBLE was capable of multiple interpretations that could supplement one another. For John the interpretation of Scripture was a labyrinth whose numerous versions should lead to the search for truth.

Eriugena was eventually and probably wrongly accused of pantheism in his *Periphyseon*. It was condemned in 1225 by Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–27); it long remained suspect. He died, or was murdered, in 877.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; HINCMAR OF RHEIMS.

**Further reading:** John Joseph O’Meara, *Eriugena* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Stephen Gersh, *From*

*Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena: A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Willemien Otten, *The Anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991).

**John Tauler (Johannes Tauler)** (ca. 1300–1361) *German Dominican mystic, preacher*

John Tauler was born about 1300, the son of a wealthy middle-class family in Strasbourg and entered the DOMINICAN ORDER as a young man. After studies for seven or eight years, he engaged in pastoral work, particularly with NUNS. During the Frankfurt Reichstag of 1338, the emperor Louis IV of BAVARIA (r. 1328–41), braving the pope’s INTERDICTION, ordered religious activities to be carried out at Strasbourg, thereby forcing the Dominicans into exile at Basel. Tauler worked with others there on the reform of religious orders, the BEGUINES, and lay religious organizations. Tauler went to COLOGNE in 1339, 1343, 1346, and perhaps 1355–56, probably to get copies of mystical texts. During the exile at Basel between about 1340 to 1342, he helped translate into German MECHTHILD VON MAGDEBURG’S *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*. The following winter of 1342–43, the Dominican friars returned to Strasbourg. John Tauler cultivated a reputation as a preacher. His PREACHING led to the exemplary conversion of a Strasbourg banker who became an important financial promoter of the movement of Tauler’s followers. The date of Tauler’s death on June 16, 1361, is known from a slab in the cloister of the Dominican convent at Strasbourg.

#### THOUGHT

Tauler never organized mystical teaching. His 80 or so sermons always began in the traditional way by citing and commenting on a biblical passage. They always ended, however, with a suggestion for a mystical way of union with GOD. Tauler often resorted to promoting three ways, the purgative, the illuminative, and the unifying, of gaining such a union with God. Tauler strived to be a preacher for an interior awakening. In his layered conception of human beings, there was an inner, an outer, a sensitive, a reasonable, and a spiritual nature. Redemptive self-knowledge was based on a mystical conversion and introspection, as well as a well-practiced attitude of humility, poverty of spirit, and abandonment of the self to God.

See also ECKHART, MASTER; SUSO, HENRY.

**Further reading:** John Tauler, *Johannes Tauler: Sermons*, trans. Maria Shradly (New York: Paulist Press, 1985); James Midgley Clark, *The Great German Mystics; Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso* (Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Press, 1969); Louise Gnädinger, “Tauler, John,” *EMA*, 1.1409.

**Joinville, Jean de (Jehan de)** (ca. 1224–1317) *hereditary seneschal of Champagne, French author*

The noble Jean de Joinville was born in the second half of 1224, or the first months of 1225, and became lord of Joinville and seneschal of Champagne at an early age. He was 17 when he met his famous lord, the poet Thibault IV de Champagne (r. 1201–53), at a feast at Saumur in 1241. When King LOUIS IX left on the Seventh CRUSADE, Joinville followed him to EGYPT and PALESTINE but had little enthusiasm for actual military action. After the capture of the town of Damietta in 1249, the only success of the expedition, Joinville and the king were taken prisoners and were only released by ransom. In 1254 Joinville returned home. When Louis set off for the fateful Eighth Crusade, Joinville excused himself on the grounds that his first duty was to protect his own people at home. Jean was later a witness for Louis's canonization in 1282.

About 1305 Queen Jeanne of Navarre (1273–1305) ordered or asked Joinville to write his memoirs of Louis. She was dead when Joinville finished the *Life of Saint Louis*, and so dedicated it in 1309 to the dauphin. Events were recorded in it with remarkable accuracy and clarity. The *Life of Saint Louis* was written with no idea of publication. In the most personal series of reminiscences that have survived from Louis's era, Joinville was concerned with the exemplary integrity and virtue of Louis. He also gave an account of his career from his birth in 1214 and coronation in 1226, emphasizing the Seventh Crusade. He included the king's fears and an account of this poorly conducted campaign. The last secondhand chapters told of Louis's Second Crusade, his illness, and his death in 1270. It also mentioned Joinville's participation in a canonical inquiry that led to the canonization of Louis. He died, an old man, on December 14, 1317.

**Further reading:** Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (1963; reprint, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1977); Jean Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, trans. René Hague (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955); Lionel J. Friedman, *Text and Iconography for Joinville's Credo* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1958); Maureen Slattery, *Myth, Man, and Sovereign Saint: King Louis IX in Jean de Joinville's Sources* (New York: P. Lang, 1985).

**Joseph of Arimathea, Saint** *character of biblical origin*

In the four GOSPELS Joseph's role was confined to burying Jesus after the Crucifixion, but in the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, he played a significant part in stories about Jesus' death and subsequent Resurrection. Joseph was supposedly a prominent member of the Jewish High Council. After Jesus' death, with Pilate's permission and assisted by Nicodemus, he removed Christ's body from the cross, wrapped it in cloth, and buried it in a tomb. As

a disciple of Christ, Joseph was soon imprisoned in a heavily guarded building but later vanished. The story had it that Jesus appeared to him in the night and released him.

#### JOSEPH AND THE GRAIL

The tale of Joseph of Arimathea and the GRAIL was extremely popular in ENGLAND, in part because it made Joseph the founder of GLASTONBURY ABBEY. The first mention of Joseph's presence in England was in a manuscript of WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S *On the Antiquity of Glastonbury*, written around 1250 at Glastonbury Abbey itself. The story that Joseph was the abbey's founder was included to attract pilgrims. According to this, Joseph, with 12 followers, was sent to England from FRANCE by the apostle Philip. A pagan king granted him a piece of land near what is now Glastonbury, where Joseph built a church in honor of the Virgin MARY. According to this story, on his death Joseph was buried near Glastonbury.

**Further reading:** Joseph, of Arimathea, *Joseph of Arimathea: A Critical Edition*, ed. David A. Lawton (New York: Garland, 1983); Robert de Boron, *Joseph of Arimathea: A Romance of the Grail*, trans. Jean Rogers (London: Steiner, 1990); R. F. Treharne, *The Glastonbury Legends: Joseph of Arimathea, the Holy Grail and King Arthur* (London: Cresset Press, 1967).

**jousting** See TOURNAMENTS.

**Jubilee** See HOLY YEAR.

**Judah ben Samuel Halevi (ha-Levi, Yehudad Halevi)** (ca. 1075/80–ca. 1141/45) *Spanish Hebrew poet, religious thinker*

Few definite facts are known about Judah Halevi. He was probably born between 1075 and 1080 in Tudela in NAVARRE to a wealthy family. He received his religious training in the school of a famous Talmudist, Isaac Alfasi (1013–1103). He had a secular education in Greek and Arabic PHILOSOPHY, the poetic arts, and MEDICINE. Unhappy as a physician, he found fulfillment in poetry, in which he expressed his true genius. He transferred the forms and structure of Arabic poetry into Hebrew verse, filling it with graphic symbolism and simile, yet interweaving biblical idioms and allusions.

Halevi spent his youth in the enjoyment of nature, friends, love, and wine. This was reflected in his earlier secular verse. However, he witnessed the destruction of the Spanish Jewish communities during the struggle for the RECONQUEST of SPAIN by the Christians. His outlook became even more reflective when he saw Jewish suffering during the CRUSADES, and entire Jewish communities being destroyed.

## INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS WORKS

Some of his contemporary Jewish intellectuals were succumbing to Greek rationalism and philosophy, which often challenged and weakened their faith. These conditions were reflected in Judah's religious poetry, characterized by a deep and often mystic yearning for and love of GOD. The tragedy of his people was present in his nationalistic poems, in which he depicted their past glory, displayed his pain and sorrow at their desolation, and asserted his hopes for their restoration. Many of Halevi's religious and national poems have survived in Jewish liturgy.

To counter the influence of Greek and Aristotelian philosophy on his generation, Halevi wrote the *Book of Proof in Favor of the Despised Religion* in Arabic. It was translated by Judah ibn Tibbon into Hebrew. The *Sefer ha-Kuzari* or the *Kuzari* (The book of the Khazars), as it was called in Hebrew, remained a popular work in Jewish religious thought. It was written in dialogue and employed the historical and romantic theme of conversion to Judaism early in the eighth century of the king of the KHAZARS.

Halevi was not basically concerned with demonstrating that Judaism conformed to the rational, but rather with proving its superiority over its two daughters, Christianity and ISLAM. Halevi argued that the God of Judaism required no rational proof of his existence, since he had manifested himself in history through the people of Israel. Thus Israel supplied the world with ethical and spiritual nourishment.

Halevi disinherited his only daughter and grandchild, and left his family, friends, and possessions to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. According to legend now no longer believed, he was kneeling at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem when a galloping ARAB horseman rode him down and crushed him to death in the early 1140s.

See also JEWS AND JUDAISM.

**Further reading:** Judah Ben Samuel Halevi, *Selected Poems of Jedudah Halevi*, trans. Nina Ruth Salaman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946); David Druck, *Yehuda Halevy: His Life and Works*, trans. M. Z. R. Frank (New York: Bloch, 1941); Norman Roth, "Judah ha-Levy," *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 380–84, especially for his bibliography of editions and translations; Yochanan Silman, *Philosopher and Prophet: Judah Halevi, the Kuzari, and the Evolution of His Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

**Judaism** See JEWS AND JUDAISM.

**Julian of Norwich (Juliana)** (1342–ca. 1416/23) *important English reclusive mystic*

In her *Revelations of Divine Love*, the anchoress Julian related that in May 1373, when she was 30 years old, she

suffered a severe illness. After she had received extreme unction or the last rites, she experienced 16 revelations and VISIONS of the crucified Christ, all within a few hours. When she later wrote her *Revelations*, she was a recluse at Norwich, supported by the BENEDICTINE convent of Carrow. Her ANCHORITE seclusion was a common choice of life in 14th-century ENGLAND for Christians trying to attain spiritual insights. With little formal education, and calling herself "unlettered," Julian wrote or her book was written for her in a beautifully simple style and demonstrated a grasp of traditional THEOLOGY.

Julian's *Revelations* from about 1403 were a mixture of imaginary and intellectual visions, with the characteristics of mystical experience. According to them, her visions fulfilled three petitions made in her youth. She wanted always to have in mind the Passion of Christ, to have a terrible bodily sickness by the time she was 30 years of age, and to receive the wounds of Christ or confirming sign of her "true contrition," her "genuine compassion," and her "sincere longing for GOD." Her revelations consisted of visions of a crucified Christ, perhaps prompted by the sight of a crucifix that a priest had left at her bedside. Through the Passion of Christ, Julian was led to an intellectual vision of the Trinity and of the universe, even seeing God everywhere. Thus she was confronted by the harsh teachings of SIN and damnation, which she found hard to reconcile with God's saving GRACE in Christ. Nevertheless she accepted the traditional doctrine of eternal damnation. Little has been found about Julian's later years, including the date of her death. She was last mentioned as a living person in a will dated 1416. During her life she enjoyed recognition as people traveled from afar to see and consult her during times of PLAGUE, religious disunity, and the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

See also MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, eds., *Julian of Norwich Showings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978); Denise Nowakowski Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings: From Vision to Book* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Frederick Christian Bauerschmidt, *Julian of Norwich and the Mystical Body Politic of Christ* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Grace Jantzen, *Julian of Norwich: Mystic and Theologian* (London: SPCK, 1987).

**Julian the Apostate (Flavius Claudius Julianus)** (ca. 331–363) *Roman emperor, military leader*

Born in CONSTANTINOPLE in May/June 332, Julian's efforts to restore polytheism and PAGANISM, during his brief reign from 361 to June 26, 363, borrowed some elements from the Christian Church. His notorious edict excluding Christians from teaching was even condemned by pagans, including the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330–395). Maximus of Ephesus (d. 371/372), Julian's



Marble statue traditionally of the emperor Julian the Apostate as a pagan philosopher, in the Musée National Thermes & Hôtel de Cluny de Moyen Âge in Paris (Courtesy Edward English)

mentor, was a charlatan and magician and a poor model for intellectual and religious pagan revival. Also misguided was Julian's 363 attack on Persia, where he was killed in battle on June 26, 363, by a Christian, according to some. He became the personification of evil to Christian apologists.

**Further reading:** Julian, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, ed. and trans. W. C. Wright, 3 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1913–1923); G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); Robert Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Rowland B. E. Smith, *Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

**jury trial** The jury trial became an important part of the system of administering JUSTICE in the Middle Ages in ENGLAND. The practice sprang from the practices of Germanic tribes and their kingdoms in western Europe.

It was based on the deliberative participation of freemen in the assemblies, where an accused was tried. Such an assembly, called a *mallus* or a *placetum*, was summoned by a chief or king. During the administrative and bureaucratization of western Europe in the 10th and 11th centuries, such assemblies were often replaced by courts, at which a lord or his vassals acted as judges. In England, however, the ancient system continued, even after the Norman Conquest. Justice was decided by popular assemblies for the shire or the hundred. During the 12th century, attendance at such assemblies came to be restricted to a certain number of freemen who, according to the statutes issued by HENRY II, had to take an oath to follow the law before a sheriff, as a representative of the king. Such freemen were called jurors, with their composite group named a jury. Judicial decisions taken by a jury on acquittal or sentencing of an accused came to be the fundamental procedure in English common law.

See also FORTESCUE, JOHN; HENRY II, KING OF ENGLAND; ORDEAL.

**Further reading:** John H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 3d ed. (London: Butterworth's, 1990); S. F. C. Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*, 2d ed. (London: Butterworth's, 1981); Theodore F. T. Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law*, 2d ed. (London: Butterworth, 1936).

**justice** In medieval ethical, political, and social thought, the virtue justice, which might be defined as "a constant and perpetual will to assign to each his right," was approached in a theological context as an attribute of GOD or in connection with doing the just thing in this world. In moral PHILOSOPHY, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice were the CARDINAL VIRTUES as derived from the ideas of Plato. This doctrine was known in the Middle Ages, before the translation and circulation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, through reading and consulting Roman and patristic sources.

Some medieval thinkers on virtues such as justice organized their conception of justice around the idea of seeking rectitude. Only the person who sought rectitude for its very own sake could be called just. Thomas AQUINAS was dependent on such an Aristotelian theory of justice as set forth in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Cultivated as a habit, "general justice" or "legal justice" should lead humans to seek the common good of all, following Aristotle in distinguishing more general legal justice from particular justice. Particular justice regulated one's relations with other people, either as a relationship of one individual to another or as a relationship based on what was common to both individuals. Distributive justice shared proportionately the common good and goods of society equitably, according to merit. In commutative justice, the object was to

govern equity in mutual exchange, voluntarily and involuntarily. This was an important aspect of the concept of the just price. The offenses committed against any form of justice might be homicide and violence against others, verbal injuries and injustices in court and society, as well as theft and USURY. Religion sought to render justly to GOD the honor due to him and made that an aspect of justice. For Aquinas justice surpassed in value all the other moral virtues. In the later Middle Ages these ideas of justice were propagated through pastoral care for SOULS in terms of ideas about the just roles of the state and the individual.

See also ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; PREACHING.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Association*, NS 49:4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1959); John Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1969).

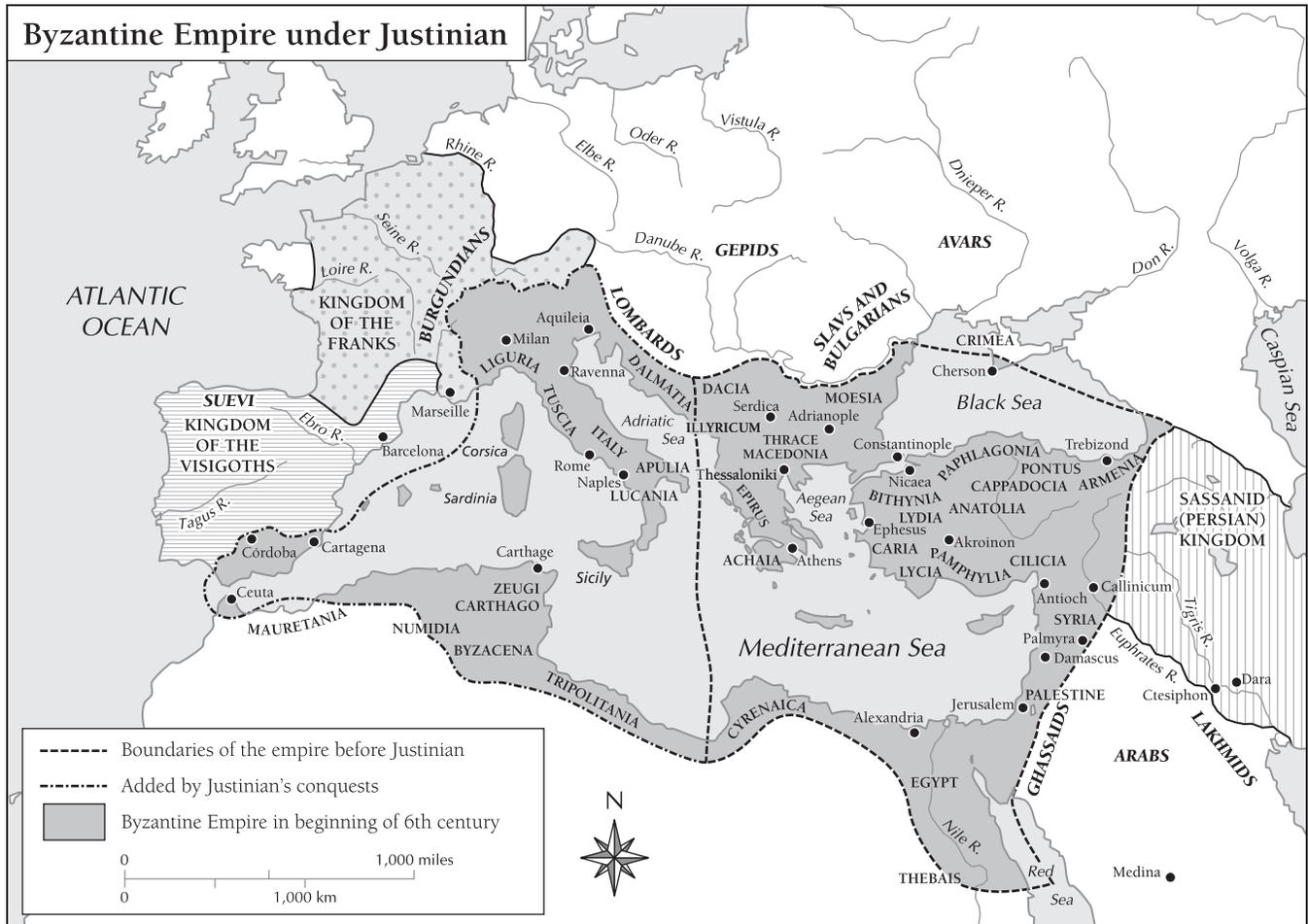
**justice, administration of** See CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS.

**Justinian I (Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus)** (482–565) *Byzantine emperor who temporarily reunified the Eastern and Western Empires*

Justinian was born Flavius Petrus Sabbatius in the Macedonian Balkans on May 11, 482. His parents were of LATIN-speaking Thracian-Illyrian peasant background. All we know of his youth was that he was taken under the wing of his uncle, Justin, the future emperor Justin I (r. 518–527), who took him to CONSTANTINOPLE for an education. The youth took the name Justinianus out of respect for his helpful uncle. After thorough schooling, which left him with a particular taste for THEOLOGY, Justinian was promoted by his uncle in rapid advancement in the army. When the childless Anastasios I (r. 491–518) died in 518, Justin was unexpectedly made emperor, at age 66, as Justin I. Justinian rose to caesar in 525 and finally became emperor and successor on August 1, 527. It was also during this time that Justinian arranged to marry THEODORA, thereby acquiring an important partner.

**EMPEROR OF BYZANTIUM AND CRUSHING RESISTANCE**

When Justin I died on August 1, 527, Justinian (and Theodora) succeeded to the throne. During the first four





Emperor Justinian, mosaic from San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

years, their autocracy and the mounting burden of governmental expense made their regime oppressive and unpopular. The so-called Nika riots of January 13–18, 532, which had begun as rioting among the circus factions of the HIPPODROME, grew into demands for real change in governmental policies and finally sought to dethrone Justinian. The emperor rallied his troops under loyal generals, such as BELISARIUS, and massacred the rioters. Justinian punished the other conspirators, temporarily squelching popular and aristocratic opposition to his rule.

#### IMPERIAL AMBITIONS

Justinian's long reign was marked by aggressive and defensive wars. The accession of a new SASSANIAN king, Khosro or Chosroes I (r. 531–579) in 531 made a peace treaty possible. The ensuing "Perpetual Peace" of 532 involved Justinian in paying a veiled tribute but freed him for territorial reconquest in the west. Jealous of Justinian's subsequent successes, Chosroes broke the peace in 540 by invading SYRIA-PALESTINE and devastating ANTIOCH. Still tied down in the west, Justinian had to engage in a new war with Persia for most of the rest of reign. Only in 562 was a 50-year peace treaty agreed on, requiring even heavier tribute payments.

#### THE WEST

His two primary targets for conquest in the west were Vandal North AFRICA and Ostrogothic ITALY. The Vandal kingdom was quickly destroyed by Justinian's able general Belisarius in 533–534. Two years later operations were launched in Italy. Belisarius eventually negotiated a short-lived settlement with the OSTROGOTHS in 540. An Ostrogothic resurgence threatened this, so Belisarius had to return to command in Italy. But Justinian supported him inadequately and the war drifted indecisively until the emperor then gave fuller backing to a new commander, Narses (ca. 478–568), who defeated the Ostrogoths decisively in two battles during 552. More warfare completed the pacification of Italy, but Italy had been brutally ravaged by a long war that shattered prosperity and left the peninsula open to a new Germanic invasion by the LOMBARDS only a few years after Justinian's death. Despite a rapid Vandal collapse, unruly BERBER tribes of the hills tied down imperial forces for decades. In both regions, the expected rapid annexation turned into an interminable war that continuously drained the empire's manpower and money.

Justinian's foreign relations, however, were not only warlike. Anxious to free the empire's commercial life from dependency on Persian traders, he sought new TRADE routes. His cooperation with the Christian kingdom of ABYSSINIA realized this aim briefly. But because his wars elsewhere strained his resources, Justinian had to rely more and more on diplomacy or negotiation as a substitute for strength. The Balkan provinces suffered most for this juggling of priorities. Denuded of adequate defenses,

they were left exposed to new invaders, especially the SLAVS, and soon the AVARS.

#### LEGACY AND DIFFICULTIES

Justinian built lavishly all over the empire, including fortresses and works of regional defense, structures of public and practical function, buildings for urban adornment, and especially great churches and monasteries. Among his greatest buildings was his reconstruction of the Temple of the Holy Wisdom, or HAGIA SOPHIA, in Constantinople, still a great monument of Christian building.

Justinian initiated a total overhauling of the Roman legal system. In the *CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS*, his commissioners distilled into a systematic exposition the basic legal texts and the interpretational literature. This preserved the heritage of Roman LAW and made possible its transmission to later generations.

Justinian tried to end religious disunity and controversy within the empire. The chief theological issue of his day was the persistent MONOPHYSITE rejection of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451 and regarding the nature of Christ. For all his efforts at persecution and compromise, any resolution of the issues was probably even less possible at the end of his reign than before.

During 542–543 the worst PLAGUE before the 14th-century Black Death ravaged the Mediterranean world, leaving populations lower for generations. Theodora's death of cancer in 548 was a cruel personal loss to Justinian. Deteriorating Balkan defenses led to massive incursions and exposed even the capital itself to attack. Justinian's death on November 14, 565, was greeted with popular rejoicing and relief. The most famous historian of his reign, PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA, in his *Secret History* portrayed Justinian and Theodora as virtual demons.

See also CASSIODORUS, SENATOR; OSTROGOTHS; VANDALS; VISIGOTHS.

**Further reading:** Procopius, *Secret History of Procopius*, trans. Richard Atwater (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963); Robert Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996); John Moorhead, *Justinian* (New York: Longman, 1994); Percy N. Ure, *Justinian and His Age* (New York: Penguin, 1951).

**Justinian, Code of (Codex Justinianus)** See *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS*.

**just price** See JUSTICE.

**just war** The early church had wide influence on the Roman State but tried to avoid the responsibilities of the state and power. The early Christians were naturally not

enthusiastic about Roman warfare and soldiering. A great change occurred with Christian control of the state and power in the fourth century, as can be seen in the thought of AUGUSTINE. For him a war was just if it was waged in self-defense or for restoration of peace and justice and carried out with no cruelty or for material gain. AMBROSE agreed and praised the courage of those who protected the state in a war against barbarians and defended the weak within or allies against criminal aggressors.

Starting from these principles and enriched with a notion of "holy war" or the CRUSADES, the notion of "just war" evolved further during the Middle Ages. GRATIAN'S *Decretum* from about 1140 gave four conditions for a just war: First, it must be authorized by a prince; second, clerics could not take part; third, it must be in defense of a native land under attack or for the recovery

of stolen property; and fourth, violence for its own sake must be prevented. From the early 13th century, these four conditions were refined into five and labeled according to the specific "person," "thing," "cause," "spirit," or "authority" for which they might be intended. A practical problem arose about exactly which such conflicts might create a just war for one side or an unjust one for the other. The PAPACY, a possible international tribunal for these matters, refused this role. During the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, popes proposed arbitration but refused to choose sides, despite pressure.

*See also* HERESIES AND HERETICS.

**Further reading:** Philippe Contamine, "Just War," *EMA* 1.794; Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

# K

**Kaba** (Kaaba, the Cube, Bayt Allah, the House of God) The Kaba is a cube-shaped shrine or “House of God” in the center of the Great MOSQUE of MECCA. When Muslims pray, it is this MOSQUE, considered the most sacred of their religion, that they actually seek to face. Not worshiped itself, it is the focal point of PRAYER and the HAJJ. It is covered by the *kiswa*, a drape decorated with verses from the Quran. Ibrahim or Abraham and Ismail or Ishmael are traditionally revered as the rebuilders of the Kaba, which Muslims believe was originally built by Adam. The Kaba was first a shrine to many gods, but after the capture of Mecca by MUHAMMAD, the 360 idols that had been placed in the Kaba during the earlier period of the state of ignorance were removed. In the eastern corner a black stone (al-Hajar al-Aswad) that is believed to have been borne from HEAVEN by the angel Jibril or Gabriel is set. Pilgrims touch it to have their sins removed. Inside there are hanging lamps and inscriptions, but nothing remains of the paintings said to have been there up to the time of Muhammad. The Kaba was damaged and rebuilt in the 60 years after the Prophet’s death. In 963 the Umayyads conquered Mecca and restored the Kaba to its present form. It is the center of the sacred world for ISLAM, a daily reminder for prayer.

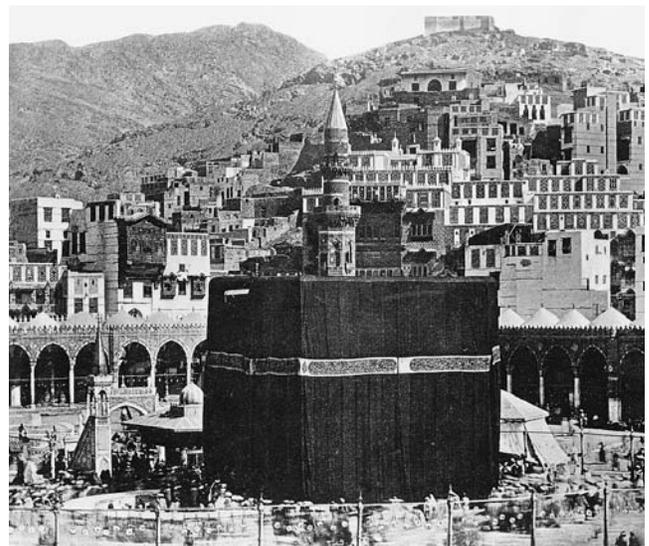
See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Further reading:** K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*; A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, “Kaba,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 4.317–322.

**Kabbala** (Cabbala, Kabalah, Qabbalah) The term *Kabbala* was based on the Hebrew *Qabbala*, or “received tradition.” It embodied the various manifestations of Jewish

mysticism. During the Middle Ages it was devotional in nature, aiming at ecstasy and perhaps a mystical union. It also included the concept of a theosophical Kabbala that was somehow able to transfer to the practitioner a knowledge of the divine as far as it might be apprehended by humankind. All of this was based on a symbolic reading of Scriptures. Medieval Jewish thought was heavily influenced by Islamic and Arabic culture. For Jewish mysticism, SUFISM and its ascetic beliefs and practices were important sources of inspiration.

Between 1150 and 1250 in the Rhine Valley, a European Jewish mystical and pietistic movement coalesced



View of Mecca with the Kaba in foreground, 1890 (Courtesy Library of Congress)

around a family of scholars, the Kalonymids or KALONYMUS family, and two almost legendary figures and sages: Rabbi Judah the Pious (1146–1217) and his disciple, Rabbi ELEAZAR of Worms. Their kabbalistic and theological ideas were concerned with the hidden and manifest aspects of the divine and its glory. They had a strong sense of the immediate immanence of GOD and expressed this by elaborate prayers and penitential practices somewhat influenced by the concept of penitential and quantitative evaluations deployed in Celtic forms of Christianity.

The most important current of medieval Jewish mysticism was that of the intellectual Kabbala, from PROVENCE, LANGUEDOC, and Gerona in Spain. It spread all over the Jewish world. The best known work of this school and approach appeared in Castile about 1293, the *Zohar* (Book of splendor). This was concerned with the hidden and unspeakable aspects of God and the manifestations that cosmologically emanate from him. The TORAH was posited as the interface that allowed humans to interact with the divine.

See also GnosticisM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; NACHMANIDES, MOSES; NEOPLATONISM AND PLATONISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

**Further reading:** Philip Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Joseph Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944); Lawrence Fine, ed., *Essential Papers on Kabbalah* (New York: New York University Press, 1995); Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, "Philosophy and Kabbalah: 1200–1600," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, eds. Daniel H. Franck and Oliver Leaman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 218–257, with a bibliography on pp. 455–457.

**Kairouan** See AL-QAYRAWAN.

**kalam** (speech, scholastic theology) *Kalam* initially referred to the "speech" of Allah or GOD in the QURAN and in earlier revelations by prophets. It later acquired a more technical sense as Islamic scholastic and speculative THEOLOGY, especially in the phrase *Ilm al-Kalam* the "science of theology." Distinct from PHILOSOPHY (*falsafah*), *kalam* encompassed the great debates of Islamic theology. It was explicitly centered on God, and was part of the training of religious scholars. From a method of inquiry, it developed into a method of argumentation using real or theoretical opponents.

**Further reading:** L. Gardet, "Ilm al-Kalam," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 3.1141–1150; W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology: An Extended Survey*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985); W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998).

**Kalevala** (*Kalewala*) *The Kalevala* has been recognized as the Finnish national epic. However, this heroic poem was compiled in the mid-19th century from oral poetry that had its origins perhaps in the sixth century B.C.E. It was based on interconnected stories of four individuals: the eternal singer, or sage Vainamoinen or Wainamoinen, the rash young Lemminkainen, the smith Ilmarinen, and the slave Kullervo. It was set in the heroic age of FINLAND. Published before Finland became an independent state, it quickly became a focal point for Finnish nationalism, inspiring numerous Finnish authors, artists, and composers by creating a mythical national history.

Elias Lönnrot (1802–84) collected and published these stories in 1849 from then extant oral traditions of the Finns and other Baltic peoples. A product of a romantic tradition, Lönnrot, a physician who later became a professor of Finnish literature at Helsinki University, traveled around the northeastern region of the Baltic Sea collecting stories from singers, bards, and poets. He assumed he was merely rediscovering and arranging an actual coherent and traditional epic poem. He produced two versions, *Proto-Kalevala* (1833–34) and the *Old Kalevala* (1835).

**Further reading:** Elias Lönnrot, *The Kalevala*, trans. Keith Bosley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Felix J. Oinas, *Studies in Finnic Folklore: Homage to the Kalevala* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1985).

**Kalonymus family** The Kalonymus were a distinguished Jewish dynasty or two families whose descendants in the 10th through 13th centuries were counted among the most prominent authors of rabbinical literature and works of MYSTICISM in northern ITALY and GERMANY. They also served as community leaders. Though they claimed to be from IRAQ, the Greek name of the family suggests a southern Italian origin. According to a 13th-century tradition, passed down by the Ashkenazi Hasidim, the family moved to Germany from Lucca in 849. This unverified date has been roughly assigned to the years between 870 to 970.

The most famous family member was Meshullam ben Kalonymus (930–1005), who spent most of his life in Lucca. Questions on Jewish LAW were sent to him from Jewish settlements in Christian Europe and the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, a valuable historical source for the study of this period. Meshullam and his father developed centers of Jewish scholarship in Christian Europe. For centuries later members of the family were renowned in the Jewish society for producing many leaders of various communities, including Judah the Pious (1146–1217) and ELEAZAR OF WORMS. Scholars and leaders named Kalonymus were also prominent in the communities of PROVENCE, especially Narbonne, but

there is no clear evidence that they were connected to the Italian-German families.

Members of these groups significantly influenced the culture and outlook of medieval German Jewry in three principal ways. First they helped to develop and preserve a mystical Judaism. Several family members were leaders of the Ashkenazi Hasidism movement at the end of the 12th century and during the 13th. Second, they influenced the liturgy and synagogue prayer. And third, this family was pivotal in forming the spiritual image and outlook of much Ashkenazi culture.

See also **KABBALA**.

**Further reading:** Joseph Dan, *The "Unique Cherub" Circle: A School of Mystics and Esoterics in Medieval Germany* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Avraham Grossman, "Kalonymus Family," *DMA* 7.206–7.

**Karbala, Battle of** This was a famous early battle fought in October 680 in an area southwest of BAGHDAD between a tiny army of supporters of AL-HUSAYN IBN ALI and overwhelming Umayyad forces. Al-Husayn and his companions were defeated and massacred. The circumstances of the night before the battle, and the battle itself, have become legendary. The battle took place on the 10th day of the Muslim month of al-Muharram, a day considered to be particularly sacred, especially by SHIITES.

**Further reading:** Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *Imam Husain and His Martyrdom* (Lahore: al-Biruni, 1978); Wilfred Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**Kells, Book of** Sometimes called the "chief relic of the Western world," the *Book of Kells* is an illuminated manuscript created by monks over a period of several years. It can be dated to the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries. It contains the GOSPELS of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Believed to be the work of three scribes, it was written in LATIN on calf vellum in Irish script, mostly in its majuscule form. The text was based on Saint JEROME'S Vulgate Bible and has been preserved at Trinity College in Dublin (Ms. A.I.6).

#### DETAILS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Its colorful and detailed illustrations have long been considered among the finest religious art of the early Middle Ages. Done in the Hiberno-Saxon style, the *Book of Kells* contains many full-page images, including those of Jesus, Matthew, John, and the Virgin MARY. There are elaborate designs, fine decorations, representations of vegetation and animals, and abstract and symbolic figures. For example, Matthew is represented as a man, Mark as a lion, Luke as a calf, and John as an eagle. Its capital letters are large, highly ornamented, and surrounded by



Portrait of Christ from the *Book of Kells*, ca. 800, fol. 32v. Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland (*Art Resource*)

symbolic figures. The *Book of Kells* also contains a page of etymologies, numerous canon tables, and summaries of and prefaces to the GOSPELS.

#### PROVENANCE

The manuscript consists of 340 folios, but some 30 folios originally in the *Book* are likely missing. Its cover was decorated with GOLD. When it was stolen in 1007, its jeweled bindings were forcibly removed by the thieves and have remained lost. The rest of the book was recovered a few months later. However, the preface and some 12 leaves at the end were also destroyed.

The *Book of Kells* was probably created in the monastery of IONA, an island in the Hebrides, off the shore of SCOTLAND. It may have been intended as a commemoration in 797 of the 200th anniversary of the death of Saint COLUMBA. About 807, when VIKINGS invaded Iona, the monks fled their monastery, taking the book with them, and moved to Kells in County Meath, Ireland.

See also **ILLUMINATION**; **LINDISFARNE GOSPELS**.

**Further reading:** Carol Farr, *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel Books, 650–800* (London: Thames and

Hudson, 1987); Françoise Henry, *The Book of Kells with a Study of the Manuscript* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974); George Otto Simms, *Exploring the Book of Kells* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 1988).

**Kempe, Margery (Burnham, Brunham)** (ca. 1373–ca. 1439) *subject of a 15th-century biography*

Margery's vernacular biography *Book of Margery Kempe* provides remarkable documentation about an illiterate Christian woman in 15th-century society and survives in a single manuscript in the British Library. She was born to an upper-middle-class family about 1373; her father, John Burnham (d. 1413), was mayor in King's Lynn in Norfolk. Margery married, had 14 children, became a widow, and converted to a serious religious life in 1413, modeling herself on BIRGITTA of Sweden. She allegedly spoke with Christ; apparently did make pilgrimages to CANTERBURY, JERUSALEM, ROME, SANTIAGO DI COMPOSTELA, and SPAIN; and spoke in front of crowds, dangerous to do in a period when LOLLARD heretics were persecuted for taking on clerical roles. Her activities provoked rumors of exhibitionism and hysteria, but she was never convicted of Lollardism. Her biography has been viewed as a source of great psychological and sociological importance. She died about 1439.

*See also* CELIBACY; JULIAN OF NORWICH; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (New York: Penguin, 1985); Clarissa W. Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The "Book" and the World of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Lynn Staley, *Margery Kempe's Dissenting Fictions* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

**Kempis, Thomas à** *See* THOMAS À KEMPIS.

**Kenneth MacAlpin** *See* MACALPIN, KENNETH.

**Khaldun, Ibn** *See* IBN KHALDUN, WALI AL-DIN ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN MUHAMMAD.

**Khalid ibn al-Walid** (d. 641) *Arab commander*

From the clan of Makhzum in the tribe of QURAYSH, he initially fought against MUHAMMAD but later converted about 628 and received the nickname "the sword of GOD" from Muhammad himself. Exploiting superior mobility, made possible by forced camel marches through the desert, he used an element of surprise in his attacks against the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. This was demonstrated by

his sudden appearance in March 635 before DAMASCUS, which fell after a brief siege. On August 20, 636, in the valley of the Yarmuk River, the eastern tributary of the Jordan River, Khalid won his most famous victory by utterly destroying a Byzantine army. This victory assured ARAB domination of SYRIA and PALESTINE. He died in partial disgrace in 641.

*See also* IRAQ; ISLAMIC CONQUESTS AND EMPIRE; SYRIA.

**Further reading:** Patricia Crone, "Khālid ibn al-Walid," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 4.928–929; S. K. Malik, *Khalid bin Walid, the General of Islam: A Study in Khalid's Generalship* (Karachi: Ferozsons, 1968); A. I. Akram, *The Sword of Allah, Khalid bin al-Waleed: His Life and Campaigns* (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970); Masudul Hasan, *Khalid bin Walid: The Sword of God* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1978).

**khalifa** *See* CALIPH AND CALIPHATE.

**Kharijites (Khawarij, Seceders "those who went out")**

The Kharijites were a vigorously moral Muslim sect whose origin occurred, as did that of SHIISM, during the early period of ISLAM. After the murder of UTHMAN in 656/657, the partisans of the caliph ALI ibn Abi Talib and those of the future caliph Muawiya (r. 661–680) met each other at a potentially decisive battle at Siffin. After some confrontation, the two sides decided to go to arbitration. One group, which had so far supported Ali, strongly rejected this procedure, claiming only GOD could decide the succession of the caliph. Some secretly left the nearby town of al-Kufa in February–March of 658, acquiring their name of Kharijites or "those who went out."

This conflict was about the nomination and role of the caliph. The partisans of Ali (the later Shiites) believed that the caliph could only be a descendant of Muhammad. Those of Muawiya supported the legitimacy of the new Umayyad dynasty. The Kharijites claimed that the caliph had to be chosen on purely religious and moral criteria—he should be the best Muslim believer—so in effect they opposed both sides. This idea appealed to the non-Arabic converted peoples. Moreover, for the Kharijites, since every Muslim was responsible for his or her acts or justification by faith or works, any caliph who committed sins against Islam had to be killed. It was a religious duty to remove and murder him.

In IRAQ and IRAN, the Kharijites always fought against the Umayyads and then against the ABBASIDS. By the ninth century, the Abbasids had reduced them to scattered minority sects throughout their empire. In the AL-MAGHRIB, such ideas flourished for a long while among the newly converted BERBERS. However, there, too, the sect was eventually reduced to small scattered communities.

**Further reading:** Sirat Salim ibn Dhakwan, *The Epistle of Salim ibn Dhakwan*, ed. Patricia Crone and

Fritz Zimmermann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Elie Adib Salem, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956); Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, ed. R. C. Ostle and trans. R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer (1901; reprint, Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1975).

*khatt* See CALLIGRAPHY, ISLAMIC.

*Khayyam, Omar* See OMAR KHAYYAM.

**Khazars** They were a confederation of Turkish tribes, some of whose leaders converted to Judaism, from around the Caucasus mountains. They allied themselves with the BYZANTINE emperor HERAKLEIOS to fight the Persians and provided help against the AVARS. The Khazars appeared at the time of the collapse of an empire of central Asian TURKS in the early seventh century. They then associated various Turkish elements under the leadership of a royal clan from whom was chosen the khagan, a sacred figure put to death if fortune failed him. Their first capital at Balandja, south of the Caucasus, was captured in 642 by the Arabs. From then on their rule was reduced to an area from the Caucasus to the middle Volga and Khwarezm. Itil on the Volga was its capital.

Their relations with the Byzantines were usually good, as two emperors married Khazar princesses, and the Byzantines built for the khagan a fortress on the Don in an attempt to contain Hungarians and Petchenegs who had already captured the eastern part of Khazar territory. They also had to deal with the Ruś from KIEV. In 965, Sviatoslav (r. 962–972) destroyed Itil and Sarkel, the heart of the Khazar state. In 1015 the Ruś helped the Byzantine emperor BASIL II conquer Crimea from the Khazars. The Khazar state disappeared in the first half of the 11th century, and most of them converted to ISLAM.

#### AN EARLY JEWISH STATE

The capital of the empire, Itil, was at the center of several commercial routes. The Khazars soon became MERCHANTS. This also brought in various religious influences. Islam had won over some families. JEWS managed to convert a ruler, Bulan (r. 786–809), and, for a long period from the early ninth century, the religion of the state and of the khagan was a form of Judaism. Recently discovered letters have confirmed the existence of a considerable Jewish element at the royal court. Christianity also spread among them from their close neighbors, the ALANS, and others. From Byzantium, Saint CYRIL arrived in about 861 to evangelize them, with little lasting success.

**Further reading:** Norman Golb, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Uni-

versity Press, 1982); D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954); Arthur Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).

**khitan** See CIRCUMCISION, AND THE CHRISTIAN FEAST OF THE CIRCUMCISION.

**al-Khwarizmi, Muhammad ibn Musa** (ca. 780–ca. 845) *Persian mathematician, astronomer, geographer* Perhaps born in Khwarizm in IRAN, al-Khwarizmi flourished at the court of the ABBASID CALIPH AL-MAMUN. The caliph's interest in SCIENCE and PHILOSOPHY gave great impetus to scholarly investigation and promoted science and an intense TRANSLATION project from Greek via Syriac into Arabic. Little has been found on al-Khwarizmi's life; his name indicated at least an origin in the Persian culture of the Oxus River delta. He may have been part of al-Mamun's scientific academy in BAGHDAD, the House of Wisdom (Dar al-Hikma). He most likely participated in the calculation of the length of a degree of latitude, which took place during al-Mamun's reign.

To al-Khwarizmi we owe the words *algorithm* and *algebra*, from the title of his important mathematical work, *Calculation for Integration and Equation*. The book was twice translated into LATIN, by both GERARD of Cremona and Robert of Chester in the 12th century. In it al-Khwarizmi worked out several hundred simple quadratic equations by analysis and intuitive geometrical example. It also treated in an algebraic form methods of dividing inheritances and surveying plots of land. Al-Khwarizmi was one of the first users in the Islamic world of the system of numbers, along with the concept of zero, that was later called Arabic in the West but actually was borrowed at about this time from Hindu India. Al-Khwarizmi wrote a treatise on arithmetic.

Arabic bibliographies of the period included two books by him on the ASTROLABE and one on sundials; neither has survived. Al-Khwarizmi compiled the first astronomical tables in the Muslim world. They were translated into Latin by ADELARD OF BATH in 1126. Al-Khwarizmi made a contribution to medieval geography, *The Shape [or Image] of the Earth*. Its maps have unfortunately not come down to us, but modern scholars reconstructed them from al-Khwarizmi's descriptions. He died about 845.

**Further reading:** Carl B. Boyer and Uta C. Merzbach, *A History of Mathematics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989); Victor J. Katz, *A History of Mathematics: An Introduction* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1993); David A. King, *Al-Khwarizmi and New Trends in Mathematical Astronomy in the Ninth Century* (New York: Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University, 1983).

**Khwarizmshahs (Khwarazmshahs)** The Khwarizmshahs were the rulers of Khwarizm, or Khwarazam, a central Asian province on the lower part of the Oxus River near its delta on the Aral Sea in modern Uzbekistan. It comprised the ancient Chorasmia and modern Khiva. Its well-irrigated and productive agricultural region though surrounded by deserts allowed it to be relatively secure from attack and isolated from external cultural influences. Its Iranian language, Khwarazmian, remained the general language of the region until its evolution into a Turkic dialect during the reign of the SELJUK Khwarizmshahs in the beginning of the 11th century.

The title Khwarizmshah has been linked with a semilegendary Iranian kings and was first used by the dynastic house of the Afrighs (fourth century–995). Its use was maintained by local rulers, regardless of ethnicity or dynastic origins. By the end of the 12th century, however, the title Khwarizmshah was applied specifically to an independent and militarily powerful Islamic Turkic empire.

#### HISTORY

Historically the Khwarizmshahs were the most important dynasty to gain prominence in the system of government developed by the Seljuks in Baghdad. From 1055 these Seljuks had assumed the title *sultan* and became protectors of the person of the ABBASID CALIPH. This system of government gave autonomy to local governors, among whom were the Khwarizmshahs, who began to rival the Seljuks and even replace them as the protectors of the caliph and the Islamic community.

The founder of the Khwarizmshah dynasty was a Turkish slave who was eventually appointed the governor of Khwarizm. His grandson, Ala al-Din Atsiz (r. 1127–56), was the true founder of the dynasty. He subjugated neighboring nomads in the lower areas of the Syr Darya and developed the military capabilities of his Turkish forces. This military capability was the base for the success of his grandson, Ala al-Din Tekish (r. 1172–1200), who gained independence from other Seljuk dynasties.

Called by the Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180–1225), Tekish marched west and destroyed the Seljuks in 1194. Assuming the title sultan, he replaced them as protectors of the caliph. His son, Ala al-Din Muhammad (r. 1200–20), expanded the empire to its greatest territorial limits, all the way from India to IRAQ. From then on they were in conflict with the caliph, who sought independence from Khwarizmshahs. The climax occurred in 1217, when Muhammad captured BAGHDAD.

#### MONGOL CONQUEST

Meanwhile, the MONGOLS, led by JENGHIZ KHAN, turned from their campaigns in China to attack the Khwarizmi Empire. By 1221 they had taken Gurganj, the capital. Muhammad fled for his life and died in obscurity. During

the next 10 years his son, Jalal al-Din (r. 1220–31), was pursued from India to SYRIA, vainly attempting to resist the Mongol conquest. Members of the family drifted west and were absorbed by other Turkish peoples.

**Further reading:** Ghulam Rabbani Aziz, *A Short History of the Khwarazmshahs* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1978); V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1977); Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “Khwarazm-Shahs,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 4.1065–1068; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 107–110; René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia*, trans. Naomi Walford (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

**Kiev and the Kievan Ruś (Kuy-Ev [the Shore on the River], Kyiv, Kiyev)** Medieval Kiev was a trading settlement that grew to become a city on the west bank of the Dnieper River in modern Ukraine. In the early Middle Ages Kiev was a center from which Slavic and Khazar raids were launched down the Dnieper against CONSTANTINOPLE seemingly primarily to extract better trading privileges with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

With the consolidation of the RURIK dynasty in the later ninth century, these continued and were accompanied by diplomatic contacts under OLEG and IGOR I, and the expedition of 907 was followed by a beneficial trading agreement in 911. Subsequent raids in 941 and 943 or 944 produced new treaties and closer ties. These closer relationships between the Ruś now centered in Kiev and Byzantium can be clearly seen in the treaties and in Olga’s visit, as regent (945–969), to Constantinople. This was further exemplified when, as an ally, Prince Sviatoslav (r. 962–971/972) attacked BULGARIA in 968 and when Prince VLADIMIR I the Great supplied VARANGIANS and mercenaries to the emperor BASIL II in 988.

#### CHRISTIANITY, THE MONGOLS, AND MOSCOW

With the conversion of Vladimir I, Byzantine presence in Kiev increased. This was especially clear between 1019 and 1054, during the reign of YAROSLAV THE WISE, who rebuilt much of Kiev in the image of Constantinople. The city of Kiev flourished until it was pillaged by the MONGOLS in 1240. In the 13th century MOSCOW replaced Kiev as the focal point for Byzantine civilization in this vast region. Despite the grave destruction suffered by the town when it was taken and sacked by the Mongol invaders on December 6, 1240, Kiev and its archiepiscopal see remained the residence of metropolitans and a center of religious life until 1299 even under the dominance of the Golden Horde. In the mid-15th century, Kiev regained this religious role for the Orthodox population of the new Polish–Lithuanian State after the division

of the Russian Church and separation from the metropolitanate of MOSCOW. From about 1362, under the rulers of LITHUANIA, the town emerged from its decline and prospered through its importance in the increased commerce with the East.

See also KHAZARS; NOVGOROD; RUSSIA AND RUŚ.

**Further reading:** Samuel Hazard Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1953); George Vernadsky, trans., *The Medieval Russian Laws* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947); Martin Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994); Martin Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224–1246* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981).

**al-Kindi, Abu Yusuf Yaqub ibn Ishaq al-Sabbah (the Philosopher of the Arabs)** (ca. 800–ca. 870) *philosopher, scholar*

Of noble lineage, born about 800 in IRAQ, al-Kindi has been considered the originator of PHILOSOPHY expressed in Arabic while integrating the authority of the ARISTOTELIAN and NEOPLATONIC Greek heritage. He was especially important for the development of philosophical terminology during an era of great intellectual turmoil. He defined his terms for use in both THEOLOGY and religion. Borrowing from ARISTOTLE, he left numerous short works on philosophy and the sciences, such as ASTROLOGY and MEDICINE. He believed that humankind should pursue knowledge regardless of its source and that philosophy or reason and religion and faith were not antithetical. Only a small part of his work reached the West, most notably his *On Reasoning*, of which two LATIN translations survive. He did not support Greek points of view that contradicted the QURAN. With few pupils, he died about 870, leaving behind no Islamic school of thought, though he did help integrate philosophy into Islamic theology.

**Further reading:** A. L. Ivry, ed. and trans. *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics: A Translation of Yaqub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi's Treatise "On First Philosophy"* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974); George N. Atiyeh, *Al-Kindi: The Philosopher of the Arabs* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1966); Nicholas Rescher, *Al-Kindi, An Annotated Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964).

**kings and kingship, rituals of** There were elaborate concepts of kingship and rituals of consecration during the Middle Ages. In the early Middle Ages, Frankish and some ANGLO-SAXON kings belonged to specially elected families almost of divine origin. Kingship was sacred; there was little Christian context. The king was the mediator between his people and warriors and the gods, who

in turn were the source of victory and prosperity. Each generation usually witnessed a contest for succession. The brother who prevailed was considered to have won by divine will. But kingship quickly became discontinuous and destructive, with each new generation of sibling heirs warring over the apportioning of lands and power the deceased father had acquired. Power was seized more often than it was inherited, despite the elaborate theories and mythological precedents. At the same time, the geography of kingdoms was unstable and borders were constantly revised. Although dynastic succession and consecration were ultimately accepted and sometimes necessary, election or acceptance by the kingdom and its strongest members always remained fundamental to actual rule.

#### CONSECRATION AND THE RULE OF THE CHURCH

The introduction of consecration by the clergy as part of a coronation ritual led to great changes. Visigothic bishops came to anoint the elected ruler in imitation of the prophets and kings of Israel. Clerics held the power to anoint, and probably also by implication, to depose. Christian kings were the guarantors of peace and justice who led their people to salvation with the advice of the clerics. The CAROLINGIANS were consecrated in 751 and 754 to mark the dynastic transition from the MEROVINGIANS. By 987, it was generally agreed that kingship was hereditary for the able sons of deceased kings.

#### FRANCE AS MODEL

Such dynastic rights of succession developed quickly first in FRANCE while other kingships remained elective. The election in 987 of HUGH Capet changed the concept both of the kingdom and of the king. The CAPETIAN DYNASTY was concerned with creating a continuous dynastic succession. They organized the premature consecration of their successors and associated them with the throne during their own lifetime. The ruler had to be male, since the role of war leader and judge was still considered fundamental. Primogeniture was not contested. The exclusion of women was more firmly established during the frequent successions between 1316 and 1328. French customary consecration carefully never put the king under the tutelage of a pope or even the archbishop of RHEIMS, who traditionally carried out the ritual of coronation. The consecration OATH in France was more of a declaration of intention, and election was replaced by a merely formal acclamation of the designated heir. In the late Middle Ages, blood and descent determined who was king. Consecration became less important.

#### KINGSHIP ELSEWHERE

The status and traditions of the French monarchy greatly influenced ideas about rulership and succession

for European monarchs. The king was sacred, pious, and potentially saintly. As a “good” Christian monarch, he persecuted JEWS and HERETICS, went on CRUSADE, deferred to the pope, and dispensed justice to the poor. He could work MIRACLES in France and ENGLAND by curing with his royal touch. He was also supposed to be a warrior who would personally lead his feudal vassals to war. Victory in any such war meant that the objective was just. Ideally, the king was to guarantee a general prosperity, feed the hungry, and care for the sick. The king was at the theoretical summit of fief holding. All the land in the kingdom might depend on him, directly or indirectly. He was the lord over all the inhabitants of the kingdom. All JUSTICE derived from the king as the source of all LAW. Only his Christian conscience, according to some extreme theorists, could limit his power and excesses. The 14th and 15th centuries were marked by negotiations and conflict between kings and subjects on these very questions. The realities of power relationships among nobles, townsmen, and monarchs became the subject of frequent wars fueled by an increasing need for consensual taxation. There was a great increase in the pomp of ritual at coronations and at royal funerals as monarchs tried to dramatize their legitimate authority and assert their right to vast power.

See also CHARLEMAGNE; HINCMAR OF RHEIMS; PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** Richard A. Jackson, ed., *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995–2000); Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne, 25 December 800*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1974); Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966); Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon, 1986); Thomas Renna, “Kingship, Theories of,” *DMA* 7.259–71; Frans Theuvs and Janet L. Nelson, eds., *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

**king's evil** See LEPROSY.

**kinship** See FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN WESTERN EUROPE.

**knights and knighthood** The western European lay aristocracy of the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries was viewed at one time as a fairly homogeneous elite of landholding knights whose principal business was WARFARE. But this aristocracy actually varied enormously in wealth and power. Some were landless household

knights, while others occupied lands that owed little service to anyone. In a classic system of feudal relations, a knight was a FIEF holder who rendered homage and service to his lord in return for a fief. That lord in turn was a fief-holding vassal of a higher lord, and the vassal knight was served by knights further down an imagined feudal hierarchy.

#### NOBLES AND KNIGHTS

This neat hierarchical concept has been largely rejected for most of western Europe in the period before about 1200. The so-called warrior aristocracy might best be viewed as at least two distinct groups: knights and nobles. The knights occupied an intermediate level in society, above the PEASANTRY but below an aristocracy. Nobles were wealthy hereditary landholders who exercised broad jurisdictional and legal powers. Knights were military retainers, often of humble means, but defined by their military vocation and ability rather than any lineage.

#### MILITARY ROLE AND IDEOLOGY

In this social and organizational milieu, the knight, or *chevalier*, was the armored warrior mounted on HORSES. The equipment necessary for a knight were his equipped warhorse, his own arms, and a hauberk, helmet, shield, lance, and sword. Such equipment must be possessed by the noble landowning class as well as their military retainers. A ceremony of INVESTITURE with arms of dubbing was common to all. In this way they could be grouped into a single elite of mounted, armed warriors, different in wealth and power but having a single ideology of knightly war.

#### CHANGE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Intermarriage, more common from the 12th century on, with nobles allowed some of the lower class of knights to rise to the prerogatives of nobility. In the later Middle Ages, lesser knights began to become part of the older aristocracy. They acquired privileges and jurisdictional rights, married into the old or right families, and sometimes erected fortified dwellings or CASTLES on their lands. All were called lords. The CRUSADES further increased their value for the church and society in general, as corroborated, portrayed, and enhanced in the EPIC LITERATURE and Arthurian ROMANCES themed around the culture of knighthood. At the same time, the social dominance of all these knights was challenged in the Middle Ages by their devolving role in military tactics, the rise of prominent MERCHANT townsmen, and attempts by monarchs to increase their power over their kingdoms by destroying or corrupting the sources of knightly prestige.

See also CAVALRY; CHIVALRY; HERALDRY AND HERALDS; NOBILITY AND NOBLES; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; TOURNAMENTS; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1995); S. D. Church, *The Household Knights of King John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Steven R. Turnbull, *The Knight Triumphant: The High Middle Ages, 1314–1485* (London: Cassell, 2001).

**Knights of Malta** See HOSPITALLERS.

**Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem** See HOSPITALLERS.

**Knights of the Temple** See TEMPLARS.

**knights' service and knights' fees** See FEUDALISM.

**Knud** See CANUTE II THE GREAT, KING OF DENMARK, NORWAY, AND ENGLAND.

**Komnene, Anna (Comnena)** (1083–ca. 1155) *Byzantine princess, historian*

Born on December 11/12, 1083, in CONSTANTINOPLE, Anna was a BYZANTINE princess, the eldest daughter of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS. She was the reluctant wife of Nikephoros Bryennios (d. 1137). After her husband died on campaign, Anna became a NUN and a patron of scholars. She began to write her history of contemporary affairs. Her book, the *Alexiad*, was a biography of her father and an important source for Byzantine history from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century. She was not impartial in her portrayal of her father, omitting many references to faults. The work has been long accepted as of special importance in the historiography of the CRUSADES, since it indicates the Byzantine reaction to the First Crusade and to the establishment of the LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

Judged as a talented, but bitter, old woman, Anna had a good literary education as well as a conservative, mature, but humorless knowledge of Byzantine society and government. She was interesting and clear in her complex characterizations of the crusaders and contemporary Greek imperial families. She died about 1155.

**Further reading:** Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (New York: Penguin Books, 1969); Thalia Gouma-Peterson, ed., *Anna Komnene and Her Times* (New York: Garland, 2000); Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (New York: Longman, 1999); R. F. Dalven, *Anna Comnena* (New York: Twayne, 1972).

**Komnenos dynasty (Komenoi, Komnenian dynasty, Comneni)** They were a BYZANTINE dynasty who reigned temporarily from 1057 to 1059 and more securely from 1081 to 1185. An early Komnenos, Manuel, distinguished himself in 978 under BASIL II by his defense of Nicaea. Manuel's descendant Isaac I (r. 1057–59) rose to power after a military coup, but, as a sick man, he relinquished the empire to an accomplice, Constantine Doukas (r. 1059–67). In April 1081 Isaac's nephew, ALEXIOS I, encouraged by his mother, Anna Dalassena (ca. 1030–1101/02) seized the throne from Nikephoros III Botaneites (r. 1078–81). In 1118, Alexios left his son, John II (r. 1118–43), an empire essentially free of Normans and the Petchenegs, whom he had defeated at Levurnion in 1091. In the East the TURKS had been pushed back to the central plateau of ANATOLIA. Indeed, Alexios made skillful use of the passage of the First CRUSADE, though BOHEMOND's refusal to hand back ANTIOCH incited a long quarrel with the Latins.

#### THE EMPIRE GROWS AND SHRINKS

JOHN II, the dynasty's best general, continued his father's work so well that all the coasts of Anatolia were once more under Byzantine control. John's son, Manuel I (r. 1143–80), tried simultaneously to invade southern Italy, counteract the advances of the Hungarians, and impose his rule on the SELJUKS and Danishmends in Anatolia. His ambitions ended in 1176 in bloody defeat at Myriokephalon. This finished any hope of a complete reconquest of Anatolia. Manuel retreated to consolidate what had been gained. Because Manuel's son, Alexios II (r. 1180–83), was a minor, his incompetent mother, Maria of Antioch, became regent. In 1182, they could not oppose the usurpation of a cousin, Andronikos I (r. 1183–85), who slew them after he entered Constantinople. There was a massacre of many foreigners after he took control of the city. The tyrannical and shifty character of Andronikos, who violently eliminated any potential rivals, including killing Alexios II, and his inability to check a Norman army that took THESSALONIKI on August 15, 1185, led to the emperor's downfall and horrific murder in September, leaving the throne open to his relative, ISAAC II Angelos (r. 1185–95, 1203–4).

When peace reigned, the period of the Komnenoi was marked by economic expansion and, the growth of towns in Europe such as Thebes, Corinth, and ATHENS. In western Anatolia, the construction of a network of fortresses revitalized and safeguarded this region, now able at least temporarily to stave off Turkish raids.

See also ISAAC I KOMNENOS, BYZANTINE EMPEROR; KOMNENE, ANNA.

**Further reading:** John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Niketas Choniates, *City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University

Press, 1984); Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confront the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

**Konrad of Marburg** See CONRAD OF MARBURG.

**Koran** See QURAN.

**Kosovo, Battles of (Kosovo Pulje, Field of Blackbirds)** Kosovo is a great plain in the valley of the rivers Sitnica and Lab in southern SERBIA, where important battles took place. On June 23, 1389, in a battle between the Serbs and the OTTOMAN Empire, Prince Lazar (r. 1371–89), ruler of the Serbs, and Sultan MURAD I were killed, with their armies suffering devastating losses. Its immediate consequence was the now permanent establishment of the OTTOMANS in the Balkans, leading to their further expansion into central Europe. Serbia became a vassal state of the Turkish Empire. Celebrated in epic poetry legends, glorifying the exploits of the Serbs, their defeat became into a moral victory that lives on to this day. A second battle was fought by the Hungarians under John HUNYADI and the army of MURAD II between October 17 and 20, 1448. The Ottomans won a great victory, which allowed them almost uncontested control of the Balkans and brought them right into central Europe.

**Further reading:** *The Battle of Kosovo*, trans. John Matthias and Vladeta Vuckovic (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 1999); T. A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: The Battle of Kosovo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); W. S. Vucinich and T. A. Emmert, eds., *Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

**Krak des Chevaliers (Ar Hisn al-Akhrad)** This is the strongest and best preserved of the crusader CASTLES in the Levant. It lies to the northeast of TRIPOLI. Situated on a high plateau in what is now northwestern SYRIA, the castle of Krak des Chevaliers commanded the important roads running to the south and from the towns of Hama and Homs to the Mediterranean coast. It was first occupied by the crusaders after the conquest of JERUSALEM in 1099 but had to be recaptured in 1110. In 1144, it was given to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem (HOSPITALLERS) by the count of Tripoli, to defend his eastern border. The Hospitallers rebuilt the fortress into a powerful stronghold over the next century, a key to defense from attacks by the ASSASSINS. In 1163, NUR AL-DIN

attacked the castle but was routed. Unlike other castles maintained by the military orders, the Krak des Chevaliers survived the fall of Jerusalem and the victorious campaigns of SALADIN after 1187.

It remained in Christian hands even after the MAMLUK sultan BAYBARS I captured much Christian-held territory, including ANTIOCH, between 1263 and 1268. LOUIS IX of FRANCE for a second time took up the cross, but at the last moment, in June 1270, he decided to detour to TUNIS on his way to EGYPT instead. For the Krak this failure was fatal. By the time Prince EDWARD I PLANTAGENET of ENGLAND arrived with help in 1271, Baybars had defeated the Hospitallers and taken the castle. It was later restored and expanded by the MAMLUKS. Fourteenth-century pilgrims, praised its strength and mourned its passage into Muslim hands.

**Further reading:** Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**Kraków** See CRACOW.

**kremlins** Kremlins were fortresses at the centers of old Russian towns. The term *kremlin* (Russian *kreml*) was attested in Russian texts only after 1331 to designate the fortified core of the towns of old Russia, fortresses, citadels, or burgs. Before then, it meant a “place to hide.”

#### MOSCOW

Most early Russian towns had a *detinec* or kremlin, in some cases from the ninth century. Originally simple earth walls, they were later surmounted by wooden palisades and later by stone or brick walls. The best-known kremlin was that of MOSCOW. Situated on a high point on the Moskova River, it evolved through several stages. Initial earth banks were surmounted by stakes from the 12th to the early 14th century. It was surrounded by stone walls in the late 14th century. Its present famous brick walls with their distinctive Italian swallowtail crenellations were erected in the late 15th. It housed the residence of the grand princes of Moscow and their households, as well as churches, monasteries, an armory, workshops, barracks, and storehouses.

#### NOVGOROD

The Kremlin of NOVGOROD had its first stone walls in 1044 and housed the beautiful Cathedral of Saint Sophia, built between 1045 and 1050, and a palace. It too was later surrounded by brick walls but by then it was not occupied by a ruling prince.

**Further reading:** Kathleen Berton Murrell, *Moscow: An Architectural History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990);

Arthur Voyce, *The Moscow Kremlin: Its History, Architecture, and Art Treasures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954).

**Krum, khan of the Bulgars** (r. ca. 802–814) *one of Byzantium's most fearful enemies*

Krum was famous in history for the stunning victory his Bulgarian army won on July 26, 811, over the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros I (r. 806–815), who was killed. Krum made a drinking cup out of the emperor's skull. In 812 Krum seized Mesembria after his entreaties for peace were turned down by the empire, and so he set about conquering towns in Thrace and MACEDONIA. The following year he marched unsuccessfully on CONSTANTINOPLE but captured ADRIANOPLE and carried off its citizens to BULGARIA. His occupation of these places was brief. He survived an assassination attempt by the Byzantines in the meantime. Fortunately for Byzantium he died of a hemorrhage the following year, on April 13, 814, while preparing another expedition against Constantinople or perhaps during another siege of the city.

See also BULGARIA AND BULGARIANS.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 94–105; Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell, 1930), 51–70.

**Kublai Khan** (1215–1294) *Mongol founder of China's Yuan dynasty*

Born in Mongolia in 1215, the year that his grandfather, JENGHIZ KHAN, burned Peking to the ground, Kublai Khan was a member of the ruling line of one of the largest empires in the world. By the time Kublai was proclaimed khan of all the MONGOLS in 1260, the empire encompassed present-day Mongolia, southern RUSSIA, northern China, Tibet, IRAN, IRAQ, and Afghanistan.

Little is known of Kublai Khan's early life, save that he was sent as governor of Hunan in 1240 and granted land in northern China. Kublai was proclaimed khan on May 5, 1260, just one month before the same title was claimed by a younger brother, Arigh Böke (d. 1266), who was supported by more conservative Mongols. Kublai had earned their further distrust by settling down, an unacceptable action for a nomad, and choosing to live in China rather than in the Mongolian capital of Karakorum. Arigh Böke's stronghold at Karakorum depended on imported supplies, so Kublai laid a TRADE embargo on the city. A series of battles outside the city in the spring of 1261 led to the surrender of Arigh Böke in 1264.

#### CONQUESTS IN CHINA: THE YUAN DYNASTY

Kublai Khan next turned his attention back to China and the subjugation of the southern Sung, who ruled south-

ern China in the early 1260s. The towns of Hsiang-yang and Fan-ch'eng, on the Han River and on route to their major strongholds on the Yangtze River, became the center of the war. Kublai Khan's forces set up a blockade that lasted more than four years. In the end Kublai called in two Muslim engineers to build machines that led to their speedy surrender, opening the way south. The Sung emperor was only four years old, and as the Mongol army moved on the capital city of Hangchow, his grandmother, the empress dowager Hsieh, tried vainly to bargain. Late in January 1276 the empress dowager was obliged to surrender. Anxious to win the support or compliance of his new subjects, Kublai prohibited the razing and pillaging of the southern cities and farms and allowed the imperial family to live. Kublai set out to govern as an outsider, recruiting diverse advisers from among Confucians, Buddhists, Tibetan lamas, and Muslims, as well as Mongols. Government bodies were supposedly set up to oversee equitable taxation and emergency relief and to ensure impartial justice.

#### KHAN'S LEGACY

Kublai's aura of invincibility was somewhat shaken by two losses trying to capture Japan when two typhoons destroyed the invading army's transport. The Great Khan returned to concentrate on his domains in China. Though becoming less and less concerned with affairs of state, he still encouraged domestic and foreign TRADE, promoted the sciences, such as astronomy and cartography, patronized culture and the arts, and instituted a joint Mongol-Chinese legal code. A paper currency was gradually adopted throughout the northern and southern regions with great success; an attempted general alphabet, designed to unify diverse scripts, met with significantly less success. Roadways and a postal service were much improved. These postal stations served as travelers' inns, and were described by MARCO POLO.

In old age Kublai Khan became morbidly obese, suffering from gout and acute alcoholism, as well as severe depression caused by the deaths of his favorite wife and son. Kublai delegated more and more of his authority to advisers and family members, spending most of his time eating and drinking in solitude. Kublai Khan died on February 18, 1294, at the age of 80. The Yuan dynasty he founded in China was overthrown less than a century later.

See also HULEGU.

**Further reading:** Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. Ronald Latham (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958); Robert Marshall, *Storm from the East: From Genghis Khan to Khubilai Khan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); David Nicolle, *The Mongol Warlords: Genghis Khan, Kublai Khan, Hülegü, Tamerlane* (New York: Sterling, 1990); Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

**Kufic script and *al-Kufa*** *Kufi* or *kufic* is an Arabic adjective denoting something connected with the city of al-Kufa in IRAQ and used specifically to describe the formal script mainly employed in Quranic manuscripts and monumental epigraphy from the eighth to the 12th century. Later, Islamic and Western authors used the term more generally to describe any script with similar angular letters. The prototype of these scripts probably originated in late-seventh-century SYRIA. Their subsequent association with the city of al-Kufa was made because that city was a leading center of religious studies and producer of manuscripts during the eighth and ninth centuries.

**Further reading:** Aida S. Arif, *Arabic Lapidary Kufic in Africa: Egypt, North Africa, Suda: A Study of the Development of the Kufic Script (3rd–6th century A.H./9th–12th century A.D.)* (London: Luzac, 1967); Gabriel Mandel Khan, *Arabic Script: Styles, Variants, and Calligraphic Adaptions*, trans. Rosanna M. Giammanco Frongia (New York: Abbeville Press, 2001).

**Kurds and Kurdistan** The Kurds are an Indo-European people who have lived for centuries in eastern and southern parts of ANATOLIA in Turkey, in the northwest of IRAN, near the northern part of the Zagros mountain chain, the northern and northeastern parts of IRAQ, and the northeasternmost part of SYRIA. They were never able to form a lasting political entity. The actual name Kurdistan for the land of the Kurds seemed to date only from the SELJUK period, when the Turkish sultan Sanjar (d. 1157) created a province of that name based on a town north of Hamadan. The actual historical origins of the Kurdish people might have occurred in Sumerian and Assyrian times.

#### RELATIONS WITH EARLY ISLAM

By the time of the Islamic expansion of the Arabs, the term Kurd was applied to groups of Iranian or Iranized tribes. They were conquered by the ARABS in 640. Under

the early Islamic empire, the Kurds were a tribally organized and somewhat autonomous people with both nomadic and sedentary elements and were listed in the Arabic sources from the 10th century onward with a bellicose and predatory reputation. The caliphs frequently sent punitive expeditions to suppress rebellions and to curb raids on the lowland regions of upper Mesopotamia. During the 10th and 11th centuries, various Kurdish groups, because of their military and political power and skills, formed states that were in effect autonomous of the caliph in BAGHDAD. They waged war against the Christian Georgians, Armenians, and Byzantines and tried to halt the westward migrations of the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century. They failed and became vassals or allies of the Seljuks. They continued to supply excellent soldiers to numerous Muslim regimes.

#### AYYUBIDS AND MONGOLS

The AYYUBID dynasty, that of SALADIN and his successors between 1169 and the late 15th century, was the high point of Kurdish influence on Islam. Ayyub ibn Shadhi (d. 1173), founder of the dynasty and father of Saladin, was a member of the Hadhbani tribe of Kurds. A strong Kurdish element in the armies and the administration of the Ayyubids was always present. The MONGOL invasions of the 13th century and their control of much of the central Middle East crushed the political power of the Kurdish tribes. From then on, the Kurds remained essentially intractable to outside control, striving always to protect their autonomy from the MAMLUKS, the IL-KHANIDS, various Turkish dynasties, the OTTOMAN Turks, and the Persian Safavids.

*See also* ARMENIA.

**Further reading:** T. Bois, Vladimir F. Minorsky, "Kurs, Kurdistan," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 5.449–464; John Bulloch, *No Friends but the Mountains: The Tragic History of the Kurds* (Hammondsworth: Viking, 1992); Hassan Arfa, *The Kurds: An Historical and Political Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

# L

**labor** The concept of labor during the Middle Ages was based on the idea that labor was the activity through which people used their abilities to produce or help produce what was useful to the common good of society. However, at the same time labor itself was deemed for the most part a demeaning but necessary activity and was associated with debasing work in the field or was done under distress and pain, as a punishment for SIN.

In the early Middle Ages as cities and city life declined, the number of urban artisans became much smaller and was clustered around the courts of the rulers that had replaced the Roman administration. Agricultural work and almost all productive labor were linked with slavery. The warrior and ecclesiastical elite did not do it. The monastic rule of Saint BENEDICT called for manual labor as part of the regular regime of a monastery, but this was understood as a remedy for laziness, and a chastisement produced by the stain of original sin on all souls.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, these ideas began to change. In the countryside, as agricultural laborers were equipped with better tools, and better methods for working recently cleared lands, they became more productive. The increased demand for labor allowed them to improve their working conditions and negotiate less demeaning and forced servitude. In the developing towns such as BRUGES, GHENT, and even FLORENCE, and with an economic revolution, the number of artisans and industrial workers grew; workers became better organized in GUILDS and were sometimes able, with considerable struggle, to improve their working conditions and political and social status.

As these economic and social conditions changed, ideas about work or labor evolved. An ideal society should give a fair part of the produce of their labor back

to all those who toiled. In the 12th century, the CISTERCIANS rehabilitated manual labor as the worthy work of God. In the towns and in the new UNIVERSITIES, those who made their living by their art and their labor (intellectuals and merchants as much as manual workers) could hardly be placed among the mass of field laborers. In the 12th century, in his *Didascalicon*, HUGH of Saint-Victor rediscovered an old theory that distinguished between the seven so-called mechanical arts, lesser replicas of the LIBERAL ARTS.

During the catastrophes of the 14th and 15th centuries, as demographic decline made laborers more rare and costly, work became better appreciated as contributing to the well-being or common good of all. Laziness among the able-bodied became shameful and sinful. At the same time governments tried to regulate working conditions and wages more strongly to favor the owners of productive enterprises. Work was recognized to produce wealth or value, so controlling those who supported the material lives of nobles, upper-class townspeople, and clergy became all the more important. Moralists emphasized the honorable work of Joseph as a model. They also endorsed the appreciation of work well done as part of being a just Christian.

See also LAITY; PEASANTRY; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**Further reading:** Judith M. Bennett, eds., *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989); Steven Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Allen J. Frantzen and Douglas Moffat, eds., *The Work of Work: Servitude, Slavery, and Labor in Medieval England* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1994); George Ovitt, *The Restoration of Perfection: Labor*

and *Technology in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

**Ladislav II Jagiello** (Vladislav, Wladyslav, Jogaila) (ca. 1351–1434) *king of Lithuania and Poland*

Ladislav was born about 1351. With the support of his nephew, Vyntantas (Vitold, Vitout) (1392–1430), he exercised joint control of LITHUANIA, which was essential to the success of his political ambitions. He married the heir to the Crown of POLAND and its queen, Jadwiga or Hedwig of Anjou (ca. 1373–99), to give him the prestige necessary to secure his position as the grand duke of Lithuania from 1377 and to confirm his rights in Poland. He became king of Poland, again almost jointly with Vyntantas, in 1386 and became the sole recognized monarch after Jadwiga's death in 1399. With the political union of the two states and the cooperation of his nephew, he was better able to face the TARTARS and Turks in the East and the rising power of the princes of MOSCOW. In the West he suffered the hostility and suspicion of his brother-in-law, the emperor SIGISMUND of Luxembourg, who was anxious to maintain and solidify his own position in Hungary and BOHEMIA. Ladislav also had to steer a careful path through the religious complications of the Hussite Wars but gained little by his meddling. Within Poland he relied heavily on the support of the great nobles. He inflicted a devastating defeat on the TEUTONIC Knights in 1410/11 at Grunwald. During his long reign, the hold of the Jagiello dynasty was given a sound foundation, despite the elective equality of the monarchy, which usually worked in the longer run to weaken the authority of any elected prince. He also established traditions of tolerance and freedom in Poland during his long and successful reign. This protection to minorities and to merchants contributed greatly to the economic prosperity of his reign in Poland. He died in 1434.

**Further reading:** Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**laity** The word *lay*, in Latin *laicus*, was derived from the Greek word *laios*. In the Greek translations of the BIBLE made at ALEXANDRIA in the second century B.C.E. the word designated the part of the Jewish people who were not priestly and thus consecrated completely to the service to God. Similarly for Christian authors it designated those members of the church not engaged in the activities of the priesthood. However, at the same time in early Christianity there remained the idea that actually the whole community of the baptized was holy and constituted a sort of priesthood who participated actively in

the liturgy and life of the church through the ministry of bishops and priests.

The emergence of monasticism between the fourth and the eighth centuries led to a devaluation of lay life. This evangelical ideal mixed an exaltation of VIRGINITY and CELIBACY with a depreciation of MARRIAGE and life in the world. Monasteries and cathedral schools became the main centers of learned culture. Only literate CLERICS were able to access the Word of God and clarify its meaning. The overwhelmingly illiterate laity were reduced to passive spectators and marginal participants at liturgical ceremonies.

The conditions of life, such as property, fighting, marriage, and LABOR, for the laity were deemed mere necessary concessions to a human condition shaped by original sin. Clerical authors used the image of a pyramid or a body, whose base or lowers were formed by the laity who were devoted to temporal tasks, who should be led, and the "spiritual" men of the clerical orders. Along with the liturgy, theologians and moralists legitimized the subordination of the laity to the clergy within CHRISTENDOM, and their complete and permanent exclusion from priest roles. Salvation and REDEMPTION, however, remained open to all.

The church of the GREGORIAN REFORM stressed the unity and complementary aspects of the two orders, the clerics led by the pope and the subordinate laity led by the emperor. All were to be within a single church that was identified with Christian society. The laity were confined to purely terrestrial tasks and the objects of the pastoral ministry of the clerics. Around 1140, the monk GRATIAN, a spokesman for Gregorian ideas, acknowledged in his *Decretum* that the laity were in the church but must behave as passive and obedient subjects.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, objections to this were called HERESY by the clergy, because they rejected the image of a church dominated and controlled by the clergy and tried to substitute a church and society of brothers and sisters striving for salvation with the clergy and the laity on an equal footing. The majority of the faithful, however, preferred to explore these new paths without entering into conflict with the clergy. The church began to recognize that a moral and apostolic life might be led by a layperson by starting to admit a few of the laity to sainthood. The church also began to reach out to more of the laity as they were increasingly perceived as more capable of actually gaining salvation even though they lived in the world. This attitude was not completely successful. The later Middle Ages was marked by the growth of groups with quite different ideas about the role of the laity in the church, especially the heretical LOLLARDS and Hussites.

See also BOOKS OF HOURS; CONFRATERNITIES; HUS, JOHN; PREACHING; UTRAQUISTS; WYCLIFFE, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Susan Reynolds, *Ideas and Solidarities of the Medieval Laity: England and Western Europe*

(Aldershot: Variorum, 1995); André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel Bornstein and trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993); André Vauchez, "The Church and the Laity," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 182–203.

**Lakhmid dynasty** They were an Arabic tribal federation founded in the third century by Amr ibn Adi, who lived in the eastern Arabian and the Syrian Mesopotamian deserts. For most of that period they were controlled by the Persians or Sassanians with their capital at al-Hira. They were frequently embroiled in the conflicts between the Roman or BYZANTINE Empire and the Sassanids. The Byzantines and their allies the GHASSANIDS, another Arabic-federated tribal group, eventually attacked and took al-Hira in 578. It had been the center of a pre-Islamic Arabic culture and was well connected and familiar with Christianity. The Sassanids later executed their last leader in 602, and the federation disappeared from history. They had served as a buffer between the Byzantines and the Persians in Syria and Mesopotamia and the Arabs farther south.

**Further reading:** al-Tabari, *The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, trans. C. E. Bosworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1984); Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1989); Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1995). C. E. Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," *Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 3, The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

**lamps** See LIGHTING DEVICES.

**Lance, Holy** See HOLY LANCE.

**Lancelot legendary and literary figure in Arthurian literature**

In the various forms of Arthurian literature during the Middle Ages, Lancelot usually appeared as the son of a noble king dispossessed of his land and a water fairy (the Lady of the Lake), who raised him in her mysterious and splendid domain, training him to be a peerless KNIGHT. In these stories, he encountered GUINEVERE, the wife of King ARTHUR, the victim of an abduction that Arthur could not rectify. Lancelot eventually freed the queen and

killed her abductor. He became attached to Guinevere to the point of allowing himself to be beaten in a tournament and committing acts neither honorable or even moral. He had other numerous adventures and exploits, but this adulterous love for Guinevere prevented him from pursuing the Holy GRAIL, a pursuit for which he had been predestined. Arthur's ideal ROUND TABLE eventually disintegrated in great part because of Lancelot's failings and the jealousy of others toward him. He eventually died in peace.

**Further reading:** Chrétien de Troyes, *Lancelot, or, The Knight of the Cart*, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990); Frank Brandsma, "Lancelot," in *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes: Characters in Medieval Narrative Traditions and Their Afterlife in Literature, Theatre and the Visual Arts*, ed. Willem P. Gerritsen and Anthony G. Van Melle (1993; reprint, Rochester, N.Y.: The Boydell Press, 1998), 160–170; Elspeth Kennedy, *Lancelot and the Grail: A Study of the Prose Lancelot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); William W. Kibler, ed., *The Lancelot–Grail Cycle: Text and Transformations* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

**land tenure** See FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; FIEF; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; PEASANTRY.

**Lanfranc of Bec** (ca. 1010–1089) *archbishop of Canterbury, theologian, monastic reformer*

Lanfranc was born in the LOMBARD city of Pavia, where he studied the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS and law. He began his career as a lawyer but was banished from his hometown. In 1042 he went to NORMANDY, where he opened a school at Avranches but soon entered the recently founded monastery of Bec. He preferred a hermetic life, but the abbot kept him at Bec and made him director of the monastic school. That school soon became one of the most famous in Europe, producing IVO of Chartres, ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, ANSELM OF LUCCA, the future Pope Alexander II (r. 1061–72), and a great number of reforming bishops. He was prior between 1045 and 1063. Lanfranc taught dialectic and RHETORIC, but also biblical exegesis. His main work was the *Book on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ against Berengar*. It was the product of a long controversy with BERENGAR OF TOURS. Lanfranc defended the doctrine of the transubstantiation or the change to the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. He was denounced by Berengar but defended himself successfully before the pope. Using dialectic and LOGIC, Lanfranc demonstrated the incoherence of Berengar's doctrinal arguments.

From his early career, he had been in contact with Duke William of NORMANDY, the future WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR of ENGLAND, whose counselor he became. In 1063, he was appointed abbot of the abbey of Saint Étienne in Caen, as a reward for helping regularize William's

marriage. After the conquest in 1066, William called him to England in 1070 to be the archbishop of CANTERBURY after the deposition of his Anglo-Saxon predecessor, Stigand (d. 1072). Lanfranc got into a controversy with the archbishop of YORK over which see was the primary one for England. Lanfranc won, but the papal documents he used in favor of Canterbury were forgeries.

He was a careful archbishop, recognizing his poor knowledge of the language and customs of the country. An ardent reformer, he became well known at the same time for his spirit of compromise in matters of ecclesiastical policy within the strange new legal situation that followed the conquest of England. Despite Pope GREGORY VII's prohibition of priestly MARRIAGE and lay INVESTITURES, Lanfranc did not enforce CELIBACY on the CLERGY of England and permitted the intervention of the Crown in ceremonial procedures in the appointments of ecclesiastical officials. He acted as regent at the death of William and helped with the succession of WILLIAM II RUFUS to the throne. Lanfranc died at Canterbury on May 24, 1089.

See also FORGERY; GREGORIAN REFORM.

**Further reading:** Lanfranc, *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, trans. David Knowles (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1951); Frank Barlow, *The English Church: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London: Longman, 1979); Margaret T. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); A. J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc: A Study of His Life, Work and Writing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926).

**Langland, William** (ca. 1330–ca. 1400) cleric, poet

William was probably born in Worcestershire or Shropshire near the Welsh marches in about 1330. He probably lived in LONDON and was married. He had taken minor orders but his marriage barred him from the priesthood. Well educated and familiar with theological ideas, he reputedly wrote three versions of *The Vision Concerning Piers Plowman*. It is an allegorical and complex poem and dream written in Middle English that dealt with the pursuit of salvation. William was clearly familiar with the political, religious, and social problems and questions of the 1380s in ENGLAND, especially of poverty, and including the English PEASANT REBELLION of 1381, the parliamentary crises of the later years of Kings EDWARD III and RICHARD II, and the heretical views of the LOLLARDS. He died about 1400.

See also SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS; VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** William Langland, *Piers the Plowman*, trans. J. F. Goodridge (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1959); David Aers, *Chaucer, Langland, and the*

*Creative Imagination* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); Charlotte Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Derek Pearsall, *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Langland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

**Langton, Stephen** See STEPHEN LANGTON.

**Languedoc** The word *Languedoc* in the late 13th century, in the acts of the royal administration, designated the region in southern France that spoke a dialect of French called *langue d'oc*. It had become part of the kingdom of FRANCE according to the terms of the treaty of PARIS in 1229 during the ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE and after the death of the count of Poitiers and Toulouse, the brother of LOUIS IX, Alphonse of Poitiers, in 1271. This region formed the three medieval administrative areas or counties of Beaucaire, Carcassonne, and Toulouse (whose borders then did not correspond to their modern equivalents).

#### HISTORY

Languedoc abounded in Roman structures, with towns that stayed prosperous and were centers of government in the late antique world. This prosperous part of southern Gaul was first conquered by the VISIGOTHS but was soon split into the kingdom of AQUITAINE and the northern march of the kingdom of TOLEDO, or Septimania. After a brief Muslim occupation in the first half of the eighth century, the region was retaken by the FRANKS. Muslims from Iberia continued to raid but never stayed. The land was divided into counties and viscounties, at whose head Visigothic or Frankish dynasties maintained a precarious existence. Languedoc grew into a region dominated by great monasteries, fortified settlements around seigniorial CASTLES, and growing towns full of active MERCHANTS. SALT and WINE were important parts of this prosperity. An important school of legal studies grew up at MONTPELLIER. Languedocian merchants, from Marseille, dealt with PISA, GENOA, and CATALONIA, as well as conducting business at the FAIRS of Champagne to the north.

#### ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE AND DECLINE

All this came under attack when the Albigensian Crusades began in the 13th century. Over a period of decades, armies of crusaders, initially led by SIMON DE MONTFORT THE ELDER, overran the region. They were accompanied by the newly founded MENDICANT ORDERS and the INQUISITION. This situation soon evolved into a conquest of southern France by northern France. The initial pretense for this outside intervention, the CATHARS or ALBIGENSIANS, put up a strong resistance alongside their nonheretical neighbors. By the time of King Louis IX in

the mid-13th century, Languedoc was grudgingly but well integrated into the Crown of France, its prosperity unabated. However, the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, the Black Death, and further episodes of PLAGUE, along with the fiscal exactions of JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY, ended this prosperity in the 14th and 15th centuries.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; CATHARS; DOMINIC DE GUZMÁN, SAINT; TROUBADOURS; WILLIAM IX, DUKE OF AQUITAINE.

**Further reading:** Sheila Bonde, *Fortress-Churches of Languedoc: Architecture, Religion, and Conflict in the High Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); James Buchanan Given, *State and Society in Medieval Europe: Gwynedd and Languedoc under Outside Rule* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990); James Buchanan Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, trans. John Day (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974).

**Laon** Laon was originally a Roman military camp that became a Christian community between the third and fifth centuries. By the death of CHARLES MARTEL in 741, it was in the hands of the CAROLINGIAN family. It was fortified by walls sometime between 853 and 880 and was an important seat of royal power in the 10th century. A communal movement led an uprising against the bishop in 1112; but it was put down. In 1128 King Louis VI (r. 1108–37) recognized its autonomous communal status, which it enjoyed for the rest of the Middle Ages.

#### CATHEDRAL AND SCHOOL

The cathedral school of Laon was among the most prominent in France in the ninth century. By the 11th century, it was at the forefront of an intellectual revival and the study and exegesis of the BIBLE, under the rule of ANSELM OF LAON.

The CATHEDRAL was partially burned in 1112 and entirely rebuilt under Bishop Gautier of Mortagne (r. 1155–74). The town took part, at the instance of Gautier, in the early development of the GOTHIC style. Built at about the same time as Notre-Dame at PARIS, the new cathedral had a different architectural plan. It used simple side aisles, a projecting transept, and a lantern tower at the transept crossing. The cathedral used early forms of flying buttresses, strongly projecting supports, high elevation of its towers, the breadth and complicity of its sculptural program, and the strong use of light. The cathedral was also noteworthy for its STAINED GLASS, especially the ROSE WINDOW in the north arm of the transept, which depicted universal knowledge or the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS, thus reflecting the scholarly activity and fame of the town's teachers and schools.

**Further reading:** W. W. Clark, *Laon Cathedral* (London: H. Millar, 1983); John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1978).

**Last Judgment** Held by Saint Paul as an article of FAITH, the idea of a Last Judgment became an essential point of Christian doctrine. At the end of time there would be a second coming of Christ. All human beings, both the living and the dead, whose bodies would be raised, would be judged. The just would be placed at Christ's right hand and led to the kingdom of HEAVEN. The wicked would be rejected, sent to his left, and consigned to eternal fire. This was a supreme manifestation of divine JUSTICE, and a correction of the disorders of human history. It became a prominent and versatile theme in art, particularly in cathedral sculptures, during the GOTHIC period. Clergy availed themselves of these illustrations to show sinners what awaited them, especially the possible punishments for SIN.

In the Middle Ages, theologians usually said that Christ would judge humans on the Day of Judgment, having received this power from the Father. The apostles and saints would play the roles of evaluators, while angels would lead the people to their fate. Details differed, but human beings, dead and living, had to appear before Christ. Some maintained the impossibility of knowing the place and time of judgment, which would be announced by signs. Some supposed that it would happen in March or even on Easter Day in a particular place, the valley of Jehoshaphat or opposite the Mount of Olives. Some expected it to be instantaneous, others assumed it would take time. It would be apart from the individual judgment that each person faced at death, but it was considered a fundamental point in human history. Its importance was progressively reinforced throughout the Middle Ages. Among the best early or ROMANESQUE images were those at Torcello near VENICE, done in MOSAIC, and those in the tympana of Conques and Autun.

For Islam, the day of reckoning, *Yawn ad-din*, also existed and included a vividly described battle in the Quran. The righteous would go to heaven and the evil going to torment in hell or *jahannam*. It included a resurrection of bodies and souls.

See also APOCALYPSE AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; ESCHATOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Richard K. Emmerson and David F. Hult, trans., *Antichrist and Judgment Day: The Middle French Jour du jugement* (Asheville, N.C.: Pegasus Press, 1998); David Bevington et al., *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgment in Medieval Art and Drama* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1985); Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, Death, and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature*



Tympanum sculpture over the western doorway of the cathedral of Saint Lazare at Autun, depicting the Last Judgment by Gislebertus between 1130 and 1135 (Courtesy Edward English)

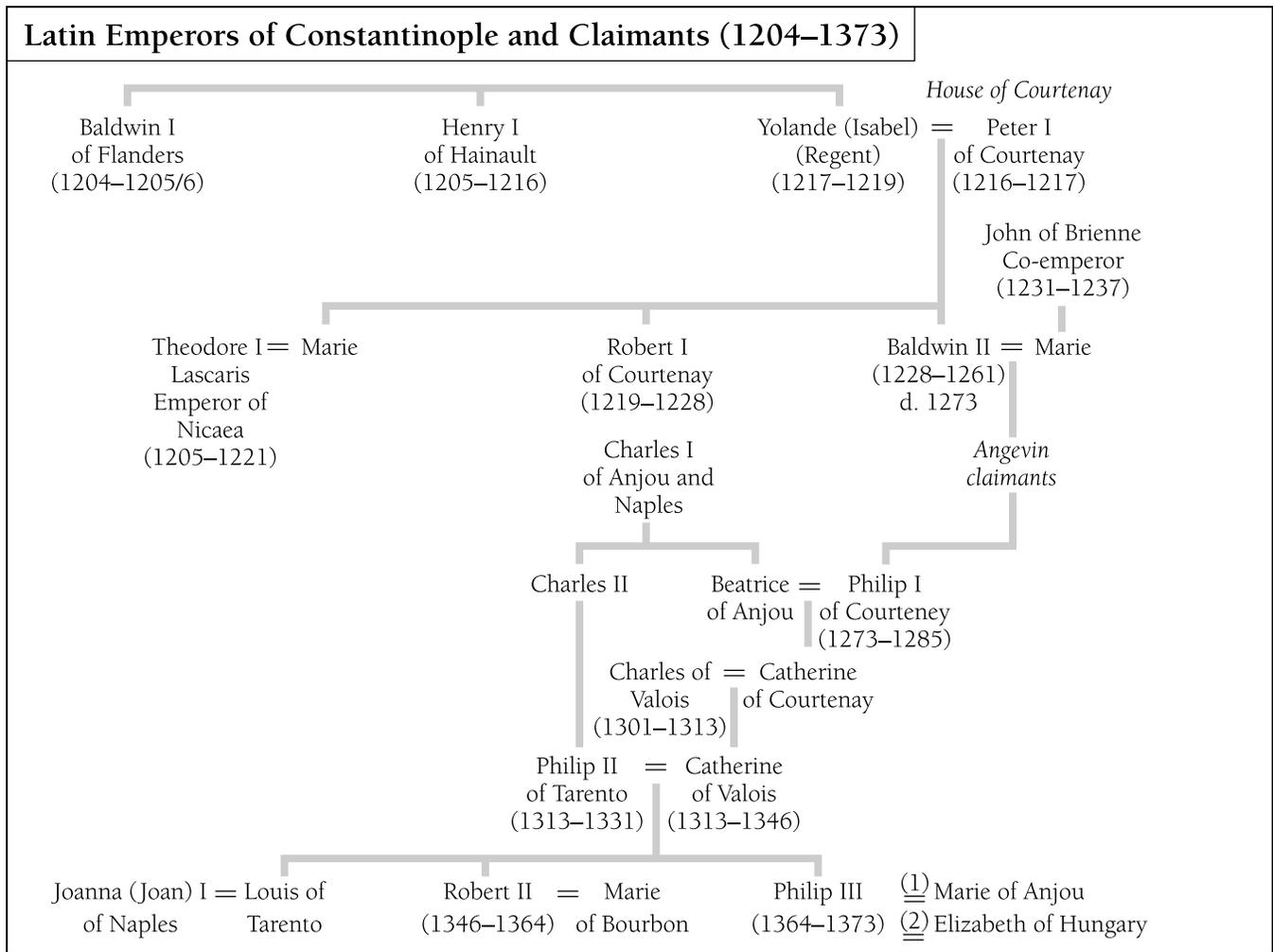
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Mujtabá Musavi Lari, *Resurrection, Judgment and the Hereafter: Lessons on Islamic Doctrine*, trans. Hamid Algar (Qom, Iran: Foundation of Islamic Cultural Propagation in the World, 1992); Jonathan B. Riess, *Luca Signorelli: The San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto* (New York: George Braziller, 1995).

**Lateran Councils, I–IV** See COUNCILS, GENERAL AND ECUMENICAL.

**Latin Empire of Constantinople** The Latin Empire of CONSTANTINOPLE was the political organization established in 1204 by the FRANKS and Venetians on the Fourth CRUSADE, after their conquest of Constantinople and the partitioning of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Under the leadership of Baldwin I (1171–1205) of FLANDERS, the new empire formally included all Frankish conquests in GREECE, the kingdom of THESSALONIKI, the duchy of ATHENS, and the principality of MOREA. However, these

territories were soon independent of the Frankish emperors at Constantinople, whose real power was confined to Thrace, the area around the city. All of these territories were heavily dependent on VENICE, which held a commercial monopoly and dominated its harbors and sea routes.

The empire's history was marked by constant wars with the BULGARIANS and the Greek emperors of nearby Nicaea. The local populations also generally refused to accept the dominance of the Western Church. The leadership of empire was Latin in character and was obedient to the pope and the Venetian patriarch. This antagonized the Greek Orthodox clergy, especially monks, who strongly rejected union with ROME and preached against the conquerors. In 1261 Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261–82) of Nicaea retook Constantinople with the help of the Genoese and reestablished a weakened Byzantine Empire. Despite this, a ghostly imperial title, especially claimed by the Angevins of NAPLES, continued to pass, through MARRIAGE and inheritance, to several Italian princes until the end of the Middle Ages.



See also DANDOLO, ENRICO; EPIROS; VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFROI DE.

**Further reading:** Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979); Donald E. Queller and Thomas Madden, eds., *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Robert Lee Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London: Variorum, 1976).

**Latini, Brunetto** See BRUNETTO LATINI.

**Latin language and literature** Latin belongs to a family of Italic INDO-EUROPEAN languages, which included several other languages once spoken in the Italian peninsula and now extinct (Faliscan, Oscan, Umbrian, and Venetic). Latin for the Western Middle Ages was an almost sacred language, that of the BIBLE, the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, and the Western Christian liturgy. It was moreover the language of learned dis-

course lasting into the 18th and 19th centuries. For literary creation it had little competition until after 1100. Actually not a corrupted, impoverished, or decadent version of the old classical Latin nor merely a technical jargon reserved only for scholarly initiates, medieval Latin was a living and creative spoken language that was widespread over Europe and even beyond the frontiers of the former western Roman Empire. The history of Latin in the Middle Ages went through three “renaissances” or revivals: that of the CAROLINGIANS, that of the 12th century, and that of the humanists of the 15th century. There were always many usages and forms of this living language before 1500.

The collapse of the school system that followed the fall of the Roman Empire over several centuries resulted in a lowering of the complexity level of the language, or at least changes in practice. Latin began to bear more traces of the vulgar, or spoken, such as more simple verbal forms, the inclusion of prepositions to eliminate complex case endings, confusions over the gerundive and the present participle, an incorrect use in classical grammar of the reflexive pronoun, the substitution of *quod*, “that,”

for the majority of conjunctions in clauses of subordination and indirect discourse.

### RESTORATIONS AND RENAISSANCE

CHARLEMAGNE'S advisers, such as PAUL THE DEACON, Paulinus of Aquileia (730/740–802), THEODULF, and ALCUIN, tried to produce a linguistic restoration. Their revived political empire had to be provided with a correct and unified language to meet the needs of a centralized administration and to maintain religious orthodoxy sometimes being compromised by the clergy's linguistic incompetence.

The 12th century saw another revival of literary accomplishment in Latin. A somewhat more secularized education and search for literary fame encouraged authors such as JOHN OF SALISBURY not just to imitate the ancients but to try to surpass them in style and language. The 13th and 14th centuries saw the development of a Scholastic and notarial Latin in THEOLOGY, LAW, and SCIENCE. Latin with its syntax and carefully defined meanings of words fostered the developments of abstract reasoning and logic. Reacting to the abstruse and dry standard idioms of the university system, PETRARCH, and especially the Florentine and Italian humanists of the early 15th century such as LEONARDO BRUNI and LORENZO VALLA, advocated a return to a reading of ancient sources and a faithful imitation of the style of the ancients.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

**Further reading:** Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Charles H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1953); Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography: From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A.D. 433–1177* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994); Peter Godman, *The Silent Masters: Latin Literature and Its Censors in the High Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Barbara K. Gold, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, eds., *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown, and Jane E. Jeffrey, eds., *Women Writing Latin: From Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, 3 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2002).

**Latin states in Greece** The Fourth Crusade in 1203 and 1204 dismembered the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Latin states were formed: in the southeastern Balkan Peninsula the LATIN EMPIRE of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the Frankish principality of MOREA in Greece proper. Baldwin I (r. 1171–1205) of FLANDERS, then the Courtenay family, established their state centered on Constantinople with

the assistance of VENICE. They ultimately failed to resist the Greek emperor of Nicaea, Michael VIII Palaeologos (r. 1261–82), who retook Constantinople in 1261.

The principality of Morea grew out of the conquest of the Peloponneses by knights mobilized by William of Champlitte (d. 1209) and Geoffroi of VILLEHARDOUIN in 1205. In 1278 the principality was taken by the Neapolitan Angevins. The local Orthodox Christians refused to be united with an imposed Western Church. In the 14th century the governing families could not prevent a Byzantine reconquest completed in 1432, but without the coastal ports held by Venice.

See also EPIROS AND THE DESPOTATE OF; MISTRA.

**Further reading:** Harold E. Lurier, trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); George T. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks: 1350–1420* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982); David Jacoby, "The Latin Kingdom of Constantinople and the Frankish States in Greece," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 525–543; Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea, 1205–1262: Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens: Historical Publications St. D. Basilopoulos, 1991).

**Latin states in the East** The principal political result of the CRUSADES was the temporary creation of Latin states, or colonies, along the western shore of the Mediterranean or the Levant in SYRIA and PALESTINE after the First Crusade, at CYPRUS during the Third, and in the Balkan Peninsula after the Fourth.

### EDESSA

The main objective of the crusade launched by Pope URBAN II at the Council of CLERMONT in November of 1095 was to open JERUSALEM to safe Christian pilgrimage and control of the holy places. Just how this was to be done without colonizing, occupying, and carving out principalities or states was unclear. The principal leaders of the First Crusade immediately tried to create principalities for themselves, despite the oath taken to the BYZANTINE emperor to restore to him the territories that had once belonged to the Byzantine Empire. Among the first of these was EDESSA on the northern Mesopotamian plain. It attracted few settlers from the West and depended on the support of the Armenians and local Christians. The county of Edessa disappeared after the capture of its capital by Zangi (r. 1127–46), the governor of MOSUL and ALEPPO in December 1144. The Second Crusade failed to recapture it.

### ANTIOCH

BOHEMOND of Taranto, leader of the NORMAN troops in the First Crusade, captured ANTIOCH in 1098, despite opposition from his fellow crusaders and Byzantine attempts to

recover the region. He had to fight primarily against the emir of ALEPPO. In 1108, he bequeathed his principality to his nephew, TANCRED OF HAUTEVILLE, and his successors, but they had to agree to pay homage to the emperors of Byzantium, John II (r. 1118–43) and Manuel I (r. 1143–80), both of the Komnenos family. Tancred later set up frontier regions under the TEMPLARS and the HOSPITALIERS, and managed to limit the power of the great noble families in the area. This principality lasted until the successful invasion of the MAMLUKS of EGYPT in 1268.

#### TORTOSA AND TRIPOLI

Raymond of Saint-Gilles (r. 1101–05) established a new Latin county around Tortosa and TRIPOLI. His descendants failed in their efforts to occupy the upper Orontes Valley, battled NUR AL-DIN and SALADIN, but managed only to hold on to the county until 1187. It passed then to Bohemond IV (r. 1201–33) of Antioch and his heirs, who held it until 1287.

#### JERUSALEM

This kingdom of JERUSALEM was an original creation, to defend the holy places under the leadership of a lay prince. The clergy with the army dreamed of but failed to get a theocratic state ruled by the pope or his representative. The council of barons first elected GODFREY OF BOUILLON as king. In 1100 his brother, BALDWIN I, succeeded and was the main architect of the kingdom's slow expansion. TYRE was added in 1124 and Ascalon in 1153. From that date the kingdom was on the defensive against first Nur al-Din and then Saladin. The kingdom's army was essentially wiped out at the Battle of the HATTIN in 1187. The Third Crusade and RICHARD I LIONHEART made a partial reconstruction of the kingdom, but now limited to a narrow coastal strip, with ACRE as its capital. Limited access to Jerusalem was later recovered by Emperor FREDERICK II under the treaty of Jaffa in 1229. In 1244 mercenaries in the service of Egypt captured it. The kingdom then fell prey to profound divisions. Along the coasts and in the towns, Italian merchant communities opposed each other and contributed little to the long-term survival of the kingdom.

#### CYPRUS

From 1265 the MAMLUKS of Egypt, fearing possible MONGOL and Frankish cooperation in the region, began the reconquest of the remaining principalities. They completed that in 1291 when Acre fell, followed by the last towns and fortresses of the Holy Land. With the disappearance of Frankish Syria, refugees flowed into CYPRUS, a former Byzantine possession retaken by the armies of the English king Richard I Lionheart during the Third Crusade in 1191. Richard handed the island over to the Templars, then to Guy de Lusignan. His successors held it together until 1489, when the Venetians took it over.

#### TENUOUS CONTROL

In all these Latin states, the population of Western and Christian origin was never more than a minority. Control was tenuous in the towns and was backed up by powerful fortresses, such as the KRAK DES CHEVALIERS. The indigenous Christians and Muslims in SYRIA lived according to earlier practices but were somewhat willing to pay rent to their new masters. The cities on the Mediterranean coast had colonies of Italian MERCHANTS, exploiting jurisdictional privileges and exemptions to conduct trade, but constantly in conflict with each other. The temporarily victorious Latin Church created two patriarchates, one at Jerusalem and the other at Antioch, and an archbishopric at Nicosia on Cyprus. It was never able to impose Roman rites or Roman doctrine.

*See also* BEIRUT; LATIN STATES IN GREECE; RHODES.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London: Frank Cass, 1989); Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1972); T. S. R. Boase, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971); Peter Edbury, "The Crusader States," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c.1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 590–606; Anthony Luttrell, "The Latin East," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 799–811.

**law** *See* CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**law, canon and ecclesiastical** In the Middle Ages the law was considered the basic necessity and framework of the social and political body. The product of a long tradition, the law, as an expression of a divine will, often had to be discerned or rediscovered. Canon law was the legal system of the medieval Catholic Church. It covered rules for both the CLERGY and the LAITY. In the West, religious and civil or secular laws were independent, and two parallel, often conflicting, systems of jurisdiction developed. In the Byzantine East, there was only one combined imperial law.

#### ISLAMIC LAW (SHARIA)

ISLAM recognized no division or distinction between the religious and the secular worlds. Islamic teachings applied to all situations of life. The sharia, or "the way," was the fundamental and comprehensive law for all and a central element of Islam. Some, such as AL-GHAZALI, equated it with Islam itself. Islamic law developed throughout the Middle Ages from the QURAN and the HADITH. There were four schools of law for the SUNNIS,

the Hanafites, the Malikites, the Shafites, and the Hanbalites. The SHIITES added a fifth, that of the Jafarites. *Fiqh* was Islamic jurisprudence. *Hiyal* was a legal device or stratagem to get around a rule of Islamic law.

#### OTHER LAW CODES

JEWISH communities were usually allowed to govern themselves in the most part according to the TALMUD. The BYZANTINE EMPIRE continued the practices of Roman or civil law. From the sixth century new legislation became only the prerogative of the emperor. The groundwork for this policy was laid by Emperor JUSTINIAN I and his jurists, who codified Roman law in the *CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS*. This privileged state over ecclesiastical law, and imperial over church edicts.

Canon or ecclesiastical law developed in the context of Germanic and Roman laws. In the early Middle Ages Germanic tribal customs, codified between the sixth and ninth centuries, were rooted in ancient traditions. Later FEUDAL organization and feudal law from before 1000 were territorially restricted and characterized by diverse privileges, traditions, and customs, primarily between lords and vassals over FIEFS. The most widespread and accepted feudal practices became part of the common heritage of Western Europe, such as military law and the chivalric codes.

The revival of Roman law in the West began in BOLOGNA in the late 11th century, when IRNERIUS taught his students the newly rediscovered *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS* of JUSTINIAN and to adapt it to contemporary needs. The emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA used it to construct a theoretical basis for the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Roman law served as a model for secular legislation in the West, especially in Italian cities. All of these secular laws had a great effect on the evolution of Canon Law.

#### CANON LAW

The church developed its own legal system, the canon law. This system was clearly considered an expression of divine will and based on revelation to the faithful and confirmation in the Scriptures. Divine authority was complemented by the writings of the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, the decrees of COUNCILS, and the ordinances of popes. Canon law was codified in the 11th and 12th centuries, especially by GRATIAN. Ecclesiastical law applied primarily to the CLERGY, who were supposed to be exempt from the jurisdiction of civil and feudal authorities. Canon law governed the entire community of the faithful in matters of MARRIAGE and the SEVEN SACRAMENTS. Gratian used Roman law when he prepared his book, but for him the ideas and procedures of Roman law and imperial legislation were only acceptable if they did not contradict canon law. As canon law continued to evolve during the Middle Ages, various collections were officially approved by the popes and councils. The church added recent papal and conciliar decrees to earlier collections based on Gratian's codification.

*See also* BONIFACE VIII, POPE; CAPITULARIES; CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS; GREGORY VIII, POPE; GREGORY IX, POPE; RAYMOND OF PEÑAFORT.

**Further reading:** Stanley Chodorow, "Law, Canon: After Gratian," *DMA* 7.413–418; James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (New York: Longman, 1995); Stephan Kuttner, *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law* (Latrobe, Penn.: Archabbey Press, 1960); Roger E. Reynolds, "Law, Canon: The Gratian," *DMA* 7.395–413.

**law, Islamic** *See* HADITH; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; QURAN; SUNNA.

**law, Jewish** *See* HALAKAH; TALMUD.

**Layamon** *See* BRUT.

**Lebanon** In the Middle Ages Lebanon designated a mountain chain, Mount Lebanon, that extended south from the Taurus Mountains of ANATOLIA. With peaks of more than 3,000 meters or 10,000 feet, this chain was separated from the Mediterranean by a narrow coastal fringe. Medieval geographers had little knowledge of the region, even after the CRUSADES.

After the ARAB conquest of 635–36, the Lebanese mountains often served as a refuge for Islamic minority communities or those of heterodox religious tendencies. From the seventh century, a people from the Arab and Muslim borders, the Maronites, were encouraged by the BYZANTINE EMPIRE to oppose effectively the Muslims and to occupy a large part of Mount Lebanon, where they mixed with the local population. The Twelver SHIITES settled in the central and southern regions of Mount Lebanon. In the 11th century the DRUZES occupied mainly the region southeast of BEIRUT. Sunni Muslims were numerous in the coastal towns and the Beqaa Valley to the east.

After the Arab conquest for Islam, Lebanon became a semiautonomous military region of western SYRIA and DAMASCUS. Under the reign of the ABBASID caliph AL-MANSUR (r. 754–775), Lebanese Christians revolted because of excessive taxation, and the resulting severe repression was soon condemned by a Muslim jurist, al-Awzai (d. 774). At the time of the Crusades, no western centers were created in the wild mountains; the FRANKS just built fortresses at lower strategic points. The Maronites of the county of TRIPOLI agreed to support the crusaders. To the southeast of Beirut, the Druzes defended that region against the crusaders. After the MAMLUK takeover in Egypt in 1252, the Druzes oscillated among AYYUBID, MONGOL, and Mamluk alliances.

Having seized the last Frankish territories in 1291, the Mamluks sent armies until 1305 to ensure their

control of the Lebanese mountains. In 1365, in reaction to a naval attack on ALEXANDRIA by the Latin king of CYPRUS, the Mamluks turned on and persecuted the Maronite clergy, even executing their patriarch in 1367. The Mamluks from then on exercised indirect but effective control over Mount Lebanon and the Maronites through local representatives. The Druzes, too, had to adapt to the centralizing will of the Mamluks and accept the end of their semiautonomy. The OTTOMANS took over the region in 1516.

See LATIN STATES IN THE EAST.

**Further reading:** Philip K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History: From the Earliest Times to the Present*, 3d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1967); Asad Abu Khalil, *Historical Dictionary of Lebanon* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1998); Kamal S. Salibi, *Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon* (Beirut: American University, 1959); Kamal S. Salibi, *Syria under Islam: Empire on Trial, 634–1097* (Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1977).

**Lechfeld (the Lech), Battle of** This was a battle fought near Augsburg between the Magyars or Hungarians, who advanced to the banks of the Lech River in BAVARIA, and the Germans, led by King OTTO I the Great of GERMANY in 955. Otto's victory ended Magyar raids into Germany and increased his prestige, allowing him to rule Germany uncontested and to receive an imperial coronation.

See also HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Crucible of Europe: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries in European History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Boyd H. Hill, ed., *The Rise of the First Reich: Germany in the Tenth Century* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969); Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979).

**legal science** See CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

**legate, papal** Although Gratian's *Decretum* in 1140 did not mention a role for them, the office of papal legate developed under the pontificate of Pope ALEXANDER III (r. 1159–81). By designating the pope as their direct source of authority, Alexander defined these papal representatives as having full powers. In the 13th century this title became more and more restricted to those on defined papal missions, such as CARDINALS or senior prelates of the papal curia. A distinction was made between *legatus* or "plenipotentiary representative" and *nuntius* or simple "envoy." As angels of the pope legates were empowered to

appoint clerics to churches, local offices, and incomes. Pope INNOCENT III considered them almost to be an alter ego of the pope. Thus they were superior in power and authority to any bishop in whose diocese they had to operate. Legates could be effective instruments of contact between the expanding central government of the church and all of CHRISTENDOM. The office was a main component of the centralized structure of the Roman Church, intended to improve ecclesiastical discipline and articulate papal power and control.

See also ADÉMAR OF MONTEIL; ALBORNOZ, GIL, CARDINAL; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Guala Bicchieri, *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England, 1216–1218*, ed. Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1996); Jane E. Sayers, *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales from the Accession of Pope Innocent III to the Death of Pope Benedict XI (1198–1304)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

**Legenda aurea** See GOLDEN LEGEND; JAMES OF VORAGINE.

**Legnano, Battle of** This was a decisive battle fought on May 29, 1176, near Legano, a fortified town near MILAN, between FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, who was wounded in the battle, and the cities of the LOMBARD LEAGUE, especially MILAN. The emperor's defeat forced him to negotiate a peace and an armistice for six years with Pope ALEXANDER III, who had excommunicated him. He then had to focus on his German rival, HENRY THE LION, whom he held responsible for this disastrous defeat.

**Further reading:** Thomas Carson, trans., *Barbarossa in Italy* (New York: Italica Press, 1994); Peter Munz, *Fredrick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969).

**lenses and eyeglasses** Lenses were first used in 13th-century experiments in OPTICS that grew out of the rediscovered work of Greek scientists and philosophers. In a further development, the ARAB optician IBN AL-HAYTHAM in the 11th century noted the effects of looking through glass. These ideas were found and used by Robert GROSSETESTE in the 13th century in his studies on light to develop theoretical and practical applications. Grosseteste's pupil, Roger BACON, explored these theories and developed some of the theoretical underpinnings for the creation of lenses designed for the improvement of eyesight and for astronomical observations. At the beginning of the 14th century, LEVI BEN GERSON used astronomical observations based on lenses to study cosmic dimensions.

See also GLASSWARE.

**Further reading:** A. C. Crombie, *Science, Optics, and Music in Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (London:

Hambledon Press, 1990); Aba Bayefsky, *Bayefsky's Spectacles: Being a Short Discourse on the History and Development of Eyeglasses from the 13th Century to the Late Eighteen-Hundreds* (Toronto: Canadian Portfolio Editions and Edwards Books and Art, 1980); David C. Lindberg, *Studies in the History of Medieval Optics* (London: Variorum, 1983).

**Lent** The modern English term Lent was derived from Anglo-Saxon *lencten* or "spring." The origin of the idea of a period of 40 days, in Latin *Quadragesima*, preceding the feast of EASTER and characterized by the practice of FASTING is obscure. It apparently originated in the late third century in the monastic world of EGYPT. In the fourth century it evolved into a penitential preparation for Easter, tied to the preparation of baptismal candidates or catechumens. It could also be an ascetic exercise that preceded the reconciliation of penitents. These ideas were maintained in Roman liturgical traditions. At the same time other churches in the East linked them to Jesus' 40-day FAST in the desert, which began his messianic mission, and to the similar period of fasting of Moses and the prophet Elijah.

A number of usages or rites were later associated with the practice of Lent. The beginning of the fast itself became ritually anticipated in the West, from the Wednesday preceding the first Sunday of Lent, or Ash Wednesday, a day marked by the ceremony of receiving ashes on the forehead symbolizing penance. Actual practices of fasting varied over time. The fundamental rule of Lent evolved to taking only one meal, normally the *cena* or "dinner" in the second part of the afternoon. It could mean abstention from meat, fish, eggs, and dairy products.

**Further reading:** H. Franke, *Lent and Easter: The Church's Spring* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1955); Herbert Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week: Chapters on Catholic Observance and Ritual* (London: Longmans, 1904).

**Leo I the Great, Saint** (ca. 400–461) *first pope to claim the supremacy of the papacy over all Christianity*

Born perhaps in TUSCANY about 400, Leo tried to unite a divided and threatened church. After serving as a deacon in the Roman Church, Leo was consecrated as pope on September 29, 440. He obtained from Emperor Valentinian III (r. 425–455) a confirmation of primacy of the Roman see over the other principal churches of the Western empire. In 452/453 Leo met ATTILA the Hun near Mantua and, assisted by fear of the plague, secured his retreat from Italy in return for a large bribe. He later negotiated concessions on sacking the city of Rome from the VANDALS and their king, GAISERIC, in 455. These accomplishments were considered miraculous and Leo was honored as the pope who had saved Italy from the barbarians. Active as a theologian and ardent opponent of

HERESY, Leo sent delegates to the Fourth Ecumenical Council of CHALCEDON in 451 with instructions to defend orthodoxy against MONOPHYSITISM. His treatise in 449, the *Tome*, made him the leader and strongest proponent of orthodoxy within the church. Leo is venerated as a saint by both the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. Leaving 96 sermons and 123 letters behind, he died on November 10, 461, and was declared a doctor of the church in 1754.

*See also* LIBER PONTIFICALIS; NESTORIANISM; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Leo I, Pope, *St. Leo the Great: Letters*, trans. Edmund Hunt (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963) [1957]; Leo I, Pope, *Sermons*, trans. Jane P. Freeland and Agnes J. Conway (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1995); T. J., *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1941); Walter Ullman, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1972); William J. Halliwell, *The Style of Pope St. Leo the Great* (Cleveland: John T. Zupal, 1984).

**Leo III, Saint** (d. 816) *pope who crowned Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor in 800*

Leo was a Roman priest of a humble family who was known for a fairly blameless life. He was elected pope on December 26/27, 795. From his youth, he had grown up in the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the Lateran Palace around papal activities. As had his predecessor, Hadrian I (r. 772–795), he pursued an aggressive policy. This led him to perhaps the surprise imperial coronation of CHARLEMAGNE in 800 in an attempt to solidify the links between the papacy and Frankish-dominated Europe. He even paid Charlemagne homage.

Leo, even though not coming from an aristocratic family, considered papal authority, even in terms of temporal manners, in an autocratic way. He almost always tried to act in close connection with royal and imperial authority. Leo acted strongly against the ADOPTIONIST heresy but refused to include the *FILIOQUE* Clause in the Nicene Creed, contrary to the wishes of the BYZANTINES, but as the Franks wanted. Such political subservience, however, earned him the hostility of Roman notables. He was attacked in 799 and supposedly had his tongue cut out and his eyes blinded. These were, however, miraculously restored. In 815 after Charlemagne's death, he was confronted with riots against his rule. He put them down by executing scores and only managed to emerge victorious because of the support of the Franks. He died June 12, 816, and was canonized in 1673.

*See also* CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; EINHARD; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; LOMBARDS; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Raymond Davis, trans. *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber pontificalis): The*

*Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992); Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne, 25 December 800*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974); Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); B. W. Scholy, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972); Richard Sullivan, *The Coronation of Charlemagne: What Did It Signify?* (Boston: Heath, 1959).

**León** León was once the capital of a Roman governing region. It was briefly occupied by Muslims in the early eighth century. The king of Oviedo established his capital there in the early 10th century and took the title of king of León. Using old Roman monuments, the new dynasty pieced together a palace, a CATHEDRAL, and new sanctuaries. They also regulated a market there from 997 and proclaimed in 1020 a *fuero*, or legal code, similar to the one once used by the VISIGOTHS. These kings also favored repopulation and welcomed Christians fleeing north from Muslim rule. This area suffered the raids of AL-MANSUR in the 10th century.

A union of the kingdoms of León and CASTILE in 1037 left the city as no more than one of the main towns of a kingdom ceaselessly moving south in the RECONQUEST. A separation of the two kingdoms between 1157 and 1230 enabled León to recover some political role. Situated on the pilgrim route to SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, León enjoyed a period of cultural and artistic splendor at about the same time. The reunion of the Crowns of Castile and León in 1230 did not immediately stifle this prosperity. King ALFONSO X THE LEARNED built a lavish Gothic cathedral confirming the pompous ambitious of Alfonso. In the 14th and 15th centuries, León grew more marginalized in much larger Castile. It remained the capital of an administrative and military district and kept a symbolic role, still displaying the royal arms of its old monarchy.

**Further reading:** Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Clara Estow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 1350–1369* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Cortes of Castile–León, 1188–1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Evelyn Stefanos Procter, *Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072–1295* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

**Leonard of Pisa** See FIBONACCI, LEONARDO.

**leprosy (Hansen's disease, king's evil)** Known to physicians from at least the first and second centuries CE, leprosy, a bacterial infection, was apparently present in Europe from the fourth century. As a disfiguring disease, it engendered imagery as well as a series of attitudes toward its victims. It became a metaphorical punishment for SIN, a sanction for a transgression, often sexual. Eventually it became also the figurative representation of HERESY, SIMONY, or a grave sin, a sign of separation from GOD, of an impurity that only baptism could wash away.

From the 11th century and in the first half of the 12th century, it became a wider symbol of fallen humanity, giving occasion for redemptive suffering. Even with its rituals of exclusion, it eventually became more positively and opportunistically charged. The leper became a figure of Christ and opened up an opportunity for REDEMPTION through CHARITY. Leper houses or hospitals became fairly common all over Europe. They multiplied from the late 11th century, not, as has been claimed, because of an epidemic caused by the CRUSADES, but because of the recognition of the redemptive potential of CHARITY through the offices of the clergy. With the onset of the PLAGUES of the 14th century, leprosy began to fade from attention as an object of charity.

#### LEPROSY IN BYZANTIUM

In BYZANTIUM learned MEDICINE attributed it to an excess of black bile, whereas popular medicine traced it to the sexual transgression of the parents. Lepers were objects of concern by church fathers in the East; unlike in the West, they were not so rigorously excluded from public places and never became so much an object of charity.

See also HOSPITALS.

**Further reading:** Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974); John R. Burt, *Selected Themes and Icons from Medieval Spanish Literature: Of Beards, Shoes, Cucumbers, and Leprosy* (Potomac, Md.: Studia Humanitatis, 1982); Gerard A. Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland: With a Short Account of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996).

**Levi ben Gershom** See GERSONIDES, LEVI BEN.

**Lewes, Battle of, and Song of Lewes** A town in Sussex, ENGLAND, with a Norman castle, Lewes became famous as the site of a battle on May 14, 1264, during the Barons' War (1263–66). Earl SIMON DE MONTFORT THE YOUNGER and the baronial party defeated the royal army of King HENRY III and took the king prisoner. Henry's son, the future EDWARD I, escaped and raised another army, which eventually defeated the barons; Simon himself was later killed at Evesham on August 4, 1265.

The *Song of Lewes* was a LATIN poem written after the battle to publicize Simon's desire to limit monarchical authority and improve royal competence.

**Further reading:** C. L. Kingsford, ed., *The Song of Lewes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890); David Carpenter, *The Battles of Lewes and Evesham, 1264/65* (Staffordshire: Mercia, 1987); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Simon de Montfort* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1962).

**liberal arts** See SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

***Liber pontificalis* (pontifical book)** The *Liber pontificalis* was a chronicle of variable trustworthiness of the Roman pontiffs, starting with Saint Peter. It originated as a set of papal biographies produced in the entourage of the popes; yet it never had a strictly official character.

The text of the *Liber pontificalis* was composed in stages in edited layers of redaction. The first redaction dated from the pontificate of Hormisdas (r. 514–523), was probably composed by a single author, and it extended to the tenure of Pope Silverius (r. 536–537). Thereafter followed an interruption of some 40 years with gaps and errors that work against the idea that contemporary authors could have written it. Descriptions resumed with the reign of Pope Pelagius II (r. 579–590) and continued until 870 in the pontificate of Hadrian II (r. 867–872). The authors of this section probably worked during the lifetimes of the pontiffs and finished their work after the death of the popes described, though there is much evidence of later emendation of the texts.

Short lists and entries were included for popes up to Pope URBAN II. They contained names, lengths of pontificates, and sometimes geographical and family origins. It probably was written in the second half of the 11th century in ROME. A mid-12th-century revision incorporated the lives of Pope PASCHAL II, Gelasius II (r. 1118–19), Calixtus II (r. 1119–24), and Honorius II (r. 1124–30).

See also PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Raymond Davis, trans., *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989); Raymond Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992); Raymond Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes ("Liber pontificalis"): The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817 to AD 891* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995); Louise Ropes Loomis, trans., *The Book of the Popes: "Liber pontificalis"* (1916; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1965); Jeffrey Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

**libraries** Medieval libraries for Christianity, Islam, and Judaism were places where manuscripts were stored, but they were often also centers of culture, where original and older texts were written, copied, read, studied, and circulated. These centers or homes for books often coincided with scribal workshops or *scriptoria*. Up to the 12th century, libraries concentrated on the BIBLE and patristic and liturgical works. From the 12th to the 14th century, libraries concentrated on theological and Scholastic works, including glosses on the Bible, commentaries on legal and theological texts, and SERMONS and homiletic material with a few VERNACULAR texts. In the 15th century, libraries began to collect works on personal spiritual development and texts from classical antiquity. The tastes and needs of owners, institutions, or individuals also changed in accordance with these preferences and guided library development.

The religious institutions such as the PAPACY, cathedral schools, mendicant teaching schools, and colleges and universities collected what they needed for their missions or interests. Monarchs and towns built library collections that concentrated on the LAW and political thought. Individuals also started libraries in the later Middle Ages. These were personal and utilitarian, containing canon law manuscripts for clerics, books on civil law for lawyers, and recopied manuscripts of the classics for those with a taste for antiquity.

Over time all these libraries of collecting individuals and institutions amalgamated. The histories of libraries followed cultural changes and educational aspirations. They required management, care, and conservation with differing levels of accessibility for those aspiring to conduct research in them. Some of these libraries also collected and preserved archival material appropriate to the institution or individual doing the collecting. Manuscripts of the Bible, for instance, or of a philosophical interest would be kept with CHARTERS showing ownership or letters of particular institutional interest.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; CASSIODORUS, SENATOR; CODICOLGY; PALEOGRAPHY; VIVARIUM.

**Further reading:** Rita Schlusemann, J. M. M. Hermans, and Margriet Hoogvliet, eds., *Sources for the History of Medieval Books and Libraries* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1999); David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1995); John Willis Clark, *Libraries in the Medieval and Renaissance Periods* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1968); Karl Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, trans. Theophil M. Otto (Metucheh, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1984); N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors, and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. Andrew G. Watson (London: Hambledon Press, 1985); N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Supplement to the 2d ed., ed. Andrew

G. Watson. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1987).

**Libri Carolini** The *Libri Carolini* (Caroline books, or Capitulary of Charlemagne on images) was a treatise written by theologians in the entourage of CHARLEMAGNE, perhaps ALCUIN, or more likely THEODULF, bishop of Orleans. It came out vehemently in favor of images, rejecting the ICONOCLASM of the Eastern Church. It explicitly criticized the decisions that it mistakenly attributed to the second COUNCIL OF NICAIA in 787. The treatise condemned the adoration of images themselves but not the veneration of their subjects. It demonstrates a clear hatred for the empress IRENE, claiming that women should have little influence in educating Christians or considering theological questions.

See also ICONOCLASM AND ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY.

**Further reading:** Lawrence Nees, *From Justinian to Charlemagne: European Art, 565–787: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985); Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Luitpold Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), especially pp. 43–294.

**Libro de buen amor** See RUIZ, JUAN.

**lighting and lighting devices** In the Middle Ages, artificial lighting employed wax candles or torches; oil lamps of metal, glass, or pottery; and lanterns in the streets. The limited illumination that they could supply left little opportunity for work during the long periods of darkness of European winters. In the Christian tradition, light was also a visible sign of God's presence and deemed necessary for the liturgy. Liturgical requirements stipulated the exclusive use of olive oil and beeswax. Candlesticks were to be placed before ALTARS, and lights with metal supports were suspended above altars and choirs to illuminate the liturgy. The Eucharist had to be preserved in a tabernacle all day with a light nearby to show the presence of Christ. The tombs of the saints were surrounded by lights, and votive lamps were placed before images and statues of Christ, the Virgin, or the saints to illuminate sanctuaries or the oratories or places of PRAYER before them. The church collected large donations from the LAITY to pay for all this wax or oil. In the Islamic world, lamps played similar roles in illuminating everyday life and the interiors of MOSQUES.

See also GLASSWARE; METAL SMITHS AND WORK, METAL-LURGY.

**Further reading:** Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999); Matthew Luckiesh, *Torch of Civilization: The Story of Man's Conquest of Darkness* (New York: G. P. Putnam's

Sons, 1940); F. W. Robins, *The Story of the Lamp (and the Candle)* (Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970); Leroy Livingstone Thwing, *Flickering Flames: A History of Domestic Lighting through the Ages* (Rutland, Vt.: Published for the Rushlight Club by C. E. Tuttle, 1958).

**limbo (limbus, border)** Limbo in the Middle Ages was considered a place situated on the margins of hell for souls excluded from the BEATIFIC VISION of GOD. It did not occur in Scripture. The apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* described Christ's descent into and the HARROWING OF HELL, a place somewhat like limbo. References to limbo as a place in the afterlife did not appear before the late 12th century. In the 13th century commentators on the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD distinguished five places for SOULS of the deceased, four of them in hell: the hell of the damned, the limbo of infants still bearing original sin, PURGATORY, and the limbo of the patriarchs. The limbo of infants was assigned to unregenerate babies who died without being baptized. They did not suffer but were deprived of the beatific vision of God. The limbo of the patriarchs was where the just of the Old Testament awaited entrance to PARADISE.

In the 13th century, Scholastic theologians began to posit five distinct places for the afterlife, based on levels of virtue and vice among souls. First of these was hell for the damned. The second was the limbo of unbaptized infants. Then there was purgatory, or the place of transition where punished souls earned their way to heaven; fourth, the limbo of the patriarchs; it was empty and closed since Christ's Harrowing. The last was the kingdom of HEAVEN. Neither limbo was a punishment. This limbo of unbaptized infants was distinct from that of the patriarchs. There the unbaptized infants were eternally deprived of the beatific vision, but they had a natural joy, since they had a lesser but natural knowledge of God. The ideas of AUGUSTINE assumed the same punishment for all the unbaptized because of original sin.

**Further reading:** "Limbo," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 981–982; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (1981; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

**Limbourg brothers** (ca. 1386–1416) *three illuminators of manuscripts*

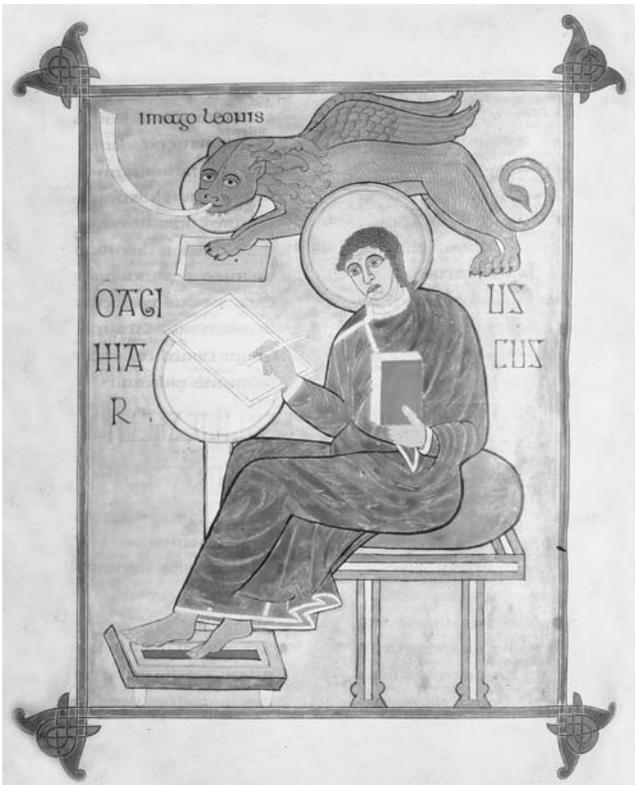
The younger Limbourg brothers, Herman and Jean, were documented before Paul, or Pol, as apprentices of a Parisian goldsmith in 1399 or 1400. These French or Picard miniaturists were born at Nijmegen, in the Netherlands. They entered the service of Philip the Bold (1342–1404) in 1402 and then joined JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY, with their elder brother Paul when Philip died. The two most famous of their works were the *Belles Heures* (now in New York), finished in 1409, and the famous *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (at the Musée Condé at Chantilly), started between 1413 and 1416 but unfinished.

Their miniatures in the BOOKS OF HOURS contain scenes representing the months and included images of CASTLES in brilliant detail. Their style, heavily influenced by GOTHIC sculpture, was nonetheless original and open to a realistic and monumental representation of nature with very delicate coloring. All the brothers apparently had died by 1416.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, WESTERN EUROPEAN; ILLUMINATION.

**Further reading:** Jean Longnon and Raymond Cazelles, *The Très riches heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, trans. Victoria Benedict (New York: G. Braziller, 1969); Millard Meiss, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry: The Cloisters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: G. Braziller, 1974); *French Primitives of the XVth Century: The Limbourg Brothers, Jean Fouquet, Enguerrand Quarton, Nicolas Froment, the Master of Moulins, and Two Anonymous Painters* (Paris: Éditions du Chêne, 1950); Raymond Cazelles, *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, trans. Theodore Swift Faunce and I. Mark Paris (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1988).

**Lindisfarne Gospels** The Lindisfarne Gospels is a beautiful manuscript written in an insular hand between 698 and 721 by Eadfrith (d. 721), bishop of Lindisfarne, in



Saint Mark the Evangelist from the Lindisfarne Gospels, Ms. Cotton Nero D. IV. (ca. 698), British Library, London (*Art Resource*)

the island monastery called Holy Isle, off the coast of Northumbria. Its images and iconography are similar to those of the *Book of Durrow* and the *Codex Amaitinus*. Influenced by many sources, it included arcaded canon tables and naturalistic portraits of the evangelists. It also had very detailed carpet-pages or ornamental pages of abstract and intricate spirals and interlacing with glosses in Anglo-Saxon from the 10th century. It is now in the British library (Cotton Nero D. IV).

See also ILLUMINATION; KELLS, BOOK OF

**Further reading:** J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, Sixth to the Ninth Century* (London: H. Miller, 1978); Janet Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981); Janet Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: A Masterpiece of Book Painting* (London: British Library, 1995).

**lineage** See FAMILY AND KINSHIP.

**Lippi, Fra Filippo** (ca. 1406–1469) *Florentine painter, Carmelite friar*

Fra Lippi, born at FLORENCE about 1406, assimilated the formal and technical innovations of his Renaissance Florentine predecessors and expressed them in a variety of styles. He was probably a pupil of MASSACCIO. His stylistic independence was paralleled by his libertine lifestyle. As was Fra ANGELICO, Lippi was a MENDICANT friar. He was left as an orphan at the convent. In 1421, he became a member of the CARMELITE order and was in the Florentine chapter until 1431. He left the convent in Florence in 1432 and moved on to Padua. Then in 1434 he returned to Florence and opened a shop, living as a secular monk. In 1456 he was appointed chaplain of a convent at Prato. There he fell in love and abducted or eloped with a nun who had posed for him. Their son was the painter Filippino Lippi (1457–1504). In 1461, Cosimo de' MEDICI (1389–1464) helped Filippo obtain a dispensation from his vows and his marriage to the nun was legalized.

#### PAINTING

Lippi's early work showed a personal stylistic element derived from those of MASACCIO, Masolino (ca. 1383–ca. 1447), and GENTILE DA FABRIANO. His different later work had a strong affinity with the more GOTHIC style of Fra Angelico. Its fervent religiosity showed a versatility that at times reinterpreted sacred scenes. In his later years he was under Flemish influence, in linking an interior space with its surrounding world. He did a *Coronation of the Virgin* for the church of Sant'Ambrogio between 1441 and 1445, and an *Adoration of the Child* for the chapel of the Florentine palace of Cosimo de' Medici from 1460. There are also important frescos in Prato. Ill from 1466, Lippi died at Spoleto in 1469 before finishing decorating the apse of its cathedral with the *Story of the Virgin*. His influence was felt in the second half of the 15th century

by such famous painters as BOTTICELLI, his student GHIRLANDAIO, and even Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519).

**Further reading:** Megan Holmes, *Fra Filippo Lippi the Carmelite Painter* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Jeffrey Ruda, *Fra Filippo Lippi: Life and Work with a Complete Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1993).

**Lisbon (Ulixbone, al-Ushbuna)** Lisbon is the major city and capital of PORTUGAL. Originally founded by the Phoenicians, the later Roman city was conquered by the Suevi in 468; but later the VISIGOTHS made it part of their realm. In 717 the ARABS conquered the town and changed its name from Felicitas Julia to al-Ushbuna; this became Lishbona or Lisbon. Muslim rule lasted until the middle of the 12th century. In 1147 Lisbon was captured by a Portuguese army and fleet, English and Scandinavian crusaders. The city then became a prosperous commercial center, harboring most of the TRADE of the western part of the Iberian Peninsula. In 1256 King Alfonso III (r. 1248–79) moved his capital to Lisbon. In 1290 a university was founded, but in 1357 it was transferred to Coimbra. King John I (r. 1385–1433) in 1385 defeated the Castilians to establish a separate kingdom. During the prosperous 15th century, the city became the base of Portugal's imperial expansion.

*See also* ASTURIAS-LEÓN, KINGDOM OF; HENRY “THE NAVIGATOR”.

**Further reading:** Charles Wendell David, ed., *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); Paul Buck, *Lisbon: A Cultural and Literary Companion* (New York: Interlink Books, 2002); John Laidlar, ed., *Lisbon* (Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1997).

**litany** Greek *litaneia* and Latin *litanía* both mean “entreat,” “request,” or “supplication.” Litany mainly designates petitioning PRAYER by a cleric with responses by the laity. It can include the processions during which litanies were chanted. Litany was originally a pre-Christian form of prayer, perhaps from ANTIOCH, consisting of a series of requests or invocation pronounced by a deacon or a cantor, to which participants added a refrain “Kyrie eleison” or “Domine miserere” (Lord, have mercy). It probably entered Christian worship in the East in the fourth century. Pope Gelasius I (r. 492–496) promoted liturgical practice and its use in the MASS. Such formulas later formed the basis of much private prayer and the litany of the saints. This wider use of the litany of the saints attested to the growth of cults in the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Paul De Clerck, “Litany,” *EMA*, 2.854; Peter Jeffrey, “Litany,” *DMA* 7.588–94; Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints* (London: Published for the Henry Bradshaw Society by the Boydell Press, 1991).

**Lithuania** Lithuania is located along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea and has been inhabited for a few thousand years by BALTS and other tribes of Indo-European stock. In the north lies Latvia, populated by other Baltic peoples, and on the south East Prussia, a territory once peopled by Baltic Prussians, later conquered by the Order of TEUTONIC KNIGHTS. Eventually that region became the duchy of PRUSSIA. In the early 13th century, the leaders of the Lithuanian people set up a national state under the leadership of a certain Duke Mindoug (1219–63) (Mindaugas), who converted to Christianity. During the 14th century, the grand duchy of Lithuania was enlarged with vast territories mostly populated by Slavs, intent on escaping MONGOL domination or the Teutonic KNIGHTS. During the reign of Grand Duke Vytautas the Great (r. 1392), Lithuania extended as far as KIEV and the BLACK SEA.

### CHRISTIANIZATION

The Lithuanians were among the last peoples of Europe to become Christians. The conversion of the neighboring Slavs and German missionary activities among the other Baltic tribes pressured pagan Lithuania to follow their example. In the first months of 1251, Duke Mindoug, his family, and part of his court were baptized. Fear of falling under the control of the nearby aggressive Teutonic order led to a conspiracy of nobles in 1263. King Mindoug and his heirs were assassinated.

The country then returned to PAGANISM for another 130 years, a period marked by a bitter and continual struggle against the Teutonic Order as well as by considerable toleration for Christianity. The grand dukes remained pagans until 1386 but married Christians and allowed their children to do so. In 1385, the grand duke Jagiello (r. 1377–1434) agreed to marry Hedwig or Jadwiga (ca. 1373–99), the queen of POLAND, and to rule in a personal union. This brought rapid Christianization. In February and March 1386, Jagiello was baptized, married Hedwig, and was crowned king of Poland under the name of Ladislas II at CRACOW. Many of his people followed his example and converted. Vilnius, his capital, became a diocese.

The western part of Lithuania, Samogitia, was controlled until 1387 by the Teutonic Knights, so Christianization came about only later (1413–17). There is little trace of any literary text written before the 15th century. The Lithuanian people transmitted to later generations a rich oral literature of popular songs, funerary chants, and FABLES. With their conversion, GOTHIC forms were introduced into the construction of churches and palaces.

*See also* JAGIELLONIANS, DYNASTY OF; NEVSKY, ALEXANDER, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Oswald P. Backus, *Motives of West Russian Nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Moscow, 1377–1514* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1957);

Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (1980; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1997); Juozas Erlickas, *History of Lithuania* (Vilnius: Tyto Alba, 2000); Aleksander Gieysztor, “The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 727–747; Marija Alseikaitė Gimbutas, *The Balts* (1963; reprint, New York: Praeger, 1968); Zigmantas Kiaupa, *The History of Lithuania before 1795* (Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2000); Paulius Rabikauskas, “Lithuania,” *EMA* 2.854–55; S. C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

**liturgical books** Medieval liturgical books were designed for worship at the MASS, the OFFICE, and the administration of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS. Before the fifth and sixth centuries, liturgical practice was overwhelmingly oral, though from the beginnings of Christianity a copy of the BIBLE was used for readings.

The transition from an oral practice to books was a change in the practice of the LITURGY. Church authorities wanted liturgical texts to express orthodoxy and define the FAITH, so the new compilations of texts into official collections, were done with that in mind. It was accomplished primarily during the fifth and sixth centuries. The liturgical books of the early Middle Ages were still characterized by a great diversity in content. The church was never able entirely to suppress oral practice, especially of chant or common prayers, such as the canon of the Mass. There had to be memorized most of the time.

#### EVOLUTION OF BOOKS

Liturgical books were mostly composed of small booklets containing texts for a single liturgical activity. These booklets were eventually collected into an organized structure and specialized books that culminated in the MISSAL for the mass and the BREVIARY for the office. They were especially important in unifying liturgical practice, as promised under CHARLEMAGNE. Alongside liturgical books proper, there existed detailed guides for the clergy to conduct the liturgy, such as customaries, and ordinaries.

See also GREGORIAN CHANT; MISSALS.

**Further reading:** Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998); Richard W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Richard W. Pfaff, ed., *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1995); Andrew Prescott,

*The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold: A Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art, a Facsimile* (London: British Library, 2002); Gernot R. Wieland, *The Canterbury Hymnal: Edited from British Library MS. Additional 37517* (Toronto: Published for the Centre for Medieval Studies by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982).

**liturgy, Christian** See CALENDARS AND THE RECKONING OF DATES; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; LITURGICAL BOOKS; MASS; MISSAL; MUSIC; SACRAMENTARY; SEVEN SACRAMENTS; VESTMENTS, LITURGICAL.

**Liutprand of Cremona (Liudprand)** (ca. 915–972) *bishop of Cremona, diplomat, historian*

Born about 915, Liutprand in about 932 or 933 entered the court of Pavia, where his noble father and stepfather had served. Liutprand acquired there a classical education and became a deacon and later a priest. King Berengar II (ca. 900–966) chose him for a diplomatic mission to CONSTANTINOPLE in 949 because he could speak Greek. In trouble with the king after his return, for unknown reasons, Liutprand fled to the court of King OTTO I, to whom he then devoted lifelong service. In 961, during his second descent into ITALY, he was given the bishopric of Cremona by Otto. He took part in important synods in 963 and in 967 and imperial courts in 967 and 970 and served Otto as ambassador to Byzantium in 968 and 971. An unusual participant in the Italian, German, and Byzantine worlds he wrote the *Reprisals against Berengar II, The History of Otto*, on Otto I's policy in Italy; and an account of his failed embassy in 968. He died in 972 on a trip to Constantinople.

See also THEOPHANO, EMPRESS OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, *The Embassy to Constantinople and Other Writings*, trans. F. A. Wright and ed. John Julius Norwich (London: J. M. Dent, 1993); Jon N. Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian: Studies of the Man and His Age* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1988).

**livestock** See ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

**Livonia (Estonia)** In the 13th century Livonia was a Baltic region that consisted of modern Estonia and northern Latvia. It was inhabited by the Livs, a tribe of FINNISH stock. Until the 12th century, the Livs were organized as a confederation that withstood VIKING and Ruś attacks. In 1160, merchants from LÜBECK founded a colony on the Dvina River, a base for Christian and economic expansion into Livonia. German missions worked successfully in the region only at the end of the 12th century, backed by the military order of the Knights or Brothers of the Sword of Livonia or the Knights of Dobrin. That order

conquered Livonia, and formed it into a regional confederation that grew to encompass all of southern Latvia and survived until the 16th century. The order also enserfed the local people. Its major cities of Riga and Tallinna were important in the HANSEATIC LEAGUE.

See also MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES, CHRISTIAN; TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Henry of Livonia, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. Jane Brundage (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (1980; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1997); Jüri Kivimäe and Juhan Kreem, eds., *Quotidianum estonicum: Aspects of Daily Life in Medieval Estonia* (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1996); John Leighly, *The Towns of Medieval Livonia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939); Tonis Lukas, “Estonia,” *EMA*, 2.498–499; Erik Tiberger, *Moscow, Livonia and the Hanseatic League, 1487–1550* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1995).

**Lull, Ramón (Raymond Lull)** See LULL, RAMÓN, AND LULLISM.

**Llywelyn II Fawr ab Iorwerth the Great** (1174–1240) *prince of Gwynedd*

Known as Llywelyn the Great, he has been perceived as the most successful ruler of medieval WALES. Llywelyn seized Gwynedd and Conwy from his father and brothers in 1194. He gained control of most of Wales in 1207, becoming the most powerful Welsh prince. He was still favored by King JOHN Lackland and in 1205 even married the king's illegitimate daughter, Joan (d. 1237), and they had five children. In 1210, however, John invaded Wales. Llywelyn had to relinquish all but Gwynedd west of the Conwy in the far west of the country. With the support of Pope INNOCENT III, Llywelyn challenged this arrangement and with the help of other Welsh lords regained the lost lands. He later joined the English barons opposed to John and received concessions in the MAGNA CARTA of 1215. By 1216, Llywelyn was recognized as the overlord of the rulers of Wales, a position then acknowledged by John's successor, HENRY III, at the treaty of Worcester in 1218. He successfully resisted English incursions and invasions in the 1230s. Llywelyn's power allowed him to establish a strong state with an efficient administrative system but one built on many negotiated links. On his death in 1240 as a monk at Aberconwy, his son, David II (r. 1240–46), inherited a peaceful principality. His rule was accepted by the English.

**Further reading:** David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947).

**Llywelyn III ap Gruffydd the Last** (ca. 1225–1282) *prince of Gwynedd and Wales*

Known as “the Last Prince,” Llywelyn was the grandson of LLEWELYN AP IORWERTH. As prince of Gwynedd, he inherited western Gwynedd in WALES jointly with his brother, Owain Goch (d. ca. 1280), in 1245 in return for pledging military service to the English king, HENRY III. Llewelyn, however, in 1255 regained Welsh strongholds from English control. In 1258 he assumed the title of Prince of Wales, which had to be confirmed by Henry in 1267 according to the Treaty of Morgannwg.

Relations with England were calm until the 1272 accession of EDWARD I. The new king demanded the complete fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. Llewelyn then stopped paying tribute and provocatively married the daughter of Edward's old enemy, SIMON DE MONTFORT THE YOUNGER. In response Edward attacked Wales in force, and most of Wales collapsed under this attack. Llewelyn was reduced to only western Gwynedd. Although Llewelyn remained at peace for sometime, his brother, Dafydd (d. 1283), however, attacked Hawarden CASTLE in 1282. Llewelyn was thus drawn into a Welsh resistance to a new English invasion. On December 11, 1282, he was killed by English troops at Cilmeri. Llewelyn left only a daughter, Gwenlilian, who was forced to become a NUN. Welsh resistance ended with Dafydd's death in 1283.

**Further reading:** A. D. Carr, *Llywelyn ap Gruffydd–1282* (Cardiff: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, University of Wales Press, 1982), John Edward Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Mediaeval Military History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); David Stephenson, *The Last Prince of Wales: Llywelyn and King Edward, the End of the Welsh Dream, 1282–83* (Buckingham, England: Baracuda Books, 1983).

**logic** Medieval logic tried to incorporate sound reasoning, common ideas about the correct form of argument, and careful analysis of the semantic properties of words and propositions. Along with GRAMMAR and RHETORIC, it formed the *trivium* and had a central place in the educational and scientific systems of the Middle Ages. It was viewed as one of the central disciplines of the university study and the fundamental and uniting principle of rational argumentation for every discipline or art.

#### ARISTOTELIAN BASIS

The *Categories* of ARISTOTLE, his *On Interpretation*, and Porphyry's *Isagoge* were the textual basis for the “old logic,” especially as employed by Peter ABÉLARD and the school of CHARTRES in the 12th century. As other works of Aristotle had become accessible in Latin around 1200, the resulting “new logic” moved to more analysis of sophisms or fallacious arguments and paralogisms. Both this old and new logic formed the *antique logic*, which was supplanted in the late 12th century by the “logic of the moderns”

worked out in detail in the 13th century at Paris and at Oxford. The logicians of the 14th century, such scholars as WILLIAM of Ockham, Walter BURLEY, and John BURIDAN, systematically devoted themselves to semantic paradoxes. At about the same time humanists and educational reformers enriched logic by emphasizing the rhetorical and pragmatic roles of language or semantics.

Medieval logic cannot be reduced simply to Aristotelianism. Its foundations included Platonism as represented in the theological treatises of BOETHIUS and, for semantic analysis, the theory of signs of AUGUSTINE and the classical grammar of Priscian (fl. 525). Arabic logic formulated by such scholars as IBN SINA or Avicenna exercised strong influence on the logic of the Latin West.

**Further reading:** E. J. Ashworth, *The Tradition of Medieval Logic and Speculative Grammar from Anselm to the End of the Seventeenth Century: A Bibliography from 1836 Onwards* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978); Deborah L. Black, *Logic and Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics in Medieval Arabic Philosophy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990); Alexander Broadie, *Introduction to Medieval Logic*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Eleonore Stump, *Dialectic and Its Place in the Development of Medieval Logic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989); Mikko Yrjönsuuri, ed., *Medieval Formal Logic: Obligations, Insolubles and Consequences* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2001).

**Lollards (mumblers)** Initially in the early 14th century, *Lollard* was a synonym for *Beghard*, or a religious eccentric. Very critical of the institutional church, Lollardy was an English HERESY, in many ways comparable to the HUSSITE movement in BOHEMIA. Rooted in academic and political environments, it grew out of the views of an Oxford academic, John WYCLIFFE. By 1382 his ideas were spread by his Oxford academic disciples, the Wycliffites and by poor priests, all of whom spread them widely. The movement grew further in the next few decades through much of ENGLAND. Lollards opposed ideas of transubstantiation of Christ in the Eucharist, PILGRIMAGES, the worship of images, the PAPACY and its bureaucracy, religious orders, ecclesiastical wealth and property, absolution of sins by clerics, and EXCOMMUNICATION. They also promoted greater use of the BIBLE in the VERNACULAR. The movement became linked, fairly or not, with the peasant rebellions of 1381.

Oxford was the starting point for Lollard book production in the late 14th century. This led to the production of a vernacular version of the BIBLE, the vernacular Glossed Gospels, and a Lollard sermon cycle. This also might have involved a plan for a takeover of the church in England. Early Lollardy had initially high political and social support. There were openly Lollard KNIGHTS at RICHARD II's court, and King HENRY V was a friend of the leading Lollard, Sir John Oldcastle (ca. 1378–1417).

Clerical opposition to Lollardy developed slowly in a country that had not previously dealt with widespread heresy. The death penalty for heresy was only introduced in 1401. There were then major trials of Lollards and executions by burning at the stake. Turning points were the trial of the leading Lollard, Oldcastle, and the failure of his uprising in 1414. There were later persecutions of remnants in the 1430s, and a still later wave of Lollardy and persecution between about 1480 and about 1520.

*See also* BALL, JOHN; BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS; PEASANT REBELLIONS.

**Further reading:** Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (1920; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966); Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Richard Rex, *The Lollards* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420–1530* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414–1520* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

**Lombard, Peter** *See* PETER LOMBARD.

**Lombard League** In the Middle Ages northern Italian communes formed reciprocal arrangements on several occasions to secure commercial advantages and to establish military alliances to face a common enemy, the German emperor. At the meeting of the imperial diet of Roncaglia in 1158, the emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA announced his plans to recover imperial authority in ITALY, demonstrating his determination with the destruction of MILAN in 1162.

#### FIRST LOMBARD LEAGUE

The first antiimperial league was formed in response. The League of Verona was established in 1164 by VERONA, VICENZA, and PADUA at the urging of VENICE. In 1167 the COMMUNES of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Mantua, oppressed by the imperial officials, formed the League of Cremona. Its first act was to bring back the exiled citizens of Milan to their city to rebuild its fortifications. In December 1167 the two organizations joined with other communes in a single political and military alliance soon called the Lombard League.

The league was composed of individual representatives of each commune, who deliberated the terms of alliance and imposed taxes. Pope ALEXANDER III soon joined. Imperial troops were defeated at the Battle of LEGNANO on the morning of May 29, 1176, by Milanese infantry and Lombard cavalry. The emperor himself fled the battlefield to avoid capture. This led to a six-year truce, at the end of which, in 1183, the peace treaty of

Constance, which acknowledged explicitly the cities and communes' rights of self-government and incorporated them into the institutional structure of the empire, was signed.

### SECOND LOMBARD LEAGUE

In 1226 the emperor FREDERICK II summoned a diet at Cremona, and the Italian communes became suspicious of Frederick's imperialist intentions and refounded the league. The emperor then abolished the privileges conceded at the peace of Constance. His victory a few years later at Cortenuova in 1237 was the high point of imperial power in Italy. A failed siege of Brescia in 1238, the defection of important imperial allies such as PISA and GENOA, the excommunication of the emperor in 1239, his military defeats at Parma in 1248 and Fossalta in 1249, and the death of Frederick II himself in 1250 signaled the failure of this second HOHENSTAUFEN attempt to impose imperial rule on the northern Italian communes.

See also GREGORY IX, POPE; GUELFs AND GHIBELINES.

**Further reading:** Thomas Carson, trans., *Barbarossa in Italy* (New York: Italica Press, 1994); Marshall W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century* (1968; reprint, Glen Rock, N.J.: Newman Press); William F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes: A History of the Republics of North Italy* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1906); Peter Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1969).

**Lombards (Langobardi, longbeards)** They were a tribal people of Germanic origin who eventually migrated into Italy. According to PAUL THE DEACON, the Lombards left Scandinavia for the mouth of the Elbe. Around 526, they settled in PANNONIA, modern-day HUNGARY. In 568, under King ALBOIN, they entered Italy through Friuli and conquered the north of the country. By the end of the sixth century, the Lombards held Spoleto, Benevento, and a large part of southern Italy. A kingdom was organized in the north with its capital at Verona, and then Pavia, and two duchies in the center and south around Spoleto and Benevento. CHARLEMAGNE conquered the kingdom in 772 and the Carolingians absorbed Spoleto in the middle of the ninth century. This kingdom was subsequently divided into two and then three principalities in 849 and 900. Southern Lombardy remained independent until Benevento fell to the Romans in about 1053. Capua and Salerno were under Norman rule by 1058 and in 1077.

Their political organization centered on a small number of aristocratic families and a king. Succession to the throne was regulated by a kinship link with the previous king. The dukes and other military leaders exercised royal powers and profited from a lack of central stability. Under Rothari (r. 636–652), a law collection tried to unify them as a nation. ARIANS when they entered Italy, the Lombards had converted to Catholicism under Agilulf (r. 590–616),

as a result of the influence of Queen Theodelinda (d. 628), a friend of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT. In the eighth century, relations with the Roman Church deteriorated when Rome broke with Byzantium and the Pope appealed for Frankish help to exercise temporal power. The FRANKS successfully claimed the crown as kings of the Lombards.

See also GREGORY I THE GREAT, POPE; LOMBARDY AND THE KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARD; NORMANS IN ITALY; OSTROGOTHS.

**Further reading:** Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974); Katherine Fisher Drew, trans., *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973); Neil Christie, *The Lombards* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

### Lombardy and the kingdom of the Lombards

Lombardy is a region of ITALY that only acquired its present form within the unified Italian nation in the 19th century. The forerunner to this state was founded in the 14th century by the VISCONTI family and formed the basis for a "duchy of MILAN."

After the conquest of the kingdom of the Longobards by CHARLEMAGNE in 772, the name Longobardia designated the whole of the kingdom in northern and central Italy. During the INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY in the 11th century, the term began to refer solely to northern Italy. For BRUNETTO LATINI and DANTE in the 13th century, the "Lombard" dialects spoken in northern Italy were clearly distinct from the Tuscan spoken in TUSCANY and the ROMAGNA. During the 12th and 13th centuries, Lombardy was the region of most of the cities forming the LOMBARD LEAGUE against the HOHENSTAUFEN emperors.

### LATER POLITICS

From around 1250, the struggles and rivalries within the governments of the COMMUNES favored the emergence of the lordships. Several neighboring towns recognized as their master the lords of Milan. The Visconti of Milan, as did their successors the SFORZA, embodied and symbolized princely magnificence. Most of the region came under the control of the Visconti and Sforza dynasties whose power was centered on Milan in the 14th and 15th centuries.

### ECONOMY AND RELIGION

Economically the central Po Valley, the heart of Lombardy, was among the richest regions in Europe and a center of European commerce. On its roads merchandise passed from the East to the West. Roads led over the Alpine passes to the Rhône and Rhine Valleys, as well as Liguria, TUSCANY, and ROME. Benefiting from the river routes, TRADE in agricultural goods, metals, and textiles developed very early. Lombardy was also a center of religious activity both orthodox and heretical that was particularly

opposed to the corruption of the CLERGY and the hypocritical wealth of the institutional church. The MENDICANT ORDERS, who had a considerable influence on the political life of the towns, were active, as was the INQUISITION. Lombard culture was centered on urban communal civilization and religious life. Its society was a blend of the literate and illiterate and the communal and the FEUDAL.

**Further reading:** Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974); Paul Delogu, "Lombard and Carolingian Italy," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 2, c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 290–319; Jan T. Hallenbeck, *Pavia and Rome: The Lombard Monarchy and the Papacy in the Eighth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1982); Dick Harrison, *The Early State and the Towns: Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy, AD 568–774* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993); Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1981).

**London** London was sited on a natural river crossing or hub where the tide flowed in and out of the Thames estuary and where a bridge might be built for a road connecting the southern coast to the north. The Romans recognized this potential and built a commercial city there, Londinium. The town suffered extensive damage during the Saxon invasions; not until the end of the seventh century did it recover any commercial prosperity.

The Normans considered holding the crossing of the routes from north to south over London Bridge and the east to west route along or on the River Thames essential. To control crossing and overawe the town, they built the White Tower, the core of the present Tower of London. Their kings settled into a palace built by EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in Westminster. This latter royal town was distinct and a few miles distant from the commercial city, which had been rebuilt and expanded within the old Roman walls during the 13th century.

#### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMPORTANCE

In the 14th century London became a great international mercantile city exporting wool via Calais in France to markets in FLANDERS and importing luxury goods such as WINE, jewels, or tapestries for the rich and the court. There were large foreign settlements of Gascons, Italians, Jews (until their expulsion in 1290), Flemings, and Germans from the HANSEATIC LEAGUE. The population might have been as high as 50,000 in 1300 and as low as 40,000 in 1377 after the Black Death and PLAGUES of 1348 and 1362.

#### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

From 1191 the town was controlled by a commune and a mayor and was divided into wards directed by

"aldermen" who were elected and formed a council around a mayor. The political and social life of the city was dominated by 12 professions, which formed "liveried" companies of the wealthiest and the most powerful citizens. The professions solidified their power by organizing GUILDS. They possessed such social prestige that they could associate socially with nobles, country gentlemen, and high churchmen. These guilds reinforced their prestige by processions and celebrations, demonstrating their wealth and worthiness.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL LONDON

London was also a great ecclesiastical center with the Benedictine abbey of WESTMINSTER, the richest in England, and with the residence of the archbishop of CANTERBURY in his palace at Lambeth on the Thames opposite London. There were several large HOSPITALS and many communities of mendicant and monastic houses of both men and women.

See also PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH; PEASANT REBELLIONS.

**Further reading:** John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (London: Clarendon Press, 1908); Julia Boffey and Pamela King, eds., *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1995); Christopher Brooke and Gillian Keir, *London, 800–1216: The Shaping of a City* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1975); Christopher Thomas, *The Archaeology of Medieval London* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002); Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300–1500* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948); Gwyn A. Williams, *Medieval London from Commune to Capital* (London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1963).

**Lorenzetti, Ambrogio** (ca. 1290–1348) and **Pietro** (ca. 1280–1348) *brothers famous for their frescoes and paintings*

The Sienese artists Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti have been considered among the foremost painters of the 14th century. They had similar innovative styles and ideas and perhaps even maintained a common workshop during the later part of their careers. They combined styles from the work of DUCCIO, their Sienese predecessor and probable teacher, for whom they may have worked, and the treatment of figures and use of space of GIOTTO. Both were extremely influential among the later Sienese painters of the 15th century and for the manuscript illumination of the LIMBOURG BROTHERS.

#### PIETRO

Pietro made major contributions to the development of FRESCO and panel PAINTING. His earliest surviving work from about 1319 is probably an undocumented Passion



Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *The Effects of Good Government on the City* from his *Allegory of Good Government*, frescos (1338–39) in the Town Hall (Palazzo Pubblico), Siena, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

Cycle in the Lower Church of San Francesco at ASSISI. His later accomplishment can be seen in signed and dated paintings for a parish church in Arezzo done from 1320 to 1323 for the Carmelites of Siena and completed in 1329, and in Duomo of Siena between 1335 and 1342. Much of his other work in fresco has been lost.

#### AMBROGIO

Ambrogio was probably the younger and was recognized for his use of perspective in the depiction of pictorial space and for his interest in classical art. The first part of Ambrogio's career occurred in Florence. Lorenzo GHIRBERTI, in his mid-15th-century *Commentaries*, praised Ambrogio and rated him higher than another famous and contemporary Siennese painter, Simone MARTINI. Ambrogio became the Siennese regime's official painter after Simone Martini's departure for AVIGNON in about 1336. His sophisticated fresco decoration of a meeting room in the town hall of Siena from 1338 to 1339 was the first large landscape painting since antiquity. It included a remarkable townscape of Siena, a panoramic and detailed rural landscape, and complex allegorical representations of good and bad government and their effects on a society and urban community. It has been used as an important and complex source for understanding communal political theory in late-medieval Italy. Ambrogio and Pietro both probably died in the plague of 1348.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, GOTHIC; FRESCO PAINTING.

**Further reading:** Bruce Cole, *Siennese Painting, from Its Origins to the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Harper &

Row, 1980); Chiara Frugoni, *Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University, 1997); George Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958); Randolph Starn, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Palazzo Pubblico, Siena* (New York: George Braziller, 1994).

**Lorris, William de (Guillaume de)** See ROMAN DE LA ROSE.

**Louis I the Pious** (778–840) *youngest son of Charlemagne, emperor*

Louis was the son of CHARLEMAGNE and his third wife, Hildegard (d. 783), and was born near Poitiers in 778. He was made king of AQUITAINE and was consecrated for that position by Pope Hadrian I (r. 772–795) in 781. In 813, after the death of his two elder brothers, his father decided he should inherit the imperial Crown. On January 28, 814, Charlemagne died and with that the expansionist phase of the Carolingian Empire ended. After attempting secular and monastic reforms within the church at the great councils of 817 and 818, Louis tried to settle the succession of the empire in 817. His eldest son, Lothair (795–855), became his coemperor; his second son, Pépin (797–838), became the king of Aquitaine; and the youngest son, Louis the German (805–876), the king of BAVARIA. In the early years of his reign, he successfully reformed the administration of the empire and strengthened its ties with the PAPACY.

### SUCCESSION PROBLEMS

In 819 Louis the Pious married Judith of Bavaria (800–843), and with her the Welf family came into the court. In 823 the future CHARLES THE BALD was born; from then on his mother and father tried to make a place for him in the succession. Under these new circumstances, which were not welcomed by his older sons, Louis's former counselors and the enemies of the Welf family decided to support Lothair as the next emperor. In 829, at the request of Louis and with the empire in total disarray, the Frankish bishops met and tried to inform the squabbling Carolingian family that the imperial power was a gift of God and must fall under the control of the church or clergy. This clarified little and, in fact, promoted discord as all sides tried to enlist the support of the church with concessions or bribes.

The last decade of the reign was characterized by a battle essentially between Louis and Lothair as the other two brothers changed sides frequently. In 833 seeing political opportunities, the papacy opposed and several Frankish bishops tried to depose Louis. The next year, the restored Louis ended his reign trying to work out an almost impossible acceptable partition of the empire. Though still energetic and capable, he failed and died on June 20, 840. He was buried at Saint-Arnoul in Metz having failed to preserve a centralized imperial state.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; DHUODA; HINC-MAR OF RHEIMS; LUPUS SERVATUS OF FERRIÈRES; NITHARD; VERDUN, TREATY OF; WALAFRID STRABO.

**Further reading:** Allen Cabaniss, trans. *Son of Charlemagne: A Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1961); Peter Godman and Roger Collins, eds., *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

**Louis IX, Saint** (1214–1270) *king of France known for his saintliness and crusading*

Louis, king of FRANCE from 1226 to 1270, was the son of Louis VIII (r. 1223–26) and BLANCHE of CASTILE (1188–1252), who exercised a regency during his minority and during his first crusading effort. Louis IX had wage war because of problems with BRITTANY, the LUSIGNANS in Poitou, Raymond VII of TOULOUSE (d. 1249), and the interventions of HENRY III, the king of ENGLAND. His victories at Taillebourg and Saintes in 1242 led to a truce with the English, and the death of Raymond VII promised the annexation of Toulouse, as his heir had married Louis's brother.

Louis IX's piety was already clear during this early period of his reign, he had purchased the crown of thorns of Christ, which he housed in the SAINTE-CHAPELLE at Paris. His crusader's vow of 1244 further revealed the depth of his religiosity. Louis prepared carefully for the expedition. He sought to leave the realm pacified and

under a just regime. He appointed commissioners in 1247 to correct abuses by royal agents. With his personal reputation at its peak and the kingdom at peace at last, he embarked in 1248 from his new port of Aigues-Mortes. He landed in EGYPT. His victory at Damietta was soon nullified by a major defeat at el-Mansura in 1250, where the king was taken prisoner. After his liberation for a huge ransom, he spent four years in the kingdom of JERUSALEM and at ACRE improving its administration and defense.

The king returned to France in 1254, much affected by his sense of failure. He then promulgated a program of political and moral reform for his realm in order to effect God's JUSTICE and plan on this Earth. He forbade trial by battle and judicial duel in the royal domain. Louis also made possible general legal appeals to a royal court to obtain justice. Appeals for justice soon came from throughout the whole kingdom. He softened his attitude toward JEWS and cut back his support for the INQUISITION's activities in southern France. He solidified his reputation for fairness and morality by arbitrating disputes in FLANDERS and England. With the English king Henry III, he tried to establish a definitive peace in 1259 by generously ceding some territories in return for English recognition of the French conquests of NORMANDY and GASCONY in the early 13th century. He was famously devoted but never sacrificed any rights of the French Crown to papal ambitions. When the MAMLUK sultan BAYBARS I captured Christian territory in PALESTINE and the Levant, between 1263 and 1268, including ANTI-IOCH, Louis again took up the cross. En route to Egypt, he detoured to TUNIS, where he died of plague on August 25, 1270. He was canonized soon after, in 1297.

See also CHARLES I OF ANJOU; JOINVILLE, JEAN DE; PARLEMENT OF PARIS.

**Further reading:** Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (1965; reprint, London: A. Zwemmer, 1985); William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); Jean Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, trans. Jean Birrell (1983; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University of France, 1992); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Saint Louis: Louis IX, Most Christian King of France* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968); Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

**Louis XI (the Spider King)** (1423–1483) *Valois king of France*

Louis was born at Bourges in 1423, the son of King CHARLES VII. He gained the nickname The Spider King for all the webs of intrigue he wove. He revolted against his father in 1440, was pardoned and given the government of the Dauphiné, but revolted again in 1455, then had to flee to the court of the duke of BURGUNDY, PHILIP

THE GOOD. In 1461, his accession to the throne was marked by an unprecedented purging of his father's officials of state and the revocation of the PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES. In 1465 the upper nobility formed the League of Public Good or Weal against him; and, after losing the battle of Monthléry, he was forced to grant concessions, such as giving NORMANDY to his brother, Charles of Anjou (d. 1482). He recaptured Normandy the following year and concluded the advantageous Peace of Ancenis with the duke of BRITTANY in 1468. He then convened the estates of Languedoç at Tours and obtained approval of his policy and the condemnation of the rebellious princes and nobles.

Maneuvered by CHARLES THE BOLD into a disadvantageous agreement at Péronne in October 1468, Louis was forced to give the county of Champagne to his brother, Charles of Anjou, to help with the suppression of a revolt at Liège. Unsuccessful in taking over the rich inheritance of Charles the Bold, who died at Nancy in 1477, Louis XI did recover, by the treaty of Arras in December of 1482, the Somme towns, the Boulonnais, and some rights on the duchy of Burgundy. The death of his brother, Charles of Anjou, in 1482 also allowed him to annex Anjou, Maine, Barrois, and PROVENCE.

#### LEGACY

He died in August 1483, having added extensive territory to the French Crown. He had governed by cultivating the small and middle nobility and urban oligarchies. He believed in prompt justice and practiced a devious and unscrupulous diplomacy. Feared for his authoritarianism, his basic royal policies were taming or coopting the nobility and upper clergy, adding to the royal domain, taxing heavily to support the state and the new standing army, and encouraging initiatives for an economic reconstruction of the kingdom.

See also COMMYNES, PHILIPPE DE; EDWARD IV, KING OF ENGLAND.

**Further reading:** Philippe de Commines, *The Universal Spider: The Life of Louis XI of France*, trans. and ed. Paul Kendall (London: Folio Society, 1973); Adrianna E. Bakos, *Images of Kingship in Early Modern France: Louis XI in Political Thought, 1560–1789* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); James Cleugh, *Chant Royal: The Life of King Louis XI of France (1423–1483)* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970); Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: The Universal Spider* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); Mark Spencer, *Thomas Basin (1412–1490): The History of Charles VII and Louis XI* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1997).

**love** The concept of love in the Middle Ages covered several distinct concepts, including irrational sexual desire in search of sensual satisfaction and feelings of respect and affection that children owe their parents and inferiors owe

their betters. Reciprocity was certainly possible but not necessary. There could also be the disinterested feeling that unites equals or close friends around a common interest, most important the love of GOD. All of these forms could have an uneasy coexistence among humankind.

MARRIAGE was necessitated in nature and culture by the demands of procreation and for education and for biological and social reproduction. Marriage was not created for amorous passion. ADULTERY was among the worst of evils, casting doubt on the authenticity of succession within a lineage and ruining social ties. CONTRACEPTION was thus more severely condemned within marriage than outside it. Marriage was reinforced by prohibitions of the five kinds of luxury or sin, fornication, adultery, INCEST, deflowering of a virgin outside marriage, and rape. The Middle Ages had three important long lasting ideas about love: the naturalness, but secondary status, of the conjugal bond, its exaltation in literature as a free and subjective feeling, and the spiritual fulfillment of the self in a love of God.

See also CELIBACY; CHASTITY; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; COURTLY LOVE; FABLES; FABLIAUX OR COMIC TALES; FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN WESTERN EUROPE; HOMOSEXUALITY; SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS, THE; SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES.

**Further reading:** R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Abrams, 1998); Katherine Heinrichs, *The Myths of Love: Classical Lovers in Medieval Literature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); Douglas Kelly, *Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936); Ariel Toaff, *Love, Work, and Death: Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, trans. Judith Landry (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1996).

**Lübeck** Founded in 1143 on the site of a small Slavic town, medieval Lübeck was on an island in the loop of the Trave and the Wakenitz Rivers. The site was favorable to transit maritime TRADE. HENRY THE LION, the duke of SAXONY, tried in vain to develop rival ports and finally forced a vassal to cede it to him in 1159. He then restored the town after a fire had destroyed it in 1157 and gave the powers of his ducal bailiff to the townspeople themselves. The bishopric of Oldenburg was transferred to Lübeck in 1154. In 1181, the emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA enlarged the city's commercial and municipal privileges. Occupied in 1181 by WALDEMAR I, king of DENMARK, Lübeck only regained its freedom in 1225. After the victory of Bornhoven over the Danes in 1277, the town held a military power equal to and able to support its economic power.

## ENTERPRISE AND COMMERCE

After the formation in 1161 of a community of MERCHANTS trading frequently in GOTLAND, Lübeck's history was tied with that of the Hanse or HANSEATIC LEAGUE. It was dominant from 1293 and its official head by 1418. The merchants of Lübeck were present throughout Hanseatic enterprises, from LONDON to NOVGOROD. They were strongly established in Scandinavia and LIVONIA, were loaded with privileges at PRAGUE, and jealously guarded any monopolies held by the Hanse in the trade of northern and central Europe. Lübeck, though visited by the PLAGUES of the mid-14th century, had 30,000 inhabitants in the 15th century. It was ruled by a patriciate of great merchants and landlords, estimated at no more than 16 percent of the population, who alone could serve on the town council. Absorbed in commerce, Lübeck did little to colonize and urbanize the east or around the Baltic Sea, apart from founding the towns of Elbing, Marienwerder, and Stockholm. A hundred towns at least adopted the urban law of Lübeck, and its town planning and brick architectural style were the model for a number of Hanseatic and Prussian towns. As a commercial power, Lübeck was protected by princes and was the guarantor of Hanseatic commercial order. At the end of the Middle Ages Lübeck had become the only remaining imperial free town left on the Baltic shore east of the Elbe.

See also TRADE AND COMMERCE; WENDS.

**Further reading:** Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. and ed. D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (London: Macmillan, 1970); A. B. Enns, *Lübeck: A Guide to the Architecture and Art Treasures of the Hanseatic Town*, 4th ed., trans. A. C. Lesiter (Lübeck: H. Scheffler, 1981).

**Lucca** Lucca is a city in TUSCANY between FLORENCE AND PISA. Founded in 180 B.C.E., Lucca grew outside the old Roman walls in the LOMBARD period in the seventh and eighth centuries. On the pilgrim road to ROME, it was also the seat of a bishopric and a duchy in the Lombard period, a position it continued to hold under the CAROLINGIANS. From the 11th century, the city's history revolved around its opposition to PISA and loyalty to the empire. Once under the marquesses of Tuscany, Lucca obtained its first imperial privileges in 1082, and in the 12th century, it gave shelter to several imperial antipopes. It fought several wars against Pisa in 1105, 1128, and 1168. FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA imposed a peace on the two towns in 1181 and gave Lucca a charter of liberties. On April 30, 1186, the emperor HENRY VI confirmed Lucca's jurisdictional rights over a rural domain within a radius of six miles. At about the same time, rural noble families moved into town and swore loyalty to the newly formed commune, which was based on the administration of a *PODESTÀ* or outside judge from 1187. The prosperity of the town was based on banking and commercial activity in the SILK trade. Blessed with a sound and respected

coinage, Luccan bankers were present in ENGLAND, FRANCE, and at the Holy See. It was also a rich agriculture center for both grain crops and pastoral activities.

Lucca's entry into a GUELF league in 1197 was caused by Henry VI's betrayal and concession of important naval rights to Pisa. After Lucca was captured by the Pisans in 1314, Castruccio Castracani (1281–1328) expelled them in 1316 and established his own seigniorial rule over the city. On his death in 1328, the lordship of the town was taken by various families and foreign powers, even the Pisans again. In the late 14th century, the Guinigi family took over the city. A republican regime that was restored after the fall of the Guinigi in 1430 lasted until the French invasion of 1494.

See also BANKS AND BANKING; GUELF AND GHIBELLINES.

**Further reading:** M. E. Bratchel, *Lucca, 1430–1494: The Reconstruction of an Italian City-Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Louis Green, *Castruccio Castracani: A Study on the Origins and Character of a Fourteenth-Century Italian Despotism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Louis Green, *Lucca under Many Masters: A Fourteenth-Century Italian Commune in Crisis (1328–1342)* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1995); Roberta Martinelli, *A Renaissance Fortification System: The Walls of Lucca* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1996); Christine Meek, *The Commune of Lucca under Pisan Rule, 1342–1369* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1980); Christine Meek, *Lucca, 1369–1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Duane J. Osheim, *An Italian Lordship: The Bishopric of Lucca in the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Chris Wickham, *Community and Clientele in Twelfth-Century Tuscany: The Origins of the Rural Commune in the Plain of Lucca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

**Luitprand of Cremona** See LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA.

**Lull, Ramón, and Lullism** (Raymond, Llull, Lully, the Blessed, the Enlightened Doctor) (ca. 1235–1315) *Franciscan scholar, poet, mystic*

Born about 1235, he was a son of a noble family of MAJORCA. He married Bianca Picany, by whom he had two children. An active participant in court culture, he worked until the age of about 30 as a lay official for the king of Majorca. He received little education in Scholastic theological thought. In 1263, however, he underwent a profound change, transformed by visions of a crucified Christ. He decided to abandon everything in the material world and dedicate himself to bringing about the conversion of infidels, especially by means of PREACHING. He attached himself to the DOMINICAN ORDER, but its head in Iberia, RAYMOND OF PEÑAFORT, prevented him from attending the University of PARIS to study theology. Ramón

stayed at Majorca to learn Arabic from a slave. He wrote a book, the *Ars magna*, which tried to show the necessary reasons for the truth of the Christian faith. To try to convert Muslims by such ideas, he traveled to TUNIS in 1293 and 1314–15 and to Algiers in 1307. In the meantime he traveled throughout the courts of Europe to convince the leaders of CHRISTENDOM of the importance of creating schools to teach languages and preaching techniques. He established centers promoting these evangelical ideas in Paris, GENOA, and Majorca. According to legend, he was stoned to death in North Africa in 1315 or 1316.

#### LULLISM

Despite his frequent psychological crises he described in his autobiography, Lull wrote about 280 works, of which some 240 survive. As well as the *Ars magna*, he produced a series of works on LOGIC, MEDICINE, LAW, and PREACHING, as well as an anti-Averroist work. He was a skillful writer of Catalan and explained his doctrines in interreligious dialogues such as the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Sages* in 1270–73 and in romances such as *Blanquerna* in 1283 and *Felix* in 1287–89. He left a graphic account of his mystical experiences in *De amico et amato* in 1276. A book on CHIVALRY was translated in other languages and widely circulated.

His ideas and the ensuing Lullist movement were perceived to manifest clear religious radicalism in their alleged hermetical, mystical, and alchemical doctrines. Many works that circulated with his name he certainly did not write. The spread of this evolved form of Lullism was opposed in Catalonia by a Dominican inquisitor in Aragon, who managed to obtain a condemnation of what he portrayed as Lullism from Pope Gregory XI (r. 1371–78) in 1376. In France, John GERSON, after a condemnation of some of them by the University of Paris in 1390, attacked Lull's doctrines. Despite these condemnations and attacks, Ramón's work was influential in the ideas of NICHOLAS of Cusa and Pico della MIRANDOLA.

See also AL-GHAZALI; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN; NEOPLATONISM AND PLATONISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

**Further reading:** Ramon Lull, *Selected Works of Ramón Llull (1232–1316)*, ed. and trans. Anthony Bonner, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Ramon Llull, *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramón Llull Reader*, ed. and trans. Anthony Bonner (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Lull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

**Lupus Servatus of Ferrières** (ca. 805–ca. 862) *abbot of Ferrières*

Lupus was born in about 805 to a noble Bavarian-Frankish family in the region of Auxerre near Sens.

Nicknamed Servatus, he entered the monastery of Ferrières as a youth. From 829 to 836 he studied with HRABANUS Maurus at the monastery of FULDA, where he encountered EINHARD and Gottschalk of Orbais (d. 868). There he also participated in writing a collection of laws and the biographies of Saint Wigbert and Saint Maximinus. CHARLES THE BALD appointed him abbot of Ferrières on November 22, 840, and sent him on missions as an ambassador. In 849 he wrote treatises on PREDESTINATION, free will, and REDEMPTION; but he was not much of a theologian. As more a monk with humanist and classical interests, he went in search of manuscripts, especially texts by classical authors. He had them recopied and often annotated. He died about 862 but left one of the most important collections of letters from the ninth century.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

**Further reading:** Lupus Servatus of Ferrières, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, trans. Graydon W. Resenos (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966); Charles H. Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic: A Study of His Autograph Copy of Cicero's De oratore* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930); Robert J. Gariepy, *Lupus of Ferrières and the Classics* (Darien, Conn.: Monographic Press, 1967).

**Lusignans** They were a family of Poitou in western FRANCE, named after a 10th-century CASTLE there. The dynasty was founded in the 10th century by one Hugh of Lusignan (fl. 980). They were vassals of the dukes of AQUITAINE. Two members of a cadet branch of the family were active in the CRUSADES in 12th century. One, Amalric (1135–74), became the constable of the kingdom. His brother, Guy (1129–94), joined him and married the sister and heiress of King BALDWIN IV. In 1186 Guy became the king of JERUSALEM, but after his defeat at the Battle of HATTIN in 1187, he moved to CYPRUS, where the family reigned until the 15th century. Guy bought Cyprus from RICHARD I LIONHEART in 1192 and in 1194 left the island to Aimery (r. 1194–1205), the true builder of the kingdom. On the death of Hugh II in 1267, the throne passed to his first cousin, Hugh III of ANTIOCH (r. 1267–84), who took the name and arms of Lusignan and from 1268 called himself king of Jerusalem.

The family fought many unsuccessful wars against the Muslims near Antioch and in EGYPT. They eventually lost control of the most important town on Cyprus, Famagusta, to the Genoese in 1374. In the 15th century they were forced to become the vassals of the MAMLUKS in Egypt. Eventually their kingdom in Cyprus fell under the control of the Venetians in 1489.

In the meantime, the heads of the once powerful family in France tried to maintain their principality. They fought with PHILIP II AUGUSTUS against the English king JOHN LACKLAND and John's son, King HENRY III, but

eventually they lost it to King LOUIS IX of France in 1241. Their properties eventually passed into the control of the French Crown.

See also JERUSALEM, LATIN KINGDOM OF.

**Further reading:** George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1949–52); W. H. Rüdts de Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignan: The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties [by] Count W. H. Rüdts-Collenberg* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963); Harold Sinclair Snellgrove, *The Lusignans in England 1247–1258* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950).

**Lydgate, John (the Monk of Bury)** (ca. 1370–1449)  
*English Benedictine monk, poet*

He was born in Lydgate, a village near Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk. John's numerous works range from FABLES and satires to lives of saints and religious and secular lyrics, including *The Troy Book* (1412–21), *The Siege of Thebes* (1420–22), and *The Fall of Princes* (1431–38), some commissioned by King HENRY V.

Lydgate was educated at the monastery of Bury Saint Edmunds in Suffolk, was ordained in 1397, and spent much of his life there. His career was not as wide-ranging as that of Geoffrey CHAUCER, whose versification he imitated. He did spend several years on the Continent in FRANCE between 1426 and 1429. His work shows knowledge of trends in French and Latin literature, reflected by ties to the work of Giovanni BOCCACCIO and Coluccio SALUTATI. He died about 1449.

**Further reading:** John Lydgate, *Poems*, ed. John Norton-Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Lois Ebin, *John Lydgate* (Boston: Twayne, 1985); Derek Albert Pearsall, *John Lydgate (1371–1449): A Bio-Bibliography*

(Victoria, Canada: University of Victoria, 1997); Walter F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century*, trans. Ann E. Keep (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

**Lyon (Lyons)** Lyon lies at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône Rivers in BURGUNDY. Under the Roman Empire, it was capital of a province, the center of a road network, and a pagan religious center. By 170 it had become the seat of one of the earliest Christian churches founded west of ROME. Occupied by Burgundians, then by FRANKS, Lyon stagnated for sometime. In an 843 settlement it was allotted to the empire and did not become part of the kingdom of France until 1312. The rich church of Lyon had extensive temporal power and possessions such as CASTLES and rural lordships. Two ecumenical COUNCILS were held there, in 1245 and 1274. The growing town obtained a communal CHARTER in 1320 from the French Crown. During the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, it remained loyal to the king of France, but the countryside suffered considerably. Not until the second half of the 15th century did Lyon once more become a commercial and trading metropolis. Prosperity returned with the rise of four annual FAIRS, banking, printing, and good trading relations with ITALY, SWITZERLAND, and GERMANY.

**Further reading:** Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); James B. Wadsworth, *Lyons, 1473–1503: The Beginnings of Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962).

**Lyon, Councils of (Lyon I, 1245; Lyon II, 1274)** See COUNCILS, GENERAL AND ECUMENICAL.



# M

**Mabinogi** (*Mabinogion*) This was an important collection of medieval Welsh folk tales, legends, and ROMANCES. The name of the work was applied by a 19th century translator, Charlotte Guest. The collection consisted of 11 units, divided into three groups. The first four related stories were tales of Pwyll, the prince of Dyfed, Branwen, the daughter of Llŷr; Manawydan, the son of Llŷr; and Math, the son of Mathonwy. These are followed by four other tales and by three romances, that are similar to stories in CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, *Geraint Son of Erbin*, *The Lady of the Fountain*, and *Peredur Son of Efracwg*. Composed in their present form between about 1050 and 1120, probably by a cleric in south WALES, they were based on an oral tradition that had its origins in Celtic mythology and reflected the craft of a Welsh teller of tales. The chief characters were based on Celtic gods and goddesses, transferred to contemporary aristocratic environment. It has survived in two late 14th-century manuscripts, but the earliest stories may go to the 11th century.

The three romances have features that suggest a bilingual environment in southeastern Wales open to ANGLO-NORMAN and French influences. Probably the work of more than one author, these romances were part of an Arthurian cycle. The earliest VERNACULAR Arthurian narrative, they reflected the aristocratic and chivalric culture of their time.

See also ARTHUR, KING, AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Jeffrey Gantz, trans., *The Mabinogion* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976); A. O. H. Jarman and Gwilym Rees Hughes, eds., *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, Vol. 1 (Swansea: C. Davies, 1976), 189–202, 203–243.

**MacAlpin, Kenneth I** (Cináed mac Allpín) (r. ca. 834–858) *traditional founder of the kingdom of Scotland*

In the face of attacks from the Britons, the VIKINGS, and the people of neighboring Lothian, Kenneth tried to unite the people of the future kingdom of SCOTLAND, the PICTS and the Dalriadan Scots. As king of Dalriada, he transported the RELICS of Saint Columba from Iona to Dunkeld to protect them and establish a religious center. The new kingdom was called Alba or Albany. After founding a permanent patrilineal dynasty, he died in 858.

**Further reading:** Alan Orr Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1922); Archibald A. M. Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1975).

**Macbeth** (r. 1040–1057) *king of Scots*

The grandson of King Kenneth II (r. 971–995). Macbeth was a member of the northern Cenél Loairn branch of the Dalriadan royal house. In 1031 he inherited the earldom of Murray or Moray in northern Scotland from his father. In 1040 he revolted against his cousin, King Duncan I (r. 1034–40), and killed him. He married the daughter of Kenneth III (r. 997–1005), Gruoch (fl. 1040–57) and took the kingship for himself. He actually only was able to attain the throne after four years of civil war. Even so the rest of reign was marked by periodic civil war and dynastic conflict. It was peaceful enough, however, to allow Macbeth to make a pilgrimage to ROME, where he acquired renown through his generosity to the poor. Supported by the ANGLO-SAXONS, the future king, Malcolm III (r. 1058–93), laid a legitimate claim to the throne. In 1057 Macbeth was killed by Malcolm's troops. Macbeth

became the subject of the classic tragedy by William Shakespeare.

**Further reading:** Archibald A. M. Duncan, *Scotland, the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1975); Peter Berresford Ellis, *MacBeth: High King of Scotland, 1040–57 AD* (London: F. Muller, 1980); William E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and Its Transformation, 1000–1135* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

**Macedonia** This was a province, now a country, on the Balkan Peninsula. After the BARBARIAN incursions in the early fifth century, the Byzantines retook control and Macedonia became a province with Greek as its spoken language. In the second half of the sixth century, SLAV tribes entered, augmenting and changing the area's population and ethnicity. The northern parts essentially lost a Greek character, but THESSALONIKI, the provincial capital, and the south remained Greek.

In the ninth century, Bulgarians settled in the southern Balkans and created an empire, conquering and annexing the Slavic half of Macedonia. In the ninth century, CYRIL AND METHODIOS began to convert the Slav population to Orthodox Christianity with an ecclesiastical center at OCHRIDA in the northwest. In 971, after a defeat of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian prince SAMUEL proclaimed himself czar of the Bulgarians at Ochrida, making it the center of his new Bulgarian state. After his first destructive campaign in 1004, the Byzantine emperor, BASIL II, returned in 1014 to destroy that state and annex it as a province of the empire. The new Byzantine government promoted the immigration of Greeks and other groups back to Macedonia to merge with the local population.

In 1204, after the destruction of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE by crusaders, the province was divided. Thessaloniki was taken by the crusaders, who established the Latin kingdom of Salonica there; the rest of the province was taken over by Bulgarians. After an era of domination by the despots of EPIROS, Thessaloniki was reconquered by the revived Byzantine Empire of Nicaea in 1246. The northern part of the region was contested by Bulgarians and Serbs. SERBIA conquered it in 1345 and established a new capital at Skopje, but its dominance was short lived. The OTTOMAN TURKS subsequently invaded and conquered much of the Balkans; by 1371, only Thessaloniki remained part of a much-shrunken Byzantine Empire. In 1423 the Turks overwhelmed the remaining areas and absorbed Macedonia into the Ottoman Empire.

See also BULGARIA AND THE BULGARIANS.

**Further reading:** Blaga Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae: The Cult of Martyrs in Macedonia from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries*, trans. Ana Lazarevska (Prilep: Institute for Old Slav Culture, Skopje, 1997); Elizabeth Barker, *Macedonia and Its Place in Balkan Power Politics* (1950; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood

Press, 1980); Djurdje Boskovic, *Medieval Art in Serbia and Macedonia: Church Architecture and Sculpture* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska Knjiga, 1936?); Stoyan Pribichevich, *Macedonia, Its People and History* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982); M. B. Sakellariou, ed., *Macedonia, 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization* (1983; reprint, Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1995); Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia, 1354–1833*, trans. Peter Megann (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1973).

**Macedonian dynasty** The Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) ruled during the most successful period of the medieval BYZANTINE Empire. Its founder, BASIL I (812–886), was a peasant born in Macedonia of Armenian descent. He owed his fortune to Emperor Michael III (r. 838–867). Basil amazingly so charmed him by his ability to train HORSES that Michael made him coemperor. Having probably assassinated his benefactor, he pursued throughout his reign aggressive politics. His successors, Leo VI (r. 886–912), CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITOS, and Romanos II (r. 959–963), remained in the imperial palace, but their generals retook much of the East from the Muslims. Leo VI proclaimed the last great Byzantine legislative code, the *Basilica*, and his intellectual son, Constantine, was responsible for encyclopedic works on ceremonies and the imperial administration.

During the minorities of the emperors Constantine VII, then BASIL II (r. 976–1025) and his brother, Constantine VIII (r. 1025–28), dynastic legitimacy was so accepted that the coemperors, imposed by regents, such as the successful generals Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944), Nikephoros Phokas (r. 963–969), and John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976), did not try to seize the throne for themselves. Nikephoros Phokas recaptured CRETE. As an emperor appointed by a regency council, he crossed the Taurus Mountains, recovered Cilicia in southeastern ANATOLIA and northern SYRIA, and reestablished the patriarchate at ANTIOCH. John Tzimiskes drove off a KIEVAN RUŚ attack in the Balkans and further consolidated the Byzantine frontiers in eastern Anatolia. He led his army into PALESTINE, up to JERUSALEM. Basil II, overcame the rebellious aristocracy of Anatolia, and conducted a successful elimination of the Bulgarian state. In 1018 he began the work of reestablishing a frontier on the Danube, which required a quarter of a century of almost uninterrupted warfare. It earned him the title of Bulgar Slayer. Basil II's nieces married men who became emperors, Michael IV (r. 1034–41) and Constantine Monomachos (r. 1042–55). On the death of Basil's niece, Theodora (r. 1056–57), who also reigned, a competition for the Crown began; it ended with the accession of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS in 1081 (r. 1081–1118).

See also PSELLOS, MICHAEL.

**Further reading:** Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (1953; reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966); Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire: A Supplement Containing the Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos (A.D. 976–1057), and Other Essays on Byzantine History* (Chicago: Ares, 1974); Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610–1071* (New York: Random House, 1966); Shaun Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

**Machaut, Guillaume de (William, Machaut)** (ca. 1300–1377) *French musician, poet*

Machaut was born to a noble family about 1300 in Champagne. In about 1323 he took orders and entered the service of John of Luxembourg (r. 1310–46), the king of BOHEMIA, as a secretary and canon of RHEIMS cathedral. He traveled to POLAND, LITHUANIA, and ITALY before settling at Rheims. When John of Luxembourg was killed in battle in 1346, Machaut went into services of John's daughter, then that of Charles II the Bad (r. 1349–87), the king of NAVARRE, and subsequently CHARLES V (r. 1364–80), the king of FRANCE. Much in demand, he also had as patrons such princes as JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY, and Amadeus VI, the Green Count of Savoy (r. 1343–83) and held canonries at Rheims, Verdun, and Arras. He died in 1377 at Rheims.

We possess more works by him than by any other 14th-century composer. His literary inspiration was in the tradition of COURTLY LOVE. In music, he wrote in both religious and secular pieces. He developed new procedures for musical composition, known as the *Ars nova*, as distinct from the *ARS ANTIQUA*. A master of versification, he wrote didactic and allegorical poems, lays and virelays, rondeaux, ballads, secular polyphonic songs, music for masses, and 24 MOTETS for three or four voices. His poetry influenced CHAUCER.

**Further reading:** Guillaume, de Machaut, *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Leo Schrade, 2 vols. (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956); Lawrence Marshburn Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1995); Gilbert Reaney, *Guillaume de Machaut* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

**al-Madina al-Zahira** It was a 10th-century palace city, now in ruins, eight miles (13 kilometers) outside CORDOBA in AL-ANDALUS. It was founded by Abd al-Rahman III (r. 891–961), CALIPH and the emir of Córdoba, and finished by his son, al-Hakim II (r. 961–976). Named after Abd al-Rahman's favorite wife, Zahra, the complex was located near springs at the foot of the Sierra Morena. It was founded as a palatial residence and administrative center away from crowded Córdoba. The staff included

20,000 guards, officials, and their families, who lived in this palace city. Al-Madina al-Zahira was destroyed by fire in 1010 by rebellious Berber soldiers, who resented the lavishness of the caliph's personal residence. Material from the palace was later redeployed by Pedro the Cruel (r. 1350–69) for his palace in SEVILLE.

#### DETAILS

Al Madina al-Zahira was built on three terraces with abundant gardens, pools, and water channels. On the lowest terrace was a pavilion built for Abd al-Rahman as a formal ceremonial center. This pavilion had intricate decoration in stone, like the stucco work of the Great MOSQUE in Córdoba. Across a bridge from the pavilion was the main mosque, with an arcaded courtyard leading to a sanctuary. Beside the mosque were the military headquarters, a basilicalike hall with triple-arched arcades and a ramp leading out to the parade ground. The upper part was the caliph's personal residence, which included several apartments around courtyards enclosing a central hall. In the art and architecture of al Madina al-Zahira, the Spanish Umayyads were clearly influenced by the legacy of their ancestors in SYRIA and Mesopotamia or IRAQ.

**Further reading:** Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, eds., *Islam: Art and Architecture*, trans. George Ansell et al. (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), 229–233; Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999); D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), especially 53–85.

**madrasa (theological college, place of study)** A *madrasa* is a place of study or residential college for the teaching of Islamic law and other religious disciplines or sciences, usually associated with a MOSQUE. *Madrassah* were also residences for subsidized students. The curriculum of study was based on the QURAN and the HADITH, the latter complemented by the study of Islamic law and jurisprudence. *Madrassah* owe their beginnings to a SELJUK vizier, who created the first great Sunni *madrassah* at BAGHDAD in 1067 and in several other great cities. In 1184, the Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) remarked on some 30 *madrassah* in Baghdad alone. By the 12th century there were such schools in SYRIA, at DAMASCUS from 1121 and at ALEPPO from 1123.

*Madrassah* functioned under the patronage of a local ruler, who remunerated the professors and ensured the upkeep of the students. But they were basically private institutions, usually endowed by their founder. They were designed primarily to combat heresies or other points of view, initially Shiite tendencies, and to develop a strict orthodoxy by training an intellectual SUNNI elite. The extent to which they influenced the organization of

universities in Europe is not clear. Their building styles reflect important aspects of Islamic architecture.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Further reading:** Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 173–251; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981); George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); J. Pederson, George Makdisi, and Robert Hillenbrand, “Madrasa,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 5.1,123–1,154; Ahmad Shalabi, *History of Muslim Education* (Karachi: Indus, 1979).

**al-Maghrib (Maghreb, the West)** Al-Maghrib has its origins in an Arabic word meaning “sunset.” Al-Maghrib was considered the furthest western part of the Muslim world, but its regions have varied. One tradition was in the 14th century IBN KHALDUN made al-Maghrib coincide with BERBER areas from before the ARAB conquest, from the Atlantic coast and along the Mediterranean to the edge of the Sahara. Al-Maghrib can be divided into four parts, the modern states of Libya (Tripolitania), Tunisia (Ifriqiya), Algeria, and MOROCCO (the far Maghrib). Its history began with Islamization in the seventh century, with the invasion of nomadic Arab armies, then the Berber empires of the 11th and 12th centuries, first the ALMORAVIDS and then the ALMOHADS.

#### LONG SERIES OF INVASIONS

Muslim armies began to raid al-Maghrib in 643, 647, and 665. Byzantine armies were defeated by them at Sufetula in Tunisia and at Hadrumetum, but the Muslims only withdrew with their booty. A permanent conquest began in 670, when a military camp was founded at AL-QAYRAWAN. The capture of Carthage in 698 ended most Berber resistance. Many of the BERBERS converted to ISLAM and enrolled in Muslim armies in search of further conquest. The Arabs, few in number, occupied the fortresses and certain parts of the lower elevations of the country. The Berbers sometimes resisted Arab dominance by welcoming heterodox sects banished by the Umayyads, especially the KHARIJITES. In 742, they defeated a caliphal army, and they massacred the population of al-Qayrawan in 758. In 777 Kharijite principalities grew up at Tahert, at Sijilmasa, and at Tlemcen. The whole Saharan border of al-Maghrib was in the hands of the Kharijites.

#### RULING DYNASTIES

The IDRISIDS, opponents of the caliph in BAGHDAD, introduced Arab culture to the far Maghrib, founding the town

of FEZ. The other point of resistance to Kharijism was in Tunisia an Ifriqiya, where the AGHLABIDS became the dominant dynasty between 800 and 909. The FATIMIDS, displaced the Aghlabids and other dynasties, and spent more than half a century there without having much of an impact on the region before departing for EGYPT, allowing the ZIRIDS to govern.

#### CRIPPLING DISUNITY

In the mid-11th century, two events changed the political and social landscape of al-Maghrib: the invasion of the nomadic Banu Hilal Arabs and the establishment of the Almoravid Empire. Political unity in al-Maghrib decreased steadily thereafter. Various other dynasties took control over the next few centuries, sometimes seizing wider areas of the Maghrib but often confined to smaller regions. The MERINIDS, who conquered the far Maghrib and ruled from the 13th to the 15th century, tried to unify the entire region. But after a short occupation of Tlemcen and TUNIS, they retreated to Morocco, where, in the 14th century, they developed a brilliant society and culture, attracting European scholars and merchants. By the later Middle Ages, when the Europeans began attacks along the coasts, the response of the various kingdoms of the Maghrib was only partially effective because of their lack of unity.

See also AL-ANDALUS; ATLAS MOUNTAINS; HAFSIDS; HAMDANIDS; PORTUGAL; RECONQUEST.

**Further reading:** Michael Brett, “The Maghrib,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 622–635; Michael Brett, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis, 1980); Michael Brett, *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999); Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996); G. S. Colin, G. Yver, and E. Levi-Provençal, “Al-Maghrib” and “Al-Maghrib, al-Mamlaka, al-Maghribiyya, Morocco,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 5.1,183–1,209; H. T. Norris, *The Arab Conquest of the Western Sahara: Studies of the Historical Events, Religious Beliefs and Social Customs Which Made the Remotest Sahara a Part of the Arab World* (Burnt Mill, England: Longman, 1986).

**magic and folklore** Magic in the Middle Ages was a central but alternate mode of rationality, almost always portrayed as deviant because it varied from elite and official religious and scientific practices and ideas. It ranged from occult practices such as ASTROLOGY and ALCHEMY, to the use of CHARMS and amulets, to sorcery and necromancy, all based on the principle that the natural world contained hidden powers that human beings through various practices and activities can use for good or evil.

The activities and ideas surrounding these beliefs varied in terms of acceptability and approval throughout the

Middle Ages. The practices could encompass simple magic tricks, quack healing, incantations, occult games, fortune telling, witchcraft, and divination, all aiming to harness supernatural forces for the benefit of individuals or groups. The church believed that all of these ideas were at least pagan, possibly originating in satanic powers, and therefore condemned them. However, Christianity's own practices and ideas, including reverence for RELICS and appeals to saints, had some similarities to the kind of reasoning and supplication for intervention in the world the practices employed. Christianity often tolerated the more learned or scientific aspects of magic, studies that allegedly aimed for a better understanding of the natural world. Modern students of folklore, consider magic to be an important and traditional form of popular culture. The ideas and practices are studied for their relationship to mainstream aspects of the history of culture.

See also FICINO, MARSILIO; MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA; WITCHCRAFT.

**Further reading:** Ioan P. Culianu, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. Margaret Cook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Claire Fanger, ed., *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

**Magna Carta (Great Charter, Charta libertatum, Charta Garonum)** The loss of NORMANDY led King JOHN LACKLAND to intensify exploitation of feudal and royal rights. In 1213 he imposed a new tax on knights. The barons of the north reacted negatively and rebellion developed rapidly thereafter. John was defeated at the Battle of BOUVINES in 1214 and forced to acknowledge that he was a vassal of the pope. He then had to concede to the assembled barons at Runnymede near Windsor, on June 15, 1215, the Great Charter, or Magna Carta. It was rapidly later annulled by the king and Pope INNOCENT III on August 24, 1215. But one clause among its initial 63, "No free man will be arrested, deprived of his goods, put outside the law, or exiled . . . unless by the judgment of his peers or by the law of the land," became an important part of the foundation of the English "Constitution."

The Magna Carta was a unilateral concession by a king, a contract between the king and the barons of mutual rights and obligations. Its original recipients were not the people or a person, but John's vassals and barons. It was solemnly reissued by the new child king, HENRY III, several times and was sanctioned in 1258 by the rebellious Great Council, called a PARLIAMENT. The

charter was a landmark in the struggle to secure government without oppression and tyranny. Many of its clauses were designed to control the arbitrary or tyrannical behavior of a king and his officials. Others were concerned with the proper administration of justice and relations with WALES, SCOTLAND, and the city of LONDON.

See also JURY TRIAL.

**Further reading:** Harry Rothwell, ed., *English Historical Documents*. Vol. 3, 1189–1327 (New York: reprint, 1996; 1979; reprint, Oxford University Press, 1996), 310–349; James C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Claire Brey, *Magna Carta: Manuscripts and Myths* (London: British Library, 2002); Faith Thompson, *Magna Carta: Its Role in the Making of the English Constitution, 1300–1629* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948); A. E. D. Howard, *Magna Carta: Text and Commentary* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998).

**magnetic compass** See COMPASS, MAGNETIC.

**Magyars** See HUNGARY.

**Maimonides, Moses (Moses ben Maimon, Rambam)** (1135–1204) *Jewish philosopher, Talmudist, physician* Moses Maimonides, called Rambam, was born at CORDOBA in 1135. Because of ALMOHAD persecution, he left first for FEZ in 1060, then for PALESTINE before finally settling more permanently in EGYPT in 1165. He was renowned for introducing philosophical ideas into JUDAISM. After moving to Egypt, he became an influential member of the Jewish community there and a highly respected physician. He died in 1204. His two great works were a code called the *Mishnah Torah* and *The Guide for the Perplexed*.

#### OPUS

In his work on the *halakhic*, or legal code, completed by Maimonides over 10 years, he specified that, seeing a need, he was undertaking a second Torah (*Mishnah Torah*, mighty hand), which would contain all the commandments and all the laws of Judaism surpassing all other books on this subject. This encyclopedic and comprehensive code did not just deal only with contemporary laws, but also those linked to the Temple of Jerusalem, sacrificial rites, wars, and biblical kings. The work had an original and unprecedented organization. It was divided into 14 books, each focused on specific laws, and further subdivided into 1,000 chapters. These chapters contained nearly 15,000 articles. The code was written in a clear and precise Hebrew, of impressive clarity and style. Even today Maimonides' influence remains important in rabbinic law.

Besides the code, *The Guide for the Perplexed* was composed in his old age in 1190. Written in Arabic but



Moses Maimonides (Courtesy Library of Congress)

subsequently translated into Hebrew and LATIN, it was a philosophical Aristotelian meditation on the fundamentals of literalist religion. It was written for cases where religious practice and biblical and Talmudic culture were in conflict with contemporary philosophical reasoning and knowledge. It specifically addressed those who were perplexed but had a solid acquaintance with Judaic knowledge and theology. Reconciling faith and reason, they could become true philosophers capable of understanding metaphysical realities and gaining a true knowledge of God for themselves. Some found this synthesis of faith and reason too heterodox and controversial and condemned the guide. Christian scholars such as Thomas AQUINAS read this guide with much interest.

**Further reading:** Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, 2 vols., trans. Shlomo Pines (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); Moses Maimonides, *Letters of Maimonides*, ed. Leon D. Suslin (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1977); Raymond L. Weiss and Charles Butterworth, eds., *Ethical Writings of Maimonides* (New York: New York University Press, 1975); Gil Anidjar, "Our Place in al-Andalus": *Kabbalah, Philosophy, Literature in Arab Jewish Letters* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002); Idit Dobbs-Weinstein, *Maimonides and St. Thomas on the Limits of Reason* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Isidore Epstein, ed., *Moses Maimonides, 1135–1204: Anglo-Jewish Papers in Connection with the Eighth Centenary of His Birth* (London: Soncino Press, 1935); Howard T. Kreisel, *Maimonides'*

*Political Thought: Studies in Ethnics, Law, and the Human Ideal* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); Harry A. Wolfson, *The Kalam Arguments for Creation in Saadia, Averroës, Maimonides and St. Thomas* (New York: Reprinted from the Saadia Anniversary Volume of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1943), 197–245.

**Majorca** Majorca is the largest island of the BALEARIC ISLANDS, an archipelago in the western Mediterranean, off the Spanish coast. Conquered by the VANDALS in the fifth century, it became part of the Visigothic kingdom in the seventh century. In 713 it was conquered by the ARABS. In 1229 King JAMES I conquered and annexed it to ARAGON, when it became a province. Before his death in 1276, James divided his realm and ceded Majorca and its royal title, to his younger son, James II (r. 1264–1327), who was also lord of areas in southern France, Roussillon, Cerdagne, and MONTPELLIER. The independent existence of this set of holdings was always challenged by the elder branch of the Aragonese ruling dynasty. In 1344, during one of these dynastic battles, King James III (r. 1324–49) of Majorca was defeated and killed by King Peter IV (r. 1336–87) of Aragon. Majorca and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne were then annexed to the Crown of Aragon, while Montpellier was sold to FRANCE. Majorca then became again a prosperous province of Aragon and an important cultural center with strong commercial links with BARCELONA.

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. N. Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca, 1229–1550*, 2 vols. (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991).

**Maldon, Battle of** This battle inspired a vivid poem in Old English by an unknown author not long after it occurred in 991. According to the *ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLES*, Danish or Norwegian raiders descended on the southeastern coast of ENGLAND during the reign of ÆTHELRED II the Unready, defeated and killed the local lord in Essex, and extracted huge sums of money as tribute. This chronicle included some facts, but few about the battle itself and the English leader killed in battle, Bryhtnoth or Byrhtnoth. Humiliation was emphasized. Despite King ALFRED's earlier victories in the ninth century, Scandinavian raiders kept returning to attack and plunder a pathetically divided England. Incompetence, bad judgment, and treachery marked the Anglo-Saxon responses. The poet, may have intended his poem as encouragement to his contemporaries to resist better such incursions. He celebrated a noble Christian earl's fruitless, heroic courage against pagan raiders and showed contempt for the cowardice and treachery of many of the other Anglo-Saxon lords.

The poem survived in a much later transcription from a partially destroyed manuscript. It was a presentation of the warrior ethos of a Germanic people. This included acceptance by the lesser nobility of an obligation to serve lords during periods of war and peace. The lords were in turn obligated to provide protection if necessary, equipment for combat; clothing, ornaments, property; and entertainment and hospitality.

**Further reading:** Bill Griffiths, trans., *The Battle of Maldon: Text and Translation* (Pinner, England: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1991); Donald Scragg, ed., *The Battle of Maldon, A.D. 991* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1991).

**Mali (a place of the king)** The African empire of Mali was documented from the 13th until the 17th century. It was concentrated around the banks of the Niger River and developed from a confederation of the Malinke people. In 1230 they were united by Sundiata Keita and the Mandinka, who established a strong government and was supported by the GOLD TRADE. By the time of his death in 1255, he had converted to ISLAM, conquered neighboring peoples, especially those in GHANA, and had begun to expand north into the Sahara Desert. This project continued under his descendants, and by the 14th century a major part of western Africa, together with the countries of the Gambian Valley, was part of the empire of Mali. Muslim missionaries in the meantime had spread Islam.

During the reign of Mansa Musa I (r. ca. 1307–37), the greatest ruler of Mali, the empire reached its greatest power, prestige, and prosperity, especially from dominating all the routes of the gold trade between black AFRICA and the Mediterranean. Mansa Musa's visit, with perhaps as many as 100,000 people accompanying him, to CAIRO in 1324, on a pilgrimage to MECCA, marked the height of his and the kingdom's prestige, legitimizing Mali as an Islamic country for the Muslim world. Mansa based his government on the royal Malinke clan, served by slaves in the bureaucracy and army. His kingdom was rich, well administered, and safe for foreign merchants. His capital was at Niani and included TIMBUKTU where he built palaces and established schools. His successors lacked sufficient power to maintain unity. At the beginning of the 15th century, internal struggles and constant rebellions weakened the state. The revolt of two of its main cities, Gao in 1400 and Timbuktu, in 1431, was followed by a general revolt of northern tribes and the establishment of the SONGHAI. This led to the disintegration of what was left of the Mali state.

**Further reading:** Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner, *A Glorious Age in Africa: The Story of Three Great African Empires* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990); Pat McKissack, *The Royal Kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay: Life in Medieval Africa* (New York: H. Holt, 1994).

**malnutrition** See FAMINE.

**Malory, Thomas** (1414/1418–1471) *author of Le Morte d'Arthur*

Little is known about Thomas Malory, except his famous work itself. There have been nine possible candidates for this figure. The author was called Sir Thomas Malory or Maleore; he completed the book in prison in the ninth year of the reign of King EDWARD IV, between March 1469 and March 1470. He was probably Sir Thomas Malory of Newbold Revel in Warwickshire. He was born into a family of gentry about 1415 and seemed to have had estates in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. He might have served as a member of PARLIAMENT. From 1450 he was either in prison or on the run from justice. Among a long list of charges against him were wounding, robbing, imprisoning, ambush with intent to murder, cattle raiding, extortion, breaking into an abbey, assaulting the abbot and stealing its property, forcible entry into houses, rape, and escaping from custody. This Malory received a pardon in 1455 but was soon back in prison. During the WARS OF THE ROSES, he fought first for the Yorkists, later for the Lancastrians. This Malory seemed to have been unscrupulous and rash, barely escaping execution. He may have died in prison between March 12 and 14, 1471, having not been included in the general pardons of 1468 and 1470.

The only extant manuscript on this “matter of Britain” was discovered in Winchester in 1934. The sole available version before that was edited and printed in 1485 by William CAXTON, who called it “The Book of King Arthur and of his noble knights of the Round Table” and “this noble and joyous book entitled Le Morte Darthur.” This chronological narrative recounted the whole of Arthur’s life, as well as his death. It was the fullest, and perhaps the best, telling of the Arthurian legend in English. It used contemporary common language and has been described as fluent, self-confident in language and style, and sensitive. It emphasized the brotherhood of the knights and downplayed ideas of COURTLY LOVE.

See also ARTHUR, KING, AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE; ROUND TABLE.

**Further reading:** Sir Thomas Malory, *Works*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards, eds., *A Companion to Malory*, Arthurian Studies, 37 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Larry D. Benson, *Malory’s Morte Darthur* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); P. J. C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

**Malta** Malta is an island and part of an archipelago near SICILY but outside the main navigation routes. The VANDALS held it from 435 to 533. It was taken from the Byzantine by the AGHLABIDS in 870 and left a populated colony until Malta repelled an attempted Byzantine reconquest in 1053–54. In 1090, there was a brief occupation of the island by the Normans of Sicily under Count ROGER I, but the island remained Muslim. A second conquest in 1127 led to the establishment of a basically Christian political and religious government. Immigration from Sicily began a slow process of Christianization. Two communities, Christian and Muslim, were tolerated by the Sicilian court at PALERMO, until an expulsion of the Muslims in 1249. The archipelago remained an Arabic-speaking province of the kingdom of Sicily. The Aragonese gained control of it in the late 13th century.

The maritime republics of GENOA, PISA, and VENICE and various great lords tried to take the archipelago from the Aragonese kingdom of Sicily. From 1360, the rise of the pirates produced HAFSID retaliations from AFRICA. The cost of guarding the islands led the Aragonese monarchy, who had held it since 1282, to try to shift the burden onto the MILITARY ORDERS. After the fall of RHODES in 1522, the HOSPITALLERS obtained possession of Malta and Gozo in 1530.

See also NORMANS IN ITALY; SICILIAN VESPER.

**Further reading:** Anthony Luttrell, ed., *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights* (London:

British School at Rome, 1975); Anthony Luttrell, *The Making of Christian Malta: From the Early Middle Ages to 1530* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

**Mamluks (Mamelukes)** The Arabic word *mamlak* as a past participle meant “to be possessed.” Before becoming a Turkish military aristocracy, the Mamluks started as slaves abducted in infancy to make them servile and professional military horsemen. They should not be confused with black slaves, who remain so and had been kidnapped as children or adults. It was a common practice in Islam to make up part or all of an army with military slaves. In EGYPT, the AYYUBIDS, between 1171 and 1250, added to units composed of free Kurds, bought Turkish slaves to fill out the ranks of their army. These men received military instruction and accepted Muslim religious teaching. When the Ayyubid dynasty failed to defend Islam against the crusaders and then the MONGOLS, these Mamluk soldiers took power and held on to it for the next three centuries. They even tried to legitimize their rule by moving an ABBASID prince from BAGHDAD, who had been captured by the Mongols in 1258, to CAIRO and calling him the CALIPH. Their empire soon extended over Egypt, SYRIA, and the holy cities of the Hejaz, MECCA and MEDINA.

#### RISE, DECLINE, AND FALL

The Mamluks were not really a dynasty, since a sultan’s son did not necessarily succeed him. It was assumed that another former ambitious, ruthless, and competent slave after defeating all rivals would become the new sultan. The Mamluk hierarchy was organized from the top with the 100 emirs commanding 1,000 Mamluks, then emirs commanding 40 Mamluks, and finally emirs in charge of 10. Each was supported and rewarded by revenue from land, that corresponded to his rank as an administrator or soldier. These posts and incomes could pass to descendants but were not inheritable FIEFS as such. They had a strong military force based on CAVALRY and a fleet that unsuccessfully attacked CYPRUS on several occasions.

Their court protocol, diplomacy, and administration required numerous well-trained personnel, and certain families, often Christian, occupied these positions and ultimately formed dynasties of secretaries or bureaucrats. The pious Mamluks supported large numbers of charitable foundations, especially in Cairo. As were the Ayyubids, the Mamluks were strictly orthodox SUNNI in religion.

In 1260 they defeated the MONGOLS at the Battle of AYN-JALUT in PALESTINE. The Mamluk sultan, BAYBARS I, captured most of the Christian-held territory in Palestine and Syria between 1263 and 1268, including ANTIOCH, and made himself sultan of a united kingdom of Syria and Egypt, which he ruled until his death in 1277. This

state was to exist for more than two centuries. In 1291 the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–93) won back ACRE and the last of the coastal towns held by the crusaders. However, neglect of economic institutions, the epidemics of the 14th century and changes in the trade routes to the east undermined Mamluk political and economic power. The Mamluks were later defeated by the OTTOMANS, losing Syria in 1516, then Egypt and the rest of their empire by 1517.

**Further reading:** Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk–Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); David Ayalon, *The Mamluk Military Society* (London: Variorum, 1979); Shai Har-El, ed., *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman–Mamluk War, 1485–91* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); David Ayalon, “Mamluk” and “Mamluks,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 6.314–321, 6.321–331; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); Carl F. Petry, ed., *The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1, Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Daniel Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam: The Genesis of a Military System* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981).

### al-Mamun, Abu l-Abbas Abd Allah bin Harun al Rasd (786–833) seventh Abbasid caliph

Al-Mamun was the son of the caliph HARUN AL-RASHID. In 813 he headed a conspiracy against his brother, al-Amin (r. 809–813); took BAGHDAD; and was proclaimed caliph. He attempted to rule by reconciling different Muslim factions. His ideas of rationalist faith were opposed by the factions. That motivated him to support an academy of Baghdad. It became one of world’s most important centers of any kind of learning. He invited the important philosophers and scientists from all over the Muslim world and hired them to translate Greek and Indian works. He established this center for scholarship at the House of Knowledge or Wisdom (Bayt al-Hikmah), which was a library, an academy, and a center for the acquisition, translation, and study of ancient Greek manuscripts about science and philosophy. The works of Galen, Hippocrates, Euclid, Ptolemy, Archimedes, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE were studied. He died suddenly in 833.

**Further reading:** Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in Abbasid Syria, 750–880* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); Elton L. Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule, 747–820* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1979); Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate: A Political History* (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Jacob Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); George Sawa, *Music Performance*

*Practice in the Early Abbasid Era 132–320 AH/750–932 AD* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989).

### Mandeville, John (d. ca. 1372), and *Mandeville’s Travels* author

Mandeville’s precise identity has remained unclear. In one well-attested tradition he wrote his book at Liège and died there in 1372. An epitaph on a tomb, visible until 1798 in a church near there, related that he, the presumed occupant, had traveled the whole world. This has been disproved by 19th- and 20th-century scholarship. In his book about his travels he claimed to be an adventurous knight born at Saint Albans in ENGLAND, who traveled to the Middle East before retiring and doing good works in Liège. References in his book suggest that he was a layman, had an extensive education, was able to read LATIN, and had access to a good library.

*Mandeville’s Travels* was widely read from its first appearance. It was probably written in French about 1360. More than 300 manuscripts in 10 languages survived. It was one of the first books to be printed, in German, and other languages. The book presented an itinerary to the Holy Land, from England to CONSTANTINOPLE and then via the Mediterranean islands to JERUSALEM. The author described Christian sites in PALESTINE and took an interest in ISLAM and MUHAMMAD. He told of his visits to lands, countries, and islands beyond ABYSSINIA, India, China, a Mongol domain, and the islands in the Indian Ocean that were filled with fabulous and monstrous peoples and animals. He mentioned the realm of PRESTER JOHN. He affirmed the roundness of the Earth and the possibility of circumnavigating it and finding inhabited countries everywhere. His tolerance to non-Christians and JEWS varied according to the translations. For example the Latin version, likely for a learned and clerical audience, was very intolerant and blatantly anti-Jewish. He supposedly quit traveling in 1356/57 because of gout and died about 1372.

See also ANTIPODES.

**Further reading:** John Mandeville, *Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); J. W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1954); Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The “Travels of Sir John Mandeville”* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Giles Milton, *The Riddle and the Knight: In Search of Sir John Mandeville, the World’s Greatest Traveller* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2001); M. C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993).

### Manfred of Hohenstaufen (1232–1266) illegitimate son of Frederick II, king of Sicily

Manfred was the natural son of the emperor FREDERICK II of HOHENSTAUFEN and Bianca Lancia. He may have studied at PARIS and BOLOGNA. He was legitimized by his father, who intended him to rule the kingdom of Arles in

southern FRANCE and married him to Beatrice of SAVOY. Manfred inherited from Frederick an interest in culture. Active in Frederick's courtly culture, he sponsored translators of Greek and Arabic and supposedly knew LATIN, Arabic, and Hebrew.

#### POLITICAL VICISSITUDES

In his father's will of 1250, he received the government of the kingdom of SICILY as temporary regent until the arrival of his older brother, the king of GERMANY and emperor, Conrad IV (r. 1250–54). He also received the principality of Taranto, and the honor of Monte Sant' Angelo on the Gargano peninsula in APULIA. He crushed a rebellion of several Italian cities with the help of his mother's relatives. Conrad arrived in 1252, but his death in 1254 led to a general conflict over who would rule. Pope INNOCENT IV excommunicated Manfred and proclaimed the church's control over the kingdom. Manfred acted quickly and managed to seize the imperial treasure, and to remove a regent, who had taken power in the name of Conradin or Conrad V (r. 1254–68), the duke of SWABIA and the young son of Conrad IV. Manfred outmaneuvered the papal legate and took Messina and PALERMO. Recognized as regent in 1256 by a parliament at Barletta, he spread a rumor of Conradin's death and had himself crowned king of Sicily at Palermo in 1258. Trying to win over the GUELF party, he vainly sought an agreement with the PAPACY; he was refused and was forced to depend on a network of Ghibelline alliances.

He subsequently neglected his Italian power base and allies for a failed eastern adventure in ALBANIA and CONSTANTINOPLE. Instead of exploiting the Ghibelline victory at Montaperti in 1260 near SIENA, he failed to block the routes through Piedmont and LOMBARDY, so when Pope Urban IV (r. 1261–64) invested CHARLES I OF ANJOU with the kingdom of SICILY, Charles easily entered Italy. Manfred failed to exploit his alliances with the Lombard barons related to him and could not maintain his fragile family-based political network in central and southern Italy. Manfred was defeated and killed at Benevento, on February 22, 1266, by the Guelf and papal forces of Charles of Anjou. He was survived by his daughter, Constance, who married King Peter III of ARAGON (r. 1276–85).

**Further reading:** Henri Bresc, "Manfred (1232–1266)," *EMA*, 2.900; John Larner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216–1380* (London: Longman, 1980); Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

**Manichaeism and Mani** Manichaeism was based on the vision of the founder of the sect, Mani or Manes (216–276 C.E.), and was brought to the west by his evangelistic disciples. Mani was a member of a Jewish-Christian

baptizing sect in southern Babylonia. Sponsored by the emperor Shapur I (r. 241–273), his teachings spread both in the Sassanian Empire, the frontier regions of the Roman Empire, and central Asia. Nonetheless, Mani was killed for his beliefs in 276. By the end of the third century, the sect had spread around the Mediterranean, assisted by TRADE connections between ROME and Sassanian IRAN and by the conversion of the empire to Christianity, which helped missionary possibilities for a sect copying Christianity's organization and claiming to be a better form of Christianity. Mani proclaimed himself an apostle of Jesus Christ and the promised paraclete or holy spirit. He wrote mostly lost doctrinal, liturgical, and homiletic texts supposedly beautifully written in decorated manuscripts.

#### THEOLOGY AND PERSECUTION

From fragmentary documentation, Manichaeism seemed to be based on a radical DUALISM rooted in an extreme dichotomy between the material and the spiritual. There were two principles, one light and one darkness, originally separate and distinct. A penetration of a Kingdom of Light by the forces of the Prince of Darkness in a middle epoch caused the necessary sending of a redeeming primal individual, who was to repel this malignant invasion. A complicated battle ensued that involved drugging, a divine reviving, cannibalism, and INCEST. Eventually the human SOUL, regarded as an element of divine nature, was left captive in the flesh. They would become separate again after a purifying conflagration. The elect in this system were forbidden to have sex, marry, eat meat, or prepare food. The daily needs of the elect had to be tended to by "hearers," who were permitted to live a normal life with the promise of reincarnation as one of the elect. All of this held a certain attraction to people in the late Roman Empire. One temporary adherent was AUGUSTINE, who eventually found it a collection of myths unable to help with any intellectual understanding of the world.

The Manichaean religion, viewed as a threat from Persia, was heavily persecuted by the Christian Roman state from the emperor Theodosios I (r. 379–395) onward and was the target of vehement polemics by orthodox churchmen. Their polemical writings were our main source for the history and beliefs of the sect until the beginning of the 20th century. The writings were also used regularly by the Eastern and Western Churches in the Middle Ages as weapons against "Neo-Manichaean" sects, such as the Paulicians, BOGOMILS, and CATHARS. The Manichaeans were also persecuted by Muslims as nonbelievers considered evil and immoral, but not necessarily pagan.

*See also* GnosticisM.

**Further reading:** Francis C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (New York: AMS Press, 1978); Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993); Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical*

*Survey* 2d ed. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992); Paul Mirecki and Jason BeDuhn, eds., *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); L. J. R. Ort, *Mani: A Religio-Historical Description of His Personality* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967).

**manors and manorial lordship** Over the course of the early Middle Ages, and especially by the 10th century, villages or estates owned by nobles evolved into manors (mansions) with certain reciprocal obligations on the laboring PEASANTRY and on the lord. Both sides had to meet the terms of tenure and protection. These manors had a lord, who held it as a vassal and as a tenant of his own lord. The system can be theoretically viewed as a pyramid with the king or prince at the top. These relations were distinct from those of FEUDALISM but mirrored some of its terms and conditions. A lord exercised legal jurisdiction over petty vassals and peasants, who were compelled to yield labor and meet obligations to him.

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES AND DETAILS OF THE SYSTEM

A classic manorial estate was divided into a lord's section, the demesne. This property might contain a CASTLE or house for the lord, land cultivated by SERFS as part of their duties, and areas left to nature or waste such as lakes or forests. Some of these were for common use or set aside for certain activities. There were often MILLS and bakeries owned by the lord. Manorial courts regularly met and were presided over by the lord or his representative, to ensure compliance with manorial rules. The peasants, when they acted together, might be able to protect themselves against excessive seigniorial oppression.

In an agricultural revolution around the 11th century, heavy ploughs were introduced, that permitted a more intensive cultivation. They became part of the manorial inventory of tools and were lent to peasants in exchange for fees or additional services. Peasants' lands and fields might be arranged in long strips, to accommodate a plough team made up of six to eight oxen. Peasants often had to give lords a fairly high portion of his produce, pay certain taxes, and supply work services. The amounts for all were set in the peasantry's terms of tenure, which were heavily influenced by labor supply.

#### COMMERCIALIZATION, MOBILITY, REPRESSION

From the 12th century there was a revival of commerce and a growth in towns. Some of these old obligations were commuted to monetary payments, which eventually led to a more commercial agrarian economy. Members of peasant communities, especially when they were unified, became more autonomous or at least could try to limit burdens placed on them. Many peasants improved their situation and bought freedom from the more servile exactions. New colonization or clearing of waste by churches or lords

offered opportunities for better tenure and conditions to peasants, since the lords needed to attract colonists. Landless peasants were recruited for eastern Germany from the overpopulated areas of the Rhineland and the Low Countries. Their new lords organized them and established new villages on the newly cleared land. This happened in Western Europe, too, as more and more land was cleared and put into production. Labor shortages and a more monetized economy led to the employment of hired peasants to work on the manorial demesne. The great PLAGUES and crises of the 14th century inevitably affected agriculture. As a result of the ensuing extreme shortage of laborers, lords demanded the restoration of work services, taxes, and the closing of common areas. This led to peasant revolts that met with harsh reprisals. This model of the manorial system is a theoretical and basic construct. Many aspects of the manorial system were dependent on farming techniques and the labor supply.

See also AGRICULTURE; HORSES; JACQUÉRIE; LABOR; PEASANT REBELLIONS; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; VILLAGE COMMUNITIES AND SETTLEMENTS; VILLEIN AND VILLEINAGE.

**Further reading:** L. R. Poos and Lloyd Bonfield, eds., *Select Cases in Manorial Courts, 1250–1550: Property and Family Law* (London: Selden Society, 1998); P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (London: British Records Association, 1984); George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941); J. Ambrose Raftis, *Peasant Economic Development within the English Manorial System* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

#### al-Mansur, Muhammad ibn Abu Amr (Almanzor, the Victorious) (938–1002) *victorious general in Islamic Spain*

From a distinguished Arab line, al-Mansur in 967 entered the court of the caliphate of CORDOBA. There he was placed in charge of the administration of caliphal estates. He soon also proved himself a victorious general and became one of the regents during the minority of Caliph Hisham II (ca. 964–1013). In 977 he led a successful military expedition against the Christians in northern SPAIN. On his return, he seized power over the state and kept the caliph a prisoner in his own palace.

With a mercenary army of BERBERS and Christians, al-Mansur made himself the sole ruler of AL-ANDALUS. He called for a holy war or JIHAD against the Christians, and in 985 he captured BARCELONA and in 987, even SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA in northern Spain. Instead of permanently occupying them, al-Mansur gave them to Christian princes, who were compelled to pay tribute. Al-Mansur, ostentatiously pious, imposed strict Muslim practices on his state, built several MOSQUES, and enlarged the great mosque of Córdoba. He burned secular books that seemed unacceptable to him from the famous caliphal library. Al-Mansur had to engage in continuous military campaigns

to pay his soldiers and he accomplish his building schemes, including the great mosque at Córdoba and his palace, AL-MADINA AL-ZAHIRA. He died in 1002 on his way back from a campaign against the Christians, who rejoiced greatly at his death.

**Further reading:** Titus Burckhardt, *Moorish Culture in Spain*, trans. Alisa Jaffa (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972); Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Jan Read, *The Moors in Spain and Portugal* (London: Faber, 1974).

**Mantegna, Andrea** (1430/31–1506) *Italian court painter, engraver*

He was born to a humble family in Vicenza about 1431 and was educated at Padua by his teacher, Francesco Squarcione. His first major work was the FRESKO cycle of the *Life of Saint James and Saint Christopher* in the Ovetari Chapel of the church of the Eremitani in Padua. It was completed in 1459 but was destroyed by a bomb in 1944. His style was influenced by the sculpture of DONATELLO and the painting of Paolo UCCELLO, Jacopo Bellini, and Filippo LIPPI.

His most important surviving religious works are the *Madonna and Saints* from about 1456 at VERONA in San Zeno and images of the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* and a *Madonna of Victory* from about 1495 now at PARIS in the Louvre Museum. He became the Gonzaga family's court painter in 1460. For them he painted the copula of the Camera degli Sposi or "Bridal Chamber" in their palace at Mantua in 1474. He died on September 13, 1506, in Mantua.

See also BELLINI FAMILY; PAINTING.

**Further reading:** Nike Bätzner, *Andrea Mantegna: 1430/31–1506*, trans. Phyll Greenhead (Cologne: Könemann, 1998); Dawson W. Carr, *Andrea Mantegna: The Adoration of the Magi* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1997); Jack M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Paul Kristeller, *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. S. Arthur Strong (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901); Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979); Jane Martineau, *Andrea Mantegna* (Milan: Electa, 1992).

**manuscript illumination** See ILLUMINATION.

**manuscripts** See ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CODICOLOGY; ILLUMINATION; PALEOGRAPHY.

**Manzikert, Battle of (Malazgird)** This was a battle in August 1071 in eastern ANATOLIA near Lake Van between the SELJUK TURKS, led by ALP ARSLAN, and the Byzantines, led by Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1067–72). The emperor

was betrayed by a general and his Turkish mercenaries. Forced to fight, he lost and was captured. The defeat left all of Anatolia open to the advancing Seljuks. The office of emperor was disputed and Romanos, though quickly released by Alp Arslan, was deposed. Arslan repudiated the treaty he had made with Romanos and moved en masse into the rest of Anatolia, which was quickly and permanently lost to the Greeks.

See also ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS.

**Further reading:** Michael Anco Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1997); Alfred Friendly, *The Dreadful Day: The Battle of Manzikert, 1071* (London: Hutchinson, 1981); Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

**maps** Drawn in manuscripts on a range of topics and places, medieval maps were numerous, at least 500 even before 1200. Inhabited lands in them were represented in schema that showed Asia, Europe, and AFRICA. The notion of the roundness of the Earth was never contested in the Middle Ages. Diagrams often depicted the Earth as a globe divided into five zones. They were frequently done as T-O maps, a circle divided into three parts divided by rivers forming a T inside the circle.

The term *mappa mundi* or map of the world generally meant a more detailed image of the inhabited Earth, with names of places and labels. Larger-scale regional maps, some painted on walls, appeared in the 13th century and plans of towns or lands were drawn when they were involved in litigation. There were rough nautical maps or charts of the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts, which illustrated ideas about the Earth, located place-names mentioned by classical authors, aided teaching, and even gave viewers an idea of their location with regard to JERUSALEM, the traditional center of the Earth. Maps were also intended for contemplation of God's plan and of humankind's place in the world. They could symbolize the pretense to learning and prestige of a ruler. In the 15th century, Ptolemy's *Geography* was published. With the opening of a wider world, the contents of maps evolved as knowledge of the world grew.

See also ANTIPODES; GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY; AL-IDRISI; NAVIGATION; PORTOLAN CHARTS.

**Further reading:** Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1999); P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987–1994); R. A. Skelton and P. D. A. Harvey, eds., *Local Maps and Plans from Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Donald Wigal, *Historic Maritime Maps*

*Used for Historic Exploration, 1290–1699* (New York: Parkstone Press, 2000).

**Marco Polo (Marcus Paulus)** (1254–1324) *famous traveler*

The son of a merchant, Marco Polo was born in VENICE in 1254. Very little is known about him except what is in his account of his travels to the court of the great khan in China. According to Polo's account, his uncle, Matteo, and his father, Niccolò, set out from Soldaia on the BLACK SEA, and arrived by a long and difficult journey on the Silk Road at the residence of KUBLAI KHAN. After returning to ITALY, Matteo and Niccolò set off again in 1271, furnished with letters from the pope and accompanied by the young Marco. They arrived at the MONGOL court in 1275. According to Marco's account, the khan, was impressed by Marco's knowledge of languages and took him into his service, entrusting him with important missions in the Mongol Empire and India. The khan eventually asked that the pope send him 100 men instructed in the Christian religion and oil from a lamp in front of the Holy Sepulchre at JERUSALEM. At the end of 16 years, in 1291, the Polos left to return home by sea, while escorting a Mongol princess intended for a royal marriage in Persia. They reached Venice between 1295 and 1297.

#### HIS BOOK OF MARVELS

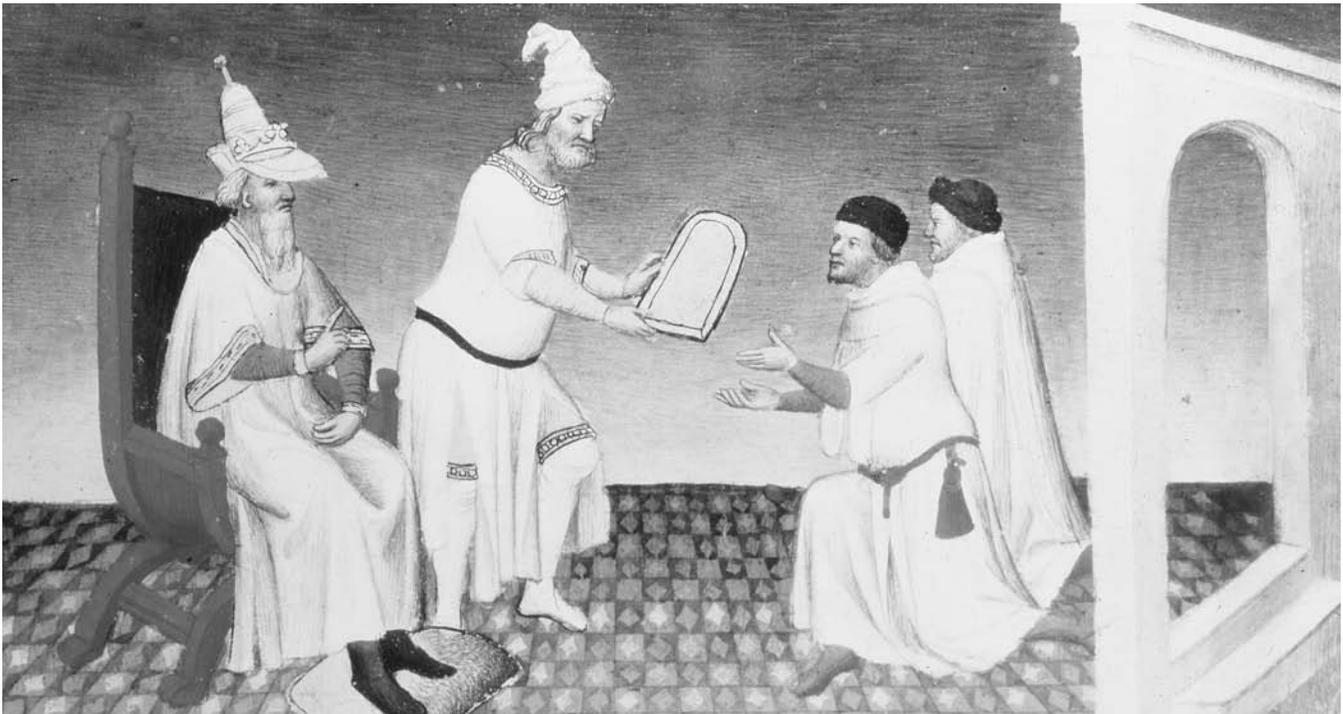
In 1298 Marco was captured during a naval battle between Venice and GENOA and imprisoned, probably

until May 1299. There Marco Polo was supposed to have dictated the account of his adventures to a fellow captive, who happened to be a successful writer of romances. It is not clear whether he actually wrote or dictated the book in prison. Nor is it even clear that it was first written in the Venetian dialect. In tradition he then ended his life in peace, heaped with honors by the republic of Venice. He was well off but not rich and had three daughters. There is a document recording that he granted freedom to a Mongol slave. A will suggested that he died on January 8, 1324. There are still disputes about which route he used and whether he actually arrived.

#### THE BOOK

The *Book of Marvels* or *Il Milione* still commands great success. It described the countries of Central Asia and the khan's empire, almost in the form of an itinerary, with directions and the number of days' travel required to each place. Polo was interested in the number of inhabitants, their religion, their customs, the resources of each region, towns, and monuments. Marco admired the khan and the competence of his government. He might have done service in the government of the khan, but certain aspects and details of the book demonstrated a strange lack of knowledge and were simply erroneous. The book was not initially very popular but became so soon after his death. It was a chief source for information on Asia for Europeans and was influential in COLUMBUS's plan to sail west to reach the East.

*See also* JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI.



Marco Polo and Kublai Khan, *Livre des Merveilles* (ca. 1413), Ms. 2810, fol. 3v., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Art Resource*)

**Further reading:** Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. Ronald Latham (New York: Penguin Books, 1958); John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 2d ed. (1988; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).

### Margaret of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (Margrethe) (1353–1412) *Scandinavian ruler*

Daughter of King Waldemar IV (r. 1340–75) of DENMARK, Margaret inherited the kingdoms of Denmark, NORWAY, and SWEDEN in 1387 and ruled them as regent for her nephew, Eric of Pomerania (d. 1442). Her husband, Haakon VI (r. 1350–80) of Norway, died in 1380, and her son, Olaf (r. 1380–87) died in 1387. Accepted as ruler, she defeated and captured in battle in 1389 her rival, Albert of Mecklenburg (r. 1364–89), the king of Sweden. She added GOTLAND and Schleswig to her Crown. Her belief in Scandinavian unity was furthered by the Union of Kalmar in 1397, which joined the three Crowns but left each country under its own government. Margaret was esteemed for her statesmanship, though opposition and problems were developing when she died on October 27, 1412.

**Further reading:** Brigit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

**Margery Kempe, *The Book of*** *The Book of Margery Kempe* was preserved in a single manuscript not found until 1934. An autobiography, it provided remarkable documentation of a Christian woman in 15th-century English society. She was born to an upper-middle-class family in King's Lynn in Norfolk, that of John Burnham (d. 1413); married John Kempe (d. ca. 1431), a burgess of Lynn; and became the mother of 14 children. She and her husband took vows of CHASTITY in 1413. She experienced a spiritual conversion in 1413 and modeled herself on BIRGITTA OF SWEDEN, loudly denouncing all pleasure. In her book she described speaking with Christ. She made PILGRIMAGES and harangued crowds, a dangerous practice during a period when LOLLARD heretics were persecuted for such activities. Her public devotions and actions prompted accusations of exhibitionism. Her public and mystical experience did not resemble that of the contemporary English mystics, but her biography has been viewed as a source of great psychological and sociological importance. She died about 1439.

See also MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. B. A. Windeatt (New York: Pen-

guin, 1985); Clarissa W. Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim: The Book and the World of Margery Kempe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and Her World* (London: Longman, 2002); Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); *Margery Kempe: A Book of Essays*, ed. Sandra J. McEntire (New York: Garland, 1992); Lynn Staley, *Margery Kempe's Dissenting Fictions* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

### Marie de Champagne (1145–1198) *patron of poets*

Marie de Champagne was born in 1145, the eldest daughter of King Louis VII (ca. 1120–80) and ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE. Betrothed very young to Henry I the Liberal of Champagne (r. 1152–81), son of Thibaut II of Blois (r. 1125–52), she married him in 1159. His brother, Thibaut IV (r. 1197–1201), married Marie's sister. Marie went on to host a brilliant court and center of patronage that had great influence on the development of literature in the last part of the 12th century.

Marie was widowed when her husband died on return from a PILGRIMAGE to JERUSALEM in 1181. Marie served as regent of Champagne three times: until the majority of her son, Henry II (r. 1181–97), in 1187; when Henry left on the Third CRUSADE, where he died at ACRE in 1197; and during the minority of her second son, Thibaut IV (r. 1201–53). Contemporary chroniclers extolled her political acumen.

As was her mother, Eleanor, Marie patronized and was interested in literature. She could read and write. Her name was linked especially to those of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, Gautier d'Arras (d. 1185), Andreas Capellanus, Gace Brulé, and Conon of Béthune. She and her circle explored the romantic themes of the TROUBADOURS and the traditions of ROMANCE. Opinions attributed to her were part of literary convention allowing the expression of thoughts on MARRIAGE and sex. She died in 1198.

**Further reading:** John C. Moore, *Love in Twelfth Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972); Lynette R. Muir, *Literature and Society in Medieval France: The Mirror and the Image, 1100–1500* (London: Macmillan, 1985).

### Marie de France (fl. late 12th century) *earliest known French woman poet*

Marie lived in the middle of the 12th century, but almost nothing is known about her life. She lived for some years, and probably wrote, at the court in ENGLAND of King HENRY II, where she composed a poem that began, "My name is Marie, and I am of France." Marie wrote verse narrative and lyrical poems in French in praise of LOVE and composed lays inspired by the Breton tradition. She also wrote FABLES.

**Further reading:** Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Robert Hanning and Joan Ferrante (New York: Dutton, 1978); Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby, trans., *The Lais of Marie de France* (London: Penguin, 1986); Emanuel J. Mickel Jr., *Marie de France* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974); Judith Rice Rothschild, *Narrative Technique in the Lais of Marie de France: Themes and Variations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Department of Romance Languages, 1974).

### Marie of Oignies (1177–1213) *mystic*

Marie was born at Nivelles, in the diocese of Liège. JAMES OF VITRY wrote about Marie's life soon after her death. He became her confessor late in her life. In his writing she was a model for emulation by women. Married by her parents when she was 14, Marie persuaded her husband to accept a chaste marriage and service at a leper hospital. She aspired to more solitude and so got permission from her husband and her confessor to retire alone to Oignies-sur-Sambre. Marie was soon joined by other women, who wished, as she did, to live a life of penitential practice in a community. James paid little attention to this idea of lay and female community and instead described in detail her religious experiences; her devotion to Christ, to the Cross, to the Passion; her revelations and mystical ecstasies; her fasts, her vigils, and her ascetic practices, even self-mutilation. She did not provide rules for the religious life or take any explicit vows. James intended her as an example for a saintly and orthodox Christian lifestyle in opposition to contemporary CATHAR heretics. However, her beguinal life made her suspect because of its minimal links to male clerics. Her other admirable religious practices as described by James included frequent attendance at SERMONS, frequent CONFESSION, and desire to receive the Eucharist, all of these practices could be considered a way the church could exercise control over the BEGUINES. Her biography itself was a common source for exemplary sermon material. She died in 1213 but was never canonized.

**Further reading:** James of Vitry, *The Life of Marie d'Oignies*, trans. Margot H. King (Saskatoon: Peregrina, 1986).

**Maritime Republics** See GENOA; PISA; VENICE.

**markets** See FAIRS AND MARKETS.

**Marrakech (Marakesh, Marrakesh)** Marrakech is located on a wide plain about 25 miles (or 40 kilometers) from the ATLAS MOUNTAINS in southern MOROCCO. It was founded by the ALMORAVID ruler Yūsuf ibn Tashfin (r. 1060–1106), founder of the Almoravid dynasty, in 1062.

Remains from the ALMOHAD period from the 12th to the 13th century include the Kutubiya MOSQUE from 1147, the Kasba Mosque, and the Bab Agnau. The city had three *madrasah*. The oldest is the Bin Yusuf Madrasa, originally built as a mosque in the 12th century. The town also contains the tombs of various Moroccan rulers, including that of Yūsuf ibn Tashfin as well as the tomb of the seven local saints, still the object of annual PILGRIMAGES. There are several medieval palaces within the city, the oldest of which is the Dar al Makhzan, built by the Almohads. The city also contains historic gardens.

See also BERBERS; AL-MAGHRIB.

**Further reading:** Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained*, 3 vols. (1986; reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1963); Thomas Kerlin Park, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Maya Shatzmiller, *The Berbers and the Islamic State: The Marinid Experience in Pre-Protectorate Morocco* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2000); Henri Terrasse, *History of Morocco*, trans. Hilary Tee (Casablanca: Éditions Atlantides, 1952).

### Marranos (conversos, swine, *muharran* [forbidden])

The word *marrano* originally designated a pig, or an unclean creature. From the second half of the 14th century, *marrano* was used essentially to designate converted JEWS, whose numbers grew after the huge pogroms of 1391, when perhaps 50,000 Jews were killed. Although there was some effort to ban the term, it became common and generic in the second half of the 15th century, especially after the expulsion in 1492. Ideas about these people of every social class were tied to an obsession with purity, both purity of FAITH and purity of blood. Not even baptism could wash away the sin of the Jews, who some considered guilty of killing Christ. Sincerity or length of conversion was ignored. From the 1480s, the INQUISITION and statutes defining purity of blood were established. One theological current defended the Marranos, or conversos, who often had attained more social integration, prestige, and wealth; but it had little effect.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM.

**Further reading:** Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, trans. Yael Guiladi. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1981); Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics of Daughters of Israel?: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain: From the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*, 3d ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999); Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos*, 2d ed. (1932; reprint, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959).

**marriage** In the Middle Ages Christian theologians saw in marriage what Saint Paul had called a sacrament involving both Christ and the church. So over the centuries it became a matter of integrating into this evolving concept of marriage as a sacrament the ideas of a mutual contract, a carnal union that was its consummation, and the pleasure involved. Conjugal pleasure was sometimes even deemed acceptable, and much of the thought about marriage was even cast in terms of classical ideas about friendship. Peter DAMIAN suggested that the aim of marriage was an opportunity for the practice of mutual charity between the spouses. It was more than a functional union, but one oriented toward the transmission of life. The theologian IVO of Chartres insisted on mutual love; so without love, there was no marriage. However, virginity was always considered better. The failings of human nature resulting from original sin, however, created a need for marriage to prevent fornication.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF MARITAL CONCEPTS IN THE WEST

In wider social terms, marriage was considered a union between a man and a woman, enforced by a set of rules that defined the status of the partners, gave them specific

rights and duties, and recognized any children as legitimate. Marriage and even its preceding engagement or betrothal created bonds between the two individuals directly involved and, for the upper class, their respective kinship groups. The church tried to control secular ideas and doctrines about marriage, but they were always linked with the needs, whether perceived or not, of society. The church recognized marriage of everyone regardless of personal status, so including that of slaves or those of a servile status. All bonds were to be monogamous and were not dissolvable except under strict conditions that in any case would have rendered the marriage invalid from the beginning, such as a kin relationship within prohibited degrees. God had created these unions through the mutual consent of the partners and human beings could not break it. There was no divorce, but annulments could be obtained. The church set rules for consanguinity that prohibited marriages between people related by blood within certain degrees and also those related by marital unions. Its ecclesiastical courts handled legal questions about marriage itself, since it became considered a sacrament in which the consent was recognized by God. A priest did not have to be present at the exchange of vows, which had to be made between the



A celebration of a marriage, 15th-century fresco from the school of Domenico Ghirlandaio in San Martino dei Buonomini, Florence, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

contracting partners and were increasingly expected to occur in a public ritual. Clandestine marriages were unacceptable, but if they occurred, they were valid, if there had been mutual consent and especially if there had been a physical consummation. Always at the core of ideas and doctrines about marriage was its absolute link with procreation and mutual consent.

#### EASTERN ORTHODOX CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES

Following more closely the traditions of Roman law, marriage was considered by the EASTERN Orthodox Church to be a lifelong union between man and woman instituted and recognized by divine and human law. Marriage was regulated and fostered by ecclesiastical law and by imperial legislation. Divorce was possible, but remarriage, even after the death of a partner, was strongly discouraged. The Orthodox Church worked more closely and explicitly with the imperial law than did Western Christianity to regulate aspects of marriage such as contractual obligations, dowry, and public ritual. JUSTINIAN's legal collection, the *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS*, emphasized consent as the principal quality of a licit and valid marriage.

#### ISLAM

In ISLAM the HADITH or traditional thought of Muhammad forbade CELIBACY and even self-denial. Temporary marriages were controversial. They were permissible in the thought of some, especially in the Shia tradition, but not in others. There were rules on the number of wives one could have, consanguinity, affinity, religion, and social status and rank. One could not marry an unbeliever, though males were able to marry non-Muslim women. The husband had complete sexual rights over the wife and the wife had the right to financial support. Divorce or *talaq* was permissible when done with the correct rituals. Muhammad's own marital life was the basis for much of this.

#### JUDAISM

Marriage was considered a social institution integral to the divine plan and was viewed as a command, a sacred bond, and even a means of personal fulfillment. It was to be the norm and was considered the ideal way of life. Besides being viewed as a contract between two parties, it was deemed a sacrament. There were strict rules about remarrying and divorce was possible. In the Middle Ages it could be performed anywhere, but was usually done in the courtyard of a SYNAGOGUE. From the 15th century, a rabbi was usually present to witness and bless the vows. There were various prenuptial financial agreements and arrangements.

See also CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION; FAMILY AND KINSHIP; LOVE; SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES.

**Further reading:** Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1994); Neil Cartlidge, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches, 1100–1300* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997); Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, trans. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); R. H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Chapters on Marriage and Divorce: Responses of Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rahwayh*, trans. Susan Spector (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993); P. L. Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); Julius Kirshner, *Pursuing Honor While Avoiding Sin: The Monte delle Doti of Florence* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1978); Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994).

**Marshal, William** See WILLIAM THE MARSHAL.

**Marsilius of Padua** (Marsiglio da Padova, Marsilio, Marsilius de Mainardino) (1275/80–1343) *Italian antipapal political theorist*

The son of a notary of the University of PADUA, Marsilius belonged to a circle of magistrates who played an important role in the city of Padua in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. A member of the Ghibelline faction, he joined the emperor's faction and service. In 1313, he was master of arts and rector of the University of PARIS and practiced MEDICINE there from 1320. In Paris he became friendly with John of Jandun (1286–1328), a master of arts, already notorious for ideas described as heterodox Aristotelianism.

Marsilius fled to the court of the emperor Louis of Bavaria (r. 1328–47) after the publication of his *Defender of Peace* in 1324 and was excommunicated by Pope JOHN XXII. At the imperial court in Munich, he met WILLIAM OF OCKHAM and a group of SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS who had fled there because of a dispute over mendicant poverty. His books *Defender of Peace*, and *Defensor minor*, and other tracts revealed him to be devoted to the imperial cause and a convinced opponent of the papal pretensions to secular power. Marsilius wanted to restore the autonomy and independence of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE as in the best interests of society and CHRISTENDOM.

#### IDEAS AND BELIEFS

Inspired by the ideas of Aristotle's *Politics*, Marsilius defined a civil community as a perfect form of political organization. The totality of citizens accepted legislative authority by its preponderant or majority part expressed by means of a vote. Such an assembly of the people, as in some of the Italian cities, ratified laws and conferred on them their coercive force.

As an elective monarchy, his reasoning continued, the imperial regime corresponded to this theoretical model. The prince or emperor was alone qualified to hold coercive authority at a more general level. Priestly authority was limited to that of advice and exhortation. The church was defined as all the faithful, both **CLERGY** and **LAITY**. Only a general council representing all the faithful had authority in matters of **FAITH**. Composed of priests and laity, the council represented the universal church as headed by the emperor. The Christian prince held his power directly from **GOD**, with no need for papal mediation. Priests were to live in poverty and humility, in the image of apostolic times. These assertions were all condemned by the church. Marsilius was dead by April 1343.

See also **ARISTOTLE AND ARISTOTELIANISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES**.

**Further reading:** Marsilius of Padua, *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace, the "Defensor pacis,"* Vol. 2, trans. Alan Gewirth (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); Marsilius of Padua, *Marsiglio of Padua: Writings on the Empire*, trans. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua: The Defender of Peace, the "Defensor pacis,"* Vol. 1, *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

**Martianus Capella (Martianus Minneus Felix Capella)**  
(fl. after 410) *writer*

Martianus was perhaps a lawyer who lived under the **VANDALS** in the later fifth century at Carthage. Between 410 and 439 he wrote an allegorical encyclopedia known as *On the Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, but he called the *Philologia*. The *Philologia* was an original Neoplatonic myth in prose and verse describing the ascent to heaven of Philology, her apotheosis, and her wedding to Mercury. At this wedding her seven bridesmaids, the personified **SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS**, each presented and explained her discipline to the assembled gods. The *Philologia* had an immediate influence on **BOETHIUS'S** *Consolidation of Philosophy* and was known in Merovingian Gaul by the time of **GREGORY OF TOURS**. As a model for allegories and cosmographical information it was popular during the Carolingian period and the 12th century renaissance and Platonic revival, and used as a textbook, literary source, and compendium of the liberal arts.

See also **CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; CASSIODORUS**.

**Further reading:** William Harris Stahl, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*. Vol. 2, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); William Harris Stahl, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts: The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella, Latin Traditions in the Mathematical Sciences, 50 B.C.–A.D. 1250* (1971; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Bernard Silvestris, *The Commentary*

*on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* *Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris*, ed. Haijo Jan Westra (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986); Danuta Shanzer, *A Philosophical and Literary Commentary on Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

**Martin of Tours, Saint** (ca. 315–397) *bishop of Tours*  
Martin was a former soldier from **PANNONIA**, expelled from the army for something like conscientious objection. He became the founder of the monastery of Ligugé, then the bishop of Tours in 371. Until his death, in 397, however, he basically led a monastic life at Marmoutier, the first monastery in Gaul. As part of effort to convert people in the countryside, he was also famous as a wonder worker. In the *Life of Martin*, Sulpicius Severus (ca. 360–ca. 420), a friend, exalted him as a model of sanctity and as a charitable monk-bishop. He died in November of 397, and was buried in Tours.

**LATER CULT**

In the midfifth century, the bishops of Tours strongly promoted the cult of Saint Martin as effective protector against the evils of war and against **ARIANISM**. A basilica was then built and pilgrimages organized twice a year, on November 11, his feast, and on July 4. In a conflict with



Saint Martin of Tours dividing his cloak to share it with a beggar, from a fresco by Simone Martini in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

the VISIGOTHS, the bishops of Gaul directed miraculously by Martin, sided with CLOVIS, the king of the FRANKS, who was ultimately victorious in 507. Clovis gave thanks to Martin by making him a patron of the kingdom of the Franks. Devotion to Martin grew in several stages, reaching a peak in the sixth century with revivals in the eighth and ninth centuries. He remained one of the most popular saints of the Middle Ages and a very common image in art.

**Further reading:** Christopher Donaldson, *Martin of Tours: Parish Priest, Mystic and Exorcist* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); Sharon Framer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

**Martini, Simone** (ca. 1284–1344) *Gothic artist*

Simone was employed on prestigious commissions and worked for eminent patrons. We are fairly well informed about his career and the date of several of his signed

works. However, the dating, and the authenticity of key works have remained controversial. He was born about 1284, probably in SIENA, and was a pupil of DUCCIO and learned FRESCO techniques through working at ASSISI.

Martini was now particularly admired for his use of line and color in his narrative painting. He introduced several innovative altarpiece designs and devised methods of stamping a surface and overlaying gold leaf to create elaborate surface textures. To fresco painting, he introduced new decorative techniques and the three-dimensional representation through the use of recession and light.

For much of his life Simone was based in Siena. His earliest known work, probably completed in 1315, was the fresco of the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Angels* in the main council chamber in Siena. He continued to function as almost the official painter of the Siense commune until about 1333. He also worked at Assisi, decorating the Saint Martin chapel in the Lower Church of San Francesco, and in NAPLES, where he painted a panel of Saint Louis of Toulouse crowning Robert of



Simone Martini's *Annunciation*, Uffizi, Florence, Italy (Alinari / Art Resource)

Anjou. He painted altarpieces in San Gimignano, PISA, and Orvieto. The end of his career, from 1340 onward, was spent at the papal court in AVIGNON, where he met PETRARCH. He died in 1344.

See also GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE; PAINTING.

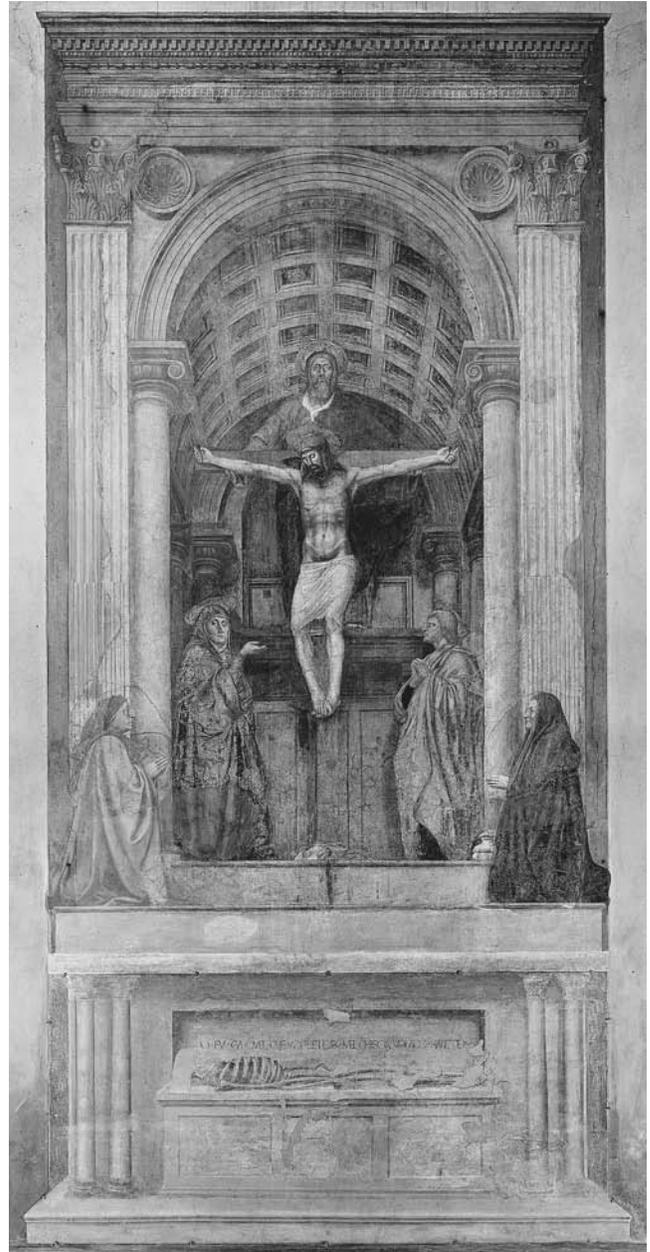
**Further reading:** Cecilia Jannell, *Simone Martini*, trans. Lisa Pelletti (Florence: Scala, 1989); Andrew Martindale, *Simone Martini: Complete Edition* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988); Gordon Moran and Michael Mallory, *Guido Riccio: A Guide to the Controversy for Tourists, Scholars, Students, Art Librarians* (Florence: Edizioni Notizie d'Arte, 2000).

**Mary, cult of (the Blessed Virgin)** The cult devoted to the Virgin Mary, called the cult of *hyperdulia* in the Middle Ages, was based on the important role played by Mary in carrying out the incarnation enabling the redemption of humanity by Jesus Christ. She was frequently present in scenes and representations involving Christ and his divine and human characteristics. The Virgin became a narrative element leading to the central image of Christ. Mary was particularly honored above the saints. Her cult grew to consist of liturgical celebrations; feast days; manifestations of collective piety in her honor such as PILGRIMAGES and CONFRATERNITIES; and private invocation and homage personal and devotion. Ideas and doctrines about her perpetual VIRGINITY, her own immaculate conception free of original SIN, and the ASSUMPTION of her body into HEAVEN were discussed in the Middle Ages but only partially accepted. The ANNUNCIATION of her miraculous pregnancy with the future Christ was a common theme in medieval art. She was the great maternal mediator, intercessor, or advocate who could obtain answers to prayers from GOD. This was a much-promoted advocate and theme in liturgical activities, artistic representation, and pastoral care.

**Further reading:** Hilda C. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1964); Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996); George H. Tavard, *The Thousand Faces of the Virgin Mary* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1996).

**Masaccio, Tomasso di Giovanni di Simone Cassai** (Slovenly, Awkward, Bad-Tempered Tom) (1401–ca. 1428) *Florentine painter*

Tomasso was born at Castel San Giovanni near Arezzo on December 21, 1401. He moved to FLORENCE, where he was exposed to the art of BRUNELLESCHI and DONATELLO. Documented there from 1418 he entered the painters' guild on January 7, 1422. Masaccio's new poeticism was clear in one of his first works, a triptych with *Madonna and Saints* in the church of San Giovenale at Cascia in 1423. In 1424 he began working with Masolino (1383–ca. 1440) on their first collaborative effort, *Saint*



Masaccio's *Trinity with the Virgin, Saint John, and Two Donors with a skeleton on tomb below*, a fresco (1425), Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Italy (Scala / Art Resource)

*Anne with Madonna and Child*, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Between 1425 and 1427, Masaccio collaborated with Masolino on the decorations of the Brancacci Chapel in the church of the Carmine at Florence. Also from these years was the *Trinity* in the church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence. The latter image was inserted into an architectonic framework and with daring system of perspective in relation to a spectator whose eye was set at the height of the shelf on which knelt the two donors. Soon after completing this, he moved to ROME, where he died in 1428 at age 27, perhaps poisoned.

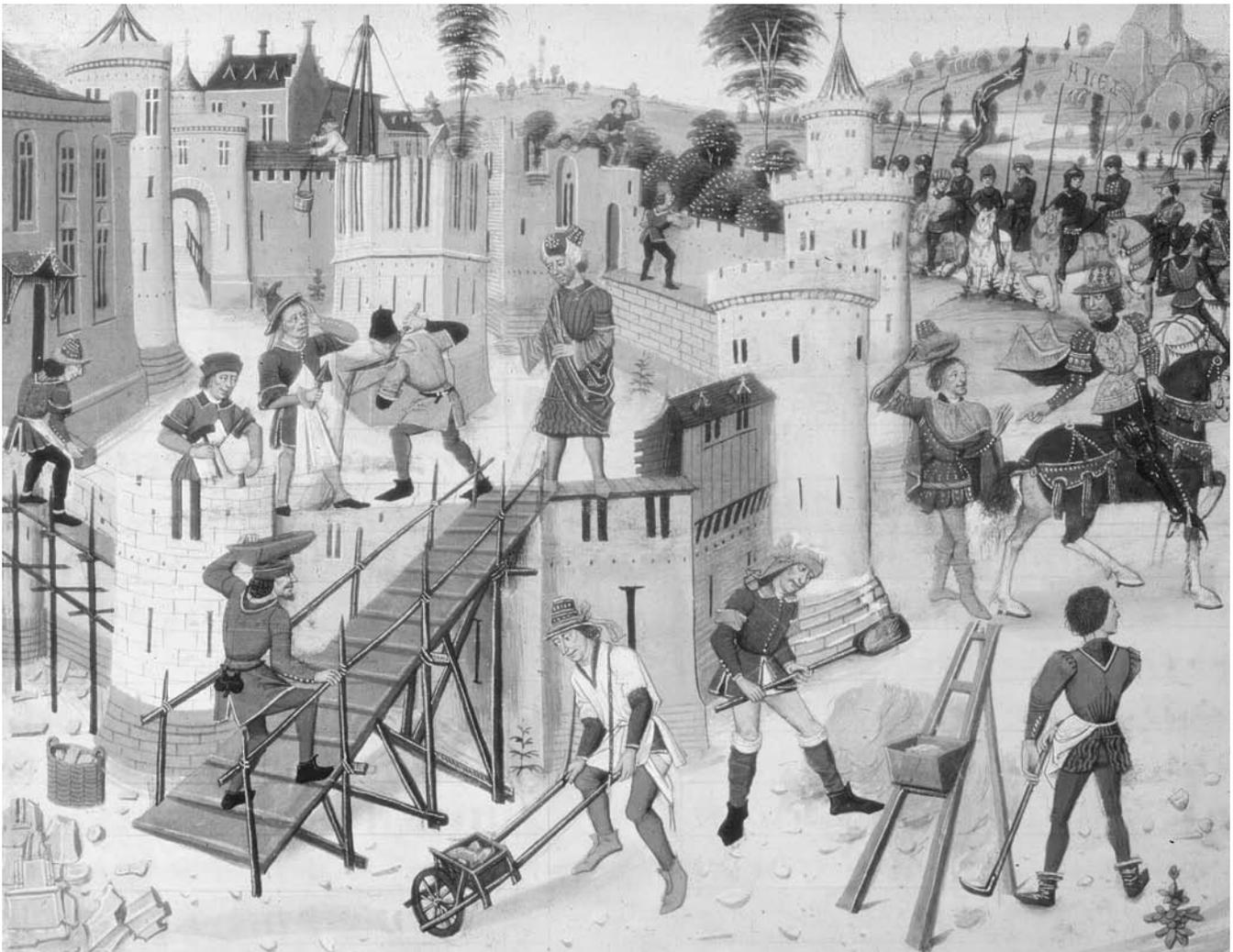
**Further reading:** James Beck, *Masaccio, the Documents* (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1978); Bruce Cole, *Masaccio and the Art of Early Renaissance Florence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Paul Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino: A Complete Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1993).

**masons and masonry** Masons did the stonework or brickwork on building projects throughout the Middle Ages and some may have functioned as architects. Masons employed several types of instruments and tools. With a compass with mobile legs, they designed plans but also traced patterns for executing detailed designs on stone and drawing surfaces. Using such a simple device, they could measure, divide, and reproduce lengths and trace curves. A square was also used in tracing designs, as well as laying cut stones. Ropes were used for laying foundations, for verifying distances, for tracing curves

and straight lines. Weighted cords served as plumb lines for verifying the directions and angles of elements along with levels. As stonecutters they used hammers and chisels of different types.

Masons also had measuring rods and wooden or metal templates corresponding to stone faces and moldings. For transporting materials, the workers had hand barrows and wheelbarrows from the 14th century. Shovels and trowels were used to mix and spread mortar, which was composed of lime and sand and transported in wooden buckets or troughs.

**Further reading:** Nicola Coldstream, *Masons and Sculptors* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550: Including Master Masons, Carpenters, Carvers, Building Contractors and Others Responsible for Design* (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1987); Douglas Knoop, *The Mediaeval Mason: An Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages and Early*



Masons at work from *The Story of Alexander the Great*, by Quintus Curtius Rufus, illumination by Liedet, Loyset, or Louis (15th century), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Snark / Art Resource*)

*Modern Times* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949).

**Mass, liturgy of** Mass was the name used to designate the celebration of the Eucharist beginning in the fourth century and became usual in the fifth. It designated the recital of prayers, sending to GOD the prayers that the priest said at the ALTAR while celebrating the sacrament of the Eucharist. It was the central liturgical practice of Christianity during the Middle Ages. Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT established Mass in its later usual form; later changes related merely to details. He set the prayers to be offered, the doctrines to be promoted, and the music to accompany the commemoration of and actual reenactment of the Last Supper, when Christ turned the bread and wine into his body and blood. It was also a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross to redeem and make HEAVEN attainable for humankind.

The ritual had to convey this in a way comprehensible to the average Christian. It had to include gestures and activities to accomplish this, thus the paraphernalia and the impressive but distancing ceremony. It was usually conducted publicly or before an audience. Private masses by individual PRIESTS became common over the course of the Middle Ages, especially after the evolution of the idea of PURGATORY and hired intercession for the DEAD. The content of masses were linked with particular devotions and the liturgical year. Rules were established to encourage attendance and participation. Artistic representations concentrated on the role of the priest in bringing all this about. Only the priest could officiate and carry out Mass. He was necessary for the sacrament of the Eucharist and for effecting the real presence of Christ.

See also GREGORIAN CHANT; HYMNS, HYMNALS, AND HYMNOLOGY; LITURGICAL BOOKS; MISSAL; SEVEN SACRAMENTS; UTRAQUISTS.

**Further reading:** Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green, 1917); Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass: An Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Survey*, trans. Julian Fernandes and ed. Mary Ellen Evans (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1976); Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy*, trans. Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979); Richard W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 18–25.

**al-Masudi, Abul-Hasan Ali** (ca. 896–956) *historian, polymath*

Al-Masudi was born in BAGHDAD about 896, moved to SYRIA, and died in Egypt in 956. A SHIITE, he traveled extensively and wrote *The Meadows of Gold*, an important and famous topical history of early medieval ISLAM and the non-Islamic world. He was a good storyteller and included much useful knowledge for modern scholars.

**Further reading:** al-Masudi, *The Meadows of Gold: The Abbasids*, trans. and ed. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London: Kegan Paul, 1989); Tarif Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography: The Histories of Masudi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975); C. Pellat, "Al-Masudi, Abul-Hasan Ali b. al-Husayn," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 6.784–789; Ahmad M. H. Shboul, *Al-Masudi and His World: A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims* (London: Ithaca Press, 1979).

**matrimony** See FAMILY AND KINSHIP; MARRIAGE.

**Matthew Paris** (ca. 1200–1259) *English Benedictine monk, chronicler*

Born about 1200, Matthew became a monk in 1217 at the BENEDICTINE abbey of Saint Alban's, among the most important in ENGLAND. Though a monk, he had access to information since Saint Alban's was an important center on the road north from LONDON. He was also personally present at several events, such as the marriage in 1236 of King HENRY III and Eleanor of Provence (1223–91) and a feast of Saint EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in 1247 at the palace near the Abbey of WESTMINSTER. In 1247 or 1248 Pope INNOCENT IV sent him to NORWAY to reform a monastery. He became the annalist for Saint Alban's in 1236.

His immense works survived in a fairly complete state. His *Chronica majora*, a universal chronicle begun in about 1240, was a revised continuation of a chronicle of one of his predecessors at Saint Alban's, Roger of Wendover (d. 1236). His historical work included a history of ENGLAND from 1066 to 1253 and two abridged histories. He also wrote a history of the abbots of Saint Alban's from 793 to 1255, a history of the founders of the monastery, and several saints' lives. Matthew was critical of his sources, a good storyteller with a taste for gossip and a strong conservative bent. Some of his colorful anecdotes, especially those about King JOHN, should not be taken too seriously. He was critical of the king and of taxation on the church and was jealous of the MENDICANT friars. He drew many interesting and enlightening heraldic devices, illustrations, and maps for these manuscripts. He died in 1259.

**Further reading:** Richard Vaughan, ed. and trans., *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century* (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1984); Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

**Mecca (Makka)** Mecca is a pilgrimage city in the Hejaz in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula, which became the holiest site for Muslims. It was an important commercial and religious town even before the time of

MUHAMMAD because of its shrine of the KABA. That occupied an enclosed space or basin which rain-fed torrents often submerged. Not based on an oasis, it occupied an important spot halfway because of its reliable wells on the caravan routes between the Syrian and Palestinian north and the Yemeni south. It was central to the rise of ISLAM, the place where Muhammad began his preaching. Muslims are supposed to make a PILGRIMAGE there at least once during their life. A HAJJ was to take place during the second week of the last month of the Muslim year.

See also ISLAMIC CONQUESTS AND EARLY EMPIRE; MEDINA.

**Further reading:** Emel Esin, *Mecca, the Blessed; Madinah, the Radiant* (London: Elek Books, 1963); F. E. Peters, *Mecca* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); W. Montgomery Watt, A. J. Wensinck, C. E. Bosworth, and R. B. Winder, "Makka" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* 6:144–187.

### Mechthild von Magdeburg (ca. 1207–ca. 1282/1301) *German Beguine*

There are only bits of biographical information in Mechthild's book, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*. Probably of noble origin, she was born about 1207 in a family in the diocese of Magdeburg, as was apparent in her style and local vocabulary. She seemed to have had a secular education marked by CHIVALRY and court life. She claimed that she was challenged at 12 years of age by VISIONS that changed her life. From then on she took little joy of things of this world, sensual pleasure, or mundane honors. In about 1230, she left her family and friends and moved to Magdeburg to lead a life of poverty and penitence. At the encouragement of her DOMINICAN confessor, she recorded her spiritual experiences in the VERNACULAR in six books. In 1260, at an advanced age, she moved in with the CISTERCIAN NUNS of Helfta and devoted herself to a spiritual life and study. She died at Helfta after 1282, much venerated. Mechthild was an exceptional figure among women mystics of the Middle Ages because of her independence as well as the beauty and vigor of her writing in German.

See also BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Mechthild of Magdeburg, *Flowing Light of the Divinity*, trans. Christiane Mesch Galvani and ed. Susan Clark (New York: Garland, 1991); Frank Tobin, *Mechthild von Magdeburg: A Medieval Mystic in Modern Eyes* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1995); James C. Franklin, *Mystical Transformations: The Imagery of Liquids in the Work of Mechthild von Magdeburg* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1978); Amy M. Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); Bernard McGinn, ed., *Meister Eckhart and the Beguine Mystics:*

*Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechthild of Magdeburg, and Marguerite Porete* (New York: Continuum, 1994); Ulrike Wiethaus, *Ecstatic Transformation: Transpersonal Psychology in the Work of Mechthild of Magdeburg* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

**Medici family** The Medici family, resident in FLORENCE from 1216, was originally from the Mugello, an area north of the city of Florence. At the end of the 14th century, with the success of the banker Giovanni de Bicci (1360–1429), the Medici were among the richest Florentine families. Cosimo the Elder (1389–1464); his son, Piero (1416–69); and his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–92), consolidated the Medicis' supremacy in Florence. The Medici ruled the city in a precarious balance of power with the other families of the Florentine patriciate. They were chosen by Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31) as treasures of the papal treasury, a lucrative office that provided access to a wider political and diplomatic role.

### POLITICS AND CULTURE

The cultural life of 15th-century Florence was shaped by the political power of the Medici and their court. Lorenzo the Magnificent was one of the foremost patrons of literature and culture, having perceived the importance of both as instruments of political propaganda. The Medici dominated Florence from the 1430s to the 1490s through a skillful manipulation of political traditions and office-holding. There was opposition to their domination, but their wealth and shrewd politics kept them in charge.

See also BANKS AND BANKING; TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**Further reading:** John Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); Dale Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426–1434* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963); Nicolai Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434 to 1494)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

**medicine** Though the Middle Ages did not make and leave behind spectacular discoveries in medicine, important advances were made in the intellectual history of the discipline and in terms of professionalization and institutionalization. Arabic practices and ideas were an important influence and precedent.

The study of medicine in the Middle Ages was an extension of developments begun in classical times. In the West medical traditions, such as they were, were first based on the encyclopedic works of ISIDORE OF SEVILLE. In ISLAM the writings of Greek physicians, such as Hippocrates, were translated into Arabic. Greek, Arabic,

Persian, Indian, and Jewish sources on anatomy and diseases formed the basis of the study and development of the medieval medical sciences in Islam. In the 10th century Arabic physicians such as IBN SINA (Avicenna) and AL-RAZI synthesized the classical heritage with their own experience in their writings. By the 11th century these theoretical and practical achievements were known to the West, especially in southern ITALY.

#### VARIOUS ADVANCES

The practice of medicine, was a basic part of the daily activity in Western monasteries, involving simple surgical treatment and the healing of wounds. With the establishment of the medical school at Salerno, just south of NAPLES, in about 1030, medical science became a systematic field of study in the West. Treatises written in Arabic were translated into LATIN. Jewish physicians living in the West and trained in the study of anatomy contributed to medical knowledge in the 12th century. In the 13th century, medicine became part of the university curriculum in the West. After that, new trends of study based on an emphasis on experimentation over mere theory developed. Dissections on animals and human beings, though considered morally dubious, increased real knowledge of the human body. By the 14th century, dissections were part of the study program at medical schools in Italy and especially at MONTPELLIER. Developments in chemistry and other natural sciences advanced pharmaceutical remedies and prompted systematic research on the healing properties of plants and chemicals. A more popular, magical, and traditional medicine was practiced by HERMITS and village women. At the end of the Middle Ages, the church began to persecute those woman as witches.

According to the theories prevalent at that time, the human body was composed of the humors fire, earth, air, and water or hot, cold, dry, and wet. The doctor's role was to maintain or restore a balance among these primary qualities in the bones, nerves, flesh, vessels, membranes, and organs and the four liquid substances or humors in blood such as phlegm and bile. The preservation of health and the treatment of sickness relied on three types of therapy: dietetics, pharmacology, and surgery. Medieval medicine created and organized the medical profession. Charlatans and quacks were persecuted, although defining what might be inappropriate about their treatments was not always clear beyond their lack of university training.

See also ANATOMY; BOTANY; CONSTANTINE THE AFRICAN; GERARD OF CREMONA; HOSPITALS; PLAGUE; TROTA.

**Further reading:** Edward Kealey, *Medieval medicus: A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Katharine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Nancy Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*

(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

**Medina (Medina al-Monawwara, Madinat al-Nabi, City of the Prophet)** One of the two most important cities for ISLAM, "Medina" means "the town." It had its origins in the ancient oasis of Yathrib. After the Hegira in 622 until his death in 632, MUHAMMAD found refuge in the town with a related clan after he had fled his hometown of MECCA, which had rejected his message. His partisans, called the "émigrés" or *al-muhajiran*, followed him. He achieved political recognition through his successful raids against the caravans of his old Meccan tribe. An intertribal confederation, the *umma* or "the rightly-guided group," took Mecca in 630, then controlled all western Arabia. After Muhammad's death, the town became the center of the first Muslim caliphate, which carried out great conquests before being swamped in intertribal war. It lost the position of Islamic capital to DAMASCUS, then al-Kufa, in the 660s.

See also ABU BAKR.

**Further reading:** W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); W. Montgomery Watt and R. B. Winder, "Al-Medina" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* 5:994–1,007; Michael Lecker, *Muslims, Jews, and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

**Mehmed II (Mehmet, Muhammad, the Conqueror)** (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481) *founder of the Ottoman Empire* Mehmed was the sultan between 1444 and 1446 and from 1451 to 1481. Born on March 30, 1432, at ADRIANOPLE, he was the fourth son of MURAD II and took the throne when his father abdicated in 1446. His first sultanate ended in chaos, and his father had to return to power. On his father's death in 1451, he had another chance and was one of the most successful Ottoman rulers. He carefully prepared for the capture of CONSTANTINOPLE, providing large cannons for military operations. The ensuing siege lasted from April 6 to May 29, 1453. After sacking the city, he declared HAGIA SOPHIA a MOSQUE. He extended the OTTOMAN EMPIRE into ANATOLIA, the Balkans, WALLACHIA, MOLDAVIA, and the Crimea. Tolerant of minorities, he encouraged learning, inviting Christians to his rebuilt capital, Constantinople. He also codified Ottoman law. He died, possibly poisoned, on May 3, 1481.

**Further reading:** Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (1954; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970); Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978); Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*,



Mehmed II the Conqueror, the sultan responsible for the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Gentile Bellini (1429–1507). Oil on wood, National Gallery, London (*Erich Lessing / Art Resource*)

1300–1600, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

**Meister Eckhart** See ECKHART, MEISTER.

**Melfi, Constitutions of** See FREDERICK II; SICILY.

**Memling, Hans (Memline)** (ca. 1433/40–1494) *Flemish painter*

Hans Memling was born probably at Seligenstadt near Frankfurt between 1430 and 1440. After studying in COLOGNE, he worked in Roger van der WEYDEN'S workshop in 1459 and 1460. On January 30, 1465, he acquired citizen's rights at BRUGES, where he was to pay some of the highest levels of taxes in the city and worked until his death on August 11, 1494. He worked mostly for wealthy merchants. Some of his early work was done for Italian patrons, including a *Last Judgment* for Angelo

at Trani in Sicily and a *Passion* for Tommaso Portinari. He made a number of fine portraits of burghers from Bruges. His art was eclectic, combining ideas and forms from different masters, and was known for its fine drawing and elegance of forms.

See also EYCK, HUBERT VAN, AND EYCK, JAN VAN.

**Further reading:** K. B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, ed. Edgar Wind (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Dirk de Vos, *Hans Memling: The Complete Works* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994); Maximilian P. J. Martens, *Bruges and the Renaissance: Memling to Pourbus* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998).

**mendicant orders** A number of medieval religious orders formed in the 13th century were mendicant, that is, made up of monks who practiced a form of poverty that involved a whole community. In contrast to the old, rich, and stable monastic tradition, the mendicants initially renounced landed property and rents, to live only by the alms of the faithful and payments for pastoral care. Their role was primarily to preach to the LAITY and combat HERESY. They promoted devotion to MARY, the Blessed Virgin; the cult of the saints; a higher standard of clerical education; and sacramental participation by the laity. Their legal definition, long contested by the traditionalists, had to wait until 1274 and the Second Council of Lyon, which also forbade the formation of any new religious orders devoted to mendicancy.

Their rise was linked to the development and proliferation of urban life and a more elaborate money economy. They had to be able to beg among concentrations of people who had liquid wealth. The appearance of the mendicant orders was also a response to criticism leveled at the church for its excessive accumulation of wealth in the 12th century. Their ideas about the imitation of Christ or the apostolic life were based on a perceived Christian indifference to the material world. They were very popular with the laity who gave them large quantities of money to build churches in cities. The other CLERGY did not welcome their draining income from the parish and secular clergy. This rivalry extended to universities and Scholastic thought.

These orders all went through various reform movements throughout the later Middle Ages. The PAPACY tended to favor mendicants, since they were supposed to be independent of the diocesan system and the episcopacy and more likely to further the interests of a pope and to enforce orthodoxy against heretical ideas. On occasion, however, the mendicant ideals of clerical poverty clashed with papal ambitions.

See also AUGUSTINIAN (AUSTIN) FRIARS OR HERMITS; CARMELITES; DOMINICAN ORDER; FRANCIS OF ASSISI, SAINT; FRANCISCAN ORDER; MONASTICISM; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** Louis Duval-Arnould. "Mendicants and Seculars, Quarrel of," *EMA*, 2.939; Richard Emery,

*The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents, 1200–1550* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962); Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London: Longman, 1994).

**menorah** The menorah is a seven-branched candelabrum, the most common symbol of JUDAISM. It was the ancestor of the sanctuary light used by Christianity to indicate the presence of Christ in the tabernacle. It was based on the seven-branched candlestick or lamp described in the Old Testament or Hebrew BIBLE in Exodus 25:31–38.

See also JEWS AND JUDAISM.

**Further reading:** Joseph Gutmann, *Jewish Ceremonial Art* (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1964); Joseph Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1979).

**mercenaries** See CONDOTTIERI, COMPANIES, AND MERCENARIES.

**merchants** Merchants, those in the business of buying and selling, in the Middle Ages were considered a suspicious group who engaged in questionable activities. Canonical legislation forbade USURY. Profiting from any kind of monetary transaction was also suspicious. Only a just price for a service or commodity was licit. Despite this, commercial activities did not stop during the Middle Ages. Theologians rationalized ways of making such activities less sinful by not questioning the creative commercial techniques employed by merchants to cover their collection of interest. It should be remembered that many practices in the late medieval church were also illicit but widespread, such as SIMONY and the promotion of clerics based on their kinship ties (nepotism).

#### COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

There was a veritable commercial revolution in the 12th and 13th centuries. Merchants became ubiquitous in medieval society, especially in the cities, doing business at the local as well as international level. Alongside these merchants was the great merchant, who controlled capital and was often the confidential agent of kings, popes, or princes. The popes especially needed BANKS and merchants to assist them in moving the greatly expanding income of the Holy See in the 13th century.

#### COMPANIES

Powerful companies arose. Their capital was based on family assets and the deposits of clients in search of lucrative profits, especially at the inland Italian cities of Piacenza, SIENA, LUCCA, and FLORENCE. Merchant bankers circulated money and merchandise. They established branches with representatives in all the great commercial localities of the time. They often combined commercial traffic, banking activities, and industrial enterprise, especially in wool and cloth. The earlier companies all failed around 1300. New ones arose that managed risk better by avoiding loans to monarchs and investing in a wider variety of activities. They also improved their accounting methods, in particular double-entry, which made easily accessible the statistics on exactly where and how their business was going. These newer techniques decreased their required mobility while maintaining their knowledge and control. As a group, merchants often left the profession to return to the land and marry into more noble social classes.

See also BANKS AND BANKING; BRUGES; COEUR, JACQUES; DATINI, FRANCESCO; ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; HANSEATIC LEAGUE; MEDICI FAMILY; NOBILITY AND NOBLES; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**Further reading:** Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, eds., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents with Introductions and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); James Masschaele, *Peasants, Merchants, and Markets: Inland Trade in Medieval England, 1150–1350* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Timothy O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1987); Armando Saporì, *The Italian Merchant in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ann Kennen (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).

**Merinids (Marinids, Banu Marin)** The Merinids were a BERBER dynasty who reigned over the far al-MAGHRIB or MOROCCO from the mid-13th to the mid-15th century, having divided up the territory of the ALMOHADS with the HAFSIDS of Tunisia. The Merinid state pursued an ambition to unify al-Maghrif and for a while subjugated the sultanate of Tlemcen and the Hafsid sultanate of TUNIS. They dreamed of taking back the lands that the Muslims had earlier lost in SPAIN but were defeated in a battle in 1340 and never again tried to interfere in Iberia again. Instead, they settled at FEZ, built a new town (Fas al-Jadid), and made it the capital of a kingdom that became prosperous through their partial control of the Sudanese gold route.

From the late 14th century, however their difficulties increased. Their dynastic instability was exploited by ambitious court officials, leading to internal civil wars. The Portuguese captured the town of Ceuta in 1415 and sought possession of the trade in Sudanese gold. A branch of the dynasty, the Wattasids, attempted to restore the

dynasty's fortunes, but they were only partially successful. The last Merinid was removed in 1465 in a popular revolt, with branches emerging into the 16th century.

See also IDRISIDS; MALI; MARRAKECH.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 32–34; Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis, 1980); Jamil Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

**Merovingian dynasty** With the accession of CLOVIS in 481 or 482, the Merovingian dynasty took control of Francia or Gaul, ruling there until 751, when the last king of the dynasty, Childeric II (r. 743–751), was deposed by PÉPIN III THE SHORT with the help of the PAPACY.

Clovis became king at age 15 in succession to his father, Childeric I (d. 481/482), the son of the almost legendary Merovech (r. 448–457), the source for the name Merovingians. Childeric and his FRANKS settled between the Somme and the Scheldt, cultivating their ties with ROME. In his reign of 30 years, Clovis conquered the greater part of Gaul, from FRISIA to the Pyrenees mountains in the south, from the Atlantic to the Rhine River in the east. He defeated the Alamanni in 496 near COLOGNE and the VISIGOTHS in 506. He made PARIS his capital; converted to Catholicism, the religion of his wife, Clotilda (ca. 470–545); and made an alliance of the Franks with the papacy.

The history of the Merovingians was frequently determined by the legal necessity to divide succession among whatever numbers of sons were produced. The unity of the kingdom was rarely maintained, under Clotaire I from 558 to 561 and, more lastingly, from 613 to 639 under Clothar II (r. 613–629) and his son, Dagobert I (r. 629–639). The mayors of the PALACE held real power. By 662, the Pepinids occupied the mayoralty of the palace in Austrasia and later NEUSTRIA.

These Frankish leaders were and had to be war leaders; and a taste for conquest never disappeared. The Merovingians were the almost magical “long-haired kings,” the purveyors of lands and the guarantors of peace. They had to vanquish the enemy and procure good harvests. If they failed, they were deposed. Their conversion under Clovis to Christianity was helpful to them, in that they acquired the support of the church, which they generally respected and enriched. With PRAYERS and episcopal advisers, the church called down divine favors on the dynasty. Other forms of power rested on interpersonal relations. Lords swore an oath to the king and pledged to support him, and thus this warrior people was directly and personally linked to a leader.

See also CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY; GREGORY OF TOURS.

**Further reading:** Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. Ernest Brehaut (1916; reprint, New York,

Octagon Books, 1965); Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1972); Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, trans. and eds., *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481–751* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Ian N. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London: Longman, 1994).

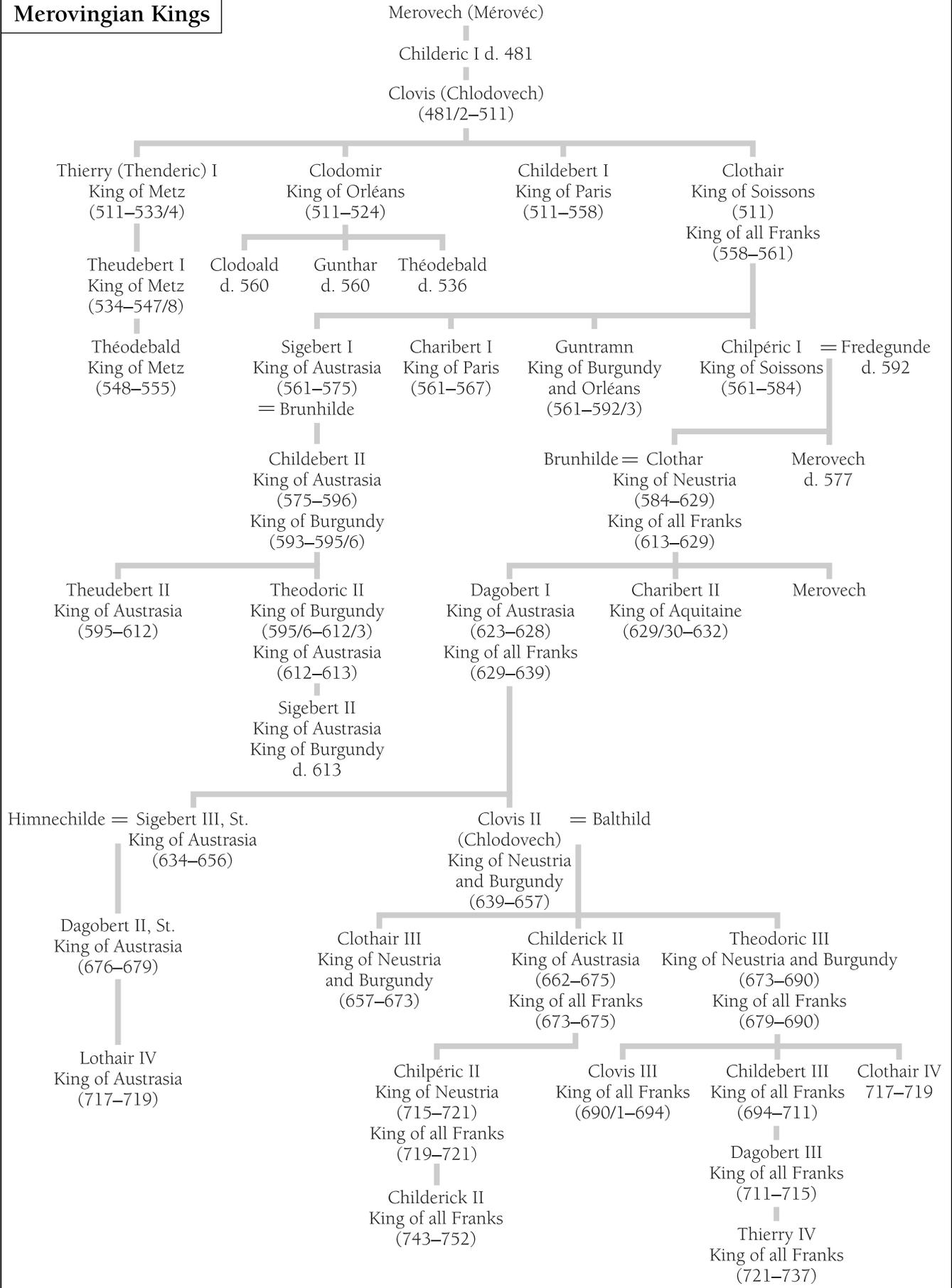
**metalsmiths and metal work, metallurgy** Medieval metalsmiths worked with several metals, including iron, gold, and silver. At that time, western Europe did not possess the same mineral resources as had the Roman Empire as a whole. It was rich in iron, particularly in the regions of central and northern Europe. But it had lost ready access to the important mineral deposits of the Muslim-controlled Iberian Peninsula. Metals from elsewhere also were controlled by Muslims and were not easily obtained.

Iron was widely used in daily life and was diffused throughout continental Europe in the early Middle Ages. It was less frequent in the south or Mediterranean world, where nonferrous metals such as copper, tin, and their alloys remained common in daily life until the mid-14th century. Iron was commonly used and part of a considerable TRADE from the regions of production such as the BASQUE provinces in northern Iberia and LOMBARDY in northern Italy. The mining of iron did not require great investment, and its production was common. Abundance



A bellows for metalworking at the abbey of Fontenay in Burgundy (Courtesy Edward English)

# Merovingian Kings



of fuel or proximity of water transport played an essential role in promoting sites of production. By the 14th century, the quality of steel was much improved.

The need for silver was particularly pressing at a time when the European continent had to secure the greater part of its supplies of this monetary metal internally. There was early development of innovative techniques at these metal production sites, not only for the technical aspects of operation but also for the legal and economic management of the works. There were silver mining operations at Trent, LANGUEDOC, Massa Marittima in TUSCANY, and Iglau in BOHEMIA. Essential for the production of sound coinage, these sites attracted enormous investments that generated considerable fortunes. There was a mining boom in the 15th century, particularly in central Europe, and hardly any continental country remained uninvolved. The boom was favored by a series of technical innovations and encouraged by the demand for metal for coinage.

See also COINAGE AND CURRENCY; GOLD TRADE AND GOLD WORKING; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** Theophilius, *The Various Arts, De diversis artibus*, ed. and trans. C. R. Dodwell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Leslie Aitchison, *A History of Metals* (New York: Interscience, 1960); Janet Backhouse and Leslie Webster, eds., *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, A.D. 600–900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

**Methodios** See CYRIL AND METHODIOS.

**Michael Scot** (before 1200–d. ca. 1253) *astrologer, translator*

Born in SCOTLAND in the late 12th century, Michael was educated in ENGLAND and SPAIN, where he studied Arabic. There he became acquainted with the Aristotelian treatises on astronomy. In 1223 he traveled to ITALY and served in the papal court. There he won the favor of Pope GREGORY IX, who recommended him unsuccessfully for the archbishopric of CANTERBURY. Moving to PISA, he became interested in mathematics. Michael eventually joined the court of the emperor FREDERICK II and was appointed, according to a tradition, as the emperor's astrologer. Besides translating from Arabic and Hebrew, Michael did a study of volcanic activity on the Lipari Islands. Roger BACON and ALBERTUS MAGNUS regarded him as a charlatan. He died about 1253.

See also ASTROLOGY.

**Further reading:** J. Ward Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1897); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927; reprint, New York: Meridian, 1957); Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*. Vol. 2, *The First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925), 2.307–337; Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot* (London: Nelson, 1965).

**Middle Ages, concept of** The expression “Middle Ages” was based on the belittling concept of a middle age between the glories of antiquity and modern times, or initially the late 14th and early 15th centuries. It acquired this name among Italian humanists, such as PETRARCH, who sought to rediscover classical antiquity in all its purity and authenticity and to eliminate the later GOTHIC frivolous elaborations. Later scholars from the 17th century onward readily adopted this terminology and concept. In the early 19th century, the romantic movement formed a more positive conception of the Middle Ages, emphasizing genuine cultural innovations and accomplishments, and perpetuated the idea, adding to this the concept of the rebirth of culture in a RENAISSANCE of the 15th and 16th centuries. *Middle Ages* was also a judgmental term that was widely adopted because of a need to break up the past into comprehensible chronological periods.

**Further reading:** David C. Douglas, *English Scholars, 1600–1730*, 2d ed. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1951); Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948); Barbara G. Keller, *The Middle Ages Reconsidered: Attitudes in France from the Eighteenth Century through the Romantic Movement* (New York: P. Lang, 1994); Donald R. Kelley, *History and the Disciplines: The Reclassification of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1997); Donald R. Kelley, ed., *Versions of History from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991).

**Midrash** See BIBLE; JEWS AND JUDAISM.

**Milan (Milano)** Milan is a city in the Po Valley in northern Italy in LOMBARDY whose position made it the natural center of a network of communication routes by land, lake, and river between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas and between the Po Valley and the transalpine provinces. From 290 to 291, after the reorganization of the empire under DIOCLETIAN, Milan, along with its status as the seat of a vicariate, became the center of the government of the West and the site where the edict of toleration of Christianity was issued by CONSTANTINE and Licinius (ca. 250–324) in 313. Milan further became a religious capital, especially during the episcopate of AMBROSE, who firmly opposed any secular political interference in the religious sphere and exercised undisputed preeminence over nearly all the other churches of northern ITALY.

#### CRISIS AND DECLINE

In 402, after an incursion of ALARIC'S VISIGOTHS into Italy, the seat of the imperial court was moved to the more easily defendable RAVENNA. This led to a period of



Milan Cathedral (Duomo), began 1380 (Courtesy Library of Congress)

decline. A recovery, already evident by the end of the LOMBARD kingdom in the social and economic sphere, became more evident in the eighth century. This revival was especially tied to the activity of the bishops, who were among the most powerful in Italy, gaining political power to add to the economic power derived from their vast temporal possessions.

The archbishop's long dominance of the life of the city suffered a crisis in 1057, when political and religious struggle caused by the powerful Patarine dissent movement. The movement was opposed to SIMONY, the lack of clerical discipline, and to church and papal reform that originated in ROME, the later GREGORIAN REFORM.

#### THE LOMBARD LEAGUE; FAMILY RULE

In the first half of the 12th century, a COMMUNE assumed responsibility for government and the economic and political interests of the urban community. In the mid-12th century, this led some cities of northern Italy to ask

the emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA for help against expansionist Milan. In the ensuing wars, Milan was nearly permanently destroyed. In 1167 the city became part of the LOMBARD LEAGUE, a close alliance of Lombard communes. It gained increasing prominence within the league, especially after its victory at the Battle of LEGNANO in 1176 and the peace of Constance in 1183. Milan then acquired a dominant position in Lombardy.

Internal conflicts continued, in particular resulting from the wars against the emperor FREDERICK II and his allies. The struggle was at first between a popular party, under the leadership of the Della Torre family and the nobles. Later it was between the VISCONTI and Torriani families. The Visconti finally won and consolidated government in Milan and around their family. Giangaleazzo Visconti (r. 1378–1402), who obtained the title of duke in 1395, tried to expand his power well beyond northern Italy but died suddenly in 1402 on campaign on the verge of success over FLORENCE.

The death of Filippo Maria Visconti (r. 1412–47) in 1447 without male heirs opened another dynastic crisis. After a short-lived republic (1447–50), Francesco SFORZA (1401–66), the son-in-law of the deceased duke, took power and obtained recognition of his ducal title. The Sforza produced a period of peace and prosperity in most of the last half of the 15th century. Sforza rule ended in the last years of the 15th century, as Milan fell under French influence in the 1490s.

**Further reading:** C. M. Ady, *A History of Milan under the Sforza* (London: Methuen, 1907); Annamaria Ambrosioni, "Milan," *EMA* 2.950–952; E. R. Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue: Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan* (1965; reprint, New York: Scribner, 1966); Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Gary Ianziti, *Humanistic Historiography under the Sforzas: Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

**military orders** The principal military and religious orders were the HOSPITALLERS and TEMPLARS. The movements of the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD had striven to restrain and channel the violence of KNIGHTS. When at CLERMONT in 1095 Pope URBAN II preached the First Crusade to deliver JERUSALEM, he assigned value to the function of the warrior class. The success of the First Crusade created a need to defend the conquests made in PALESTINE and SYRIA. The military orders were then founded in the 12th century, as a regular force of knights stationed there to defend the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the other new states. The Templars and the Hospitallers were the principal orders in the Levant or eastern Mediterranean. Others would follow in Iberia and in northern Europe.

In an attempt to reconcile military life with religious life, the rulers of the new orders were inspired by the Rule of Saint BENEDICT, which they adapted, but also by that of AUGUSTINE. Independent of the local bishops and other authorities, they became almost states within states and subject only to the PAPACY. They accepted free adults, who were required to take the three vows, of obedience, CHASTITY, and POVERTY. In continental Europe, the orders created incomes to pay for the brothers' great expenses in the East.

In the Holy Land the orders soon provided more than half the manpower of the Latin armies, and in the 13th century they held most of the fortresses. They bore a great deal of the blame for the ultimate collapse of the Christian states. The orders were more successful in the reconquest in SPAIN and along the Baltic Sea. They mostly disappeared in the 16th century, except the Hospitallers,

who remained in the Mediterranean far longer. Successor orders are tied to the papacy to this day.

*See also* ALCÁNTARA, ORDER OF; CALATRAVA, ORDER OF; CRUSADES; JAMES OF MILAN; PHILIP IV THE FAIR, KING OF FRANCE; TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, ORDER OF.

**Further reading:** Malcolm Barber, ed., *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Alan Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades* (Brookfield: Variorum, 1993); Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993); Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

**millenarianism, Christian** There has always been an idea in Christianity that the end of the world was near and people should prepare for it, if not hasten it. The just would receive their rewards and the evil, their punishments.

In his *City of God*, AUGUSTINE of Hippo rejected the expectation of an imminent end of the world based on the text of the biblical book of the Apocalypse. According to Augustine, Christ's final kingdom coincided with the history of the church. Influential Western authors, such as ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, BEDE, RUPERT OF DEUTZ, OTTO OF FREISING, and HILDEGARD OF BINGEN, followed Augustine's line of thought. In the Eastern Orthodox Empire, the prophet Daniel's vision of four successive kingdoms assisted the spread of millenarian expectations tied to succession to the imperial throne.

There was some concept of the end of the world around the year 1000, but few really expected it. It was always a good preaching and pastoral strategy to imply that it could happen any time. The good Christian should always be ready. At the turn of the 12th century, the Calabrian theologian JOACHIM OF FIORE formulated an original theology of historical development, in which the whole history of humankind was subdivided into three stages, each related to a person of the Trinity. The third and last, the reign of the Holy Spirit, was to begin in the 13th century. However, such millenarianism was strongly rejected by Thomas AQUINAS, who linked it to HERESY. These expectations remained present within dissident fringes and heterodox groups such as the SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS and the Hussite movement in BOHEMIA, some of whom even announced the end of the world for February 10–14, 1420.

Throughout the later Middle Ages, many dissident groups expected the end of the world and looked for judgments by God on their religious and social oppressors.

*See also* ANTICHRIST; HUS, JOHN; TABORITES.

**Further reading:** Bernard McGinn, ed., *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (1979;

reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

**mills, wind and water** The first machines, mills and presses, were built to mill grain and to press olives and grapes. They were common in the ancient world and became more so with the decline of slavery. They used human, water, wind, and animal power. Because they were expensive to build and maintain, peasants often had to depend on and pay their lords for access to these necessary agricultural machines. Lords soon sought to reserve for themselves monopolies for access to these indispensable tools, charging customary taxes or labor dues. Over the Middle Ages, mills grew in complexity and efficiency. Some were used in industrial activities, for manufacturing cloth or metal products. Windmills were limited to the grinding of cereals and were wide spread from the 13th century.

See also BAN; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP.

**Further reading:** Richard Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1988); Edward J. Kealey, *Harvesting the Air: Windmill Pioneers in Twelfth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

**minaret** The minaret is a towerlike structure that is a recognizable sign of a Muslim presence in terms of MOSQUES for PRAYER. Introduced by the ABBASIDS to signify their power, they did not take on a monumental aspect before the ninth century, when the Great Mosque of AL-QAYRAWAN was built. Never universal, the form varied throughout the Islamic world. Some dynasties did not build them. The immense minaret with spiral ramp at Samarra in IRAQ was built some years later in 848. In Western ISLAM, the minarets of SEVILLE, the Giralda, and at MARRAKECH, the Kutubiya, had square bases and graceful proportions. As well, these examples had decorative panels covered with tracery, sometimes set off by squares of colors. In the Middle East and Asia, several great minarets with circular or star-shaped plans were remarkable for their monumental appearance, outstanding



The remains of a Muslim watermill on the Guadalquivir River in Córdoba in Spain (Courtesy Edward English)



The minaret of the Holy Mosque of Medina, built in 1483, beside the green cupola over the Prophet's grave, built in 1840 (Courtesy Library of Congress)

among them the minaret at BUKHARA from 1127, and that of Jam in Afghanistan from about 1180.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; ISLAM; MINBAR; MOSQUE.

**Further reading:** Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret, Symbol of Islam* (Oxford: Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, 1989); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 129–171.

**minbar (mimbar)** The minbar was a type of pulpit usually found in MOSQUES from which PRAYERS, speeches, and religious guidance were given. The minbar was situated to the right of the mihrab, the niche indicating the correct direction for prayer, and consisted of a raised platform reached by a set of steps, often a door at the entrance to the steps, and a dome or canopy above the platform.

The minbar was one of the earliest architectural features identified with Islamic architecture for mosques. In 629 MUHAMMAD supposedly used a minbar from which he preached. At that time the minbar consisted of two steps and a seat resembling a throne. After the death of the Prophet, the minbar was used by caliphs and governors as a symbol of authority. In 750 all the mosques of EGYPT were to be provided with minbars. This process was repeated in other Islamic lands so that by the beginning of the Abbasid period its function as a pulpit was universally established.

Most minbars were made of wood and highly decorated; those made of stone or brick tended to be simpler and were often a bare platform reached by three to five steps. In the FATIMID period minbars were built with a door at the entrance to the stairway and a domed canopy above the platform. The Friday sermon was delivered from them.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; FRIDAY PRAYER.

**Further reading:** Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999); Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the Literary World* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997).

**mines and mining** See METALSMITHS AND METAL WORK, METALLURGY.

**ministerials** Ministerials were persons who exercised a function, an office, or a TRADE. They made up the household that surrounded a ruler or an important institution, especially in the area of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE in the central Middle Ages. These individuals were needed to exercise control. They usually emerged from a servile class and gained status and opportunity because of their capacity to fill an office. They were ultimately distinguished from the usual servants of the Crown and called *ministeriales*. Indispensable for government, they soon extracted the right to transmit inheritances and marry at their own discretion. They demanded more freedoms and did not hesitate to rebel to get them. They took places in a feudal system, received FIEFS, became lords, had KNIGHTS under their orders, and held CASTLES. They then took on the status of nobles in the thirteenth century. By the end of the Middle Ages, the ministeriality had formed a social group of knights.

See also NOBILITY AND NOBLES; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**Further reading:** John B. Freed, *The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984); John B. Freed, *Noble Bondsmen: Ministerial Marriages in the Archdiocese of Salzburg, 1100–1343* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Timothy Reuter, ed., *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of*

*France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979).

**mints** See MONEY AND MINTS.

**miracle plays** See MYSTERY AND MIRACLE PLAYS.

**miracles and collections of miracles** Miracles were believed to be of divine origin and contrary to the laws of nature. Jesus Christ himself worked many miracles. Faced with the difficulties of life in the Middle Ages, people often invoked divine aid through the intermediary of the saints, in their roles as intercessors between human beings and GOD. Certain living holy men, and to a far lesser extent holy women, were held to be endowed with magical or miraculous powers, including the gift of healing, clairvoyance, and ensuring protection.

It was mainly after DEATH, through the intermediary of their RELICS, that the saints worked miracles. Healings were the most frequent miracles, but miracles involving the deliverance of prisoners, preservations from various dangers, and other favorable interventions such as recovery of lost objects or multiplication of food or drink were considered common enough. Some saints were much more effective in these events and their cult grew accordingly. Miracles of a more negative or revenging nature could also occur when God or his saints were insulted or not respected adequately. The saints could even play jokes of a cautionary or warning kind. The lives of saints and hagiographical traditions demanded and emphasized miracles as proof of holiness. Saints had to be careful, however, in dispensing the miraculous. God was considered their actual source. Saints were not empowered to perform MAGIC. There was also the possibility that the DEVIL or Satan might act in the world and perform miracles for his own nefarious ends.

For the Orthodox Church, every sign of God's direct or indirect intervention was considered a miracle. Unusual events could be logical responses of God to the impiety or the credulous faith of the believer. The miraculous is nothing but a revelation of the supernatural always present to those who deserve it. For the Orthodox, the miracle was a sign of sanctity, a mark of a divine choice rather than divine intervention.

See also HAGIOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000–1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Ronald F. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J. M. Dent, 1977); William D. McCready, *Signs of Sanctity: Miracles in the Thought of*

*Gregory the Great* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989); Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

**Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della** (1463–1494) *Italian Neoplatonic philosopher*

Pico was born in 1463, the son of the prince of Mirandola, near FERRARA. Unlike other Florentine Platonists he was primarily interested in a synthesis of Christian THEOLOGY and diverse philosophies, including Jewish Kabbalism and the Arabic doctrines of IBN RUSHD or Averroës. He was a friend of Marsilio FICINO. In 1486, he defended the conclusions of certain suspect philosophers; but some of these theses were later condemned by the PAPACY and he had to flee to FRANCE. His interest in the Jewish KABBALA was deemed highly suspicious by Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92). At the intervention of Lorenzo de' MEDICI (1449–92), he was allowed to return and remained in FLORENCE until his early death. His *Oration of the Dignity of Man* exalted human dignity and the freedom of the individual to influence his or her own spiritual development. He died quite young in 1494.

**Further reading:** Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *On the Dignity of Man*, trans. Charles Glenn Wallis (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Commentary on a Poem of Platonic Love*, trans. Douglas Carmichael (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986); William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Symbol of His Age, Modern Interpretations of a Renaissance Philosopher* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1981); Charles B. Schmitt, *Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469–1533) and His Critique of Aristotle* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967).

**Mirror of Princes** Mirrors of Princes were didactic works intended for kings or future kings. They sought to teach morality and the art of governing. Oriented toward theory, they presented a conventional model for a perfect prince. They listed the virtues a ruler should cultivate and possess to rule a kingdom justly.

Their origins can be found in the manuals on government produced in Greek and Roman antiquity. From the fourth century C.E., they became Christian and were usually written by clerics. AUGUSTINE'S *City of God* can be seen to offer an early portrait of the ideal Christian prince. By the Carolingian period, they were common and explicitly moral in intent. In the 12th century JOHN OF SALISBURY'S *Policraticus* (1159) was a true political treatise. Giles of Rome's (d. 1316) *De regimine principum* from 1285 was intended for King PHILIP IV THE FAIR of France. It was influenced by Aristotelian theoretical political ideas and was translated many times. Such works of the later Middle Ages became more intended for a broader audience. They transcended the perspective of the prince and

were for directed to anyone or any group seeking to build a well-governed state or lead an ethical life in government.

See also POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. and trans. Kate Langdon Forhan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002); Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's De regimine principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275–c. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Judith Ferster, *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

**missal** The missal was the main liturgical book for the celebration of the MASS. From the 11th century the missal progressively replaced the SACRAMENTARY, which had been the essential book for the celebration of the Eucharist. The missal was created to make all the texts available in one book. The liturgy had concentrated liturgical action in the hands of a clerical celebrant. Such a celebrant was to recite all the words of Mass, even if they were also being performed by others in attendance. The sacramentary, the antiphony of the mass lectionary or readings, were collected to form a single book for the celebration of the Mass. It contained all the texts for feasts, PRAYERS, readings, and the beginnings or *incipits* of the sung sections. In other words the missal included all the material necessary for the celebration of the Eucharist, so that priests could celebrate the Mass alone and correctly.

See also LITURGICAL BOOKS.

**Further reading:** Éric Palazzo, "Missal," *EMA*, 2.961; Richard W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 18–25.

**missi dominici** These were agents charged with controlling officials in a local administration and were first used by MEROVINGIANS. The kings delegated these temporary controllers with defined political or legal missions. The practice was not permanent and did not apply to the whole kingdom. The CAROLINGIAN monarchs rediscovered the *missi dominici* and again made them part of their much more efficient system of government.

CHARLEMAGNE in the late eighth century, along with an imposition of a general OATH of loyalty, made these envoys a regular and permanent means of his control. In 789 a CAPITULARY charged the *missi* or envoys for AQUITAINE with obtaining an oath of loyalty to the king and his successors. They were, moreover, to find out whether the capitularies or laws were being applied by asking a particular set of questions. Those sent on such missions were to number at least two, sometimes four or five. They would include a bishop or abbot, a layman,

and always a high noble, with their powers temporary for a defined region. They were sent outside their home areas of authority and filed reports when they returned. In the ninth century they became even more fundamental to Carolingian government.

See also CHARLES I THE BALD; LOUIS I THE PIOUS.

**Further reading:** H. R. Loyn and John Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975); Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire: The Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Peter Munz (1957; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983); James Westfall Thompson, *The Decline of the "Missi Dominici" in Frankish Gaul* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903).

**missions and missionaries, Christian** Propagating faith to call all humankind to attain heaven through belief was a fundamental notion of Christianity and ISLAM during the Middle Ages. Muslims were much less aggressive in trying to convince people to convert, allowing the virtues and qualities of Islam to speak for themselves. Judaism was not interested in missionizing. However, Christianity sent out emissaries to convert the heathen, Muslims, and Jews.

Christianity, soon after it became a state church, started the spread of the gospel among pagans at the periphery of the Christianized world. This became an object of a conscious policy of the church. The first successful mission was that organized by Pope GREGORY I the Great at the end of the sixth century to convert the peoples of Anglo-Saxon England and was led by AUGUSTINE of Canterbury. CHARLEMAGNE pursued a similar policy to convert his pagan Germanic neighbors, but he did not hesitate to impose baptism by force on the conquered SAXONS between 770 and 800.

From the 10th to the 12th century, missionary efforts were directed to the SLAVS, Hungarians, and Scandinavians. The BYZANTINE EMPIRE pushed the spread of Christianity with diplomatic pressures on the Slavic peoples of eastern and central Europe. By such efforts, it drew the BULGARS, Ruś, and SERBS into the Orthodox world.

In the 13th century, missionary activity, both warlike and peaceful, occurred in the Baltic countries of LIVONIA, PRUSSIA, and FINLAND. The last pagans in the region, the LITHUANIANS, were only converted in the late 14th century as part of a political marriage and agreement with POLAND. Moreover, in the 13th century the new MENDICANT ORDERS tried to spread the Christian faith among the Muslims and peoples of Central Asia. The friars studied Arabic and the ideas of Islam and tried in vain to make headway against Islam. The overthrow of the Mongol dynasty and the establishment of the Ottomans in Anatolia made missionary activity to the east more difficult during the final centuries of the Middle Ages. By the

end of the Middle Ages the church had developed a strong missionary program that it was to put to use ardently during European expansion after 1500.

See also BONIFACE, SAINT; COLUMBA, SAINT; COLUMBAN, SAINT; CYRIL, SAINT, AND METHODIOS, SAINT, APOSTLES OF THE SLAVS; JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI; LULL, RAMÓN, AND LULLISM; PATRICK, SAINT; TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, ORDER OF; WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK.

**Further reading:** J. N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe*, rev. ed. (1969; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (1980; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1997); Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion from Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997).

**Mistra (Misithra, Mystras)** Not far from Sparta in the Peloponnese, medieval Mistra was perched on a hill. It initially was clustered around a fortress built in 1249 by William II de Villehardouin (d. 1278) that was lost by the Franks to the Greeks in 1262. After that it became an important Byzantine town and later the capital of the Despotate of the MOREA from 1348 to 1460. After the fall of CONSTANTINOPLE, it became one of the last strongholds of the Byzantines against the Ottomans. It was one of the last centers of Byzantine culture, under the rule of the Cantacuzeni family and then the PALAIOLOGIOS dynasty. As well as texts, painting, inscriptions, and remains of palaces and houses, there are churches at the site. It was captured by the Ottomans in 1460 and began a long period of decline.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE; LATIN STATES IN GREECE.

**Further reading:** Rodoniki Etseoglu, *Mistras: A Byzantine Capital*, 2d ed. (Athens: Apollo Editions, 1977); Steven Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

**Moldavia** Medieval Moldavia was a region named after the Moldava River, lying between the eastern Carpathian Mountains, the river Dniestr, and the BLACK SEA. It is presently divided, part in Romania, part in the republic of Moldava, and part in Ukraine.

The arrival of SLAVS in the sixth and seventh centuries changed the native Roman-Dacian culture into the Dridu culture of the eighth and ninth centuries. The Slavs developed fortified sites in northern and central Moldavia and tried to defend themselves against the attacks of Hungarians, Petchenegs, and CUMANS. In 1241–42, the territory of Moldavia was subjected to the MONGOLS of the Golden Horde. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Moldavia became a land open to the immigration of the Romanian, Hungarian, and German populations of TRANSYLVANIA and for Asiatic peoples, the Cumans, Mongols, ALANS, and Armenians.

In 1344–45, a Hungarian-Polish-Lithuanian attitude on the Golden Horde freed Moldavia. Two states appeared, one in the north and one in the south. There was widespread conversion to Catholicism about 1400. After a revolution against the Hungarians in 1360, Peter I (r. ca. 1371–91) was the first Moldavian prince to swear in 1387 an oath of vassalage to the king of POLAND. In 1391–92, the northern principality of Moldavia conquered the southern. During the long reign of Alexander the Good (r. 1400–32), Moldavia, a tolerant Orthodox country, welcomed persecuted people from ARMENIA and Hussites from Hungary and BOHEMIA. The Ottomans eventually imposed an annual tribute in 1454–56. Nonetheless, between 1457 and 1504 Moldavia reached great prosperity and size under the reign of Stephen or Stefan the Great (r. 1457–1504), who promoted a flourishing economy and maintained a powerful army. These factors allowed it to play important, albeit temporary, political and economic roles in eastern Europe. The Ottoman occupation of its ports in 1484 was a serious blow that ended its access to the Black Sea and began a decline of the country's fortunes that resulted in further territorial losses to the Ottomans in the 16th century.

See also VLACHS.

**Further reading:** Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, trans. Laura Treptow (Portland, Oreg.: Center for Romanian Studies, 2000); Serban Papacostea, *Stephen the Great: Prince of Moldavia, 1457–1504*, trans. Sergiu Celac (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 1996); Victor Spinei, *Moldavia in the Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Liliana Teodoreanu and Ioana Sturza (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1986).

**monarchy** See KINGS AND KINGSHIP, RITUALS AND THEORIES OF

**monasticism** Christian monasticism had its origins in EGYPT at the end of the third century. In coenobitic monasticism pious men devoted themselves to the practice of retiring to the desert to worship GOD and withdrawing from secular matters. They did this primarily as individuals. There was no work involved in their activities. These monastic groups soon became organized into communities, sometimes under the particular influence of one person. Eremitic communities studied THEOLOGY and other subjects and sometimes worked in the service of the church as missionaries, theologians, and manpower for rioting crowds in cities. They retained close ties with the LAITY and entered towns frequently. Strict CELIBACY was expected of them, although no such obligation was as yet imposed on the rest of the CLERGY.

#### WESTERN MONASTICISM

In the West, with the establishment of the monasteries of Subiaco and MONTE CASSINO by Saint BENEDICT OF

NURSIA, the aims of Western monasticism were defined by the BENEDICTINE Rule. It was based on a desire to lead a life of perfection and sanctification. This necessitated poverty, withdrawal from family life and society, physical work, intellectual activity or study, and obedience to the abbot. With the foundation of CLUNY in 910, this type of reformed Benedictine monasticism spread throughout Christian Europe. PRAYER and living according to the monastic rule produced SALVATION, not only to the individual monk, but also to all of Christian society. Cluniac monks did no work and left that to a lesser group of worker monks known as *conversi*.

At the end of the 11th century, other reform movements came into being. The CISTERCIANS, CARTHUSIANS, and other minor orders put a renewed stress on ASCETICISM and simplicity of worship. Cistercians such as BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX remained active and influential in worldly affairs. In the 13th century the MENDICANT orders, especially the FRANCISCANS and the DOMINICANS, were founded to be involved in daily social and religious life, especially in the cities and universities. They had their own rules and lived inside or near the new cities.

Monasticism continued throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. The image of the monk suffered, however, as many monasteries grew rich and compliance with the rigors expected of the monastic life was less frequently

observed. REFORM movements only partially corrected these perceived abuses, and heretics such as the followers of John HUS and the LOLLARDS were strongly opposed to such rich religious institutions.

#### BYZANTINE MONASTICISM

Monasticism occupied an important place in the Byzantine religious and sometimes political world. Orders of monks such as those in the West did not exist. In the Greek Orthodox and Eastern Churches, Byzantine monasticism stressed the place of the individual within the monastic community. The collective was less important. With a few exceptions, such as the monasteries at Mount Athos, Byzantine monks did not withdraw from earthly affairs, and abbots or monks frequently and explicitly served in secular and political life. They often clashed with the emperor and were ardent in their opposition to union or compliance with the Western Church and the PAPACY.

The rise of monasticism was one of the most important and most characteristic phenomena of medieval society. Monasteries were endowed with lands, lordships, and rents. They were economic units and sources of revenues, besides being centers of religious life.

*See also* ANCHORITES AND ANCHORESSES; BASIL OF CAESAREA; BONIFACE, SAINT; BRUNO THE CARTHUSIAN, SAINT; CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE; CELESTINE V, POPE, AND THE CELESTINE ORDER; COLUMBIA, SAINT; COLUMBAN,



The 12th-century Benedictine abbey of Sant'Antimo, south of Siena in Tuscany in Italy, supposedly founded by Charlemagne (Courtesy Edward English)

SAINT; HERMITS AND EREMITISM; ICONOCLASM AND ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY; MILITARY ORDERS; NORBERT OF XANTEN, SAINT; NUNS AND NUNNERIES; ODILO OF CLUNY; ROBERT OF ARBISSEL.

**Further reading:** Derwas Chitty, *The Desert a City* (London: Mowbrays, 1966); Giles Constable, *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); David Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Longman, 1989); Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150* (London: Macmillan, 1984).

**money and mints** The vast majority of the coinage that was struck and circulated in the Middle Ages was made from silver in the form of the penny piece or *denarius* and its multiples or submultiples. After the barbarian invasions, the new Frankish, Visigothic, and Ostrogothic rulers struck gold coins in the Roman manner. They usually bore the effigy of an emperor at CONSTANTINOPLE. After the death of CLOVIS in 511, barbarian rulers began to introduce their own monograms.

The Roman emperors reserved a monopoly on coining money in their own mints, but the barbarian rulers could not maintain such a monopoly. Bishops, great landed owners, and towns started to coin money. Only the Lombard kings in Italy were able to maintain, for their profit, a monopoly on striking coins. They punished false coiners by cutting off their hands. Coinage in gold was not maintained because supplies of gold bullion dried up in the West.

CHARLEMAGNE began a return to the control of coining. The dissolution of public authority under his successors prevented this policy from continued implementation. Again bishops, counts, abbots, and territorial princes by royal concession and by usurpation issued coins, often of suspect value. Though a silver monometallism was imposed in the West, mints continued to multiply, causing difficulties of exchange and reliability and hampering the spread of international commerce. When the economic expansion of Western Europe began in the central Middle Ages, the need for greater quantities of precious metals and the minting and circulation of denominations of coins of higher value than the penny grew. Coins and monies of account in large denominations soon entered use. Rulers and princes tried for at least their own benefit to put pieces of good reputation and sound quality into circulation for international trade.

During the second half of the 13th century, more gold bullion appeared in the West by way of the sub-Saharan trade. The Florentine florin minted first in 1253 had rapid success and numerous imitators. The resumption of the striking of gold coins by several cities and

governments meant a return to bimetallicism, but variations in the values of bullion content caused constant problems in exchange and pricing. Manipulations in the content of precious metals in coins by rulers done for their own benefit also complicated the money market.

According to Scholastic theologians, money was the measure of the value of goods, as expressed clearly by Thomas AQUINAS. The popes maintained this position, recommending that rulers resort to changes in exceptional circumstances. The frequency of variations in the real values of money led Nicholas ORESME to expound the ideas of Gresham's later law: bad money drove out the good, which was hoarded, used for international payments, or even melted down by private individuals at the mint to exchange for many more pieces of "bad" money. All this hurt the possibilities of economic investment and growth. The later Middle Ages saw the increased use of fiduciary money, rather like checks, and additional efforts to increase the supply of gold from Africa.

*See also* COINAGE AND CURRENCY; ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; JUSTICE; TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**Further reading:** S. M. H. Bozorgnia, *The Role of Precious Metals in European Economic Development: From Roman Times to the Eve of the Industrial Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998); N. J. Mayhew and Peter Spufford, eds., "Later Medieval Mints: Organisation, Administration and Techniques" (The Eighth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History) (Oxford: B. A. R., 1988); Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986); Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

**Mongols and the Mongol Empire** The Mongols were originally nomads living in the upper Orkhon Valley by the Amur River. They achieved unity under JENGHIZ Khan and absorbed other peoples, one of whom, the TATARS, gave their name a group of Mongols known by that name in China and the West. Jenghiz Khan campaigned throughout central Asia and into IRAN and northern China. His son, Ogodai (r. 1229–41), completed that conquest, overran the CUMANS and RUŚ, and sent west an army that devastated much of POLAND and HUNGARY. Guyuk (r. 1246–48) invaded ANATOLIA and Georgia. Mongke (r. 1249–59) began the conquest of southern China, to be completed later by KUBLAI KHAN. Their brother, HULEGU, destroyed the caliphate of BAGHDAD and devastated much of SYRIA. The disputed succession to Mongke led to warfare that fractured the empire. In 1260 Mongols suffered a rare defeat at the Battle of AYN JALUT. They continued their raids, even to JERUSALEM, but were not able to expand into EGYPT. From 1335, Persia freed itself from the Mongols. In 1368 China drove the Mongols back onto the steppe.



## LIFE UNDER THE MONGOLS

After the massacres and destruction that generally accompanied these conquests, the Mongol Empire, though often divided against itself, had a basic structure that provided considerable security in the Mongol peace. MERCHANTS and missionaries from the West as well as Muslims used the routes protected by the Mongols to travel to India and China. The initial toleration of the first Mongols was favorable to the Christians. The khans of Persia converted to Islam in 1295, and in the 14th century those of the Golden Horde and Jagatai did likewise. The Mongol Empire facilitated contacts among civilizations, and travelers were able to gather geographical facts that had great influence on later European expansions.

See also BUKHARA; MARCO POLO; IL-KHANS; JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI; MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES, CHRISTIAN; SELJUK TURKS OF RUM; WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK.

**Further reading:** Ala al-Din Ata Malek Joveyni, 1226–1283, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, 2 vols., trans. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Arthur Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols and Other Pieces* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1963); Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan, eds., *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999); Robert Marshall, *Storm from the East: From Ghengis Khan to Khubilai Khan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1986).

**Monophysitism** Monophysitism was the doctrine on the one and single nature of Christ. Somewhat prompted by politics, it was part of the theological problem of expressing in linguistic terms the mystery of the unity of divinity and humanity in Christ. It stated that Christ had but one nature.

The Monophysites were those who opposed the terminological teachings of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451 of two natures and held an old formula of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA and were called Monophysites only in the seventh century. The monophysite understanding of Christ was that the divinity of Christ was the principle of this union and the humanity of Christ was absorbed into it. Cyril had used texts that circulated under the names of Athanasius and the popes Julius and Felix and believed that the Incarnation was not merely an apparent unity of divinity and humanity but a real and ontological, physical, or hypostatic union. The Byzantine emperors and the patriarchies of ROME, CONSTANTINOPLE, and ANTIOCH all took part in the disputes that lasted for a century or more. After 518, under the emperors Justin (r. 518–527) and JUSTINIAN, a reaffirmation of the Chalcedonian ideas took place, and opponents of that council's definition were persecuted.

See also CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY; COPTS AND COPTIC ART.

**Further reading:** R. C. Chestnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); William H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Robert V. Sellers, *Two Ancient Christologies: A Study in the Christological Thought of the Schools of Alexandria and Antioch in the Early History of Christian Doctrine* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1954); William A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (New York: AMS Press, 1978).

**Monreale (royal mountain)** The BENEDICTINE monastery of Monreale was founded in 1174 by King WILLIAM II of SICILY, inspired by a dream, to be the burial church of the Hauteville family. Monreale is situated a few kilometers or miles from PALERMO, at the end of a valley called the Conca d'Oro. Its function was political. Its foundation allowed the prince to escape the domain of the bishop of



The Romanesque and ornamental bronze “Door of Paradise” by Bonanno Pisano in 1186 from the Cathedral of Monreale near Palermo in Sicily (Courtesy Edward English)

Palermo. The king supported his foundation by the incomes from the fortified mountain towns of Lato, Calatrasi, and Corleone, overwhelmingly populated with Muslims after the anti-Muslim pogroms of 1160–61. FREDERICK II quelled rebellions there between 1222 and 1224, and these Muslims were deported to Lucera in APULIA. The lands of this bishopric then had to be repopulated.

Although the monastery of Monreale was no longer connected with the ruling dynasty after the mid-13th century, it remained one of the richest dioceses in southern ITALY. Built within a few years and completed in 1189, the church was framed by towers and fortifications, entered by impressive doors, with a marvelous CLOISTER with cosmatesque columns and sculpted capitals. A palace was directly connected to the apse. The church was built on the plan of a basilica reproducing aspects of the royal Palatine chapel in Palermo. It had tall columns and arches supporting a roof, with marble plaques and MOSAICS in the BYZANTINE style. A costly endeavor, Monreale was a church founded to be directly subject to the will of a monarchy.

**Further reading:** Ernst Kitzinger, *Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1960); Wolfgang Krönig, *The Cathedral of Monreale and Norman Architecture in Sicily* (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1965); Roberto Salvini, *The Cloister of Monreale and Romanesque Sculpture in Sicily*, trans. Laura Valdes and Rose George (1962; reprint, Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1964).

**Monte Cassino, Monastery of** According to the hagiographical account in GREGORY I THE GREAT'S *Dialogues*, Saint BENEDICT left Subiaco and settled in the 520s on this mountaintop between ROME and NAPLES once occupied by a pagan temple. He wrote his rule for this monastery. The first establishment was destroyed by the LOMBARDS in about 570. Around 718, at the request of Pope Gregory II (r. 715–731), the monastery was refounded by the duke of Benevento. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the abbey received numerous properties in southern ITALY. The Carolingians imposed their rule on the empire and granted the monastery properties in Frankish Italy. The monastery remained subject only to the pope.

In 883, Muslim raiders burned the monastery, which was then abandoned again for more than half a century. In 949, Abbot Baldwin, a disciple of Odo of Cluny (ca. 879–942), restored the old abbey. Monte Cassino then concentrated on building a compact lordship around the monastery.

Monte Cassino's golden age was the late 11th and early 12th centuries as the mother church of the BENEDICTINE ORDER. The abbey provided three popes, Stephen IX (r. 1057–58), Victor III (r. 1087), and Gelasius II (r. 1118–19), as well as cardinals and bishops. Abbot

DESIDERIUS totally rebuilt the abbey, and Abbot Oderisius (1087–1105) made it a great intellectual center with a famous library and SCRIPTORIUM. In 1239, FREDERICK II installed a garrison there. The abbots Bernard Ayglie (1263–82) and Thomas (1285–88) were able to revive the prosperity of the temporal properties. In 1322, JOHN XXII elevated the monastery to a bishopric, but it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1349. In 1369, Pope Urban V (r. 1362–70) asked all Benedictine monasteries for contributions to help rebuild Monte Cassino and invited monks from all over Europe to move there. It has survived today.

*See also* CONSTANTINE THE AFRICAN.

**Further reading:** Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); G. A. Loud, *Montecassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages: Essays in South Italian Church History* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2000).

**Montefeltro, Federico da** *See* FEDERICO DA MONTEFELTRO.

**Montpellier** The town of Montpellier appeared first in an act of donation in 985, but it was probably not much of an urban center then. By the late 11th century, it was a town under the seigniorial family of Guilhem. In December 1090 he submitted to the bishop and became the lord of Montpellier.

In the first half of the 12th century, a town wall was built, followed in the late 12th and early 13th centuries by another. In 1180 a certain Guy de Montpellier founded the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit. The Guilhem family now had to govern with an urban class of lawyers, notaries, and members of 72 guilds.

An Aragonese phase of Montpellier's history began with the marriage of Marie, daughter of Guilhem VIII, to King Peter II (r. 1196–1213) of ARAGON. This produced a written constitution of the customs of Montpellier. King JAMES I of Aragon, having weakened the influence of the bishop of Maguelone, here established a joint rule with the town that was mutually profitable. The period ended in 1349 with the sale of Montpellier for 120,000 crowns to the French king, Philip VI (r. 1328–50). It had 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants in about 1340 before the Black Death. Its merchants worked all over the Mediterranean and at the Champagne FAIRS. It also possessed a university that was famous for its law and medical schools.

By then the capital of the kingdom of Majorca, Montpellier did not escape the demographic and economic calamities of the 14th century. During the crisis and despite the decline in its population, the town maintained considerable prosperity until the 16th century.

This was due to a TEXTILE industry, banking, commerce, and the important presence of Italian, Catalan, and German MERCHANTS.

See also CATHARS; LANGUEDOC; PROVENCE.

**Further reading:** Jean-Claude Hélas, "Montpellier," EMA 2.981–982; Kathryn Reyerson, *Business, Banking, and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985); Kathryn Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).

**Mont Saint-Michel** The famous Norman monastery of Mont Saint-Michel is at the summit of a granite mountainous island cut off from the main land by tides. The site is 3,000 feet around and 260 feet high. In 708, after a revelation to him by the archangel Michael, the bishop of Avranches founded an oratory on it with RELICS taken from Monte Sant' Angelo in Italy. In 966 the canons originally controlling the site were replaced by BENEDICTINE monks. From this period only a church of Notre Dame-sous-Terre has survived. It became subterranean when it was incorporated into the lower infrastructure of the later ROMANESQUE churches.

Abbot Hildebert began to build a new abbey church in 1023. This building required the creation of the upper platform with chapels on the sides and a CRYPT. On the north aisle of the church were added an almonry, a monks' walk, a refectory, and a kitchen with an infirmary, the usual components of a Benedictine monastery. In 1103 the north side of the nave collapsed. Lightning caused a new disaster in 1112. All that remained of this early building campaign were the southern bays of the nave built between about 1060 and 1080. A miniature illumination in 15th-century *Très riches heures du duc de Berry* showed a church with a rounded choir surrounded by an ambulatory with one axial chapel. The central tower was rebuilt several times; the present spire is from the modern period. A few monastic buildings from the Romanesque period have survived.

In 1204 a fire started in the town below by Bretons reached the abbey and destroyed several structures. Another rebuilding program in the Gothic style was begun and was finished by 1228. New walls were added during the 15th century for protection during the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. It was later a prison in the 19th century and massively restored between 1872 and 1922.

**Further reading:** Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962); J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel, 966–1100* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Edward Francis Hunt, *The Architecture of Mont-St-Michel (1203–1228)* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1928); Jacques Thiébaud "Mont Saint Michel," EMA, 2.982–984.

**morality plays** Most of the surviving medieval drama in English and French consists of MYSTERY PLAYS. There is also a small group of anonymous allegorical dramas, from the 15th and early 16th centuries, that were known collectively as moralities. Some of these, such as mummings and the later interludes, were apparently intended for outdoor performance, in the great hall of a palace, CASTLE, mansion, inn yard, religious house, or institution such as a college. Among the plays in English were *The King of Life (Pride of Life)*; *The Castle of Perseverance* (ca. 1425), for which there survived, uniquely, a 15th-century staging plan, indicating an outdoor performance; *Mankind*; *Wisdom*; *EVERYMAN*; *Mundus and Infans*; *Hickscorner*; and *Youth*.

While mystery plays treated human life in terms of a Christian scheme of SALVATION, from Creation to the LAST JUDGMENT, morality plays were single compositions, dramatizing the psychological combat between good and evil for mastery over a soul. They dealt with humanity and the passage from innocence through experience to Redemption by GRACE. Free will and a fallen appetite led to SIN, from which only repentance could give relief.

Such plays can be seen as "popular" manifestations promoting the sacrament of penance. Some were written by members of the CLERGY deploying the theological knowledge and confessional experience of their fellows. These plays had close links with SERMONS. With their emphasis on the need for confession, they had strong affinities with the message and activities of the friars.

**Further reading:** Peter Happé, ed., *Four Morality Plays* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979); Dorothy H. Brown, *Christian Humanism in the Late English Morality Plays* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); Clifford Davidson, *Visualizing the Moral Life: Medieval Iconography and the Macro Morality Plays* (New York: AMS Press, 1989); Robert A. Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origins, History, and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1975).

**Moravia (Morava)** The eastern province of the present Czech Republic, Moravia was named after the river Morava, a tributary of the Danube. Often tied to BOHEMIA, Moravia has its own history. A SLAV population lived on the territory of Moravia from the mid-sixth century. From the ninth century, Moravian was linked with BOHEMIA to its west. Among local princes, Mojmir I (r. 830–846) won control of western Slovakia, creating a Great Moravia. A successor, Rostislav (r. 846–870), beat back the assaults of the Carolingians. Christianity first arrived in Moravia in the early ninth century through BAVARIA, but, wary of the FRANKS, Rostislav preferred to ask the BYZANTINES to

send missionaries. CYRIL and Methodios arrived in Moravia about 863.

#### GREAT MORAVIA AND BOHEMIA

Great Moravia reached its high point of power and influence under Borivoj, or Svatopluk (870–894), who ruled Bohemia, parts of POLAND, Silesia, PANNONIA, and part of Saxony. The decline of this state began at the end of the ninth century with discord among his successors and tensions between the adherents of the liturgy in Slavonic and those in favor of the Latin rite. In 906, the army of Moravia was defeated by the Magyars and the state collapsed.

Around 955, the Bohemian Boleslav I annexed Moravia but it was conquered again in 1003 by BOLESLAV THE GREAT (r. 992–1025) of Poland, was only taken by Bohemia in 1019–20. Bretislav I (r. 1034–55) strengthened Moravia's ties with Bohemia, built royal strongholds, and created a centralized administration. The knights who had come to Moravia with Bretislav acquired official positions and supported themselves by property holdings there, forming a new Moravian nobility.

#### THE PREMYSL DYNASTY AND SOCIETY

In the 12th century, a series of conflicts broke out between the royal court at PRAGUE and the Moravian Premyslids. Two Moravian Premysls gained power at Bohemia, Svato-pluk (r. 1107–09) and Conrad II Otto (r. 1189–91). A title, margrave of Moravia, was created at the end of the 12th century. By about 1200, the Moravian Premysls had died out. From the time of Premysl Ottokar II (1253–78), the king of Bohemia was also the margrave of Moravia.

In the 13th century the Moravian barons controlled the local administration and soon claimed more political power. From the 1220s, through the rest of century, towns were founded by the king. German immigrants colonized the countryside and populated new remote areas at higher altitudes. Apart from frequent skirmishing on the frontiers with AUSTRIA and HUNGARY, the only serious warfare occurred during the invasion of the MONGOLS in 1241 and during the years of dynastic conflict after the death of Premysl Ottokar II in 1278.

When the Premysl dynasty died out in 1306, the throne of Bohemia and margravate of Moravia passed to John of Luxembourg (r. 1310–46), son of the German Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VII (r. 1313). In 1334, John gave the margravete to his son, the future king of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor CHARLES IV. In an act as the Holy Roman Emperor on April 7, 1348, Charles made Moravia part of the kingdom of Bohemia and part of the lands of its Crown.

#### LATER MEDIEVAL CONFLICTS

By 1349, Charles IV was heavily involved in trying to govern the empire, so he delegated Moravia to a younger

brother, John Henry (d. 1375). The region's political and economic life deteriorated under his successor, Jošt (d. 1411), as part of the conflict with Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia (1378–1419), and his younger brother, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1432), king of Hungary. Rival factions of the nobility threatened to take over Moravia and internal social and religious conflicts increased.

Ideas for the reform of the church were expressed in Bohemia from the early 15th, centered on John HUS. His ideas reached Moravia, but the populace remained faithful to Sigismund and the church, as a result of the decisive stance of the great royal towns dominated by Germans. Moravia was soon transformed into an imperial military staging area for attacks against Hussite Bohemia. The Bohemian king, George of Podebrady (r. 1458–71), tried to keep Moravia linked to Bohemia. Another crusade against "heretical" Bohemia and the ensuing war with Hungary made this difficult. Matthias CORVINUS, the king of Hungary (1458–90), occupied a large part of Moravia in 1469 and was elected king of Bohemia by the nobility. After this Moravia remained detached from Bohemia until the 16th century when it became linked with the Austrians HABSBURGS.

**Further reading:** Francis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 2d ed. (Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1974); Imre Boba, *Moravia's History Reconsidered: A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971); Ján Dekan, *Moravia Magna: The Great Moravian Empire, Its Art and Times*, trans. Heather Trebatická (Bratislava: Tatran, 1980); Josef Žemlička, "Moravia," EMA 2.985–986.

**Morea, Chronicle of, and despot of** The four versions of the *Chronicle of Morea* are the most important sources for the history of the principalities of Achaia and Morea between 1204 and 1430. The despotate of Morea was a Frankish and later a Byzantine principality in the Peloponnese in Greece. It was conquered by the Frankish crusaders in 1204/05. Geoffroi of VILLEHARDOUIN took over the province and established a princely dynasty based on feudal ties bolstered with Western concepts of nobility and CHIVALRY, but all supported by a traditional Byzantine system of landholding. In the mid-13th century a restored Byzantine Empire attacked the principality and forced it to surrender the castle of MISTRA and parts of the Peloponnese. Much of the rest of the Morea fell under the influence of CHARLES I OF ANJOU, king of SICILY. Soon marriages between the last of the Villehardouin line and the Angevins of NAPLES led to the establishment of a Neapolitan colony. In the 14th century VENICE acquired large parts of the Morea and became the dominant power in the principality. However, companies of Catalan mercenary soldiers conquered other portions

of the province in 1383. So at the beginning of the 15th century, the Morea was divided into Neapolitan, Venetian, and Catalan Company states or colonies. In 1430 the Byzantine governors of MISTRA managed to conquer all of the Morea; but in 1460 it fell to the Ottomans.

**Further reading:** Harold E. Lurier, ed. and trans., *crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1972); James R. R. Rennell, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, A Study of Greece in the Middle Ages* (London: E. Arnold, 1907).

**Moriscos** See FERDINAND II (V); GRANADA; ISABEL I.

**Morocco (Maghreb, the west)** Morocco, also referred to as the far Maghrib or al-Maghrib, was a region and is a country in northwestern Africa. Under the Romans Morocco was part of the province of Mauritania. Roman culture and influence were superficial only affecting the Mediterranean coast. The interior of the country was inhabited by BERBER tribes who did not recognize any authority. The VANDAL conquest of 429 did not affect this situation, which persisted during the Byzantine reconquest between 534 and 680. The ARAB conquest, begun in 680 but completed only in 790 because of the fierce resistance from the Berbers, caused real changes in local societies and political structures. Berber revolts continued to be frequent and the Umayyads found the complete Islamization of the region a difficult undertaking.

#### BERBERS, FEZ, ISLAMIZATION

A local revolt in 740 became a general uprising against the distant caliphate. A caliphal army sent to destroy the rebels was defeated in 742. Berber religious feelings found expression among KHARIJITES, Islamic dissidents. A Berber principality was established by the Banu-Madrar family between 771 and 958 and was based on those doctrines. Orthodox Islam gained ground under the leadership of the IDRISID dynasty (789–985). About 790 Idris I (r. 789–793) founded his capital the city of FEZ and accepted the distant sovereignty of the ABBASID caliphs at BAGHDAD. They enjoyed considerable independence. A more complete Islamization was achieved in the 10th century and the region enjoyed economic prosperity from the GOLD trade passing from the south to Europe.

#### DYNASTIC FLUCTUATION

During the 10th century the Spanish Umayyads and the FATIMIDS fought for control, creating chaos by 985. The ultimate victors were the ALMORAVIDS, who conquered Morocco at the end of the 10th century. Berbers were pushed back into the mountains and urban dwellers accepted the orthodox Islamic beliefs of the Almoravids.

Fez and MARRAKECH became regional places of worship and centers of learning characterized by impressive architecture.

In 1243 the Almoravids were defeated by a rival dynasty, the ALMOHADS, whose empire was centered in Algeria. But by the end of the 13th century the Almohads had shifted their center to Morocco. The later Marinid line of the Almohads was defeated in Tunisia in 1348 and lost power to the Wattasids, though they retained the royal title until 1415. The Wattasids, the last Moroccan dynasty of the Middle Ages, ruled the region from 1472; but with the rising power of PORTUGAL and SPAIN along the coasts, the Wattasids were driven into the interior.

**Further reading:** G. S. Colin, G. Yver, and E. Levi-Provençal, “Al-Maghrib” and “Al-Maghrib, al-Mamlaka, al-Maghribiyya, Morocco,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 5.1, 183–1,209; Said Ennahid, *Political Economy and Settlement Systems of Medieval Northern Morocco: An Archaeological–Historical Approach* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002); Thomas Kerlin Park, *Historical Dictionary of Morocco* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Maya Shatzmiller, *The Berbers and the Islamic State: The Marinid Experience in Pre-Protectorate Morocco* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000); Henri Terrasse, *History of Morocco*, trans. Hilary Tee (Casablanca: Éditions Atlantides, 1952).

**mortmain (dead hand)** Mortmain was for SERFS the incapacity to perform any legal act. It also referred to the properties that had passed into the hands of the church and were henceforth inalienable. In other words, such property fell under the dead hand of the church. The term was based on the Latin words *manus* or “possession of power” and *mortua* in the sense of “rigid and death-like stiffness.”

Those burdened by the status of serfdom initially could not dispose of any patrimony they might acquire or earn. They could neither pledge themselves personally nor buy property or movable goods. These handicaps of tenure or serfdom changed over the course of the Middle Ages as the terms of servitude began to be negotiated more often in the favor of agricultural workers because of a tighter labor supply or more general economic conditions unfavorable to the exploitative powers of landlords.

In terms of the property of the church, any rights or properties acquired became problematic for the state in terms of taxation and the collection of other kinds of obligations tied to them. Secular powers tried over the course of the Middle Ages to reduce these limitations as more and more properties fell into the hands of the church and out of the fiscal control of the Crown and the LAITY.

See also MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; PEASANTRY; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; TAXATION, TAXES, AND TRIBUTE.

**Further reading:** Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), 164–192; Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

**mosaic** The art of mosaic began as the laying of luxurious pavements made of pebbles. It can be made of tiles or tesserae of stone, terra-cotta or glass set in a bed of lime or gypsum. This was soon transferred to wall and ceiling decoration. On walls there were two layers, one attached to the walls and one on which artists laid out their designs. Because the use of mosaic was slow and expensive, it became a luxury and was gradually restricted to places of worship and particularly to privileged and prominent areas such as choirs, transepts, or CRYPTS. During the ROMANESQUE period glazed tiles, pieces of marble, and ALABASTER came into use as mosaic media. The best examples of mosaic work can be found in Italy at RAVENNA, VENICE, PALERMO, and ROME and in the BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE.

**Further reading:** Hans Belting, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1978); Eve Borsook, Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, and Giovanni Pagliarulo, eds., *Medieval Mosaics: Light, Color, Materials* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2000); Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1949); Otto Demus, *The Mosaic Decoration of San Marco, Venice*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

**Moscow (Moskva)** Moscow got its name from the river along whose banks it evolved, the Moskova, a tributary of the Oka, that linked the town to the Volga River basin. Occupied from the seventh century, it is mentioned in sources from 1147 onward. A long-time stronghold of the princes of Rostov and then of Vladimir, in 1263 it became the capital of a growing principality, when Alexander NEVSKY left it to his younger son, Daniel (d. 1304). Daniel's sons began a struggle for power in north-east Russia and benefited from the support of the Golden Horde, the MONGOLS and the Orthodox Church. Peter, the metropolitan, established his residence to Moscow in 1326, but only under IVAN III (1462–1505) that Moscow became the capital of a Russian state.

The core of the city was the fortress or the KREMLIN situated in a triangle of land formed by the Moskova and Neglinnaya Rivers. Around the kremlin, villages and

suburbs developed, along with small CASTLES, and monasteries. The first cathedral of the Assumption (1326–27) and a second that collapsed in 1472–74 were replaced by the present church in 1475. A palace was built between 1487 and 1491, and the area was enclosed by walls between 1385 and 1516. To these buildings were added the church of the Deposition of the Virgin's Robe (1484–86), a private chapel for the metropolitans, the collegiate church of the Annunciation (1484–89), and a prince's chapel.

See also DIMITRI OF THE DON, GRAND DUKE.

**Further reading:** Robert O. Crummey, *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304–1613* (New York: Longman, 1987); J. H. Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983); John L. I. Fennell, *The Emergence of Moscow, 1304–1359* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987); Arthur Voyce, *The Art and Architecture of Medieval Russia* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

**mosque (masjid, place where one prostrates oneself in worship)** The term, as used in the QURAN, referred to the pre-Islamic places of prayer or sanctuaries at MECCA, the KABA, or at JERUSALEM. After his flight to MEDINA in 622, Muhammad built a wall of bricks around a rectangular court that was open to the sky. It was flanked by apartments for the Prophet's wives. So the first mosque was a home, a political and military headquarters of the Prophet, and a place of worship for Muslims.

Muslims built or expropriated a building for a great mosque in each town they took during the early conquests. There were to be a great Friday mosque, one per town, and more scattered and lesser ones for daily PRAYER. These great mosques were central to a Muslim town and were close to the seat of local government. Soon funerary mosques were added, containing the TOMB of a member of the Prophet's family, or a companion, or a saint, near the Friday mosques.

The mosque in medieval Islam usually had a MINARET, a mihrab or niche designating the direction of MECCA for prayer, a MINBAR or pulpit for Friday preaching, and a central court surrounded by rooms for teaching, administration of justice, accommodation for travelers, and places for worship, daily life, and study. The later rooms became the meeting places for Sufi CONFRATERNITIES.

#### GREAT MOSQUES

The great mosques of medieval Islam were, under the Umayyads, the Great Mosque of DAMASCUS and, under the Abbasids, the ninth-century mosque of Samarra,



Mosque of Sultan Darkhour, Cairo, 1860–90 (Courtesy Library of Congress)

near BAGHDAD, which has a spiral minaret and a capacity of 100,000 faithful. In the 10th and 11th centuries, the FATIMIDS introduced corner domes of the *qibla* hall into mosques in EGYPT, while farther east the GHAZNAWIDS built brick minarets decorated with KUFIC letters. In AL-ANDALUS, the Great Mosque of CORDOBA was begun in 786. This Iberian style was repeated under the ALMOHADS in the Kutubiya mosque at MARRAKECH in the 12th century. The SELJUKS in ANATOLIA added domes and vaulted halls with an open side. The architectural details of mosques in different areas of ISLAM were often dependent on local building traditions and available materials.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC.

**Further reading:** Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan, eds., *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 31–128; R. Nath, *Mosque Architec-*

*ture: From Medina to Hindustan, 622–1654 A.D.* (Jaipur: Historical Research Documentation Programme, 1994); Johannes Pedersen, “Masdjid,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1930), 3.314–376.

**Mosul (al-Mawsil)** Mosul is a city in northern IRAQ founded by the Persian Sassanians on a bank of the upper Tigris River, avoiding the Syrian desert and controlling the principal commercial route between IRAN and SYRIA. By the Arab conquest in 641, it had become one of the most important Christian and Byzantine strongholds in this frontier region. After the conquest, many Arabs and their families settled in this strategic and commercial center. In the eighth century the city became important town for TEXTILE production, especially for its famous muslin cloth, much sought after throughout the caliphate and western Europe. In the 10th century local dynasties ruled Mosul under the authority of the ABBASID caliphs in BAGHDAD. In 1095

the SELJUK TURKS conquered the city. Zangi (r. 1127–46) proclaimed his independence in Mosul from the Seljuks in 1127. He established a Turkish principality that became one of the launching places for attacks against the crusader states. When it was part of the Zangid and then the AYYUBID states, Mosul prospered in the 12th and 13th centuries until it was destroyed by the MONGOLS under HULEGU in 1258. Although rebuilt, it remained a poor and struggling provincial town in the 14th and 15th centuries and remain initially so under the OTTOMAN TURKS.

See also ALEPPO; ANTIOCH.

**Further reading:** Douglas Patton, *Badr al-Din Lulu: Atabeg of Mosul, 1211–1259* (Seattle: Distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1991); Chase F. Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

**motet** Popular from the mid-13th century, a motet was a piece of unaccompanied polyphonic MUSIC sung to a Latin liturgical text. For two voices with both sung in a Gregorian melody, the motet included a second voice singing a slightly different parallel text in the same melody than that sung by the first voice. The words of the texts were of primary importance.

Motets rapidly grew more complicated with the addition of voices and texts. Some became linguistically mixed. In most a bass sang the text in Latin, while other voices sang in the vernacular. By the 15th century, the motet had become polyphonic, but the words were either exclusively Latin or exclusively vernacular. Authors composed motets for the Mass and were mainly concerned with introducing into choral music feelings and ideas expressed by words and images. In the MASS, motets were sung at the offertory and after the singing of an ANTIPHON. In about 1320 Philip of Vitry (1290–1361) wrote the *Art of Composing of Motets* that influenced their composition for centuries. The Renaissance style of motet of Josquin des Prez (ca. 1440–1521) prevailed between 1480 and 1520.

See also MACHAUT, GUILLAUME DE.

**Further reading:** Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997); Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe de Vitry and His Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1989); Robyn E. Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets in the Montpellier Manuscript: Textual Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997).

**Mozarabs** Mozarabs were Christians who remained in the territories of the Iberian Peninsula that fell to ISLAM after the conquest of 711. By the 12th century and with the recapture of TOLEDO, Castilian royal authorities applied this term to their Christian minority. It is not clear how well they had been absorbed into tolerant Islamic states or their reactions to the northern Christian RECONQUEST.

The rapid conquest and the occupation of the peninsula had introduced no more than 100,000 Arab or Berber migrants, who were greatly outnumbered by several million Christian inhabitants. The conquered Christians enjoyed the rights that Islam accorded to people of the Book as DHIMMI. This meant freedom of worship in exchange for a tribute from which Muslims were exempt. They had their own count, and officials who regulated the community's internal conflicts, maintained order, and raised taxes for the Muslim rulers. The Mozarabic Christian Church continued to exist and had a functioning episcopal hierarchy under Islam.

In the midninth century, some 50 fanatical monks and nuns provocatively requested martyrdom by publicly asserting their apostatizing from Islam; the Muslims reluctantly martyred them. During this period of decreasing toleration there was a large migration toward the Christian areas in the north and rebellions by those desiring to return to their Christian identity. After these revolts were put down, Islamization progressed rapidly, and many Mozarabs served Muslim princes as mercenary soldiers and tax collectors.

In the course of the Reconquest in the 11th century, the victorious Christian princes moved populations around while the ALMOHADS expelled all infidels from their territories. The Mozarabs were progressively integrated back into Christian society as the Reconquest moved slowly southward to its ultimate success at the capture of GRANADA in 1492.

**Further reading:** Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, ca. 1050–1200* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); W. C. Bishop, *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites: Four Essays in Comparative Liturgiology* (Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1924); Mireille Mentré, *Illuminated Manuscripts of Medieval Spain* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996).

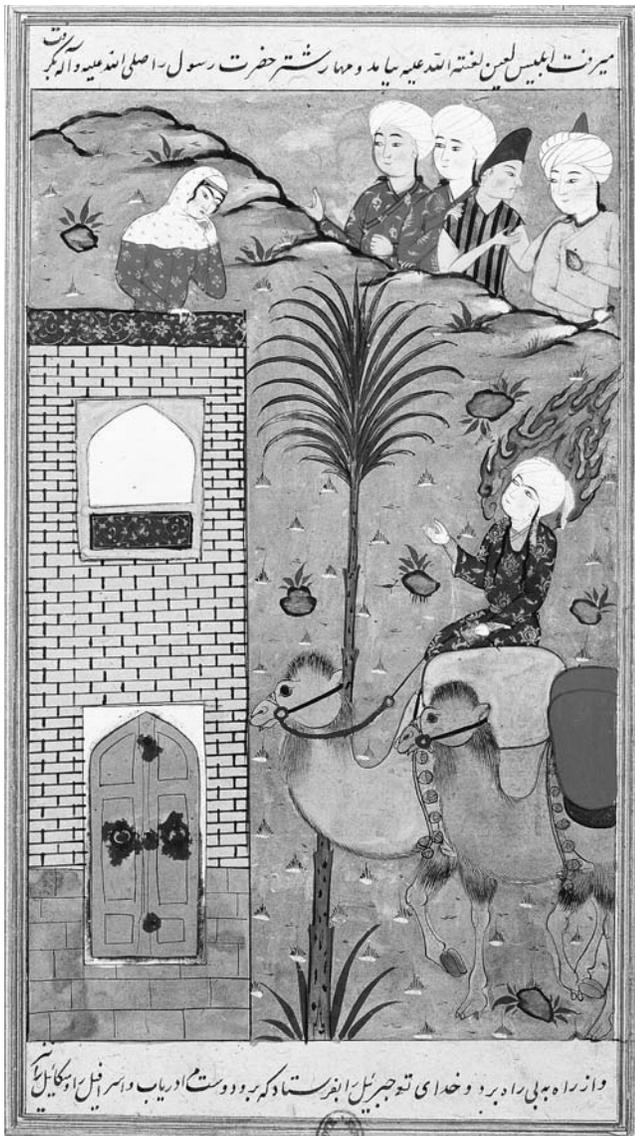
**Mudejar** The Spanish term *mudéjar* and in the plural *mudéjares* designated the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula who remained in territory retaken by the advancing Christians. The word was only adopted in Castilian immediately before and during the war of GRANADA around 1492. Before that, the Mudejares were called Moors and SARACENS. After 1520 the Muslims who chose to remain, or had no choice but to remain, on the Iberian Peninsula had to accept baptism and were no longer called Mudejares but Moriscos. The Christian majority ceased to recognize the

Mudejares' right to toleration or even existence. This was enforced by the Spanish Inquisition.

**Further reading:** L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Georgiana Goddard King, *Mudéjar* (London: Longmans, Green, 1927); François-Auguste de Montéquin, *Compendium of Hispano-Islamic Art and Architecture* (Saint Paul: Minn.: Hamline University, 1976).

### Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Abd al-Muttalib (Mohammad) (571–632) founder of Islam, prophet

Muhammad was the son of Abd Allah, son of Abd al-Muttalib of the Hashemite clan. He was a member of the Quraysh tribe, who controlled the town of MECCA in the



Muhammad, on his camel, bidding farewell to his fiancée. Persian miniature, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Snark / Art Resource*)

early 7th century. They had settled there about 150 years before. Most of what we know of Muhammad is from a sacred tradition whose oldest writings belong to the period of the ABBASID Caliphate of BAGHDAD. Some Quranic passages relate to him and even name him during his prophetic period at Mecca and MEDINA.

### EXTANT BIOGRAPHY

A biography of his whole life is not really possible. According to tradition as a young man he had the traits of an ideal prophetic figure as awaited prophet, such as a quasi-miraculous birth, a purification by angels during childhood, and as a boy recognition as a prophet by a Christian monk. Muhammad was said to have been an orphan from birth. He belonged to a clan who had fallen on hard times and were living off the exploitation of seasonal pagan pilgrims. More powerful rival clans were engaged in the trans-Arabian caravan trade. The poor future Prophet first married a wealthy patroness, Khadija, a widow much older than he, in 595. He would also be a man without a surviving son.

### REVELATION

A divine revelation took him by surprise around 610. He received his message on Mount Hira from the angel Gabriel and later recorded and compiled it into the QURAN. He always placed himself in the tradition of early prophets such as Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. However, he had explicitly received what was to be the final and comprehensive message from GOD, or Allah. This message was to be the culmination of all previous revelations, and his teachings were the final message. Among the earliest aspects of this revelation, there was an appeal to reform and to return to the traditional values of tribal society. It also, and most importantly, involved an absolute belief in a single god. Muhammad was rejected and rebuked by his own tribe as it violently refused to believe the message of the inspired Muhammad. Accused of betraying the ancestors of the tribe, he was expelled it around 619.

### HEJIRA

In 622 he fled to Medina with his followers, to a clan to whom he was related: This flight is AL-HIJR (the hejira). He then entered politics. Over the next 10 years, Muhammad received recognition for his message because of successful raids, seemingly divinely favored, against Meccan caravans, nomads, and those of other hostile cities. The city of Mecca finally surrendered to him and his message, almost without a fight, in 630. He won a battle that same year at Hunayn against the great nomad tribes of western Arabia. He then imposed conversion to ISLAM as a condition for any alliance with Medina. PAGANISM was banned and new laws reflecting his message were established. He also stressed that humanity was one family under God. This emphasis a strong exerted check on the earlier and common tribal rivalries and WARFARE. Before

that, political goals seemed always to have preceded religious motives. Just before his death in 632, Muhammad attempted to launch raids on the Byzantines to the north. His successors continued this policy and made great conquests.

**Further reading:** Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham, *The Life of Muhammad*, trans. Alfred Guillaume (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1955); Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1992); F. E. Peters, *Mecca: A Literary History of the Muslim Holy Land* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Maxime Rodinson, *Muhammad*, trans. Anne Carter, 2d ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1996); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

**Murad I (Muhammad I)** (1319–1389) *Ottoman sultan*  
Murad I began the OTTOMAN expansion in the Balkan Peninsula, achieving spectacular results. In 1360 or 1362 he invaded Thrace and conquered ADRIANOPLE, making it the Ottoman capital. The Byzantine emperor, John V Palaeologos (1332–91), was compelled to pay him tribute, which Murad used to expand his army. In 1371, Murad continued his advance into the Balkans and defeated a coalition of forces from SERBIA and BULGARIA. In 1385 he conquered SOFIA and forced the Bulgarians into vassalage. As the Ottoman advance into the Balkans slowed, Murad turned back to ANATOLIA, where he attacked the SELJUK principalities in central Anatolia. In 1388 he returned to Europe and defeated another Serbian coalition at KOSOVO on June 15, 1389. He was assassinated by a Serb eight days later or was killed on the battlefield.

**Further reading:** Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (1973; reprint, London: Phoenix Press, 1988); Halil Inalcik, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993).

**Murad II** (r. 1421–1444, 1446–1451) *successful soldier, Ottoman sultan*

He succeeded his father, Mehmed I (r. 1413–21), as sultan of the OTTOMAN TURKS in 1421. By 1425 he had forced CONSTANTINOPLE to return to paying an annual tribute again. In 1430 as part of a campaign in the Balkans he seized THESSALONIKI, which the Byzantines had sold to VENICE in 1423. Three years after this triumph Murad married a Serbian princess to consolidate his European conquests. The progress into the Balkans was halted in 1443 by a Hungarian counteroffensive led by John HUNYADI. Murad, however, stopped this Christian advance with a crushing victory at Varna in 1444. He retired and temporarily left political affairs to his

son, MEHMED II, whose first sultanate between 1444 and 1446 ended in chaos; Murad resumed control. When the Hungarians under Hunyadi launched a new offensive, he inflicted an overwhelming defeat on them at the second Battle of KOSOVO in October 1448. Murad died on February 3, 1451, at ADRIANOPLE. His victories laid the basis for future Ottoman conquest, especially the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by his son, Mehmed II.

**Further reading:** John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus 1391–1425: A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969); Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (1973; reprint, London: Phoenix Press, 1988).

**music (musiki, musika)** In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, music was oral and a metrical SCIENCE of numbers concerned with the proportions that regulate sounds among themselves. Its growth in sophistication was heavily tied to the liturgical needs and development of the church, both Western and Eastern. Among the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS taught first in monasteries and then at universities, it belonged to the *quadrivium*, a group also comprising arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, not to the *trivium* (grammar, RHETORIC, and dialectic). Within the *quadrivium*, music was preceded by arithmetic, which made music comprehensible. This correlation continued well into the 18th century.

In the early Middle Ages, secular and religious music was monophonic and oral. The earliest surviving manuscripts with musical notes date from the second half of the ninth century. During the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE, a need to unify diverse peoples with diverse religious practices was recognized. They sought to impose a more standardized or the Roman rite on liturgical music. Monks needed clues to learn melodies, so notation was added above the text as an aid to memory. These systems of notation indicated pitch and rhythm and further evolved by the 11th century.

For the liturgy of the OFFICE and the MASS, the musical script was that of plainchant. This was a melody that followed the rhythm of the liturgical text and did not use proportional division of lengths, a genre that appeared in the 13th century. Two new kinds of music appeared in the ninth century, both magnifying and elaborating plainchant: polyphony and tropes. Polyphony added to the melodic line one or more extra voices that formed consonances or dissonances with a principal voice. Tropes added text under words, forming a sort of commentary or gloss. Throughout the church consistently placed the greatest emphasis on the text, not on the way it was performed. Music was meant to witness and emphasize the word of GOD. There is little surviving evidence of secular music, which was clearly very commonly sung and enjoyed.

See also ANTIPHONS; ARS ANTIQUA AND ARS NOVA; GOLIARDIC POETS; GREGORIAN CHANT; HYMNS, HYMNALS, AND HYMNOLOGY; MACHAUT, GUILLAUME DE; MOTETS; POLYPHONY; TROUBADOURS.

**Further reading:** See the numerous detailed articles on "Music" "Musical Notation," and "Musical Treatises" in the DMA 8.550–649 and several others in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999) 4.200–268; Richard Crocker and David Hiley, eds., *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Gareth Curtis, "Music," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 319–333; Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds., *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music* (London: Dent, 1992); James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages, with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940); M. L. Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song, 1100–1400* (New York: Garland, 1995).

**mystery and miracle plays** Mystery and miracle plays were the common form of religious drama during the Middle Ages. Usually performed in front of churches, they were dramatic presentations of stories from the New Testament or were tied to specific liturgical feasts. The English VERNACULAR mystery or Corpus Christi plays were relatively late developments in the Middle Ages, belonging to the 15th century. More than 100 English cities and towns staged single pageants or consecutive cycles of five to 48 separate pageants. There are four major English cycles, those from YORK, Chester, Wakefield (Towneley), and the N-Town which was not tied to a particular town. Some cycles are closely related through parallel pageants, and borrowing seems to have taken place also.

#### STAGING

The staging of the civic cycles was in the hands of the GUILDS of MERCHANTS and craftsmen. These associations or CONFRATERNITIES of LAITY were known as mysteries, thence the name *mystery play*. The guilds took responsibility for the preparations for and entire staging of the plays, sometimes placing chief responsibility in the hands of one person. Each guild chose a subject that fitted its craft or calling and may sometimes have even commissioned a new composition. The various roles were regularly played in successive years by the same actors, sometimes from other towns. The written texts were sometimes checked against performance, revised, or even reassigned to different guilds. The cycles were played in the open, at set points in the city, either on pageants (*pagine*), consisting of roofed stages on wheels moved from point to point, or on fixed stages. Stage

machinery was used and costumes were worn, including masks, wigs, robes, crowns, a rib for the creation of Eve, skin-tight white leather suits for the naked Adam and Eve, and a close-fitting skin for the serpent in Eden.

#### THEMES

Presenting stories of the Old Testament and a culmination in the New, these plays usually emphasized the devil's temptations of Adam and Eve prefiguring his temptations of Christ, Noah's saving beings from the flood suggesting Christ as savior of humankind, and Abraham's sacrifice of his son, Isaac, foreshadowing the Crucifixion. Often stories from the recognized BIBLE were supplemented by others from familiar apocryphal New Testament books. The actors were usually male. The plays were written in rhymed verse reinforced by alliteration.

**Further reading:** Peter Happé, ed. and trans., *English Mystery Plays: A Selection* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1975); Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Richard P. Axton, *Medieval French Plays*, trans. Richard Axton and John Stevens (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1971).

**mysticism, Christian** In the Early Middle Ages *mysticism* vaguely designated contemplation on the mysteries of the faith. In the late Middle Ages, the term much more specifically meant direct union and knowledge of God through personal religious experiences. By the first half of the 12th century, BERNARD of Clairvaux and William of Saint-Thierry (d. 1148/49) saw the spiritual life as a search based on love for union with God.

#### WESTERN CHRISTIANITY

By the end of the 12th century, some clerics, and numerous laymen and laywomen, claimed to have had mystical experiences. These were prompted by intense meditation on the sufferings of Christ and ascetic exercises promoting detachment from earthly goods. These practices led to an interiorization of religious feeling, an ardent desire for God, and an intense devotion to the Eucharist. All this promoted a loving fusion or mystical union with God. Such mysticism was an individual experience, knowable only through the voice of the person feeling and experiencing it. Since priestly intermediation was not necessary, the church was suspicious of it and its practitioners. Clerical confessors tried to tame or control it. However, some of those claiming it or promoting its practice, such as Margaret PORETTE, were executed for heresy. In intellectual terms, it was not compatible with the rationalist efforts of SCHOLASTICISM to reconcile faith and reason.

#### EASTERN ORTHODOX

Byzantine mysticism was rooted in the ideas of ORIGEN and the experience of the early desert fathers and mothers, hermits following the models of John the Baptist and

Christ, who had abandoned civilization to contemplate God and salvation in the wilderness. ORIGEN and GREGORY of Nyssa encouraged meditation on the Scriptures. Its spiritual themes were about the earthly life as a passage from the visible to the invisible world, a passage on a ladder ascending to heaven during which God slowly revealed himself. Byzantine mysticism was in part related to spiritual combat against demons for knowledge and control of the human heart.

See also ANGELA OF FOLIGNO; BIRGITTA OF SWEDEN, SAINT; CATHERINE OF SIENA, SAINT; ECKHART, MEISTER; HADEWIJCH OF ANTWERP; HENRY SUSO; JOHN TAULER; KABBALA; MECHTHILD VON MAGDEBURG; RUYSBROECK, JAN VAN; SUFISM.

**Further reading:** Ray C. Petry, *Late Medieval Mysticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957); Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200–1350)* (New York: Crossroad, 1998); Elizabeth Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

**mysticism, Islamic** See RUMI; SUFISM.

**mysticism, Jewish** See KABBALA; NACHMANIDES, MOSES.

# N

**Nachmanides, Moses** (Nahmanides, Moshe ben Nachman, Ramban, Bonastrug da Porta) (ca. 1194–ca. 1270) *scholar, philosopher, exegete*

Ramban (an acronym of the name Rabbi Moses ben Nahman) was a member of a family of rabbis and scholars. Little is known of his early life except that he was born about 1194 and went to school in Gerona in CATALONIA. He was initiated into the KABBALA; studied Christian THEOLOGY, the sciences, and MEDICINE; and was an opponent of MAIMONIDES and the rationalist integration and reconciliation of PHILOSOPHY into theological thought.

In July 1263, given full freedom of speech, he defended JUDAISM at BARCELONA before King JAMES I of Aragon in a disputation on the validity of Judaism against a converted Jew. Well respected at the court and by the Jewish community in Catalonia, he later refuted the convert's arguments and his understanding of the rabbinical tradition on the coming of the Messiah in his *Book of the Debate*. In 1265, the DOMINICANS accused him of committing BLASPHEMY and of insulting Christianity. Pope Clement IV (r. 1265–68) granted their petition for pursuing him in 1267. At the age of 70 or older, he had to leave for PALESTINE, where he reorganized a Jerusalem community disrupted by the MONGOL invasion of 1267 and the occupation by the crusaders.

A prolific author, Nachmanides also wrote biblical and Talmudic commentaries, treatises on rabbinic custom, and homilies or SERMONS. His commentary on the PENTATEUCH rejected Maimonides' allegorical interpretations. His commentary on Job solved the problem of a just sufferer and a sinner by means of the concept of a transmigration of SOULS. He benefited while he was in Palestine from access to the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. His few kabbalistic treatises were a commentary

on the first chapter of the Book of Creation and the section entitled "Portico of Retribution." His disciples claimed to find his kabbalistic ideas scattered throughout his commentary on the Pentateuch. It was of the most important kabbalistic books until the appearance of the *Zohar* in about 1325. He died at ACRE or Erets in about 1270 and is buried at the foot of Mount Carmel.

*See also* HALAKAH; TALMUD.

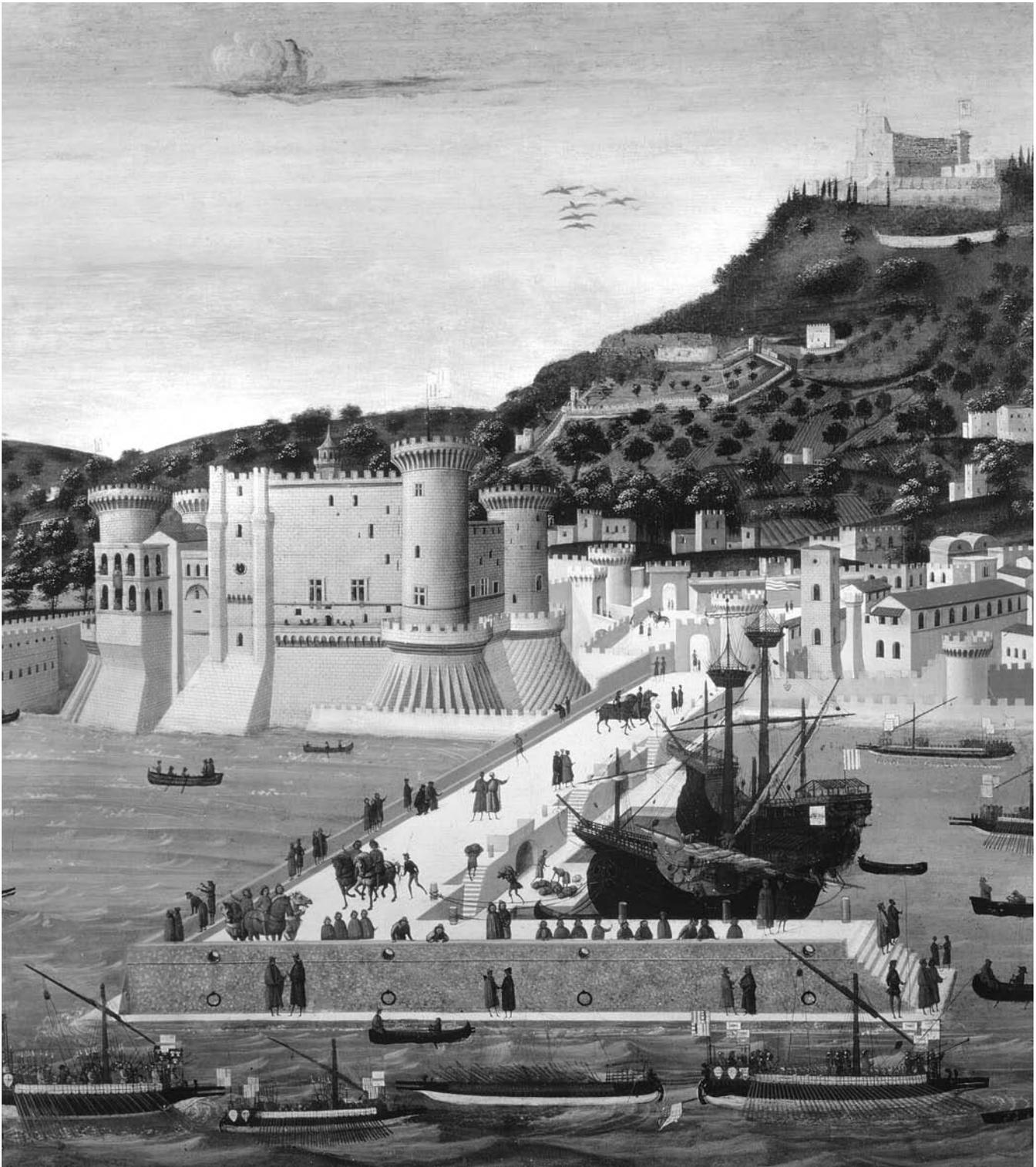
**Further reading:** Charles Ber Chavel, *Ramban: His Life and Teachings* (New York: P. Feldheim, 1960); Robert Chazan, *Daggers of the Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982); David Novak, *The Theology of Nahmanides Systematically Presented* (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1992); Isadore Twersky, ed., *Rabbi Moses Nahmanides (Ramban): Explorations in His Religious and Literary Virtuosity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

**Naples and Kingdom of Naples** An important city under the Roman Empire, Naples was conquered by the OSTROGOTHS in 493 and then twice more by the BYZANTINES under BELISARIUS in 536 and 553. Naples remained under Constantinople's theoretical authority from 544 to 1137 but gained essential independence in 763, resisting later attacks by the LOMBARDS, Byzantines, and NORMANS in Italy. Arab raiders did heavy damage to its harbor in the ninth century. Naples was a port for coastal traffic but was less active than nearby AMALFI. It profited from the

fertility of the surrounding countryside. Naples passed under the rule of the NORMAN king of SICILY, ROGER II, in 1137. Its privileges were then limited by its integration into the centralized, competent, but exploitative feudal

state of the Norman monarchy. It used local nobles as civil servants to manage the town.

After the Norman dynasty died out in 1194, it was replaced by the HOHENSTAUFEN and the emperor



Fifteenth-century view of Naples, Francesco Pagano, Tavola Strozzi, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples, Italy (*Alinari / Art Resource*)

FREDERICK II. He encouraged economic development by fostering maritime commerce and the textile industry. In 1224 Frederick founded a university in the town. It was intended to train jurists for the imperial administration, replacing the older and the more GUELF or anti-imperial one at BOLOGNA.

#### A CULTURAL CENTER

In 1267 CHARLES I OF ANJOU, brother of King LOUIS IX, defeated and replaced the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and became the king of Sicily. He made Naples his capital especially after the SICILIAN VESPERS of 1282. He introduced a court full of French nobles and the Tuscan MERCHANTS who had financed his conquest. Local crafts developed to provide luxury products for the court; shipyards grew to maintain a much larger navy. A building boom occurred and the population rose to perhaps as many as 60,000 inhabitants in the 14th century, making Naples one of the largest cities in Europe. The royal patronage of his successors made the court an intellectual center, as famous writers such as BOCCACCIO and PETRARCH gained royal patronage. Artists from TUSCANY and northern Italy produced PAINTING and sculpture in the kingdom.

The economic and demographic catastrophes of the second half of the 14th century and the incompetence and wars of its Angevin rulers opened possibilities for at least temporary municipal independence. Several rebellions against the Crown, never gained more than a temporary release from Angevin exploitation and dominance. In 1442 ALFONSO V OF ARAGON captured the city after a devastating siege and sack. Under this new administration the local artisans and merchants lost control over the economy as Tuscan merchants once again took over and were needed to pay for the wars and policies of Alfonso. However, there was a cultural revival and some of the great artists and authors of the 15th century worked in Naples. This prosperity and peace continued under the competent king Ferrante I (r. 1458–94). The city was still a great enough prize that it became the goal of the devastating French invasions of the last decade of the 15th century.

**Further reading:** Cecil Headlam, *The Story of Naples* (London: J. M. Dent, 1927); Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, ed. H. Stuart Hughes and trans. Frances Frenaye (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous: The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

**narthex** The term *narthex*, meaning “box” or “casket” in Greek, designated the vestibule, just inside the door to the interior, opening onto the NAVE, and situated at

the entrance to a ROMANESQUE church. It was supposed to be a place of purification. In Byzantine churches, it usually had an opening or staircase to the galleries above. In the early church, catechumens, candidates for baptism, and penitents were allowed to be present only at the first part of the MASS and had to stay in the narthex. A narthex should not be confused with a porch, which was open to the outside. The narthex was used for the formation of processions.

**Further reading:** Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 3d ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979); Thomas F. Mathews, *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Abrams, 1998).

**Nasrids (Banu Nasr)** They were the last Muslim dynasty in SPAIN. They ruled in GRANADA from 1238 to 1492, gaining power after the defeat of the ALMOHADS at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Muhammad I al-Ghalib, also called Ibn al-Ahmar (r. 1232–72), was its founder and was from Málaga. He managed to retain the easily defendable mountainous district in the south of Spain around the city of Granada. His relations with CASTILE were generally peaceful, although he was forced to recognize Castilian supremacy as a more-or-less client ruler. He also initiated the Nasrid practice of accepting Muslim refugees from the rest of the reconquered peninsula and began construction of a remarkable Islamic monument, the palace of the ALHAMBRA. The Nasrids tried to strike a balance between the Marinids of FEZ and the kings of Castile.

Under the reserved and timid Yusuf I (r. 1333–54), an alliance of Nasrids with the Marinids proved catastrophic when they were defeated by King Alfonso XI of Castile (r. 1312–50) in 1340 at the Rio Salado. Despite being racked by internal conflict throughout the 15th century, the kingdom survived, still a client state to Christians but remaining a center of Muslim culture. Nasrid rule ended in 1492 with a long campaign and the capture of the city of Granada by FERDINAND and ISABEL I. The last Nasrid ruler was Muhammad XI (r. 1482–92) or Bobadilla, who had rashly refused to pay the annual tribute. He fled to MOROCCO.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; GARDENS.

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, “The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5 c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 636–643; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 18–19; John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474–1520* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, eds., *Islam: Art and Architecture*, trans. George Ansell et al.

(Cologne: Könemann, 2000), 272–297; Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Longman, 1996).

**nature, idea of** The word *nature* was derived from the Latin *natura*, suggesting birth. In the Christian Middle Ages, nature was viewed as the created work of GOD according to the account in the biblical book of Genesis. For BOETHIUS, nature was the inner principle of all movement, common to every individual. The term could be used in the sense of the nature of an action or power.

There was also divine nature. For AUGUSTINE nature was the universal whole that included God as well as his creatures. All created nature was the work of God. From the 13th century, the ideas of ARISTOTLE were added to the concept, providing further scientific visions of the cosmos, making possible a PHILOSOPHY of nature. Nature played an important role in the division of the sciences. Natural philosophy was distinguished from ethics, it comprised the knowledge of things or creatures. The only necessity characterizing this kind of nature was participation in the necessary being of God. Nature equaled necessity, but this necessity did not exclude change decreed freely by God.

Christian nature also implied further perfection by GRACE and Redemption. This term designated the “nature” of God, becoming synonymous with *essence* or *substance*. In terms of the Trinity, the term *natura* designated the unity of God and the term *persona* or persons designated the three individual components of the Trinity.

See also ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; MIRACLES; PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; SCIENCE.

**Further reading:** A. C. Crombie, *Science, Art, and Nature in Medieval and Modern Thought* (London: Hambleton Press, 1996); William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Patricia May Gathercole, *The Landscape of Nature in Medieval French Manuscript Illumination* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997); Chumaru Koyama, ed., *Nature in Medieval Thought: Some Approaches East and West* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Lawrence D. Roberts, ed., *Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Tenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1976* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1983); Joyce E. Salisbury, ed., *The Medieval World of Nature: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1993); William J. Short, *Saints in the World of Nature: The Animal Story as Spiritual Parable in Medieval Hagiography (900–1200)* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Theologiae, Institutum Spiritualitatis,

1983); Hugh White, *Nature, Sex, and Goodness in a Medieval Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

**Navarre, kingdom of** A kingdom of Navarre was created, when CHARLEMAGNE conquered the western Pyrenees around Pamplona, its main city, and made it part of his kingdom of AQUITAINE. It, however, kept its own rulers as the kings of Pamplona until the 10th century. Later its king, King Sancho III the Great (r. 1000–35) of Navarre, was one of its most accomplished and important rulers, ruling a group of counties from the Aran Valley to the borders of LEÓN, and the northern slopes of the Pyrenees. He died in 1035 and his realm was shared among his sons; García (r. 1035–54), the eldest received Navarre; Ferdinand I (r. 1038–65) received CASTILE; and Ramiro I (r. 1035–63) was bequeathed ARAGON. This arrangement lasted from 1035 to 1134, when Navarre was disputed between the kings of Castile and Aragon at the death of Alfonso I the Battler (r. 1104–34), the king of Aragon and Pamplona. From 1200 to 1205 the kingdom of Navarre was a little more than 10,000 square kilometers (6,000 square miles), a small, but strategic, state on the Iberian Peninsula. It was overtaken and limited to the far north of Spain by the territorial expansion and consolidation of Castile and Aragon.

#### THE RECONQUEST

Despite its small size, the kings of Navarre participated in the CRUSADE against the Muslims of AL-ANDALUS. In 1212, at the victorious Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the king of Navarre, Sancho VII the Strong (r. 1194–1234), was one of the leaders of the Christian forces. Navarre’s main objectives were the conquest and re-Christianization of the Ebro Valley. The kings of Navarre called in colonists to repopulate towns and villages. In the course of this Reconquista, the kings permitted Muslim minorities and Jewish communities to remain in most of the towns and villages of the kingdom. The king of Navarre also took charge of the lucrative task of accommodating the large number of pilgrims to SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

On the death of Sancho VII the Strong (r. 1194–1234) in 1234, the king’s legitimate heir was a nephew, Count Thibaut IV of Champagne, who was crowned at Pamplona as Thibaut I of Navarre (r. 1234–53). These French rulers with ties to Champagne ruled until 1274. They were followed by the kings of France from 1274 to 1328 and from then by the counts of Évreux until 1425. The kingdom of Navarre was weakened in the 15th century by its involvement in French dynastic struggles and wars. The marriage of a daughter of King Charles III the Noble (r. 1387–1425) led to a union of Navarre and Aragon between 1425 and 1479. After a temporary French rule, FERDINAND II completed the union with

Aragon by occupying the Spanish part of the kingdom in 1512.

See also ASTURIAS-LEÓN, KINGDOM OF; BASQUES.

**Further reading:** Béatrice Leroy, "Navarre," *EMA*, 2.1,006–1,007; Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).

**nave** The nave was the central part of a church between the main entrance or west portal and the chancel and choir. It was often flanked by aisles. It was assigned to the LAITY or the congregation and was separated from the sanctuary by a screen and from the aisles by columns or pillars. It was based on the LATIN word for "ship," *navis*, since it resembled an upside-down ship or in another way the ark of SALVATION. In Byzantine churches the laity were sometimes even removed from it and herded into the aisles. Aisles were often added to the nave for chapels and side altars.

**Further reading:** Nicola Coldstream, *Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Rolf Toman, ed., *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting* (Cologne: Könemann, 1997); Rolf Toman, ed., *The Art of the Gothic: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting* (Cologne: Könemann, 1998).

**navies** See SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING.

**navigation (Milāha)** Medieval navigation involved several geographic areas: the Atlantic Ocean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea. During the Middle Ages the magnetic COMPASS began to be used in the West, and shipbuilding technology progressed. The Irish and the VIKINGS or Scandinavians had pioneered open ocean navigation from the fifth century. The development of the ASTROLABE, mathematically based charts, the expansion of commerce, the reprovisioning needs of the CRUSADES, and the rediscovery of the ideas of the classical geographers all contributed to the advancement of navigation during the Middle Ages. The great voyages of the 15th century and beyond became possible as a result of these discoveries and additional tools.

See also BRENDAN, SAINT; GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY; HENRY "THE NAVIGATOR"; MAPS; PORTOLAN CHARTS; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING.

**Further reading:** George Fletcher Bass, ed., *A History of Seafaring: Based on Underwater Archaeology* (New York: Walker, 1972); J. A. Bennett, *The Divided Circle: A History of Instruments for Astronomy, Navigation, and Surveying* (Oxford: Phaidon, Christie's, 1987); W. E. May, *A History of Marine Navigation* (New York: Norton, 1973); J. E. D. Williams, *From Sails to Satellites: The Origin and*

*Development of Navigational Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); W. G. L. Randles, *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Great Discoveries* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2000).

### Neoplatonism and Platonism in the Middle Ages

Medieval Platonism, with its modern name Neoplatonism, was not based on the direct study of the works of Plato. Instead it was based on a movement from the early Christian era, a school of thought of ALEXANDRIA and linked to PLOTINUS. In western Europe, direct knowledge of Plato's work was limited to a translated part of the *Timaeus*. Nonetheless a lack of translations and texts did not prevent this form of Platonism from exercising influence on Christian metaphysics through intermediaries. Numerous Christian authors, such as AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, integrated the ideas of such Platonism into their thought; other commonly read authors sympathized with and drew on Platonism, such as Cicero or BOETHIUS; and the secondhand Platonic materials that entered the Latin world through Arabic or Jewish intermediaries.

The pagan Neoplatonic philosophy of the third century of PLOTINUS and Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 305) influenced Christian thought in terms of the concepts of the hierarchy of spiritual beings, the spiritual name of reality, the return of the soul to the One the unknowable source from which all exists and emanates, through contemplation, and the essential goodness and fullness of being itself. On the other hand, Neoplatonism denied God's voluntary creation. Its triad or hypostases of the One, the Intelligence or intuitive knowledge, and the Soul, the realm of discursive thought and activity was completely unlike the Christian Trinity. The One's omnipresence suggested pantheism.

More direct knowledge of explicit Neoplatonism was not really accessible until the ideas of the Muslims AL-FARABI, AL-GHAZALI, and IBN SINA (Avicenna) and those of the Jewish scholar Avicbron or Ibn Gabirol (1021–ca. 1058) reached Latin Europe in the late 12th century. Their thought combined the physical ideas of Aristotle and the spiritual ideas of a Neoplatonic system to explain a universe. Later translations of Proclus (ca. 411–485), for example, provided by WILLIAM of Moerbeke (1215–86) went further, allowing a possible disentangling of Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism. The availability of these translations led to a disenchantment with the ideas of Aristotle and certain aspects of SCHOLASTIC thought. In the 15th century a complete translation of the dialogues of Plato was made by Marsilio FICINO. This allowed scholars and humanists to discover the authentic thought of Plato and to cultivate his philosophy as an alternative to ARISTOTELIAN AND SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHIES.

See also ABÉLARD PETER; DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE; JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA; PLATO AND PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Stephen Gersh, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986); Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages: With a New Preface and Four Supplementary Chapters, Together with Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Munich: Kraus International Publications, 1981); Haijo Jan Westra, ed., *From Athens to Chartres, Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992).

**Nestorianism (the Church of the East)** This was a Christian HERESY that arose in the BYZANTINE EMPIRE from the ideas of Nestorius (ca. 381–ca. 452), the Syrian patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE (428–431). According to its doctrine, there were two separate natures and persons in the incarnate Christ, one fully divine and one fully human. This perspective was opposed to the Orthodox and Monophysite views that, Nestorius feared, destroyed the full humanity of Jesus and detracted from the dignity of GOD. The emperor summoned a general council of bishops to adjudicate the matter at the Council of EPHESUS in 431. CYRIL the bishop of Alexandria, himself vehemently opposed to Nestorianism, convened the council and swiftly accomplished the condemnation of Nestorius before Eastern bishops friendly to the latter had arrived. After these irregular proceedings, Nestorius resigned voluntarily. Under government pressure in 433, however, Cyril made surprising concessions, reconciling with the more moderate of Nestorius's allies through the Formulary of Reunion. Nestorius was condemned again at the COUNCIL OF EPHESUS in 431 and died in exile in EGYPT.

Syriac-speaking Bishops in SYRIA, IRAQ, and Persia (IRAN) refused to accept this condemnation and founded their own church, which flourished and expanded, surviving periodic persecutions by the Muslims and MONGOLS. Through theologically static, they sent missionaries to China and the Mongols with some success. Some Mongols did convert, but when the majority of them embraced ISLAM in Iran, the sect was destined to remain small and marginal. The Byzantines persecuted them. Many were killed and their centers destroyed in the invasions of TAMERLANE around 1395. In the 15th century some of them returned to communion with the PAPACY, but others did not and survive to this day.

See also CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

**Further reading:** Nestorius, *The Bazaar of Heracleides*, trans. G. R. Driver and Leonard Hodgson (New York: AMS Press, 1978); Luise Abramowski and Alan E. Goodman, eds. and trans., *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts*, Cambridge University Library Ms. Oriental 1319

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); James F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and His Teaching: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908); Friedrich Loofs, *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (1914; reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1975).

**Nestorius** See NESTORIANISM.

**Netherlands** In the Middle Ages the Low Countries or Netherlands comprised the regions around the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt River estuaries. This included present-day HOLLAND, BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG, and parts of GERMANY and FRANCE, which had been divided into several counties, duchies, and principalities with a prosperous and widespread urban life during the Middle Ages.

From the late fifth century, the region of the Netherlands was under the century of the FRANKS. A linguistic frontier between Romance-speaking and Germanic-speaking regions was established during this period. Christianization, which had begun under the Romans, was slowed by the Frankish invasions, but was completed during the seventh century.

#### A FLOURISHING AGE

In the eighth century, the Carolingians ushered in a period of prosperity. CHARLEMAGNE subdued the Frisians and SAXONS and divided the area into counties, where a count represented the ruler as a judge and a military commander. After the TREATY OF VERDUN in 843, all the territories on the left bank of the Scheldt were attached to West Francia, the future France, and all the territories on the right bank slowly became part of the German Empire. On both sides of the Scheldt, the old administrative districts evolved into principalities, where counts remained marginally attached by feudal ties to the rulers of France and Germany, respectively. The later success of the towns of this region created an abundant source of artistic patronage and expanded horizons for various dynastic families throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. From the 11th century, its history must be followed through that of its cities, counties, and rulers.

See also BALDWIN I OF FLANDERS; BELGIUM; BRABANT, DUCHY OF; BRUGES; BURGUNDY; EYCK, HUBERT VAN, AND EYCK, JAN VAN; FLANDERS AND THE LOW COUNTRIES; FRISIA; GHENT; PHILIP THE GOOD; WEYDEN, ROGIER VAN DER.

**Further reading:** Willem Pieter Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); H. A. Heidinga and H. H. van Regteren Altena, eds., *Medemblik and Monnickendam: Aspects of Medieval Urbanization in Northern Holland* (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, Albert Egges van Giffen Institut

voor Prae-uen Protohistorie, 1989); Walter Prevenier, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

**Neustria** The word Neustria, or “new land,” entered use around 642 to refer to the land of the FRANKS, who usually called it Francia. It was applied to the western part of three regions that made up Gaul in the sixth century after partitions of the Merovingian kingdom and a decentralization of power. Its capital was Soissons. Neustria consisted of the lands bordered by the Loire, BRITTANY, the English Channel, and the Meuse, the northwestern area of the Frankish kingdom. In reality it was the heart of CLOVIS’s great kingdom. It encompassed the prestigious cultural centers of SAINT-DENIS near Paris, Saint-Martin at Tours, Saint-Médard at Soissons, and the towns of ROUEN and PARIS. A more clear regional consciousness developed later when the Neustrians considered themselves to be the true Franks.

The Merovingian kings Clotar II (r. 613–629) and Dagobert I (r. 629–639) reunified the Merovingian kingdom from 613 to 639. Paris became its capital, and the basilica of Saint-Denis became a necropolis for the Frankish Merovingian family. From about 640, however, power was exercised by a mayor of the palace. Austrasia, the other part of the Frankish realm, eventually dominated its western neighbor, especially after Pépin II of Heristal (d. 714) defeated the Neustrians at the Battle of Tetry in 687. PÉPIN III THE SHORT formally united the two regions in his consecration at Saint-Denis in 754. The CAROLINGIANS stayed in the region when not on campaign, choosing AACHEN as their capital. The area between the Seine and the Rhine became a new royal area, Francia, or FRANCE. Much of its territory was eventually taken over by the Normans when they settled in NORMANDY.

**Further reading:** Edward James, *The Franks* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Sainly Relics, 684–1090* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London: Methuen, 1962).

**Nevsky, Alexander, Saint (Alexandr Yaroslavich)** (1220–1263) *grand prince of Vladimir, Kiev, and Novgorod* Born on May 30, 1220, the son of Grand Prince Yaroslav II of Vladimir (r. 1238–46), Alexander was elected prince of NOVGOROD in 1236 and defeated the Swedes at the Battle of Neva in 1240. He took the name Nevsky from the site of that battle on the banks of the Neva River. The Swedes had invaded the region to punish Novgorod for its attacks on their territory. In 1242 he achieved his greatest success by destroying the Livonian TEUTONIC KNIGHTS in the Battle on the Ice, fought on Lakes Peypus and Pskov. These victories preserved Orthodox RUSSIA. Alexander foresaw

the futility of opposing the MONGOLS, who had just captured KIEV, and rendered them allegiance and tribute.

After the death of his father in 1246, Alexander was appointed prince of Kiev, while his brother was named grand prince of Vladimir by the Mongols. In 1252 he replaced his brother as grand prince and appointed his own son, Vasily, as the prince of Novgorod. As a vassal and appeaser of the Mongols or TATARS of the Golden Horde, Alexander assisted them in conducting their tax census and in furthering their supremacy in northern Russia. Since the church was left out of his revised tax system, it ardently supported Alexander and later made him a saint for that reason and for protecting orthodoxy. He built extensive fortifications and enacted numerous laws. After a period of illness and taking of monastic tonsure, he died on November 14/15, 1263. His reign marked the end of resistance to the Mongols for a long time and was followed by conflict over succession.

*See also* RUSSIA AND RUŚ.

**Further reading:** S. A. Zenkovsky, ed., *The Nikonian Chronicle*. Vol. 3, *From the Year 1241 to the Year 1381* (Princeton, N.J.: Kingston Press, 1986); John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304* (New York: Longman, 1983); Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953).

**Nibelungenlied (the Song of the Nibelungs, sons of the mist)** An anonymous German popular epic set in Austro-Bavarian in several versions composed about 1200, it was one of the great and best known works of medieval German literature. This poem had a strong influence on subsequent literature and music.

In German mythology, the Nibelungen were the sons of the mist and a race of dwarfs who inhabited the underground world. They held a treasure that symbolized power. The hero of this epic, Siegfried, stole their treasure and become king of the Rhine. At the court at Worms of the weak king of the BURGUNDIANS, Siegfried asked for the hand of the king’s sister, Kriemhild. The story told of Siegfried’s assistance to Gunther to win the hand of Brunhilde, his own marriage to Kriemhild, his murder by Hagen, the disposal of the treasure in the Rhine, Kriemhild’s marriage to ATTILA THE HUN (Etzel), and an avenging slaughter at a meeting between the Burgundians and HUNS. It was based on popular legends dating back to the time of the invasions, when the Burgundians were defeated by the Huns near Worms in 436. It was about ideas of power, domination, heroic virtues, ambition, honor, and vengeance—all issues in the feudal Germany of the early 13th century.

*See also* ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Arthur T. Hatto, trans., *The Nibelungenlied* (New York: Penguin, 1969); Michael S. Batts, "The *Nibelungenlied*," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 211–236; Hugo Bekker, *The Nibelungenlied: A Literary Analysis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Winder McConnell, ed., *A Companion to the Nibelungenlied* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1998); David G. Mowatt and Hugh Sacker, *The Nibelungenlied: An Interpretative Commentary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

**Nicaea, Councils of** There were two important ecumenical councils at Nicaea (present-day Iznik, Turkey), a town in Bithynia in the northwestern part of ANATOLIA not far from CONSTANTINOPLE. The first in May and June of 325 dealt with the problem of ARIANISM. The second in September and October of 787 was about ICONOCLASM and the cult of icons.

#### COUNCIL OF 325

After CONSTANTINE'S victory over Licinius (ca. 250–324) in 324, Christianity in the Roman Empire was divided over the teaching of Arius or Arianism. Arius was a priest from ALEXANDRIA who taught that the Christ was not coeternal with the supreme Father. He was at best an adopted son of God and did not have a human soul. The emperor convoked a general synod or council at Nicaea in 325; wanting to impose unity on his church, he opened the council himself. It was presided over by a small papal delegation and was attended by perhaps as many as 300 bishops, but only a few from the West. In acrimonious and long debates, an Arian formula of FAITH was proposed and overwhelmingly rejected. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA'S creed was introduced and given general approval. The ideas of Arianism continued to exist. The council also decided the date of the celebration of EASTER. It was to be held on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox.

#### COUNCIL OF 787

The second Council of Nicaea was convened in 787 by the emperors IRENE and Constantine VI (r. 780–797) and Patriarch Tarasios (r. 784–806) of Constantinople, to abolish the decisions of the council of Hieria in 754 and to restore the cult of ICONS. It was the last ecumenical council recognized by both the Orthodox and the Roman Church. Initially meeting in 786 at Constantinople, it had been broken up by soldiers allied to bishops faithful to Iconoclasm. Representatives of Pope Adrian I (772–795), of the Oriental patriarchates, the patriarch of Constantinople, perhaps 365 bishops, and more than 130 monks were present. At the council notorious Iconoclast bishops were allowed back to their sees despite

the objections of monks after the prelates publicly accepted the cult of icons. The council compiled texts to support the use of icons and refuted the acts of the Council of Hieria. It further rejected the accusation of idolatry in the cult of icons. The marks of respect and veneration, such as prostration and kissing, paid to icons and other sacred objects did not constitute adoration, which was due to God alone. The council justified devotion to icons, as had been accepted by the church from the earliest times. The council ended by restoring icons in all public and private places and imposed correct gestures of veneration toward them. The decisions of Nicaea II were accepted with hesitation and difficulty in the West. The CAROLINGIANS rejected them at the Council of Frankfurt and presented their rejection in the *LIBRI CAROLINI*. The popes did not officially accept them until the ninth century.

**Further reading:** Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1.1–19, 1.131–156; Marvin M. Arnold, *Nicaea and the Nicene Council of AD 325* (Washington, Mich.: Arno, 1987); Robert Grant, *Religion and Politics at the Council of Nicaea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); Colm Luibhéid, *The Council of Nicaea* (Galway, Ireland: Galway University Press, 1982); D. J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986).

**Nicaea, Empire of** This was the temporary Byzantine state established by refugees from CONSTANTINOPLE during the capture and sack of the city by the crusaders of the Fourth CRUSADE. Just before the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Theodore I Laskaris (r. 1205–21), the son-in-law of the emperor Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195–1203), left the city to cross to ANATOLIA, because of dynastic conflicts over the Byzantine throne and with the crusaders. He was not initially well received in the nearby town of Nicaea, but after a year of fighting and the sacking of the capital by the crusaders, he was finally recognized as the new emperor. He soon restored the Orthodox Church, now to be centered in Nicaea. He was crowned in 1208 by its first patriarch, Michael IV Autoreianos (r. 1208–14). Though not recognized as emperor in the West or by the Frankish rulers of Constantinople, he survived due to a military victory in 1211 at ANTIOCH over the SELJUK Turks and by the signing of a peace treaty in 1214 and proposing marriage alliances with the Latin emperor in Constantinople, Henry of Hainault (r. 1206–16).

His son-in-law and successor, John III Vatatzes (r. 1222–54), considered a saint after his death, moved the seat of government near Smyrna and began the full reconstruction of a new Byzantine state. To restore its economic life, John III Vatatzes promoted agriculture and the development of land, especially on his exemplary personal and

imperial estates. Trying to promote economic growth, he forbade his subjects to buy luxury products to limit such wasteful losses of wealth. He even tried to make money by selling the Seljuks food. With this newfound regional prosperity, he rebuilt the Byzantine army and began the reconquest of the former Byzantine territories then held by the Latins. He drove them completely out of Anatolia and in 1234 crossed to Europe, Thrace, taking advantage of the defeat of a Latin-supported rival by the Bulgarians. In the meantime the Seljuk Turks were crushed by the Mongols in 1243 and from then on ceased to pose a threat to his rear approaches in Anatolia. John continued his campaigns in Europe, taking THESSALONIKI in 1246. To weaken further the position of the Latin Empire, he opened negotiations with the papacy with a view to uniting the two churches. This amounted to nothing. In fact, Pope GREGORY IX blocked any kind of deal and was hostile that eventually he was excommunicated by the patriarch at Nicaea. On John's death, his son, Theodore II (r. 1254–58), continued this slow rebuilding process. It was Michael VIII Palaeologos (r. 1261–82), who finally recovered Constantinople from the Westerners on July 25, 1261. He and his dynasty founded a new, but traditional, Byzantine state and ended this imperial power provincially based at Nicaea.

See also EPIROS AND DESPOTATE OF; PALAIOLOGOS, IMPERIAL DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Michael J. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); John Mauropus, Metropolitan of Euchaita, *The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous Metropolitan of Euchaita*, ed. Apostolos Karpozilos (Thessalonike: Association for Byzantine Research, 1990).

**Nicholas II, Pope (Gerard of Florence)** (ca. 980–1061) *reforming pope at the beginning of the Gregorian reform movement*

Little is known beyond that Gerard was born about 980 in BURGUNDY. He grew up and became a cleric in the ecclesiastical reforming circles of Lorraine and Burgundy and probably accompanied Pope Leo IX (r. 1049–54) to ROME. He does not seem to have been a CLUNIAC monk but was a canon of Liège. By 1045 he was the bishop of the see of FLORENCE.

#### ELECTION AS POPE

In 1058, after the death of Stephen IX (r. 1057–58), the Roman aristocracy engineered the election of John of Velletri as pope. He took the name Benedict X (r. 1058–59). The reform-minded clerics around Hildebrand (the later Pope GREGORY VII) and Peter DAMIAN were not yet present and were not involved in Benedict's election. With the support of the duke of Lorraine, and German court, the reformers and most of the College of Cardinals fled

from Rome and elected the Frenchman Gerard of Florence, then in SIENA, as pope. He took the name Nicholas II. The antipope Benedict X was banished by the synod of Sutri in January 1059 and Nicholas was then able to battle his way into Rome to be enthroned enthusiastically as pope at Old Saint Peter's on January 24, 1059.

#### REFORMING DECREES

His pontificate opened with a decree on papal elections at the Lateran synod of April 1059. This decree gave the preponderant role to the College of CARDINALS in the election of the pope, as the cardinal-bishops took precedent over the other cardinals, over the other clergy, and over the people and nobility of Rome. In this new procedure the cardinal-bishops were to choose a person to elect, the cardinal-priests were to give their approval, and then the rest of the clergy and the people of Rome were reduced merely to acclaiming a new pope. Papal elections did not have to take place in Rome. Nicholas also issued other important decrees. One banned lay investiture for clerical offices. Another stated that a pope might concede to the emperor some rights over clerical elections, if they were deemed acceptable at the time by the pontiff.

#### ALLIANCE WITH THE NORMANS

The Holy See then struck an agreement with the Norman princes in southern Italy, Robert GUISCARD and Richard, the count of Aversa (1047–78). In August 1059, at the council of Melfi, the NORMANS IN ITALY swore an oath of support for the Holy See in return for recognition of their titles to the lands they had recently conquered. This alliance was intended to give the papacy some protection from German imperial power. There were also decrees against SIMONY or the selling of ecclesiastical offices, and others demanding clerical CELIBACY. A German synod of bishops in 1061 condemned Nicholas for the alliance with the Normans against the emperor in Italy and annulled the new rules on papal elections. This foreshadowed the later conflicts of the investiture struggles. Nicholas II died in Florence on July 27, 1061. Another schism soon arose over succession to the Holy See.

See also BERENGAR OF TOURS.

**Further reading:** Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (New York: Harper & Row, 1959).

**Nicholas Breakspear** See ADRIAN IV, POPE.

**Nicholas of Autrécourt** (ca. 1300–after 1350) *a problematic natural philosopher, civil lawyer, theologian*  
Born in Lorraine around 1300 and educated at the University of Paris, Nicholas was at AVIGNON, where his trial

took place at some point between 1341 and 1347. He had been condemned for a confused group of anti-Aristotelian theses and banned from teaching in faculties of THEOLOGY. He retracted his controversial ideas at Avignon and at Paris, where he burned his own manuscripts. From 1348, he lived at Metz as canon and dean of the cathedral chapter. He had alternative ideas about the creation of the universe, the study of being, and epistemology. He also wrote about OPTICS. There also exist his *Theological Question* concerning medieval optics, and some valuable letters about a theory of demonstration. He died after 1350, perhaps as late as 1369.

See also NOMINALISM.

**Further reading:** Nicholas of Autrecourt, *The Universal Treatise of Nicholas of Autrecourt*, trans. Leonard A. Kennedy (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1971); Nicholas of Autrecourt, *Nicholas of Autrecourt: His Correspondence with Master Giles and Bernard of Arezzo, A Critical Edition from the Two Parisian Manuscripts with an Introduction, English Translation, Explanatory Notes, and Indexes* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); Julius R. Weinberg, *Nicolaus of Autrecourt: A Study in Fourteenth Century Thought* (1948; reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

**Nicholas of Cusa** (Nicholas of Krebs, Nicholas Kryfts) (1401–1464) *humanist, theologian, jurist, canonist, cardinal, papal legate*

Nicholas Krebs received his name Nicholas of Cusa from the German village of Kues near Trier, where he was born in 1401. His library is still preserved there. He studied with the BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE at Deventer and attended the universities of Heidelberg in 1416, where the ideas of WILLIAM of Ockham were taught; the university of PADUA in 1417, where he had contact with Italian humanist thought; and the university of COLOGNE in 1425. He was ordained in 1430, having also earned a doctorate in canon law.

In 1448, he was made titular CARDINAL of San Pietro in Vincoli. He was already famous as a learned mathematician, physician, astronomer, and cosmographer. A collector of manuscripts, he was interested in geographical discoveries. Nicholas rejected the hypothesis of concentric spheres bounding the universe and affirmed that the Earth was in movement. He believed that the Earth revolved around the Sun.

According to his mystical vision of the world and humankind, the human mind was not able to grasp reality, which is the object of metaphysics and THEOLOGY. Knowledge was therefore just “learned ignorance.” This idea and that of the “coincidence of contraries” were foundational assumptions in all of his work. Truth was an absolute, he maintained. However, knowledge was necessarily relative, complex, finite, and comparative. To seek truth, one must rise above reason and appeal to one’s

intuition and thereby attain such a simplicity of thought that contradictions would coincide. Besides pursuing his intellectual work, Nicholas was active especially at the Council of BASEL (1431–49), in which he presented his famous treatise on reform of church and state, *De concordantia catholica*, in 1433. He was also dispatched on numerous diplomatic missions, such as his great legation to CONSTANTINOPLE of 1451–52. Initially a partisan of conciliarism, he shifted to support the maintenance of papal power. He also worked in favor of toleration and reconciliation with the followers of John HUS. Nicholas of Cusa died at Todi in Umbria on August 11, 1464, on his way to Ancona, where his friend Pope PIUS II had summoned him to help send off a CRUSADE.

**Further reading:** Nicholas, of Cusa, Cardinal, *Nicholas of Cusa “On Learned Ignorance”: A Translation and an Appraisal of De Docta Ignorantia* (Minneapolis: A. J. Benning Press, 1981); Nicholas of Cusa, *Unity and Reform: Selected Writings of Nicholas de Cusa*, ed. John P. Dolan (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962); F. Edward Cranz, *Nicholas of Cusa and the Renaissance*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Jasper Hopkins, *A Concise Introduction to the Philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978); Paul E. Sigmund, *Nicholas of Cusa and Medieval Political Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

**Nicholas of Myra, Bishop** (fifth century) *one of the most renowned and legendary saints*

Little is actually known about the life of Nicholas of Myra. He was bishop of Myra in Lycia in ANATOLIA in the fifth century. His cult was established from the sixth century at CONSTANTINOPLE. His reputation was built around some famous episodes, saving young girls from prostitution, saving three officials condemned to DEATH, restoring life to three children cut up by a butcher, and calming a storm threatening sailors. He had saintly patronage over young girls, boys, pawnbrokers, apothecaries, perfume makers, students, sailors, and MERCHANTS. He was also the patron saint of RUSSIA. When Myra fell to ISLAM or when some Italian merchants simply stole his RELICS, they were taken to BARI and his cult quickly spread throughout the West. He was a favorite subject in the art and drama of the East and the West. As the patron of and bearer of gifts for children, he easily became the basis for the modern Santa Claus or Father Christmas. His feast day is December 6.

**Further reading:** Edward G. Clare, *St. Nicholas: His Legends and Iconography* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1985); Charles Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

**Nicolaiism** See NICOLAITISM.

**Nicolaitism (Nicolaism)** The name and concept of Nicolaitism refer to Nicolaus of ANTIOCH, one of the seven deacons mentioned in the New Testament. His principal HERESY or SIN was the idea that priests can marry, a practice that was considered a return to PAGANISM or GNOSTICISM. There seems to have been a sect, the Nicolaitans, advocating this in the first century or two of Christianity. They were also accused of eating meat offered to the gods and of practicing sexual immorality. Clerical CELIBACY was promoted in the church from the fourth century, especially after the rise of MONASTICISM.

During the Middle Ages, as the popes condemned the practice, clerical marriage became a heresy for its obdurate disobedience to the authority of the Holy See. There was always some tolerance for priests who were unable to leave their concubines. Their sin was categorized with SIMONY and the passage of ecclesiastical property to the families of priests. It was, and remained, an issue in the reconciliation of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

See also DAMIAN, PETER; NICHOLAS II, POPE.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Michael Frassetto, ed., *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York: Garland, 1998), especially Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "Pope Gregory VII and the Prohibition of Nicolaitism," 239–267.

**Nicopolis, Crusade and Battle of (Nikopolis)** The town was founded by the Roman emperor Trajan (r. 98–117) on the Danube in BULGARIA. By the late 14th century, it had become an Ottoman fortress, near which an important defeat of a Western Christian army by the OTTOMAN TURKS took place on September 25, 1396. After the defeat of the Balkan princes by the armies of MURAD I at KOSOVO Polje on June 15, 1389, SIGISMUND OF HUNGARY (r. 1387–1437) mounted a CRUSADE against the Ottomans. Sigismund appealed to the West. An army composed mostly of Burgundian knights under the command of several important French nobles, Jean de Nevers, Jean Boucicaut, Philippe d' Artois, Jacques de Bourbon, and Enguerrand de Coucy, joined the Hungarian armies at BUDA at the end of July.

Rather than await an attack from the Ottomans now under the sultan BAYAZID I, the Western KNIGHTS drove into Bulgaria and laid siege to the Ottoman fortress at Nicopolis. The two armies, each of about 20,000 men, met on September 25, 1396. The Western knights exhausted themselves against Turkish infantry and were then massacred by the Turkish cavalry, while the VLACH and Transylvanian auxiliaries of the king of Hungary deserted. The principal crusader leaders were taken prisoner, and only Sigismund escaped. The Turks demanded the payment of heavy ransoms and the kings from

FRANCE and ENGLAND became even more reluctant to go on crusade. The Ottomans were enabled to continue their advance into the Balkans.

See also FROISSART, JEAN.

**Further reading:** Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen, 1934); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, from Lyons to Alcazar 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 73–79.

**Nika revolt** See JUSTINIAN I.

**Nile River** See EGYPT.

**Nithard (790/800–844)** *Charlemagne's illegitimate grandson or nephew, soldier, court official, historian*

Nithard was born about 790, the son of Charlemagne's daughter, Bertha, and a member of his household, Angilbert. He was raised in the northern abbey of Saint Riquier and at the court. He was an adviser and soldier for CHARLES THE BALD, the future emperor. He wrote an almost unique four-volume history or chronicle of the struggles among the sons of LOUIS I THE PIOUS to succeed to the Crown. He admired CHARLEMAGNE, who Nithard believed knew how to tame both the FRANKS and the BARBARIANS. As court historian Nithard especially approved of Charlemagne's success in compelling the unruly Frankish aristocracy to participate in his government. After being appointed, as his father had been, a lay abbot of Saint Requier in Picard in 843, Nithard probably died in the battle of Angoumois against Pépin II of AQUITAINE on June 14, 844.

See also FONTENAY, BATTLE OF.

**Further reading:** Bernhard Scholz, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970); Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (New York: Longman, 1992).

**nobility and nobles** Medieval societies tended to be aristocratic societies in which wealth, power, and prestige belonged to a nobility. This was a small group that tried to reproduce itself from generation to generation. Sometimes these people were called nobles and possessed great landed wealth and some variety of legal status. A common feature of the nobility, however, were their military, legal, and administrative duties; they usually owned or were given land to support these functions. If these privileges were not initially inheritable, they tended to become so.

These aristocrats usually depended on a prince or ruler, and their membership could be open to new blood on the basis of wealth or talent. Access to their ranks varied over the course of the Middle Ages but tended to become more restricted. Considerable tension, however, was provoked, along with opposition, when newcomers

rose to the rank of noble, while various statuses became more elaborate and closely defined. But still a ruler could elevate a commoner to the rank of noble. In the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, the nobility was tied tightly to the emperor.

#### QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAPPINGS

To be considered noble, one had to live nobly, participating in such activities as HUNTING, WARFARE, and court life and having the leisure to do so. A noble was to live off an income based on land supplemented by activities, such as war plunder and lucrative service to a lord. The nobility was often exempt from taxes but had to respond to a lordly call to armed service. It was fundamental that one be recognized as noble by fellow nobles and reciprocate with solidarity. Succession was usually along the lines of primogeniture, with adequate and strategic provision for women but little for sons other than the eldest. The illegitimate offspring of the male nobility were usually considered noble, regardless of the status of their mother. By the end of the Middle Ages and for far longer, a male noble was required to act honorably and loyally, with magnanimity or generosity, courage, courtesy, and respect for the values of Christianity and the church. Female nobles were expected to act the same way, in addition to remaining chaste to keep succession pure and protect the honor of their husband. The nobility also tried to maintain a number of outward signs of its status to receive respectful treatment and command appropriate deference.

#### ARAB-MUSLIM ARISTOCRACY

From the founding of ARAB caliphate, the old tribal aristocracy and military command of the seventh century long made up a nobility or elite. From the eighth century, non-Arabs, state officials, and wealthy land owner joined this class. Military revolts, dynastic changes, and political removals or assassinations contributed to a great deal of mobility within this upper class, but its qualities were much less specifically defined than in Christendom.

See also BARTOLO DA SASSOFERRATO; CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS; FEUDALISM; HERALDRY AND HERALDS; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; MINISTERIALS; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**Further reading:** Simon R. Doubleday, *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000); Timothy Reuter, ed., *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979); Joel T. Rosenthal, *Nobles and the Noble life, 1295–1500* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976); K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

**nominalism** Nominalism was one possible solution to the medieval philosophical problem of universals. This problem, in LOGIC and dialectic studies, was, When we attribute to a subject a universal predicate, genus, or species, such as animal or man, does this make a thing, the animalness, present in each individual subject? Or was this simply a word, a name, a mental construct formed by experience of various singular individuals? For nominalists the coincidence of individual traits permitted us to posit a universal concept. The first solution was realist and the second, nominalist. The term *nominalist* was applied to various philosophical or theological positions referring to the primacy of the individual, the rejection of the reification of forms of relationship between substances. It emphasized instead the sense of the contingency of the singular, and the constructed nature of signs.

Peter ABÉLARD tried to refute realism. He accepted an idea that singular individuals, instead belonging to a one real essence, participated in a common nature. WILLIAM of Ockham started from the epistemological presuppositions similar to those of Abélard but extended them to natural PHILOSOPHY, metaphysics, THEOLOGY, and ideas about the nature of the church. His resulting idea of the absolute power of GOD led him to deny that theology could be a SCIENCE and that a hierarchical church was anything like a perfect institution. The opponents of traditional Aristotelianism and Thomism rallied to Ockham and his *via moderna*.

See also BIEL, GABRIEL; BURIDAN, JOHN; IBN RUSHD; UNIVERSALS.

**Further reading:** John L. Farthing, *Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Biel: Interpretations of St. Thomas Aquinas in German Nominalism on the Eve of the Reformation* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988); Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

**Norbert of Xanten, Saint** (ca. 1080–1134) *archbishop of Magdeburg, founder of the Premonstratensian order of canons*

Norbert was born at Gennepe in what is now HOLLAND, between 1080 and 1085. His noble parents pledged him as a boy to an ecclesiastical life in the comfortable chapter of canons of Xanten. He accompanied as a chaplain the emperor Henry V (r. 1105–25) to ROME in 1110. The emperor's attitude toward the pope in the INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY distressed him. In 1115 Norbert underwent a sudden conversion, returned home, and tried to reform his fellow corrupt and wealthy canons. He gave up and became an itinerant preacher. By 1118, he was deemed suspicious because he was not a priest, nor even a cleric of any kind. He also preached without any clerical permission. He obtained that from Pope Gelasius

II (r. 1118–19), but the pope died soon after at CLUNY and with him Norbert's license to preach.

Norbert then went to RHEIMS in October 1119 to ask Gelasius's successor, Calixtus II (r. 1119–24), to renew his license. The pope passed him to a bishop of LAON, to employ in his diocese as the provost of the chapter of Saint-Martin at Laon. The canons there readily refused to accept any strict conditions. The bishop then sent him to the solitude of the valley of Prémontré, between Laon and Soissons. By the end of 1120, disciples, at least 40 clerics and LAITY, joined him. These clerics chose for their rule the Rule of Saint AUGUSTINE and made their somewhat irregular professions of the religious life on Christmas night 1121. The Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré (Premonstratensians) was born. The foundation spread in northern FRANCE, BELGIUM, and GERMANY. On February 16, 1126, Pope Honorius II (r. 1124–30) recognized the group's canonical status according to traditional forms once established by Augustine.

#### AS ARCHBISHOP AND CHANCELLOR

In 1126 Norbert was elected archbishop of Magdeburg and chancellor of the empire. As an ardent opponent of the alienation of church property and a strong supporter of clerical CELIBACY, he reformed the clergy of this diocese, preached, and began the conversion of the WENDS, a pagan tribe beyond the Elbe. He took a stand against investiture, and in the schism that followed the death of Pope Honorius II, he pushed the emperor Lothair III (1075–1137) into supporting Pope Innocent II (r. 1130–43) against a rival antipope, Anacletus II (r. 1130–38), who was supported by the NORMANS in ITALY. Both had been elected irregularly on the same day. On May 30, 1133, Norbert's pope, Innocent II, entered Rome and crowned the emperor. Now ill, Norbert returned to Germany and died a year later at Magdeburg on June 6, 1134; he was buried in the church of the Premonstratensians there.

**Further reading:** Cornelius James Kirkfleet, *History of Saint Norbert: Founder of the Norbertine (Premonstratensian) Order, Apostle of the Blessed Sacrament, Archbishop of Magdeburg* (London: B. Herder, 1916).

**Normandy and the Normans** Normandy has been defined since the 10th century as the region conceded by Charles the Simple (879–929) in 911. By the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, the VIKINGS, or Northmen, settled at ROUEN under the command of ROLLO. By the mid-11th century, the principality coincided with the ecclesiastical province of Rouen or roughly the old MEROVINGIAN kingdom of NEUSTRIA. With the consolidation of such principality, Normandy acquired a distinct identity separate from that of the neighboring principalities of BRITTANY, the Capetian kingdom in PARIS, and the county of FLANDERS.

The dukes of Normandy and their allied aristocracy kept their Viking traditions alive, and chronicles even called them the “pirate princes.” Christianized by the mid-10th century, these Scandinavian invaders, now settlers, were strong supporters of the GREGORIAN REFORM. The dukes William Longsword (r. 932–943), Richard II (r. 996–1026), and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR (r. 1035–87) and his wife, Matilda, were moreover ardent supporters of the monastic life and made numerous rich foundations.

#### GROWTH, WAR, LOYALTY, AND TRADITION

Church reform formed only part of the agenda for constructing an extraordinarily stable and expansionist feudal state, even after William's conquest of ENGLAND in 1066. At the same time there was almost constant war with all of the country's neighbors, especially under angevin king and duke HENRY II. Norman nobles were not docile subjects, so each ducal succession became a catalyst for their demands. Many nobles and young men left for the wars in England, SPAIN, southern ITALY, and the CRUSADES. Their ambitions were too confined within the frontiers of the province, where the power of the dukes and the resistance of a peasant population aggressive in defense of their rights hindered any expansion of local seigniorial power.

The county was also rich and economically developed. Annexed by conquest to Capetian France in 1204 by PHILIP II AUGUSTUS, the duchy was soon the Crown's greatest source of revenue. It continued to have strong and prosperous peasant communities, very ready to defend their rights against seigniorial and royal exactions. This was due to a strong attachment to customary rights, a principle of identity in Norman society, which did survive absorption into the centralized French Crown. The later Middle Ages saw the long HUNDRED YEARS' WAR between France and England, in which Normandy suffered frequently from the consequences of the fighting but never wavered from its loyalty to the French Crown.

*See also* ANJOU; HENRY I, KING OF ENGLAND; JOHN LACKLAND, KING OF ENGLAND; NORMANS IN ITALY; ORDERIS VITALIS.

**Further reading:** Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. Eric Christianson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998); David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (New York: Longman, 1982); Marjorie Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); R. H. C. Davis, *The Normans and Their Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

**Normans in Italy** During the 11th and 12th centuries, southern ITALY was militarily, administratively, and politically conquered and organized under a NORMAN dynasty. First APULIA and Calabria, then SICILY, came under a single lordship.



at the Battle of Civitate in 1053 and even taken prisoner. After a papal ransom and an agreement between Robert GUISCARD, who had succeeded his brother, William, in 1046, and the new pope, NICHOLAS II, in 1059, Robert was recognized as the legitimate duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily; the latter two were still under Muslim control, however. The conquest of that island began in 1061 led by Guiscard and his brother, ROGER I, the future “great count” of Sicily. It was completed officially only in 1130, when ROGER II was recognized as king of Sicily, after oaths of loyalty to the church of Rome, first to an antipope, Anacletus II, and then, after the end of a schism, to Innocent II (r. 1130–43).

The very large city of PALERMO then became the capital of the whole of southern Italy. The new kingdom was helped by older Muslim administrative efficiency, and a tolerant culture. The Hautevilles recognized local autonomies and legal and administrative customs. They used Muslim officials, who were allowed to keep their Arab and Greek titles as well as assume new Norman ones. The new kingdom had a sound fiscal and administrative efficiency, a shrewd control of the ecclesiastical machinery, and a balanced feudal monarchy, based on feudal institutions with a network of military loyalties built on local seigniorial rights. The success of this system probably depended on the skills of the Normans in general and the Hautevilles in particular. Peace and prosperity started to unravel, though, with the death of King WILLIAM II the Good in 1189 after 57 years of internal harmony and peace with the church. The HOHENSTAUFEN dynasty took control in 1194 through a marriage of William’s daughter, CONSTANCE, to Henry VI (r. 1194–97).

See also FREDERICK II; MONREALE; NORMANS AND NORMANDY; SICILY.

**Further reading:** Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily and the Normans in Lower Italy, 1016–1154* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1912); David C. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement, 1050–1110* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (New York: Longman, 2000); David Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Julius Norwich, *The Other Conquest* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Making History: The Normans and Their Historians in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

**North Africa** See AFRICA; IFRIQIYA; AL-MAGHRIB; MOROCCO.

**Norway** The history of medieval Norway was bound up with its colonizing and trading activities around

Britain, in the Atlantic, and in relation to DENMARK and SWEDEN.

Harald I Fairhair (d. 932) at the Battle of Hafrsfjord in about 890 acquired supremacy over a number of local chiefs that led a century later to a unified Norway. The two converting kings, Olaf I Tryggvason (r. 995–1000) and then Olaf II Haraldsson (r. 1015–30) or Saint Olaf, continued Harald’s efforts with greater success, basing their state-building efforts on what they had seen of the effects of Christianity farther south in Europe. Conversion to Christianity was one means they pursued and applied it in ways both brutal and peaceful. At the same time this society of peasant–fisherman and free independent proprietors consciously opposed losing their independence to a central authority.

Both kings were killed in battle. Saint Olaf was defeated by CANUTE II, but his political and religious structures survived. The bishopric of Trondheim became the ecclesiastical center of northern Europe. Canute tried to incorporate Norway into his empire and temporarily succeeded, but a series of able rulers—Magnus I the Good (r. 1035–46), Harald III Hardraade (r. 1046–66), and Olaf III the Peaceful or Gentle (1066–93)—maintained the countries’ independence. The 12th century saw considerable conflict over the church, succession to the throne, and control of the country.

#### A SHORT-LIVED “GOLDEN AGE”

Haakon the Old (r. 1217–63) was one of the great kings of Norway, firmly established hereditary kingship, and laid permanent foundations for a kingdom. He also annexed ICELAND and GREENLAND and developed a literary and artistic policy more influenced by Europe to the south. In the meantime the HANSEATIC LEAGUE had introduced all over the Baltic and North Sea area a trading network that included Bergen in Norway. This economic union worked to the detriment of royal political and his economic power. From 1300 a period of political and economic decline began, aggravated by the Black Death between 1349 and 1351. By 1385 Norway had passed definitively under the control of the Danish Crown that lasted until the early 19th century.

See also MARGARET OF DENMARK, NORWAY, AND SWEDEN.

**Further reading:** Svend Gissel, *Desertion and Land Colonization in the Nordic Countries c. 1300–1600: Comparative Report from the Scandinavian Research Project on Deserted Farms and Villages* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981); Kurt Helle, “Norway in the High Middle Ages: Recent Views on the Structure of Society,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 6 (1981): 161–189; Kurt Helle, “Norway,” *DMA* 9.179–186; P. Urbanczyk, *Medieval Arctic Norway* (Warsaw: Semper, 1992); Rolf Danielsen, ed., *Norway: A History from the Vikings to Our Own Times*, trans. Michael Drake (Oslo: Scandinavian

University Press, 1995); T. K. Derry, *A History of Norway* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1957).

**notaries and the notariate** Medieval and Renaissance notaries wrote acts or contracts and guaranteed their authenticity and validity. In the countries of customary law on northern Europe, scribes or notaries wrote acts that were given reliability by the seals of participants or by an enclosed guarantee from public authorities. In countries of Roman LAW, from the 12th century, the notary documented acts and, acting like a public official, had the power to authenticate them himself by his signature and his device or sign. A more elaborate notariate developed in ITALY, in the 12th century, with the revival and elaboration of Roman law at BOLOGNA, and rapidly thereafter developed in the legal systems of southern FRANCE and the Iberian Peninsula.

#### THE PROCESS

Writing and devising contracts had several steps for notaries. The first was the minute, brief, or *imbreuiatura*, in which the notary recorded in simple language what his clients wanted accomplished in a more formal document. He wrote next the original formal instrument, complete with the required legal clauses and particular details of the transaction or agreement. The notary handed over this instrument copied on parchment to his client. He had written the minute in his register, minute

book, or protocol, which he kept, authenticated, and then usually passed on to his successor or to a depository run by local public authorities. This had the same authenticity and legal status as the original instrument. These compilations and documents involved all kinds of acts including sales, rentals, dowry agreements, peace accords, receipts, and WILLS or last testaments. They still exist in huge numbers in Italy, southern France, and SPAIN.

#### THE PROFILE

Notaries received their office as public officials, akin to judges, from public authorities after an examination demonstrated their knowledge of law, legal formulary or verbiage, and LATIN. In Italian cities they sometimes gained considerable political power because the developing COMMUNES needed bureaucracies and literate people knowledgeable in the law. Notaries both created and administrated those bureaucracies. They had important roles in Latin and VERNACULAR culture and education. They served all aspects of society that could afford to pay them for proper documentation.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; COMMUNE.

**Further reading:** Geoffrey Barraclough, *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia: A Calendar and a Study of a Formularium Notariorum Curie from the Early Years of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1934); C. R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).



A procession of the guild of the notaries of Perugia, Bibliotheca Augusta, Ms. 973, Perugia, Italy (*Alinari / Art Resource*)

**Notker the Stammerer, Saint** (Notker Balbulus) (ca. 840–912) *German monk, scholar*

Notker entered the Monastery of Saint Gall as a very young man. A chronicler described him as “weak of body, sickly, stammering, and shy.” Nonetheless, he became the monastery’s librarian and was for 40 years a remarkable teacher. Among his disciples were a bishop of Constance and a bishop of Freising. After the emperor Charles III the Fat (r. 881–887) heaped praise on him in 883, he responded by writing for him the *Gesta Karoli Magni* (Deeds of Charles the Great), a contrived, moralizing, more or less legendary history of CHARLEMAGNE.

Notker was best known for his *Book of Sequences* or tropes and other liturgical writings. Learning from a monk of Jumièges, he devised a mnemonic method for remembering the long vocalizations for the singing of the *Kyrie* and the *Alleluia*. Not the inventor of tropes, he greatly contributed to the development of Carolingian liturgy, HYMNS, and music. He died in 912.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

**Further reading:** Lewis G. M. Thorpe, trans., *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969); Albert L. Lloyd, *The Manuscripts and Fragments of Notker’s Psalter* (Giessen: W. Schmitz, 1958).

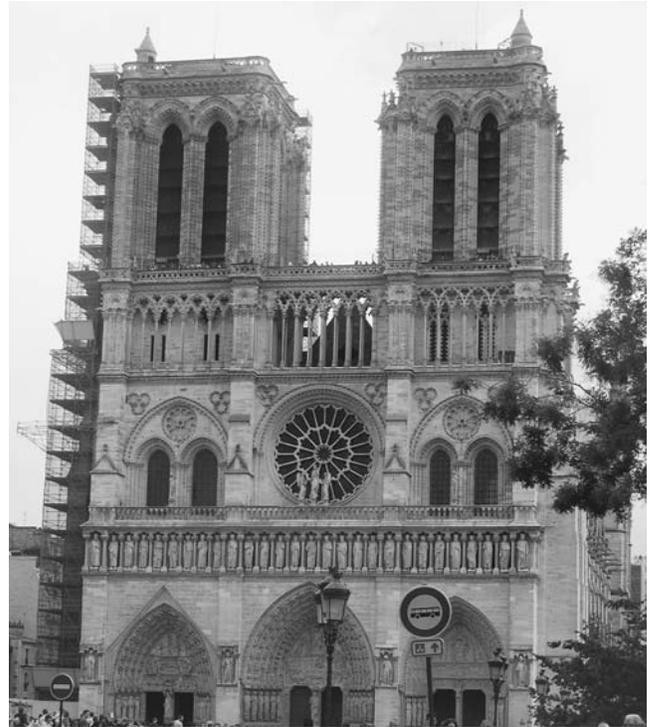
**Notre-Dame of Paris, Cathedral of** This was the CATHEDRAL for the city of PARIS. Situated on the picturesque Île de la Cité, it was and remained among the most famous, almost a prototype for, GOTHIC cathedrals in the world. It was begun on a site previously occupied by a pagan temple and then two earlier churches. During the bishopric of Maurice de Sully in the early 12th century, construction began. Its foundation was blessed by Pope ALEXANDER III in 1163. Completed in about 1230, it was best known for its flying buttresses, mathematically derived west façade, the statue of Our Lady of Paris, and its STAINED GLASS, especially in its ROSE WINDOWS.

**Further reading:** Yves Bottineau, *Notre-Dame de Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle*, trans. Lovett F. Edwards (London: Allen, 1967); Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, trans. John Goodman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998); Allan Temko, *Notre-Dame of Paris* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1956).

**Novels of Justinian** See *CORPUS IURIS CIVILIS*.

**Novgorod (Novyi Gorod, New Town)** Novgorod was a town on the banks of the upper Volkhov River near Lake Ilmen and the capital of a medieval Ruś state that once ran from the Gulf of FINLAND to the Ural Mountains. Founded by Scandinavian merchants in the ninth century, it linked the Scandinavian north with the Muslim south for TRADE. It was first mentioned in chronicles in 862, when King RURIK made it the center of his new kingdom of Ruś. When his successor, Oleg (d. ca. 912), captured KIEV in 882, the center of the kingdom gravitated to the south. The city accepted Kievan princes and became more Slavic in population, language, and institutional life. Its economic prosperity and social development continued and nurtured an active urban population.

In 1136 the system of appointment of a prince by the “eldest” prince of Kiev was rejected as the method of selecting its rulers. A local uprising installed a municipal almost republican government, whose officials were elected by an assembly of the landed aristocracy. The city grew richer and extended its control over much of the surrounding country side. It became a prominent member of the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, trading in FURS, amber, wax, honey, and slaves. The Rurikid princes tried to retake control of the town but were limited to mere participation in the assembly. Alexander NEVSKY, its prince, defeated the Swedes and the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS and started his career in Novgorod before becoming prince of Suzdal and Vladimir in 1252. Helped by its geographical situation in the north, Novgorod kept much of its independence from the MONGOLS in return for payments of tribute. In 1416 the local aristocracy or BOYARS seized control of the governing council. This event in combination with the rise of MOSCOW contributed to the town’s decline in the 15th century. IVAN III defeated its army in



The Gothic western façade of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, from about 1250 (Courtesy Edward English)

battle in 1471 and won recognition of Muscovite sovereignty over it in 1478.

See also FURS AND FUR TRADE.

**Further reading:** Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes, trans., *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471* (London: Offices of the Society, 1914); Henrik Birnbaum, *Lord Novgorod the Great: Essays in the History and Culture of a Medieval City-State* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica, 1981); Mark A. Brisbane, ed., *The Archaeology of Novgorod, Russia: Recent Results from the Town and Its Hinterland* (Lincoln, Nebr.: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1992); M. W. Thompson, *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City Directed by A. V. Artsikhovskiy and B. A. Kolchin* (New York: Praeger, 1967).

**novice and novitiate** A novice in the Middle Ages was a person undergoing a period of probation in a religious house before pronouncing his or her permanent vows. At the end of the novitiate, a postulant could choose to return to the lay world or make his or her profession before the community. The religious institution was free to accept or reject the postulant. The Rule of Saint BENEDICT in chapter 58 defined this process and the status of the novice.

Before the late 11th century monastic sources rarely mentioned novices. Until then the novitiate, even when practiced, was probably of very short duration. The

community used isolation, fear, and stern discipline to judge a postulant's vocation or desire for the monastic life. Benedictine orders, such as the CISTERCIANS, paid especially close attention to the novitiate as an important evaluative process. The MENDICANT ORDERS such as the FRANCISCANS and DOMINICANS initially considered it an optional state. Not until the late 16th century did the novitiate become standard for all orders of monks, NUNS, and friars.

**Further reading:** Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict in English*, ed. Timothy Fry (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Isabelle Cochelin, "Novice," *EMA*, 2.1,032–1,033; Giles Constable, *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); David Knowles, *Christian Monasticism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Longman, 1989).

**Nubia (Nuba)** Medieval Nubia was a Christian kingdom in northeastern AFRICA up the Nile River from EGYPT. Now partially covered by the blocked water of the Aswan Dam, Nubia once extended from Aswan south to Khartoum. Called the "Land of Kush," with its capital at Meroë. It had strongly influenced Egypt from the time of the pharaohs. Conquered in the fourth century C.E. by an Ethiopian king, it became part of the empire of AXUM and Christianized by the sixth century by Melkite missionaries and MONOPHYSITES.

Nubia soon possessed churches in the BYZANTINE style, wonderfully decorated and still extant. Its church was dependent on the patriarchate of ALEXANDRIA, but the Nubians always used Greek and never switched to COPTIC for the liturgy. The two kingdoms of the region, Nobatia and Makuria, merged in the early eighth century into one Christian kingdom with a capital at Dongola. It had signed peace treaty with the ARABS immediately before that union. The agreement allowed the Nubians to retain their independence for the next seven centuries and to prosper from commercial ties with Egypt and the East. The MAMLUKS' control of Egypt in the mid-13th century resulted in Bedouin migration that led to an Islamization of Nubia. The last king of Dongola was deposed in the early 14th century. Its last Christian communities disappeared around 1500.

See also COPTS AND COPTIC ART.

**Further reading:** W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); S. Burstein, ed., *Ancient African Civilizations: Kush and Axum* (Princeton, N.J.: M. Wiener, 1998); W. B. Emery, *Lost Land Emerging* (New York: Scribner, 1967); Yvan G. Lepage, "Nubia," *EMA* 2.1,034; P. L. Shinnie, *Medieval Nubia* (Khartoum: Sudan Antiquities Service, 1954); D. A. Welsby, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia: Pagans, Christians and Muslims on the Middle Nile* (London: British Museum, 2002).

**numbers** In the Middle Ages, the exegesis or interpretation of numbers in the BIBLE was based on the Pythagorean, Platonic, and Jewish traditions, combining a certain mysticism with arithmetic. Numbers were seen to represent ideas and even the fundamental principles of all things. Each number possessed a hidden meaning corresponding to an intrinsic quality of the number itself or to the nature of what it was linked. For example, 1 designated GOD, FAITH, and baptism; 2 meant division and opposition, but also unification, as in the two natures in the one Christ; 3 was linked with the Trinity. AUGUSTINE in his philosophy of numbers and interpretation of biblical numbers by arithmetic laid the basis for numerological reflection and speculation throughout the Middle Ages.

CASSIODORUS, ISIDORE of Seville, BEDE, ALCUIN, RABANUS Maurus, JOHN SCOTUS ERIUGENA, and HINCMAR of Rheims all used and speculated on numbers in their works. In the 12th century, theologians such as RUPERT OF DEUTZ, THIERRY OF CHARTRES, and HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR all worked out allegorical and exegetical systems using arithmetic, geometry, the numerical value of letters, and the figures of numbers. These ideas were perpetuated and elaborated upon in the 13th century by John Peckham (1225–92), in the 14th century by Nicholas ORESME, and in the 15th century by NICHOLAS of Cusa and Marsilio FICINO.

**Further reading:** Michael J. B. Allen, *Nuptial Arithmetic: Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on the Fatal Number in Book VIII of Plato's Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969); Hanne Lange, "Numbers, Numerology," *EMA*, 2.1,034; Karl Menninger, *Number Words and Number Symbols: A Cultural History of Numbers*, trans. Paul Broneer (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1969); Robert L. Surlis, ed., *Medieval Numerology: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1993).

**numismatics** See MONEY AND MINTS.

**nuns and nunneries** The word *nun* was based on the LATIN term *nonnus*, which meant a monk. It was used for any female religious devotee, whatever the order to which she belonged or rule she followed as a canoness, enclosed nun, or sister. In the late antique world and sometimes later, nuns were called "virile women" and more frequently later "the brides of Christ." A member of a religious community, the nun was subject to the rule that governed for her house. She publicly received a veil from a bishop and usually took vows of POVERTY and obedience. Her life could be devoted to secluded contemplation or charitable activities in the world. She was expected to carry out the daily recital of the OFFICE or canonical hours as well as participate in MASS with her community.

Nuns played important roles in medieval society and culture as scholars, mystics, artists, political activists, nurses, and teachers. Entrance into a convent was an important and vital option for many women in the Middle Ages, though sometimes they actually had little choice in this matter. Economic and familial realities could close off the option to marry and limit women in their choices about what order or convent they could enter or what tasks they would undertake in monastic life. There was always a great concern among the male clergy to control and oversee the activity of these women. Resistance to such patriarchal intervention was frequent.

See also MONASTICISM; WOMEN, STATUS OF.

**Further reading:** Rebecca Krawiec, *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996); Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922); Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

### Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Zangi (Light of the Faith) (r. 1146–1171) ruler of Syria

Nur al-Din succeeded his father, Zangi (d. 1127), first of the Zengid line, in 1146 as *atabeg* or ruler of Halab or ALEPPO. He gave his oath of loyalty to the ABBASID caliphs but then forged an extensive empire. He promoted a form of JIHAD, or holy war, to expel the crusaders. To accomplish this he also needed and desired Islamic unity. Successfully forging a jihad, his armies conquered DAMASCUS, EDESSA, and TRIPOLI. In 1163, Nur al-Din attacked the castle KRAK DES CHEVALIERS but was routed by its defenders. Between 1169 and 1171 he annexed EGYPT. As the founder of the Zengid dynasty, by the time he died, SYRIA, Egypt, and parts of IRAQ and ANATOLIA were all under his control. Much of this was accomplished at the expense of the Shiites as he laid the foundation for a strong and unified SUNNI state. He

sponsored the foundation of numerous Islamic schools and MADRASAS and laid the groundwork for the achievements of his successor, SALADIN. Nur al-Din was honored for his piety, and his use of captured treasure to build these establishments, MOSQUES, HOSPITALS, and schools. He died in 1171 as he was planning to limit the power of one of his Kurdish officers, Saladin.

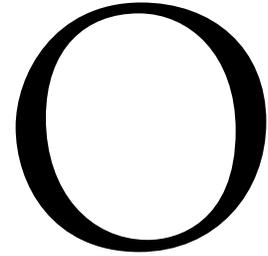
**Further reading:** H. A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nūr-ad-Dīn," *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), 513–527; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1999); P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (New York: Longman, 1986), 38–52.

**Nuremberg (Nürnberg)** Nuremberg became an important town in northern BAVARIA in late medieval GERMANY. It had its origins around a CASTLE from the eleventh century. It soon developed a prosperous FAIR. The emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA granted it the status of an imperial city and appointed a governor. A member of the HOHENZOLLERN FAMILY AND DYNASTY held this position until 1427.

In 1219 Nuremberg obtained a CHARTER of liberties from the emperor FREDRICK II. It joined the confederation of the cities of the Rhine in 1256 and remained a member until the end of the Middle Ages. It was very prosperous in the 14th and 15th centuries as a center of AGRICULTURE, industry, especially metallurgy and TEXTILES, and commerce, since it was at the heart of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE on the transit routes to the south.

In 1356, the emperor CHARLES IV proclaimed the GOLDEN BULL at a diet there. The crown jewels of the Holy Roman Empire were moved there in 1424. It was at the same time a rich cultural and artistic center, dominated by a closed mercantile and patrician clique that held power throughout the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Cecil Headlam, *The Story of Nuremberg* (London: J. M. Dent, 1901); Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg: A Renaissance City, 1500–1618* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983); *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300–1550* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986).



**oath** In the Middle Ages the oath or solemn pledge invoking a divine name to witness the truth of a statement was an essential social and legal act reflecting the value placed on a person's word. Fundamentally a verbal statement, with a physical gesture, as important as the words said, the oath was formally recorded. It was sworn on a symbolic object. In the early Middle Ages, this was usually on arms, as the guarantee of an oath. With the progress of Christianization, oaths were taken on RELICS or on the BIBLE. Special oaths were devised for JEWS, the *inramentum judaeorum*.

The CAROLINGIANS imposed oaths of allegiance to the emperor on all the men of the empire to try form a bond to uniting all subjects. From 1000, the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD movements attempted to unite Christian, feudal, and knightly society around an oath of peace that was publicly sworn on relics. In the early medieval administration of JUSTICE, because of distrust of written proofs or documents, an oath by the accused and by his guarantors sufficed for purposes of exoneration in many cases. The declarations of a witness were likewise tied to oaths and could free a defendant.

#### A PERMANENT INSTITUTION

These concepts endured throughout the Middle Ages. Oaths among the seigniorial or noble classes reflected social status and established relations with themselves and others. Interpersonal relations were often based on oaths promising and guaranteeing reciprocity. The vassal swore homage to lords. The dubbing or making of a KNIGHT, the consecration of bishops, and the coronations of a king involved all oaths that entailed rituals. Soon written CHARTERS listed witnesses and guarantors.

#### PERJURY AND OTHER PITFALLS

The frequency of oaths and the play of multiple loyalties made preventing perjury difficult. Judicial oaths in some instances displaced probatory oaths. There was some concern to confine the use of sworn pledges to the nobility, so peasants or townspeople were forbidden to bind themselves by oath in many matters. Groups based on mutual oaths—peace movements, leagues, commercial agreements, GUILDS, or COMMUNES—antagonized the nobility and the church. For the nobility such groups could only subvert lordly status and privileges. According to some, the dependent status of peasants and workers entailed an inability to keep their word if it was contrary to the bond owed to their lords. To permit them to swear oaths was to increase the probability that they would sin by breaking oaths they should never have presumed to make. Compounding this ethical difficulty was the church's tendency to avoid involvement with group oaths or their verbal administration. The increasing sophistication of the legal structures of the later Middle Ages gradually marginalized the judicial oath, which nonetheless persisted as an indispensable portion of legal processes and the discernment of justice.

*See also* ORDEALS.

**Further reading:** Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2d ed. (1895; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); J. E. Tyler, *Oaths: Their Origin, Nature, and History*, 2d ed. (London: John W. Parker, 1835).

**oblates** Oblates were children who had not yet reached the age of puberty, that is, barely beyond the

age of reason, who were offered to a monastery by parents to become monks or nuns for life. This offering was a commending of the child to a sacred patron for his or her benefit. It was in reality perhaps a parental sacrifice or an abandonment, according to circumstances. The practice was not often questioned between the sixth and 11th centuries, since oblates formed an essential part of monastic recruitment. These children were customarily accompanied by a gift to the monastery. The gifts could determine their status within the monastic family.

The children so obliterated were removed from the MARRIAGE plans and strategies of families. Oblation became an economic and familial practice to position and support second sons and daughters. The gifts were usually smaller than the marriage expenses would be. For the poor, oblation fed another mouth the family was unable to feed. From the mid-11th century, certain religious orders complained that the children being offered were family rejects, whom new orders usually refused to admit. During the later Middle Ages, the oblation of male children gradually disappeared. The term *oblite* was increasingly used only for adults who had attached themselves to a religious house.

**Further reading:** Mayke De Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

**Ochrida (Orchrid, Ohrid, Achrida)** Ochrida (Achrida, ancient Lychnidon), a religious center and city in medieval MACEDONIA, was on a terraced site beside a lake of the same name. It had a Christian culture from the fourth and fifth centuries that survived ravages in the sixth- and seventh-century invasions by various peoples. Conversion to Christianity in 865 by the Bulgar king BORIS I, then also the ruler of Macedonia, led to King SIMEON I to set up a Byzantine and Slavic school at Ochrida in the 10th century. Threatened by BYZANTINE armies, SAMUEL II, retreated to Ochrida. The victories of BASIL II, THE BULGAR SLAYER, crushed the Bulgar army in 1014 and Basil made an entry into Ochrida in 1018.

#### INCURSIONS AND CHANGES

Despite SLAV, VLACH, NORMAN, and Venetian interventions and attacks on the town, the BYZANTINE Empire maintained control at least until 1187. The religious center of Macedonia remained Ochrida, although the bishop usually spent his time in the imperial court in CONSTANTINOPLE. In 1259 Ochrida supported the armies of Michael Palaiologos from the Empire of NICAEA.

From the late 13th century, SERBIA began to intervene in Macedonia. STEPHEN DUŠAN took power over Ochrida in 1334, but the Serbs were unable to save the region and Ochrida from the OTTOMAN advance. After

the Ottomans annihilated Serbian troops on the Maritsa, Macedonia, Ochrida lost its independence before an occupation in 1385.

#### REMAINS

Ruins from the medieval town survive. Excavations have revealed the remains of a building from the fourth century, a baptistery and a chapel near a NARTHEX. From the older Bulgar kingdoms, all that remains are traces of the CATHEDRAL of Saint Sophia, a basilica from the late 10th or early 11th century, with FRESCOES from the mid-eleventh century. Dating from early 14th century, the church of Saint Nicholas at Bolnitsa has preserved frescoes from 1330 and 1345.

*See also* BULGARIA AND THE BULGARS.

**Further reading:** Kosta Balabanov, *Ohrid: Cultural-Historical and Natural Region in the Catalogue of the World's Heritage*, trans. Tom Petsinis (Skopje: Mislav, 1987); Suzy Dufrenne, "Ohrid," *EMA* 2.1,044–1,045; Vojislav J. Duric, *The Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid*, trans. Sonja Bicanic (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1963).

**Ockham, William of** *See* WILLIAM OF OCKHAM.

**Odilo of Cluny, Saint** (961/962–1049) *abbot of Cluny* Odilo was born in 961 or 962 in an aristocratic family and started his career as a canon of Saint-Julien de Brioude. From there he moved to CLUNY to be with the abbot, Saint Maiolus (ca. 909–994). Maiolus chose his loyal disciple, Odilo, as replacement in 993 and in 994 as the fifth abbot of Cluny. It was under his government that Cluny acquired from Popes Gregory V (r. 996–999) in 998 and John XIX (r. 1024–32) in 1024 its unique independence with immunity and a full exemption from other monastic establishments and ecclesiastical authorities. All except the pope. Odilo provided the community with the rules and liturgical practices reflecting this spiritual freedom and independence from lords. Odilo devised a network of establishments dependent on a mother house personified by the abbot of Cluny. Odilo linked by the memorial function for a "Cluniac Church" to celebrate the Feast of All Souls on November 2. This feast for the souls of the departed spread throughout Christendom, as it grew from concern for dead monks to concern for all of the clerical and lay DEAD. He was active in the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD movement and in adjudicating secular disputes. The Cluniac grew from 37 houses to 65 under Odilo.

Under Odilo's abbacy, there was a major building program for the church at Cluny and the monastery's *scriptorium* was very productive. Odilo was an ardent commissioner of the copying and illuminating of texts and manuscripts. He also wrote HYMNS, and SERMONS demonstrating his devotion to the Incarnation of Christ, the Eucharist, and MARY. He wrote hagiographical

biographies for Maiolus and the empress ADELAIDE. Having become famous for his generosity to those in need, he died at Souvigny at age 87 and was soon canonized in 1063.

**Further reading:** Giles Constable, *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries: Further Studies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910–1157* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

**Odo (Eudes)** (ca. 1030–1097) *dissolute bishop of Bayeux, half brother of William the Conqueror*

Odo or (Eudes) was the son of Arlette or Herleva, a former concubine of Duke Robert of NORMANDY, and Erluin of Conteville. Aged about 20, he received the see of Bayeux from Duke WILLIAM, the future Conqueror, in 1049–50. He took part in the conquest of ENGLAND in 1066, when he became infamous for carrying a studded club instead of a sword, since metal weapons were forbidden to the CLERGY. He was rewarded by being made the earl of Kent, the greatest landowner in the country. He held a prominent place in the government of England under William. It was probably Odo's idea to help justify William's accession to the throne by creating the BAYEUX TAPESTRY, which showed HAROLD II Godewineson breaking his oath to William.

Odo's illegal raising of troops for a campaign in ITALY disgraced him in 1082; he was to be imprisoned for life. Odo seems to have had strong ambitions, including even the PAPACY. He was freed from prison at ROUEN on William's death in 1087 by WILLIAM II RUFUS, the Conqueror's successor. He tried to continue to play a role in a failed conspiracy of Robert Curthose (ca. 1054–1134) against William Rufus, but primarily he concerned himself as a patron of religion with building his cathedral church and administering his diocese. He tried to take part in the First CRUSADE with Robert Curthose but died at PALERMO in 1097.

**Further reading:** Joannes, Monk of Cluny, fl. 945, *St. Odo of Cluny: Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny*, trans. and ed. Gerard Sitwell (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958); David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (New York: Longman, 1982); Sarell Everett Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages: The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066–1204* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936).

**Odoacer (Odovacar)** (ca. 433–493) *Germanic king, ally of Rome*

Odoacer was a German chieftain of the Scirian tribe allied for a time with the HUNS, who entered ITALY in

470 and became king of the Heruli. As other German chieftains did, he joined the Roman army, but he revolted against his general and defeated him in battle in 476. After this victory, he entered ROME and on August 28, 476 deposed the last Roman emperor of the West, Romulus Augustulus (r. 475–476). He acknowledged the overlordship of the Eastern emperor Zeno (r. 474–491) at CONSTANTINOPLE, but he soon proclaimed himself the Arian ruler of Italy. Never to gain recognition in CONSTANTINOPLE, he opposed any attempts by the Byzantine emperors to interfere in Italy and, to assure his independence, invaded the Balkans. He failed to prevent the Byzantine-sponsored OSTROGOTHIC invasion of Italy in 493 and tried to reach an understanding with their king, THEODORIC. He was murdered and his followers were massacred during a reception at Ravenna in March of 493.

*See also* BARBARIANS AND BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS.

**Further reading:** Lucien Musset, *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, AD 400–600*, trans. Edward and Columba James (1969; reprint, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975); E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West, 400–1000*, rev. ed. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1996).

**offertory** *See* MASS.

**offices, monastic and canonical** The divine office is the most important element, in length and frequency, of the rites and PRAYERS of the Catholic liturgy. It could be celebrated privately or publicly: in a monastic setting or in a church more open to the LAITY. Its aim was to sanctify time weekly according to the hours of the day. Its transition from private to public prayer came about in the fourth century and arose from a growing ascetic and elitist movement in the church. Monks and even HERMITS, though living in community, solemnized the hours of the day by prayer and by common celebration of these prayers, the divine office proper. Most lay Christians attended prayer meetings on certain occasions, such as on Sundays and feast days, either for vigils or for the evening office along with the MASS.

Monks followed a system of hours, vigils, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. They also established the essential content of the hours of the office, including the introduction of the psalms as Christian prayer, through a continuous oral reading in common of the PSALTER. In the eighth century, the secular clerical office and the monastic office began to differ in terms of the number and distribution of the psalms in the course of each office; otherwise, the office was celebrated identically by the secular clerics and the monks. The laity participated or at least listened to

these offices in churches or monasteries, especially at evening vespers.

The rhythm and ordering of the office were devised on what might be possible for a community to carry out. Any decision on that was ultimately a bishop's. The whole office did not have to be celebrated. Carolingian reforms made the office of clerics and monks exactly the same in frequency and solemnity. They also insisted on the obligation of each cleric to take part in any office celebrated in his church. As the public recitation of the office became too long to be practical, clerics were allowed to recite it privately. For monks, the divine office had been the most important aspects of the prayer life as far back as the time of Saint BENEDICT in the sixth century. It was done to promote contemplation and a life of continual prayer.

See also LITURGICAL BOOKS.

**Further reading:** Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Sally Elizabeth Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950–1540* (New York: Garland, 1993); Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1986).

### **Olaf I Trygvesson (Óláfr)** (ca. 968–1000) *king of Norway*

Olaf was born after the murder of his father, Trygve in about 968. Legend has it that he grew up among the Ruś and became a mercenary. In 991 he entered the service of the Danish king, Svein I Forkbeard (r. 986–1014), and participated in attacks on ENGLAND. After returning to NORWAY, he took the throne on the death of Haakon the Great (r. 968–995) and reigned from 995 to 1000. He was one of the great Christianizers of Norway and western Scandinavia, including ICELAND, the Orkney Islands, and GREENLAND. In hagiographical traditions, he was the model VIKING. As king (r. 1015–30), he tried to unite his kingdom through a common religion. His mysterious origins and his odd disappearance during a battle increased the legendary aspects of his life. A biographer, the Icelander SNORRI STURLUSON, was well aware of its mythological aspect in 1220. He died in battle on September 9, 1000.

**Further reading:** *The Saga of King Olaf Tryggvason Who Reigned over Norway A.D. 995 to A.D. 1000* (London: D. Nutt, 1895); Gwyn Jones, *The Legendary History of Olaf Tryggvason: The Twenty-Second W. P. Ker Memorial Lecture, Delivered in the University of Glasgow, 6th March 1968* (Glasgow: Jackson, 1968).

**Old English** See ANGLO-SAXONS.

### **Oleg (Helgi)** (r. ca. 879–913) *legendary Viking prince of Kiev*

Oleg followed his probable kinsman, the Scandinavian chieftain RURIK, to NOVGOROD, where Rurik took power. At Rurik's death, he took over Novgorod, but in 882 he left and conquered Smolensk and KIEV. He then established a new capital at Kiev. Oleg united the SLAV tribes of the Dnieper Valley and after a number of victories over the KHAZARS founded an important Russian principality, which stretched from Kiev to Novgorod. In 907, he led an expedition against CONSTANTINOPLE. He failed to capture the city but forced the BYZANTINES to sign a favorable treaty on commerce. He died about 912 or 913, from the bite of a snake, according to a legend.

**Further reading:** Samuel H. Cross, ed. and trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953); Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Ruś, 750–1200* (New York: Longman, 1996).

**olives** See AGRICULTURE; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

### **Olivi, Peter John** (1247/1248–1298) *leader of the Spiritual Franciscans*

Peter John Olivi was born in southern France near Béziers and entered the FRANCISCAN ORDER at age 12. He studied THEOLOGY at PARIS, and perhaps at OXFORD, and was a pupil of BONAVENTURE, who greatly influenced him. He never obtained the title of master. He taught theology in several Provençal schools of the Franciscans. He especially defended what he considered absolutely essential to the Franciscan vocation, the strict observance of fully voluntary POVERTY. In 1279 he was consulted on the drafting of a papal bull in which Pope Nicholas III (r. 1277–80) granted the order new privileges and confirmed the evangelical character of the Franciscan Rule, recognizing moderation in its contact with the material world for the Franciscans and only for the necessities of life.

In 1282 some Parisian masters of theology condemned propositions in his commentary on the SENTENCES of PETER LOMBARD. The next year Olivi agreed to retract them. From 1287 to 1289 he taught theology at the convent of Santa Croce in FLORENCE with DANTE in the audience. Returning to PROVENCE and continuing work as theologian and preacher, he exercised a growing influence on his order, and among a LAITY becoming more receptive to his ideas about the necessity of clerical poverty.

#### IDEAS AND WORKS

He wrote numerous small treatises about attaining a perfect love of GOD. This could only be achieved by living in absolute poverty and detachment from the goods of this world. Peter saw in a revived Franciscan order the most

complete fulfillment of an ideal of life involving action and contemplation. In later life he wrote an interpretation of human history divided into seven ages and envisioned as a ceaseless combat between good and evil. It dealt with the ideas of JOACHIM OF FIORE and the coming of the ANTICHRIST. Always loyal to the church, he even promoted a radical ideal of papal infallibility, especially on certain questions of importance to the Franciscans. He vigorously denounced corruption and made a comparison of the church "of this world" to the biblical Babylon. After his death in 1298, some of his ideas were condemned at the Council of VIENNA in 1311 and more at Bern in 1326. His tomb, long a place of PILGRIMAGE, was destroyed and his remains scattered. His ideas on poverty continued to be influential within the Franciscan order long after his death.

See also BIBLE; CLEMENT V, POPE; JOHN XXII, POPE; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Decima L. Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932).

**Omar, Mosque of (Umar)** See DOME OF THE ROCK.

**Omar I, Abu Hafsa ibn al-Khattab** See UMAR IBN AL-KHATTAB.

**Omar Khayyam (Ghiyath al-Din Abul-Fath Umar ibn Ibrahim al-Khayyami, Umar-I Khayyam, Omar the Tent-maker)** (ca. 1048–1131/32) *Persian astronomer, mathematician, poet*

Omar Khayyam was probably born at Nishapur in IRAN in about 1048. He was well educated there and later at SAMARKAND. He won wide recognition for treatises on algebra and astronomy. The SELJUK ruler of Persia, Malik Shah (r. 1055–92), was so impressed by his knowledge that he called him to his palace and commissioned him to reform the CALENDAR using astronomical observations. He finished that in 1079 and then constructed an observatory at Isfahan.

In 1092, after the death of Malik Shah, Omar went on pilgrimage to MECCA. When he returned home to Nishapur, he lived a reclusive life, and wrote his poetic masterpiece the *Rubaiyat* (Quatrains). These poems were only gradually collected and his status as a great poet only gradually evolved. Ultimately he became recognized as one of the greatest poets of the Middle Ages. He left retirement only to do some weather forecasting for a sultan worried about prospects for hunting activities. Throughout his life

he was said to prefer reason to revelation. He died in 1131/32 and was buried at Isfahan, where his tomb became a symbol of Persian identity. His calendar, the *Maliki* or *Jalali*, of 1079 was considered among the most accurate of the Middle Ages, and may be more precise than the Gregorian calendar developed 500 years later.

**Further reading:** Omar Khayyam, *The Rubiyat of Omar Khayyam*, trans. Peter Avery and John Heath-Stubbs (New York: Penguin Books, 1979); Ali Dashti, *In Search of Omar Khayyam*, trans. L. P. Elwell-Sutton (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1971); John Andrew Boyle, "Umar Khayyam: Astronomer, Mathematician and Poet," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 4. *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuks*, ed. R. N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 658–664; Otto Rothfield, *Umar Khayyam and His Age* (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala, 1922); Rushdi Rashid, *Omar Khayyam, the Mathematician* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000).

**optics** The theories of PLATO were fundamental in medieval optics until the 11th century. According to Plato, a ray was sent out uninterrupted by the eye. It originated in a human inner fire. Called the theory of emission, it was accepted first by AUGUSTINE and then over the course of the Middle Ages by William of Conches (ca. 1100–54), ADELARD OF BATH, and Robert GROSSETESTE. However, when the anatomy of the eye became known, it brought this into question. At the same time, the work of ARISTOTLE and his Arabic commentators, such as IBN SINA (Avicenna) and IBN RUSHD (Averroës), led to a better understanding of optics. According to Avicenna *lux* was the quality of bodies that emitted light and *lumen* was the optical effect this provoked. After the ancient works of Euclid and Ptolemy on optics became available in the Latin West from the mid-12th century, Optics began to be studied from the point of view of geometry. Authors concentrated their attention on the path followed by a ray of vision explaining it by the laws of perspective, reflection, and refraction. This thought produced a science of perspective in the 13th century. The works of such scholars as Roger BACON, John Peckham (1225–92), Witelo (ca. 1230–78), and Henry of Langenstein (d. 1397) were essentially based on the ideas of the Arab scholar IBN AL-HAYTHAM (Alhazen).

There remained the problem of color. After Roger Bacon, Witelo, and John Peckham, a DOMINICAN, Theodoric of Freiberg, in 1304, proposed a theory drawing together the laws of the reflection and refraction of rays as seen in a rainbow. To understand colors, he constructed six-angled prisms. The existence of such knowledge that permitted the making of lenses from about 1280 to improve vision. Optics remained primarily a theoretical discipline.

See also AL-KINDI, ABU YUSUF YAQUB IBN ISHAQ AL-SABBAH; LENSES AND EYEGASSES.

**Further reading:** John Peckham, *John Peckham and the Science of Optics: Perspectiva communis*, ed. and trans. David C. Lindberg (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970); David C. Lindberg, *Studies in the History of Medieval Optics* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983).

**Orcagna, Andrea di Cione Arcagnolo** (ca. 1308/15–ca. 1368) *Florentine painter, sculptor, architect*  
Andrea studied in FLORENCE and was first mentioned in 1343, when he was admitted to the guild of PAINTERS. He was admitted to the guild of the stonemasons in 1352. Having won fame for his work at the Strozzi Chapel (1354–57), in Santa Maria Novella in Florence where he painted an altarpiece, he was commissioned in 1357 as the architect of the Cathedral of Florence, where he worked until 1367. His principal accomplishment was a tabernacle with a relief of the DEATH and ASSUMPTION of the Virgin MARY in Orsanmichele in Florence. In the meantime, he also planned the rebuilding of the Orvieto Cathedral. His brothers, Nardo (active 1343–66) and Jacopo (active 1365–98), were among the most influential painters in Florence in the second half of the 14th century. Andrea died about 1368.

See also FRESKO PAINTING; PAINTING.

**Further reading:** Gert Kreytenberg, *Orcagna's Tabernacle in Orsanmichele, Florence* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1994); Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (1951; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

**ordeals** Ordeals were supposed to be judgments of GOD that allowed judges to decide the guilt or innocence of an accused according to the person's physical behavior. They were thought to give judicial proof. This often meant holding in hand or walking over fire or plunging a hand into boiling water or cold water. It was not rational, in our terms, but could make sense to minds expecting GOD to be active in this world. Of Frankish origin and mentioned in the first Salic law, the ordeal was widely deployed from the sixth century in Gaul and was gradually adopted throughout much of Europe.

This irrational procedure has long been unfavorably compared with the rational spirit of Roman LAW. It was applied most often in murky and undecided cases, crimes without witnesses or with conflicting evidence, or cases recognizably susceptible to supernatural or divine intervention. It was a dramatized way to address the uncertainty of judges. Religious rituals and FASTING preceded its application, giving those involved time to weigh the possible results of such a procedure and to move to conclude an agreement to preclude it, which was always preferable to a condemnation. Because interpreting the results was not necessarily easy, a majority of those tried

were acquitted. After growing opposition to the ordeal, there was a general suppression after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

An offer to submit to an ordeal allowed an accused to demonstrate good faith. In reality there was little need to push the procedure further. It was used in 1083 by Pope GREGORY VII in his conflict with the emperor Henry IV (r. 1050–1106). In that case the result did not favor the PAPACY, and Gregory had to resort to other means to try to win the INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY. Legal progress and the rediscovery of Roman law prompted the suppression of the ordeal in the first half of the 13th century.

See also HENRY II, KING OF ENGLAND; HUGUCCIO; OATHS.

**Further reading:** Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Ralph J. Hexter, *Equivocal Oaths and Ordeals in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

**Orderic Vitalis (Odericus)** (1075–ca. 1142) *Benedictine monk, historian*

Orderic was born on February 16, 1075 at Atcham in Shropshire in England and educated at Shrewsbury. His father, Ordelerius, was a priest from Orléans who had followed a Norman knight with WILLIAM I the CONQUEROR to ENGLAND at the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066. Though a cleric, he had three sons by an anonymous Englishwoman.

Orderic, after receiving some rudiments of Old English, was sent by his father in 1085 to the Norman monastery of Saint-Évroult in the diocese of Lisieux. He became a monk there and copied manuscripts from which he learned some history. He received the name Vitalis and studied LATIN and grammar. He probably took his monastic vows in 1090; he became subdeacon in 1091, deacon in 1093, and priest in 1108. He journeyed to NORMANDY, England, FRANCE, the abbey of CLUNY, and Cambrai. There he gathered all kinds of information from the LAITY and the CLERGY. This information formed the basis of his writing.

#### WORKS

From 1114 at the latest and at the request of an abbot, Orderic started to write his *Ecclesiastical History*, which he finished in 1141 near his DEATH. The history was organized into 13 books. Books I and II were a chronological history from the birth of Christ. Books III, IV, V, and VI were a history of the monastery of Saint-Évroult; the others cover the deeds of the Normans to 1083. His history was a lively and detailed picture of the Anglo-Norman world of the second half of the 11th century and the first third of the 12th. Using dramatic dialogues, he presented individual portraits of members of lay and ecclesiastical

aristocracy, to describe knightly life and the monastic world. It is the main and most reliable source for English, French, and Norman history for the period 1082 to 1141.

See also NORMANDY AND THE NORMANS.

**Further reading:** Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980); Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

**Order of Preachers** See DOMINICAN ORDER.

**ordination, clerical** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**Oresme, Nicholas** (ca. 1320–1382) *French scholar, translator*

Oresme was born in about 1320 near Bayeux in NORMANDY. He later became the grand master (1356–61) of the Collège de Navarre in PARIS. He attended the lectures of John BURIDAN, and earned a license in the arts and later a doctorate of THEOLOGY. He was a canon of NOTRE-DAME in Paris, dean of the CATHEDRAL chapter of ROUEN, and finally in 1377 bishop of Lisieux. Requested by King CHARLES V, he translated and commented in French on Aristotle's principal works, the *Ethics*, the *Politics*, the *Economics*, and the *On Heaven and Earth*. He was a strong supporter of the use of the VERNACULAR.

Nicholas also wrote original works in LATIN and in French on mathematics, MUSIC, physics, astronomy, cosmology, and economics. He understood the utility of coordinates for the graphic representation of things subject to quantitative variations and took an interest in the acceleration of falling bodies. He believed that the Earth moved and was not the center of all movement. He undertook a vigorous denunciation of ASTROLOGY, divination, and all forms of MAGIC. In his treatise *On Money* from 1360, he protested against the harmful devaluation of COINAGE. He maintained that MONEY belonged to the community as a whole and not to the issuing ruler, even if it was struck with his effigy on it. He died at Rouen in 1382.

**Further reading:** Oresme, Nicole, *The De moneta of Nicholas Oresme, and English Mint Documents*, trans. Charles Johnson (London: Nelson, 1956); Nicole Oresme, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature: A Study of His "De causis mirabilium" with Critical Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985); Nicole Oresme, *De proportionibus proportionum, and Ad pauca respicientes*, ed. Edward Grant (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); G. W. Coopland, *Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of His "Livre de divinacions"* (Liverpool: University Liverpool Press, 1952).

**Orientalism** Orientalism is the defining of people outside one's group or personal experience in a certain way, usually disparagingly. Latin Christians in the Middle Ages constructed an image of Muslims and all people outside Western Europe as different and inferior to themselves in many ways. This categorizing or stereotyping was soon applied to Slavic Eastern Europeans and even to Orthodox Greek Christians. Their ways of life and culture were seen to be enticing, appalling, or both at the same time, but always different from, and probably inferior to, those of Western Europe. Often these medieval stereotypical ideas were further developed in the 18th and 19th centuries and extended to devolve contemporary "backward" peoples within or near a progressive and modern northern Europe. Cultural exchange was, and could only be, one way—diffused from the West to the rest of the world.

In the 10th and 11th centuries, as Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodox Christianity found themselves increasingly at odds over theological, political, and cultural matters, Byzantium became more and more a land of strange and irrational people. The perception of attributing inferiority to outsiders was, of course, not limited to the Latin West, as in the writings describing NORMANS by Anna KOMNENE and other Byzantines demonstrate. Such "Otherness" might be a product of doctrinal differences, denied desires, political and cultural conflict, and interior feelings or fears of a perceived inferiority.

#### ISLAM AND FARTHER EAST

Farther east, the exotic world of the SARACENS was seen as both more dangerous and even more attractive than that of the scheming and dishonest Byzantines. Literature and crusade chronicles ignorantly portrayed the Muslims as pagans who worshiped golden idols of MUHAMMAD, one of which was even found by the crusader TANCRED in a temple at JERUSALEM in 1099 and destroyed. In other 12th-century descriptions, Muslims were said to originate in strange places where no wheat grew, people had skin of iron, and demons commonly dwelled. At the same time there were enticing and fantastic tales of sexual liaisons between Christian men and Muslim princesses. The great and successful enemy of the crusaders, SALADIN, even oddly acquired a reputation for the utmost chivalric conduct.

The mythical world beyond Islam was the domain of strange creatures and strange customs, such as men's sharing their wives and daughters with guests and people's washing themselves in their own urine. Dog-headed people, cyclopes, and cannibals abounded as the world grew stranger the farther east one went. Modern scholars have suggested that on these other peoples and cultures, it was easier to project, often polemically, fears and fantasies tied more to defensiveness about European problems and life than to perceive any genuine reality or positive qualities.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; ANTIPODES; CRUSADES; GOG AND MAGOG; JEWS AND JUDAISM; MANDEVILLE, JOHN, AND MANDEVILLE'S TRAVELS; MAPS; PRESTER JOHN.

**Further reading:** Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, trans. T. Veinus (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978); John V. Tolan, ed., *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1995).

**Origen** (ca. 185–ca. 251/254) *biblical exegete, theologian* He was probably born at ALEXANDRIA, the son of a Christian martyr, who was killed in 202. He barely missed martyrdom himself. While he was still young, the bishop of Alexandria put him in charge of his catechetical school. There he taught PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY, and biblical exegesis. He led an ascetic life of FASTING, vigils, and VOLUNTARY POVERTY. Taking the text of the GOSPEL, literally, he even mutilated his genitals. To escape from the massacres of the emperor Caracalla (r. 211–217), he fled to Caesarea in PALESTINE where he got in trouble for preaching. Recalled he returned to Alexandria. In 230, on a voyage to GREECE, he was illicitly ordained a priest. The bishop of Alexandria threw him out his diocese because of this questionable ordination and probably also because of his preaching heterodox ideas as a layman. Origen then settled permanently at Caesarea, where he founded a school, and remained there until the mid-third century. In Decian persecutions of 250, he was imprisoned and tortured at Caesarea. He died sometime after June 251 at Tyre as a result of his torture.

#### OPUS

Origen's learned and celebrated work, the *Hexapla*, established parallel texts of the Septuagint. It had many clarifications of difficult passages or terms. He also wrote homilies or commentaries that we possess only in fragments. He composed an apologia for Christianity, *Against Celsus*. Another treatise, *On First Principles*, was a dogmatic synthesis of the Christian faith interwoven with NEOPLATONISM. It covered the doctrine of the Trinity, ANGELS and their fall, the creation of the world, humankind as having fallen SOULS enclosed in a body, REDEMPTION by Jesus Christ, ESCHATOLOGY or the end of the world, principles of moral THEOLOGY, problems of free will, SIN, the Holy Scripture as source of FAITH, and the three interpretive senses for Scripture, the literal, moral, allegorical. He also suggested that all creatures, even the DEVIL, would eventually be saved. These were to become some of the main preoccupations of subsequent theological thought.

Some of his doctrines or Origenism, or the eternity of Creation, the preexistence of souls, and his allegorical interpretation of biblical accounts, led to controversies in the fourth and sixth centuries and as part of the

"Origenist controversy." They were condemned by regional synods and in 553 at the second Council of Constantinople. Origen probably did not intend to promote unorthodox ideas, but they were discerned in his elusive, audacious, and creative thought.

**Further reading:** Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Henry Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition: Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen, eds., *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988); Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen* (London: Routledge, 1998).

**Orosius, Paulus** (fl. early fifth century) *Spanish historian* Paulus was a Spanish priest from Braga in modern PORTUGAL who fled to Hippo in North Africa in 414 to evade the invasion by Goths. Working as a pupil with AUGUSTINE, he wrote several works in defense of orthodoxy. The first was on the origin of the human SOUL. He was sent in 415 to debate with PELAGIUS in PALESTINE. The outcome was inconclusive. An episcopal report sent to ROME questioned his orthodoxy. Augustine then asked him to produce a historical supplement to his *City of God*. After finishing it in 418, he began to oppose a popular contemporary argument that Rome's fall was directly caused by mass conversion to Christianity. The resulting *History against the Pagans in Seven Books* was dominated by the themes of providential history and beleaguered but triumphant Christianity. Completed in 418, the book was well received and widely read. Nothing is known about him after its appearance.

See also CHRONICLES AND ANNALS.

**Further reading:** Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans: The Apology of Paulus Orosius*, trans. Irving Woodworth Raymond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964).

**Oseberg find or ship** This discovery comprised a VIKING ship and the skeletons of two women found in 1903 at Oseberg, west of the Oslofjord in NORWAY. They are now in the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo, along with a host of well-preserved wooden objects. The ship is about 65 feet long, with 15 pairs of oars, and was built of oak in about the year 820. It was not designed for making long voyages, but for show and hugging coasts. The find included grave goods, FURNITURE, sledges, farm tools, and a wagon. There are also fine animal carvings, such as the serpent's head at the prow. The skeletal remains of two

women were found in the boat, once believed to be Queen Asa, grandmother of King Harald I Fairhair (r. 880–930), and her maidservant. However, the ship is too old for that. The Oseberg find and ship are sometimes called the grandmother of the Norwegian nation.

See also GOKSTAD SHIP; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING; SUTTON HOO.

**Further reading:** Anton W. Brøgger and Haakon Shetelig, *The Viking Ships: Their Ancestry and Evolution*, trans. Katherine John (1953; reprint, London: C. Hurst, 1971); Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 2d ed., trans. Susan M. Margeson and Kirsten Williams (1987; reprint, London: Penguin Books, 1998).

**Osman I (Uthman, Othman, Osman Gazi)** (ca. 1254–ca. 1326) *Ottoman sultan, considered the founder of the Turkish state*

Osman I was a Turkish chieftain, born in ANATOLIA as the son of a certain Ertugrul or Ertoghriil. He inherited a small principality founded by the SELJUK sultans of Konya in Anatolia. Osman was a member of the Gazis, frontier Turkish fighters. One of their duties was to ravage countries of the infidels who resisted them. After succeeding his father about 1283 as emir, he built a powerful army and consolidated his principality during the disintegration of the Seljuk power in Anatolia. He attacked his Byzantine neighbors, gradually extending his control over several CASTLES in the area. In 1290 he started calling himself sultan of the TURKS. In 1304 he attempted to conquer Gallipoli but was decisively defeated by the Catalan Company.

Back in Anatolia and avoiding battle, he continued to increase his territories at the expense of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. The strategic city of Bursa was captured around the time of his death in 1326. It became the stepping stone for the OTTOMANS' crossing into Europe. His successes drew more Turkish immigrants to his territory. The Turkish state, adopting his name, became known as the Osman or Ottoman realm.

**Further reading:** Halil Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (1972; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1983); Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1971).

**Ostrogoths (East Goth, Goths of the rising sun, Greutungs)** In the third and the fourth centuries, the Ostrogoths, the eastern branch of the GOTHS, seemed to have detach themselves from the VISIGOTHS. As a confederation they lived in the region between the Don and Dneister Rivers along the BLACK SEA. They were a people

well experienced in arms and in combat on horseback. The HUNS subjugated them in 375–376 and forced them to accompany their raids as far west as Gaul. On the death of ATTILA in 451 the Ostrogoths were settled by the Romans as federates or allies in PANNONIA and Noricum, just north of the Balkans.

After 473, they moved south into the Balkans, and under the leadership of THEODORIC they settled in Moesia. The Byzantine emperor Zeno (r. 474–491) adopted Theodoric and appointed him military commander for ITALY. He was supposed to destroy the power of ODOACER. Between 489 and 493, Theodoric conquered Italy and killed Odoacer. His Ostrogoths settled and helped themselves to a third of Italian lands and the agrarian yields. The main cities of their kingdom were RAVENNA, Pavia, and VERONA. The basis of Theodoric's state was full Ostrogoth jurisdiction over their subjects and full responsibility for their defense. The Romans or Italians maintained the civil administration and its structures. There was a difference in religion: The Ostrogoths were Arians but were initially tolerant of religious difference. There was a considerable growth in tension near the end of the reign of Theodoric, mostly due to Byzantine intrigue.

On Theodoric's death in 526, the emperor JUSTINIAN decided to restore Byzantine control. This led to the long and devastating Gothic Wars between 535 and 553. The Ostrogoths, despite their strong resistance, especially under TOTILA, were ultimately completely defeated. Under Ostrogoth rule, Italy had enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity despite religious and political tensions between the Ostrogoths and their Roman subjects. It had a sound COINAGE and was well administered and blessed with impressive building projects.

See also ARIANISM; BELISARIUS; BOETHIUS, ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS; CASSIODORUS, SENATOR; CLOVIS; PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA; TOTILA, KING OF THE OSTROGOTHS.

**Further reading:** Cassiodorus, *The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. S. J. B. Barnish (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992); Jordanes, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, ed. Charles Christopher Mierow (Cambridge: Speculum Historiale, 1960); Peter Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Thomas S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); Walter A. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980).

**Othman Ibn Affan** See UTHMAN IBN AFFAN.

**Otto I the Great** (912–973) *founder of the first Reich and the kingdom of Germany*

Born November 23, 912, Otto was the eldest son of the duke of SAXONY and future emperor, Henry I the



Christ enthroned with the family of Emperor Otto I at his feet, Ottonian ivory plaque from a Lombard workshop (10th century), Castello Sforzesco, Milan, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

Fowler (r. 919–936) and of Saint Matilda (d. 968). Otto married in 929 an Anglo-Saxon princess named Edith (d. 936) and was chosen by his father to be his sole heir. That choice went against the custom of dividing the kingdom among all the surviving legitimate sons.

In 936 Otto was crowned at AACHEN. He sought a more centralized government than that of his father, one closer to that of the Carolingians. To accomplish that, he had to tame the rulers of the great territorial states of Germany. He succeeded in taking over the administration of FRANCONIA and Saxony and appointed princes of his royal house in SWABIA, BAVARIA, and Lotharingia, but restricted their prerogatives to imperial representation. Otto overcame several revolts by his relatives, including his half brother in 938, his brother in 939 and 941, his son-in-law, and his eldest son in 952–954.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH

He developed a close association with the church during these crises. As a consecrated king, he made the church

an organ of his government. He further made massive gifts of property and public rights to bishops and abbots. He also protected them against the encroachments of the LAITY. He kept close control over appointments to ecclesiastical posts and used his royal chapel as a nursery for loyal and competent clerical administrators. It was started and run by his younger brother, BRUNO, who later became the archbishop of COLOGNE in 955, the duke of Lotharingia, and a saint.

#### CONQUESTS AND EMPIRE

Outside Germany, Otto acquired a protectorate over the kingdom of BURGUNDY in 937. In western Francia, he arbitrated between the rival lines of Carolingians and Robertians or CAPETIANS, to whom he had links through marriage. He managed the conquest of ITALY in 951 and married ADELAIDE, a descendant of CHARLEMAGNE and the widow of King Lothair of Italy (r. 947–50). In 955 he won a great victory at LECHFELD over the MAGYARS or HUNGARIANS, who then had to end their raids into central Europe.

Otto was essentially proclaimed emperor anew by the army after that victory. In a second Italian expedition in 961, he completed the annexation of the peninsula and went to ROME, where he was consecrated as emperor on February 2, 962, by the notoriously degenerate Pope John XII (r. 955–964). The pope promptly changed his support as soon as he could to Otto's great rival in Italy, King Berengar II (r. 950–963). Otto deposed the pope and forced Berengar into exile. He negotiated successfully with the Byzantines, who were unhappy with his activities in Italy and his consecration as emperor. He was able to negotiate the marriage of his son and successor, Otto II (r. 973–983), to the Greek princess THEOPHANO. Near the end of his reign, he established the archdiocese of Magdeburg in 968 as a province and frontier region bordering the lands of the SLAVS. He had ambitions for further conquest to the east, into what became POLAND and RUSSIA. But these plans came to little at the time. Otto died on May 7, 973, and was buried at Magdeburg. Much admired and feared, he was the first great German imperial ruler and has been called the true creator of the German HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. He was also a great patron of the arts, creator of what has been called the Ottonian Renaissance.

*See also* LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA; OTTONIAN ART.

**Further reading:** Thietmar of Mersburg, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicle of Thietmar of Mersburg*, trans. David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Boyd H. Hill, *The Rise of the First Reich: Germany in the Tenth Century* (New York: Wiley, 1969); Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), 9–47, 143–156; Eckhard Müller-Mertens, “The Ottonians as Kings and Emperors,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 3. *c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 233–266.

**Otto III** (980–1002) *king of Germany, Holy Roman Emperor*

Otto III was crowned king in December 983 at the age of three, on the death of his father, Otto II (r. 973–983). Henry the Quarrelsome, once a duke of BAVARIA (r. 955–976, 985–995), acted as regent but was soon replaced by Otto's Byzantine mother, THEOPHANO, until her death in 991. After another regency by his grandmother, ADELAIDE, Otto himself directed the empire from 994.

The main concern of Otto's government was ITALY. He went there in May 996 to receive imperial consecration from his cousin, the first German pope, Gregory V (r. 996–999), whom Otto had just appointed. At ROME he met Adalbert (ca. 956–997), the exiled bishop of PRAGUE, and the famous intellectual Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Pope SYLVESTER II. He returned to Germany but in 998 had to go back to Rome, where the noble Crescenti family had taken power and placed an antipope (John XVI [r. 997–998]) on the papal throne. Otto defeated the Crescenti and executed the antipope, who also happened to have been his old teacher, while putting the unpopular foreigner, Gregory, back on the papal throne.

#### THE IMPERIAL COURT

Otto III then stayed at Rome on the Palatine Hill, and there he formed an imperial court on the model of Byzantium. Under the influence of Gerbert, whom he appointed pope as Sylvester II, he tried to establish a new, universal conception of empire, a federation of kingdoms and local ecclesiastical institutions under the joint authority of the emperor and his client, the pope. Otto went on pilgrimage to Gniezno in February 1000, to the tomb of Adalbert, who had been martyred in 997; he made Duke BOLESлав of POLAND the king and gave him control of the church in his country. He then participated in crowning STEPHEN I of Hungary and honored bishop of Gran by giving him control over the Magyar church. These were not acceptable to the powerful German bishops, who had ambitions for a widespread German domination of Eastern Europe.

Otto returned to Rome but was forced to leave the city by an uprising in January 1001. While waiting for reinforcements to return to Rome, he died January 24, 1002, at the age of 21 and was buried near his imperial role model CHARLEMAGNE at AACHEN. His successors were not able to continue his ambitious imperial plans.

*See also* HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; OTTONIAN ART.

**Further reading:** Thietmar of Mersburg, *Ottoman Germany: The Chronicle of Thietmar of Mersburg*, trans. David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Sheila Ann Ogilvie (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

**Ottoman Turks and Empire** The Ottomans were a dynasty of Oghuz Turks founded by a chief named OSMAN I, the son of Ertoghrul. He founded an emirate in ANATOLIA. As other Turkoman chiefs did in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, he profited from the weakening of SELJUK, MONGOL, and BYZANTINE power. His emirate was the base of the future Ottoman domination of the Balkans and eventually of nearly all of ISLAM.

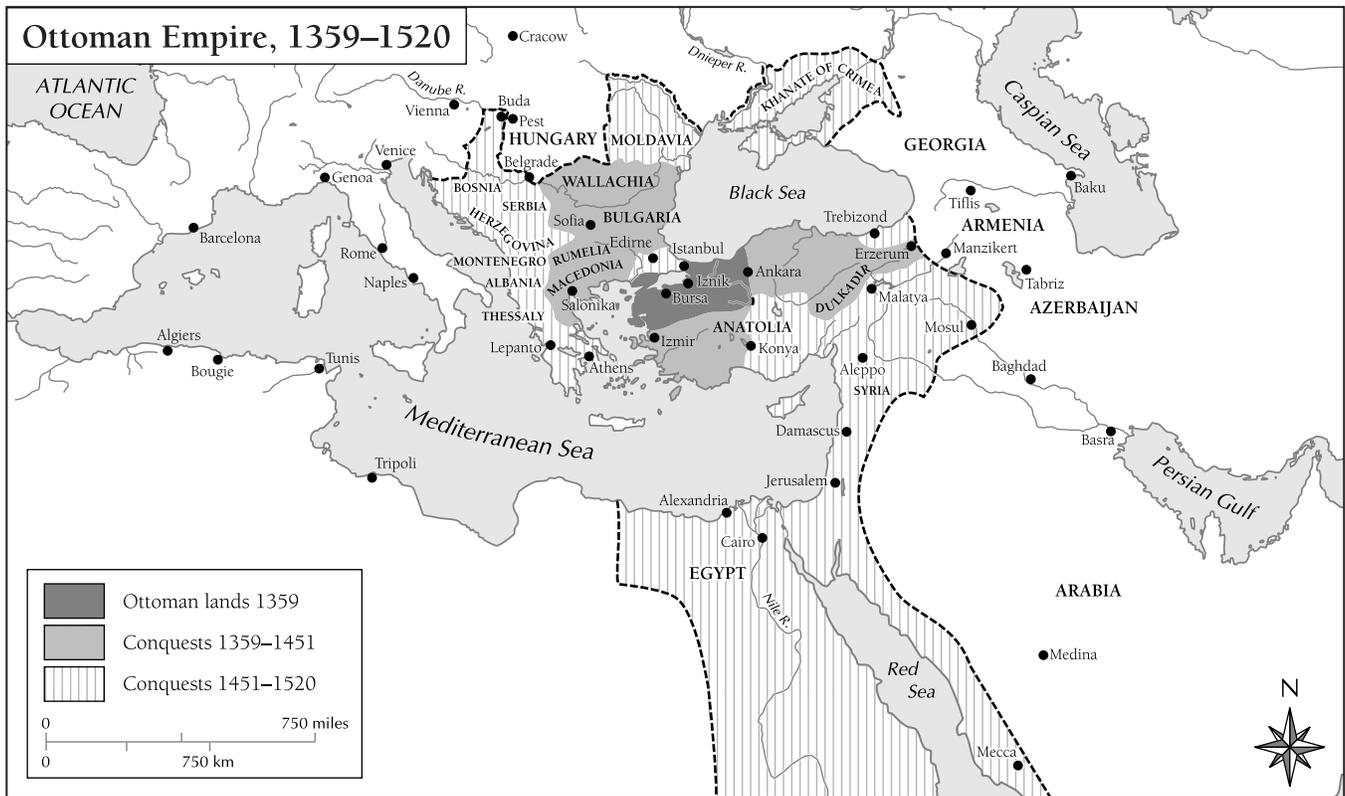
These beginnings were modest. From Bithynia, they expanded by attacks and raids at the expense of the last Byzantine strongholds in Anatolia, including the important capture of Bursa in 1326 and the occupation of the southern side of the Dardanelles in 1345. The Ottoman sultanate, as did the other small Turkish states of Anatolia, maintained a seminomadic pastoral life that only gradually promoted Islamization of formerly Byzantine territories.

In 1354, after an opportune earthquake, the Ottomans captured Gallipoli on the European coast of the Dardanelles. Now in Europe, they began the conquest of the Balkans. They were successful because of sound military organization, the formation of the elite JANISSARY Corps and the zeal of their warriors. These were the foundations of the great conquests of MURAD I between 1362 and 1389 and of BAYAZID I "the Thunderbolt" between 1389 and 1402. Over some 40 years, they conquered most of the southeastern Balkans, including Thrace, MACEDONIA, BULGARIA, and southern SERBIA. They encircled CONSTANTINOPLE, crushed the Serbs at KOSOVO Polje in 1389, and destroyed Western crusaders at the Battle of NICOPOLIS in 1396.

In the meantime in Anatolia, the Ottomans occupied most of the rival Turkish emirates of western and central Anatolia. Even the death of Bayazid I, defeated in battle by TAMERLANE at Ankara in 1402, slowed this march of conquest by only 20 years. From 1421, Ottoman expansion recommenced under MURAD II between 1421 and 1451 and MEHMED II between 1451 and 1481. Murad continued the conquest of GREECE and ALBANIA, crossed the Danube, attacked HUNGARY, crushed Serbia, and routed another great coalition of Western crusaders at the Battle of Varna in 1444. Sultan Mehmed II captured Constantinople on May 29, 1453, and continued on to attack the colonies of VENICE along the Adriatic, ALBANIA, and the VLACHS. He created an imperial state, combining both the Seljuk and Byzantine legacies. By the 16th century, the Ottomans controlled EGYPT, SYRIA, and IRAQ.

*See* ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; ILLUMINATION.

**Further reading:** Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: H. Holt, 1999); Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1990); I. Metin Kunt, "The Rise of the Ottomans," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 839–63; Stanford J.



Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–1977); Elizabeth Zachariadou, “The Ottoman World,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 812–30.

**Ottonian art** This was a distinctive style of art, especially manuscript ILLUMINATION, and architecture carried out under the reigns of the emperors OTTO I THE GREAT, Otto II (r. 973–983), and OTTO III in the 10th century and into the first half of the 11th century. Carolingian artistic forms and practices were revived along with an expansion of monastic foundations. It was a court art tied to the patronage of rulers and high officials, especially bishops. It was not as concentrated in one center or around one person as had been the case in the Carolingian era. There was a great increase in the production of deluxe manuscripts with sophisticated and beautiful illumination and in GOLD and IVORY work for book covers. There were numerous women patrons, especially the Byzantine empress and wife of Otto II, THEOPHANO.

In architecture, important and influential buildings linked to this style were erected at Hildesheim, Gernrode, and Reichenau. Ottonian architects were innovative in their design of transepts and CRYPTS. Besides monastic architecture, there were important civil buildings and

palaces for the emperors, even though they were often on the move from place to place. Manuscript painting was much influenced by the Byzantine style and primarily involved books of GOSPELS and liturgical books for ceremonial use. These images consisted primarily of narrative cycles of scenes from the life of Christ.

**Further reading:** C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993); Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, 2d ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994); Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study* 2d ed., 2 vol. (1991; reprint, London, Harvey Miller, 1999).

**Otto of Freising** (ca. 1112/15–1158) *bishop of Freising, margrave of Austria, Cistercian monk, crusader, historian* The son of margrave Leopold III (1096–1136) of AUSTRIA, Otto of Freising was a witness to and participant in many important events of the early 12th century. He was born into the high aristocracy of the empire, as the half brother of Conrad III (r. 1138–52), the king of GERMANY, and the uncle of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Otto took the CISTERCIAN habit at the Cistercian monastery of Morimond in Champagne in 1132 or 1133, at the end of his studies at PARIS. As bishop of Freising from 1138, he introduced reformed MONASTICISM to his diocese and went on the Second CRUSADE in 1148.

As a famous and important historian, he wrote his *The Two Cities* between 1143 and 1145; it ended with the near contemporary and controversial INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY. Starting from the ideas about history provided by AUGUSTINE and OROSIUS, he interpreted secular history as a conflict between this world and the next, the kingdom of GOD. Both were to be united through the church. He then wrote a history of the activities of Frederick I Barbarossa near the end of his own life. There was a strong theme of peace in his work on Frederick, much of the conflict between church and state seemed to be in the past. His pupil Rahewin (d. 1165) wrote the second half of this work, advancing it to the time of some of Frederick's failures and disasters in Italy. Otto died in 1158.

**Further reading:** Otto I, Bishop of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow and Richard Emery (1953; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Otto I, Bishop of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, trans. and ed. Charles Christopher Mierow, Austin P. Evans, and Charles Knapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

**outlawry** This was a legal status primarily in ENGLAND but also, in a slightly different form, on the Continent. It was applied to those cited but not cooperating in a legal process. Outlawry involved those captured or cited for crimes of all sorts. It was both a coercive measure and a punishment. If an accused failed to appear in a court to answer charges brought against him or her, a sentence could not be pronounced in absentia. So instead, the process of outlawry was invoked. A writ ordering the sheriff or another official to confirm that the prospective outlaw had been advised of his or her citation was issued. If on the third summons he or she still could not be found, then a formal demand compelled the subject to attend a trial or hearing. At the first stage, he or she forfeited goods and chattels to the king. After the last stage, the person was outlawed and placed outside the protection of the law.

These rulings applied in only one jurisdiction or county in England. One could flee to another county to escape. Early in the Middle Ages, outlaws for serious crimes could be killed with impunity. In practice this severity was mitigated. Outlaws were numerous, for example, in medieval England. For every person actually convicted by the courts, another 10 were outlawed. Some outlaws, such as the legendary ROBIN HOOD or real people such as William WALLACE, took on the status of popular heroes because of the perceived unfairness and corruption of the government and the legal system.

See also CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS; IMPEACHMENT AND ATTAINDER; JURY TRIAL.

**Further reading:** Henry de Bracton, *On the Laws and Customs of England*, trans. Samuel E. Thorne (Cambridge: Selden Society, 1968); R. F. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coronator* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (1961; reprint, London: Routledge, 2000); Ralph Bernard Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Ralph Bernard Pugh, *Some Reflections of a Medieval Criminologist* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

**Owain Gwynedd** See GLYN DWR, OWIAN.

**Owen Glendower** See GLYN DWR, OWIAN.

**Oxford and Oxford University** Medieval Oxford was a town in the upper Thames River basin in ENGLAND, which was the site of one of the great European universities. The town first appeared in the seventh century as a cattle market. In the eighth century it became a PILGRIMAGE site and location of a FAIR. Although Oxford itself was a secondary town, its schools in the 12th century grew out of monastic and collegiate churches, especially those for the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS and THEOLOGY. King HENRY II aided English education in 1167 by prohibiting English students to study in PARIS. The Oxford schools were transformed into a university around 1200. In 1209 occurred the first of many bloody brawls between scholars and townspeople, which led to the departure of many scholars and students to CAMBRIDGE, where they created a second university. Most of them returned in 1214.

Between 1214 and 1233, papal and royal privileges further organized the university, basing its institutions and teaching system on the model of Paris. In contrast to that of Paris, however, the head of the university was a chancellor elected from among the doctors of THEOLOGY or canon LAW and confirmed by the bishop of Lincoln. The Parisian head was a rector chosen from among the faculty of arts. The chancellor of Oxford shared power with an assembly of masters, especially those from the arts. The course of study favored the *quadrivium*. The university's reputation was based on theology, PHILOSOPHY, LOGIC, mathematics, and SCIENCE. The faculties of arts and theology seem to have been much more important than those of law or MEDICINE.

In the 13th century the first colleges of the university, Balliol and Merton, were founded, and the new MENDICANT ORDERS arrived to study and set up schools. The university became a hotbed of heterodox ideas, such as those of John WYCLIFFE, in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Most students were from England. They generally lived in boarding houses or in the convents of the friars, not in the colleges, which had few facilities as yet.

By 1500 there were some 10 secular colleges with some 200 students with the religious colleges involving about the same numbers.

See also BACON, ROGER; GROSSETESTE, ROBERT; DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN; LOLLARDS; WILLIAM OF OCKHAM.

**Further reading:** J. I. Catto, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*. Vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); J. I. Catto and Ralph Evans, eds., *The History of the University of Oxford*. Vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1992); Alan B. Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages* (London: UCL Press, 1999); Alfred Brotherston Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); Alfred Brotherston Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times, Being the Early History of St. Edmund Hall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History* (New York: Wiley, 1968).

# P

**Pachomius** (ca. 292–346) *traditional founder of coenobitic monasticism*

Pachomius was born about 292 in southern EGYPT. He was converted at about age 20 while serving in a Roman army, when he experienced Christian CHARITY. Released at the end of the war, he returned to the village of Chenoboskion in Upper Egypt to be baptized. He took up an ascetic life as a hermit and practicing forms of penance under a spiritual father and fellow anchorite.

In 323, while gathering wood in an abandoned village, Tabennesi, he had a VISION that instructed him to build a monastery there for the good of himself and others. Previously, early MONASTICISM had been dominated by hermit monks, such as Anthony (ca. 251–356). He and others had withdrawn from the world in solitude as ANCHORITES. Pachomius's new experiment grew so that within six years, the number of monks had increased, requiring the establishment of a second monastery nearby. Pachomius also devised the first monastic rule for efficiently governing monks as they live in a common economic and spiritual life of shared meals, work, and PRAYER with a walled complex.

When Pachomius died in 346 of a PLAGUE that swept his communities, as many as nine monasteries and two affiliated nunneries were under his control. They varied in size and structure, all to the central house in a loose federation. By about 420, supposedly some 3,000 monks belonged to this movement. The community continued to grow after Pachomius's death. They built a five-aisle basilica, the largest in Egypt, at the main house at Pbow in the fifth century. The Pachomian movement, however, disappeared in the latter part of the fifth century, probably a casualty of the CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES at the Council of CHALCEDON in 451.

See also ASCETICISM; HERMITS AND HERMETICISM.

**Further reading:** Pachomius, *Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples*, trans. Armand Veilleux (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1982); Armand Veilleux, trans., *The Life of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1980); Philip Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Susanna Elm, "Virgins of God": *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

**Padua (Patavium, Padoua)** Medieval Padua, the Roman Patavium, was a town 22 miles from VENICE in northeastern ITALY. It had a bishop by 350. Although captured by the OSTROGOTHS in 493 and the BYZANTINES in 540, it escaped conquest by the LOMBARDS in 568. The town reverted to Byzantine control until 602, when the LOMBARD king, Agilulf (r. 590–615), captured it and erased what was left of its Roman past. Its territory was then dismembered between the neighboring cities of Treviso and Vicenza. CHARLEMAGNE made it a seat for one of his counties in 774, after he conquered the Lombard Kingdom.

From the 11th century, Padua revived and grew. The INVESTITURE struggles weakened the once-dominant episcopal power, so Padua's first colleges of consuls appeared in 1138, forming a COMMUNE, which tended to be dominated by the GUELF faction. The 13th century included cultural and religious change marked by the birth in 1226 of the university. The DOMINICANS settled at Padua in about 1226 and the Portuguese FRANCISCAN preacher ANTHONY was enthusiastically received until his death in

1231. A major basilica built in his honor drew a large number of pilgrims.

In the 12th century Padua was part of the LOMBARD LEAGUE and became an important member of the Guelf party aligned against the emperor FREDERICK II. In 1237, without outside Guelf help, however, it had to surrender to the head of the imperial party, the Ghibelline feudal lord Ezzelino da Romano (1194–1259), who set up an authoritarian regime in Padua, VERONA, and Vicenza. At first the town's economy derived some benefit as part of this territorial unity, especially for a regional textile industry. But in 1256 Ezzelino was expelled. This led to a new communal regime between 1256 and 1318. During this period MERCHANTS, such as the Scrovegni family, for whom GIOTTO painted in the ARENA CHAPEL, flourished. As a prosperous town it had perhaps 30,000 inhabitants on the eve of the PLAGUE of 1348. Internal division, however, led to a lordship by the Carrara family (1337–1405), clients of the powerful Della Scala in nearby Verona. The Carrara were patrons of humanists such as PETRARCH and the university. The history of medieval Padua ended with the brutal Venetian conquest in 1405. From then on it was part of the Venetian territorial state.

See also MARSILIUS OF PADUA.

**Further reading:** J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante: A Social History of an Italian City-State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966); Benjamin G. Kohl, *Padua under the Carrara, 1318–1405* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Diana Norman, ed., *Siena, Florence, and Padua: Art, Society, and Religion 1280–1400* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 1995); Nancy G. Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences at Padua: The Studium of Padua before 1350* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973).

**paganism and Christianization** As with any of a number of polytheistic religions, medieval and late antique paganism involved the ritualistic worship of more than one god, unlike monotheistic Christianity, Judaism, and ISLAM.

In Christian antiquity the term *pagan* usually designated those who lived in the countryside and had resisted conversion to Christianity. In the early Middle Ages such pagans venerated ancient or traditional gods associated with the forces of nature. In the Roman Empire there had been an official cult of the emperor to whom sacrifices had to be made. This was used as a test to expose Christians who sometimes succumbed to martyrdom rather than offer a sacrifice to the emperor. In the third century Egyptian, eastern, and Persian cults of Isis, Cybele, and Mithras became popular. In northern Europe some of the gods of the Germans and Scandinavians were Wotan and Thor. For the Celts, there were Taranis, Nerthus, and a

group of female deities. These northern pagans apparently met around sacred springs and trees to indulge in sacrifices and ritualistic drinking. To use these natural forces for human benefit or harm, the Celts and Germans practiced MAGIC in various forms, including incantations and rituals for the healing of beasts, the fertility of the fields, and military victory. People wore CHARMS and perhaps used secret formulaic writing such as RUNES or ogham. The Celts believed in the immortality of the soul; the Germanic tradition believed in VALHALLA where honorable dead warriors went after death. Many of these practices and beliefs were, however, susceptible to assimilation into orthodox Christianity.

Even after Christianization, prayer to such deities for intervention in worldly matters remained popular at springs, certain trees, rocks, and sacred caves, especially during agrarian festivals at the June and December solstices. Funerals and BURIAL continued to include banquets and “diabolical” chants that had little relation to Christianity. Pagan or superstitious practices clearly continued, even designating certain days as preferable for certain activities, such as Fridays or Venus's day for weddings. To these social practices were added divination to foretell the future and magical acts to guarantee protection against the forces of evil or to harm others. Incantations promoted feelings of love between people, and there were formulas for healing the sick. Others were employed for casting evil spells.

#### PUNISHMENT AND REPRESSION

The emperor Theodosios I (r. 379–395) in the late fourth century had banned classical and Oriental paganism. He particularly targeted sacrificial rituals, the funding of civic rituals, and the financial support of temples. However, many aspects of these religions lingered on in local forms and cults. The arrival of barbarians introduced a new form of paganism. In the sixth century the sermons of Saint Caesarius of Arles (ca. 470–542), a work entitled *The Correction of Rustics* by Martin of Braga (d. 580), several letters of Pope GREGORY I the Great, and the canons of councils demonstrated a strong concern that paganism was not being eliminated. Slightly later seventh-century PENITENTIALS defined and discussed penalties for such SIN. Around 1000, in his canonistic writings BURCHARD of Worms expressed a clear pastoral interest in the necessity for the suppression of pagan rituals and beliefs.

Much of these pagan practices or beliefs, well recognized as contrary to Christian belief, were punishable by death. At times they were suppressed by force. Numerous kings and rulers destroyed sanctuaries and forbade idolatrous cults and magic. Despite this violent suppression, there were other clerics, and even a few rulers, who fostered more gentle attempts to convert people from such beliefs and practices by assimilation, persuasion, and example.

See also AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY, SAINT; BONIFACE, SAINT; MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES; PREACHING AND PREACHERS.

**Further reading:** J. N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe*, rev. ed. (1969; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Pierre Chuvin, *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans*, trans. B. A. Archer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990); John R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); H. R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964); Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (1940; reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1953); Ronald Sheridan and Anne Ross, *Gargoyles and Grotesques: Paganism in the Medieval Church* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975).

**painting** In the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE, painting employed several media, including various forms of FRESCO on walls, on PARCHMENT in manuscripts, and from easels onto wooden panels and ALTARPIECES. These formats survived from late antiquity to continue in the Middle Ages. The overwhelming majority of painting was religious, but by the 14th and 15th centuries there was a considerable increase in secular and civic art in palaces and in public buildings. With the revival of classical learning and education in the 15th century, pagan and classical themes appeared, especially in the painting produced for the LAITY. From the mid-14th century, true portraits of individuals and saints appeared on smaller panels, wooden containers, or disks.

Techniques changed, especially from egg tempera to oil bases. Painting on stretched canvas also became more common from the 15th century. Besides being ornamental and complementary to architecture, the iconography of religious painting was used to instruct Christians in their faith and to illustrate liturgical rites. There are numerous examples of preaches' using images in just that way in the later Middle Ages. Secular themes reminded viewers of the power of the patron, whether an individual or a corporate body such as a town. Although little of that has survived from the Carolingian period, there still exist excellent examples in the town hall of SIENA, the ducal fortress in Mantua, and the Papal Palace in AVIGNON, as well as fragments in the imperial palaces of CONSTANTINOPLE.

#### BYZANTINE AND ISLAMIC

Painting decorated the apses, ceilings, and naves of Orthodox churches, wherever they might be, to complement the complex liturgy and to display iconic representations of Christ, the Blessed Virgin MARY, and the saints. The early

CALIPHS of ISLAM also decorated their palaces and hunting lodges with secular paintings, including human and animal figures. MOSQUES tended to be very simply decorated. Islamic manuscripts were illuminated with complex patterns and quotations from the QURAN for the edification of the reader and as mnemonic aids.

See also *individual artists*; ALTARS AND ALTARPIECES; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, JEWISH; FRESCO; GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE; ICONOCLASM AND ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY; ICONS, HISTORY AND THEOLOGY OF; ILLUMINATION; OTTONIAN ART; RENAISSANCE AND REVIVALS IN ART; ROMANESQUE ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** Cennino Cennini, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini: A Contemporary Practical Treatise on Quattrocento Painting*, trans. Christiana J. Herringham (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1922); Ferdinando Bologna, *Early Italian Painting: Romanesque and Early Medieval Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1964); Bruce Cole, *Italian Art, 1250–1550: The Relation of Renaissance Art to Life and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987); Richard Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters from Giotto to Masaccio: A Guide to Painting in and Near Florence, 1300 to 1450* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1975); André Grabar, *Early Medieval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century: Mosaics and Mutual Painting*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Skira, 1957); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999); Andrew Martindale, *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting* (London: Pindar Press, 1995); Thomas F. Mathews, *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998); John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

**Palaiologos imperial dynasty** The Palaiologoi were the BYZANTINE family dynasty who recaptured CONSTANTINOPLE from the Latins, provided the last Byzantine emperors, and held the throne between 1261 and 1453.

#### MICHAEL VIII

At the death of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (r. 1254–58) of NICAEA in 1258, Michael Palaiologos VIII (r. 1261–82), a general, had himself proclaimed emperor. Three years later, he retook Constantinople from the Latins and restored the empire. To help the Greeks resist the aggression of Western princes, he sought help from the PAPACY. In 1274, he concluded a union of the Byzantine and Roman churches at the first Council of LYON. Such a union alienated the Greek CLERGY and monks, despite the pleas of the patriarch, John XI Bekkos (r. 1275–82). On March 30, 1282, the SICILIAN VESPERS, a massacre of the French subjects and soldiers by the population of PALERMO, diverted a

planned Western expedition by CHARLES I OF ANJOU against him. He also died in 1282.

#### ANDRONIKOS II AND ANDRONIKOS III

Michael's Son, Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328), succeeded him as emperor and ruled from 1282 to 1328, a long and unsuccessful reign. He was an intellectual who patronized intellectual and artistic endeavors. He also ended the union of churches that had been worked out at Lyon. Combined attacks by Westerners, SERBS, mercenary Catalans, and TURKS produced an influx of refugees into Constantinople. In 1320 civil war broke out between Andronikos II and his grandson, Andronikos III (r. 1328–41). Andronikos III took power in 1328 after overthrowing his grandfather. Andronikos III battled ethical problems such as government corruption and usury and the external threats of the Serbs and the OTTOMAN TURKS. ANATOLIA was lost to the Turks in 1330s. His reign saw the inception of a serious ecclesiastical controversy between Barlaam the Calabrian (d. 1350) and Gregory PALAMAS over monastic practices concerning bodily function.

#### JOHN V

The death of Andronikos III in 1341 led to a confrontation between the supporters of the young John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–54) and those of the regent, the grand domestic John Kantakouzenos. The regent upheld the supporters of Palamas and sought a religious settlement with the West. In 1354, after three years of civil war, John V Palaiologos took back the throne, which he periodically held with difficulty from 1341 to 1354, from 1355 to 1376, and from 1379 to 1391. Faced with the progress of the Turkish conquest and outbreaks of the PLAGUE, he desperately sought a Western alliance. He even became a Roman Catholic himself in 1369. Despite these efforts, in 1373 he became a vassal of Sultan MURAD I. The Ottomans profited from the rebellion of his son, Andronikos IV (r. 1376–79), between 1376 to 1379, by consolidating their conquests around Constantinople.

#### MANUEL II, JOHN VIII, CONSTANTINE XI DRAGASES

Manuel II (r. 1391–1425) became emperor in 1391. He followed his father's accommodating Western policy. For four years, he left the government the empire to his nephew, John VII (1399–1408), the son of Andronikos IV. He traveled throughout Europe, vainly seeking alliances against the Ottomans. The defeat of BAYAZID I in 1402 by TAMERLANE provided the empire more time. During the rule of John VIII (r. 1425–48), Byzantium had no alternative to defeat than a Western political and religious alliance. In 1438 the emperor and many of his clergy attended the Council of FLORENCE, where this ecumenical council proclaimed a union of the two

churches with a vague promise of military assistance. This union was disavowed by the Byzantine Church back in Constantinople. A crusading army assembled to save Byzantium was annihilated by the Ottomans at the Battle of Varna in 1444. Constantine XI Dragases (r. 1448–53), the despot of MOREA, succeeded his brother in 1449. He assumed the throne at Constantinople in time to fall in the final siege of the town by the Ottomans. He died fighting in 1453.

**Further reading:** Manuel II Palaeologus (1350–1425), *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: Text, Translation, and Notes*, ed. George T. Dennis (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977); John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969); Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Decline and Fall* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

#### Palamas, Gregory, Saint (ca. 1296–1359) *Byzantine monk, theologian*

Born in CONSTANTINOPLE of a noble Anatolian family, Gregory Palamas became a monk at Mount ATHOS in about 1314 and was ordained a priest in about 1326 at THESSALONIKI, where he had fled to escape the Ottomans. He lived as a HERMIT for a while and then returned in 1331 to Mount Athos, where he became familiar with the Hesychast tradition of mystical prayer. He persuaded his brothers, sisters, and mother to enter the religious life. Between 1335 and 1341 he engaged in a polemical debate with Barlaam the Calabrian (d. 1350). During this Palamas wrote his first major work, the *Triads in Defense of the Holy Hesychasts*. He defended Christianity as a true experience of GOD. The doctrine developed by Palamas in these debates became known as Palamism. A council at Constantinople in 1341 condemned Barlaam.

#### SECOND CONTROVERSY

This debate was followed by a second period of controversy over divine substance and uncreated energies. Palamas was subjected to a period of EXCOMMUNICATION, condemnation, and imprisonment between 1342 and 1347. Councils in 1347 and 1351 then confirmed his doctrines. From 1347 to his death, he was metropolitan of Thessaloniki. Captured by the Turks in 1354, he remained imprisoned for more than a year. During the

calm of the intervening years between 1349 and 1350, Palamas wrote a summary of his theological teaching in *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*. In 1351, a third synod was summoned, which affirmed the theological themes and ideas proposed by Palamas as the official teaching of Orthodoxy. These involved a doctrine of creation of the natural world and of the human person, specific discussions of natural human faculties, spiritual knowledge, rational nature, the divine nature, and its image in the human person.

### THIRD CONTROVERSY

A third period of controversy on creation and the human person occupied the years 1351–58. Palamas was canonized and given the title doctor of the church by the Greek Orthodox Church in 1368 after his death in 1359. His feast day in the Eastern Church is celebrated November 14 and the second Sunday of Lent.

**Further reading:** Gregory Palamas, *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. and trans. Robert E. Sinkewicz (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988); John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence, 2d ed. (London: Faith Press, 1974); George C. Papademetriou, *Maimonides and Palamas on God* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1994).

**paleography (palaeography)** For the study of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, paleography, a word coined in the 18th century, in the strict sense is the study and deciphering of old handwriting on manuscripts. In more general terms it can amount to a study of the institutions and culture that produced this written material. Paleography had its modern roots in the 17th century, long after the invention of printing, in the works of monks editing, criticizing, and evaluating written documents involving their own contemporary disputes over the accuracy and authenticity of medieval monastic charters or deeds.

As a discipline in the 19th century, it embraced the study of writing and its media and instruments, such as ink, POPYRUS, PARCHMENT, and PAPER. Founded to study the documents of the Western Middle Ages, it now forms the basis for the study of the manuscripts and manuscript cultures of all medieval peoples who wrote. According to the modern understanding of the value of the discipline of paleography, medieval texts, either in print or in manuscript, have to be interpreted within the context of the ways in which they were produced and the needs of the institutions and ideologies that produced them. Modern paleographers have extended paleography to include all the aspects of a written monument or artifact, both internal and external material qualities and the cultural and social implications affecting writing and the people who produced it.

### MEDIEVAL HANDWRITING

Paleography was practiced in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It had to be done for readers then to be able to read, understand, and interpret handwritten sources of knowledge or information. Then as now, in a more informal way than in the past, scripts were classified and evaluated by the forms of their letters. To combat medieval FORGERY, there was to be some attempt to date handwriting by recognizing changes in the writing itself and in textual and literary styles. Charters had to be evaluated as forgeries or as genuine transactions. The accuracy of transcriptions of sacred texts was important for all the religious of the medieval world, such as Christianity, JUDAISM, and ISLAM. Skillful and accurate scribes were fundamental to these religious cultures.

Handwriting forms used for clarity, beauty, or utility evolved over the course of the Middle Ages as the needs and goals of society changed, especially in terms of bureaucracy, education, law, and commerce. In the 15th century, there was a strong movement for the reform of Western European writing to increase clarity and ease of reading. Crabbed gothic hands, common in the elite and specialized university and Scholastic systems, were to be replaced by a humanist script based on the writing reforms of the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE. These letter forms and styles were much more clear and words were less abbreviated, so readers and writers could more accurately comprehend and reproduce the classical texts being rediscovered and deemed so important for the betterment of society and a proper education. These reforms laid the basis for the movable type and textual forms used in the PRINTING revolution of the 15th century.

*See also* ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CODICOLOGY; NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIATE; PUNCTUATION; SCRIPTORIUM; SCRIPTS.

**Further reading:** Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Leonard E. Boyle, *Medieval Latin Paleography: A Bibliographical Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí óCróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman, eds., *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); Hubert Hall, *A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908–1909); Walther Björkman, “Diplomatic,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.301–316.

**Palermo** Palermo was founded by the Phoenicians, was the Roman Panormus, and became the capital of SICILY under the Muslims. By the 10th century it was one of the major metropolises of the Mediterranean. Its population

was at least as large as it was to be in the 18th century. It consisted of the old Roman and Punic or Carthaginian city and the newer Arabic quarters. It was also a garrison town with some of the fortress and military aspects of DAMASCUS and AL-QAYRAWAN. It had been taken by the VANDALS in 440 and then by the forces of the German chieftain ODOACER and the Ostrogoth THEODORIC. The BYZANTINES controlled the city from 535 to 831.

#### ARRIVAL OF THE NORMANS

The Norman conquest in the 12th century did not change the town significantly. Byzantine, Arabic, and Latin culture coexisted. The new Norman conquerors had a palace and a group of towers, as in Muslim architecture, on the highest point of the old town. These were surrounded by a town enclosed with walls and gates, including a cathedral, the palaces of the feudal aristocracy, and numerous churches. Its population became even more a mixture of Muslims, Arab and Greek Christians, Arabic-speaking JEWS, and Latin immigrants. There was an outlying quarter of gardens around reservoirs of water for suburban palaces in an area called the Conca d'Oro or Horn of Plenty.

This changed in 1161. The Muslims were transported into a northern quarter, and many others deported. The HOHENSTAUFEN dynasty took over in 1194 with the coronation of the emperor HENRY VI. His son, the emperor FREDRICK II, deported more Muslims, causing harm to trade and economic activity. Some quarters were abandoned to gardens, and by 1277 the population had shrunk to no more than 50,000. Palermo became more culturally unified as the Muslims left and more Christians immigrated from ITALY. CHARLES I OF ANJOU took control of the city and the island by defeating the Hohenstaufen in the 1260s. In 1282, as a consequence of the SICILIAN VESPERS, the occupying French were driven out. This led to a long series of wars over Sicily and Palermo between the Aragonese and the Angevins.

Slowly, under the victorious Aragonese, Palermo in the early 14th century recovered its place as a political capital and became a main trading market and clearing house between the island and PISA, GENOA, and BARCELONA. However, the government, from Aragon and Barcelona, preferred to live elsewhere. From 1348 to 1392 Palermo was governed by the vice royal counts of Chiamonte. After 1412 the union between Sicily and Aragon endured beyond the Middle Ages, until the 17th century.

See also MONREALE; NORMANS IN ITALY; ROGER I; ROGER II; WILLIAM I THE BAD OF SICILY.

**Further reading:** Ahmad Aziz, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975); Giuseppe Bellafiore, *The Cathedral of Palermo* (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1976); William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

**Palestine** The Roman province of Palestine was divided about 400 into three administrative districts. One, centered at Caesarea, included Judea, Samaria, and the coastal regions. The second, with its capital at Scythopolis, was composed of Galilee, Golan, and part of the Decapolis, an older area that included five major towns. The third district encompassed southern Palestine with its metropolis at PETRA. These Byzantine administrative divisions lasted until 638 after the Persian invasions (614) and the subsequent Arabs takeover. There was also one of the main patriarchates at JERUSALEM.

This region was never totally Christianized. There were JEWS, the only dissident group who still preserved their freedom of worship in the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. They may have formed a majority of the population in some areas such as Galilee, but had been forbidden to live in Jerusalem from the time of the Roman emperor Hadrian (r. 117–38) in the second century. The Byzantine emperor HERAKLEIOS in 634 ordered that they be baptized under pain of death. For this reason, the Arab conquest a few years later offered them some hope of freedom to practice their religion. Other peoples such as the Samaritans were also considered unauthorized dissidents or heretics. They rose up in revolt in 484 and in 529 and maintained a persistent hostility to Byzantine power.

#### PILGRIMAGE SITES

Despite the presence of a hostile locals, Palestine became one of the goals of Christian PILGRIMAGE. From the early fourth century, Christians traveled to Palestine to view and worship at the sites of the New Testament and of the Old Testament, also considered part of the history of salvation. These sites were listed, enriched with sanctuaries and churches, and, loaded with RELICS. They were more and more often visited by pilgrims. Jerusalem was the most important site, but others such as Bethlehem with the basilica of the Nativity, Hebron, where the tomb of the patriarchs was venerated, the Jordan Valley, site of Christ's baptism, temptation, and miracles, the DEAD SEA with the salt statue of Lot's wife, and Samaria, with Jacob's well and the tombs of the patriarch Joseph, John the Baptist, and Eliza. In the north in Galilee were the places significant in the life of Christ, including Cana, Tabor, Nazareth, the mount of the Beatitudes, and Capernaum. In the region south west of Jerusalem were tombs of Old Testament prophets and martyrs of the Roman persecutions. Finally there was a pilgrimage circuit south in the Sinai Peninsula. The emperors CONSTANTINE and JUSTINIAN in particular oversaw the construction of numerous churches and sanctuaries. In the fourth and fifth centuries coenobitic and anchorite monasteries were founded.

#### ISLAMIC CONQUEST

After 638, when the Arabs took possession of the whole country, and its non-Muslim inhabitants were subjected

to taxes on persons and on land. The laws of the Umayyads, and Abbasids, were fairly tolerant. Christians were able to buy back their churches, but monasteries were pillaged, and taxes were periodically raised. Many Christians converted to Islam whether out of convenience or belief. Pilgrimage continued after the Islamic conquest, although pilgrims, too, were periodically harassed and taxed.

#### THE CHRISTIAN PRESENCE AND CONFLICT

By the time of Charlemagne, tensions had eased. In 801, the emperor, whom the patriarch of Jerusalem had asked to defend the Christians of Palestine, sent an embassy. The Abbasid caliph, Harun al-Rashid, granted Charlemagne ownership of the Latin establishments and a right of protection over the holy places. Charlemagne sent numerous subsidies and built monasteries. All this produced an atmosphere considerably more favorable to pilgrimage and local Christianity. Something like a Frankish protectorate lasted until the 10th century. In 974, the Byzantines under the emperor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–976) seized Tiberias, Nazareth, Acre, and Caesarea; the conquest led to a Byzantine protectorate over Palestine. In the 11th century Seljuk Turks took possession of it and were less accommodating of Christians. This new perceived abuse combined with the collapse of Byzantine power in Anatolia and Syria, were two factors that led to the Crusades.

In 1099, the crusaders took Jerusalem and created the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The next 200 years was occupied with the building of Christian fortresses, churches, monasteries, and charitable establishments. At the same time hostilities between the Latins and the Byzantines, and the Christians and the Muslims, increased. In 1187, Saladin won an overwhelming victory over the Latin forces at the battle of Hattin and retook Jerusalem. In 1192 Richard I Lionheart negotiated a treaty that protected the remaining possessions of the Latins, a small band of territory between Jaffa and Tyre. The emperor Frederick II obtained, via the treaty of Jaffa in 1229, safe access for pilgrims to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the roads along the way. In 1244 access to Jerusalem was reduced. Nazareth was taken in 1264, and then in 1291, Acre, the last possession of the Latins in Palestine, fell.

#### INTEGRATION AND THE MAMLUKS

The 13th century saw a great migration of Jews back to Palestine from Western Europe. In the 14th and 15th centuries, Palestine was under the rule of the Mamluks of Egypt. They treated Palestine merely as a corridor between their main interests, Egypt and Syria, and devastated the regions along the coast to prevent the return of the crusaders. Jerusalem was once again the main city of the region and numerous Arab families moved there. Jewish and Islamic schools were founded in the city. In the

later Middle Ages, pilgrimages from outside became much less common, although many Eastern and Orthodox Christians moved into Jerusalem. The Ottoman Turks controlled the region from 1516.

**Further reading:** Michael Avi-Yonah, *A History of the Holy Land*, trans. Charles Weiss and Pamela Fitton (New York: Macmillan, 1969); Alex Carmel, Peter Schäfer, and Yossi Ben-Artzi, eds., *The Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 634–1881* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1990); Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, trans. Ethel Broido (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York: Praeger, 1972); Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1995); Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992).

**pallium** The pallium, a papal and imperial insignia known from the late fifth century, was a long scarf of white wool, draped around the shoulders, whose two extremities fell, in front and behind the wearer. The popes conceded the right to wear the prestigious pallium to only certain bishops to signify their jurisdictional authority over other bishops. It appeared in mosaics in Rome and in Ravenna in the fifth and sixth centuries. By the eighth century, it had evolved into a large ring of cloth around the neck of the wearer with two vertical bands. It was requested by secular rulers for prominent ecclesiastical dignitaries of interest to them to signify a special relationship with the papacy. It was reserved for special occasions except for the pope, who wore it daily, in his case to signify the plenitude of papal power and the union and allegiance of the Roman Church with its head, the pope. The pope required an oath of loyalty and a fee for the right of another to wear it. It went out of use during the 16th century.

See also INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES; PAPACY.

**Further reading:** John Albert Eidenschink, *The Election of Bishops in the Letters of Gregory the Great: With an Appendix on the Pallium . . .* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1945); Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984); Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments, Their Origin and Development* (New York: Dutton, 1950).

**Palm Sunday** In the medieval Roman liturgy, Palm Sunday occurred on the Sunday before Easter. It marked the beginning of Christ's Passion when he entered Jerusalem on the back of a donkey and was greeted with joy by the inhabitants who saluted him with palms. It was commemorated by a procession into a church and

the blessing of palms. The Passion according to the gospel of Saint Matthew was read at MASS on that day. The blessed palms were kept in houses after the ceremony to commemorate the passion.

See also HOLY WEEK.

**Further reading:** Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York: Pueblo, 1986).

**Palmyra (Tadmor)** This ruined city was at an oasis in the Syrian desert, northeast of DAMASCUS. It contained monumental ruins of a great city and was one of the most important cultural centers of the ancient world. It united the art and architecture of GREECE and ROME with that of Persia or IRAN.

During the third century, wars between Rome and Persia intensified. In 260 the emperor Valerian (r. 253–260) himself was captured by a SASSANIAN king. Palmyra was caught in between, as an import stop on the TRADE routes between the two great empires. It tried to be independent of both, changing for this purpose from a MERCHANT republic into a kingdom under Odenathus (d. 267), who allied with Rome and had considerable military success against the Persians by 267. But at the end of 267, Odenathus and his heir to the throne, were mysteriously assassinated. Zenobia (d. ca. 275), the king's second wife and mother of a very young son, was probably involved in the murder.

Zenobia quickly showed herself to be an able monarch, who was boundlessly ambitious for herself, for her son, and for her people. Within six years she had affected the whole life of Palmyra. In 270, claiming descent from Cleopatra, she took possession of SYRIA and Lower EGYPT, even sending her armies into ANATOLIA. All this was in defiance of Rome and the emperor Aurelian (r. 270–275), who left the northern front, raised a new army, crossed Anatolia, and captured Palmyra after a short siege. Zenobia fled east to seek help from the Sassanians. However, Romans recaptured her as she was crossing the Euphrates in 272 and took her back to Rome, where she was forced to ride in Aurelian's triumph in 274. She died soon afterward in comfortable exile at Tivoli.

The once splendid and wealthy city was pillaged and destroyed in 273. The emperor DIOCLETIAN established a military camp to the west of the city. Palmyra never recovered its position, now replaced in trading networks by ALEPPO and Damascus. The temples of Palmyra were converted first into churches and then into MOSQUES after the ARAB conquest, with the ruins of the city sheltering only a few peasants. It was rediscovered by Western adventurers in the 18th century.

**Further reading:** Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

**panel painting** See PAINTING.

**Pannonia** From the second century to its occupation by the Magyars in 895, the name Pannonia was applied to a region in the Carpathian basin on the north bank of the Danube in central Europe, now modern HUNGARY. Many migrating peoples passed through it on their way into the Roman Empire. It was ideal for nomadic steppe peoples with its large grassy plains.

Its initial native population was made up of Thracians, Illyrians, and Celts. From the midsecond century, Christianity entered southern Pannonia. From the first barbarian incursions of the late third century, the VANDALS, the Sarmatians, the GOTHs, the ALANS, and the HUNS all moved in it. In 433, it passed officially to the rule of the Huns. These events led to a depopulation of the region, as insecurity and chaotic changes in political control prevailed.

The OSTROGOTHs profited from the collapse of the Hunnic federation after ATTILA's death in 453. They occupied Pannonia until the early 470s, when they moved into ITALY. The LOMBARDS followed them into Pannonia and then into Italy between 527 and 568. The AVARS then extended their rule over the whole of the Carpathian basin, intermingling with SLAVS who had recently arrived in the region. CHARLEMAGNE conquered the Avars in 791 and 797, and Frankish and German colonists were settled among the Avar and Slav populations. The internal disputes of the CAROLINGIAN FAMILY led them to appeal for aid from the Magyars in the second half of the ninth century. In 894 the chief of these Hungarian tribes, ÁRPAD, attacked Carolingian Pannonia, beginning the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian basin. The region then became the medieval kingdom of HUNGARY.

**Further reading:** A. Lengyel and G. T. B. Radan, eds., *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980); Jeno Fitz, *The Great Age of Pannonia: (A.D. 193–284)*, trans. Ildikó Varga (Budapest: Corvina, 1982); András Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, trans. and ed. Sheppard Frere (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1974).

**papacy** The medieval pope was the bishop of ROME and patriarch of the West. He claimed succession from Saint Peter, whom Christ named as head of the apostles. During the Middle Ages, the separate evolution of the Western and Eastern Churches, doctrinal and political differences, and the efforts of the popes themselves to give their primacy a practical reality divided the Byzantine, or Greek Orthodox, Church and the Latin Church. Mutual EXCOMMUNICATION and anathema occurred in 1054. The papally launched CRUSADE of 1204 that sacked CONSTANTINOPLE soured relations even more. Unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation followed at the councils of LYON in 1274 and FLORENCE in 1439. The supreme

authority of the medieval popes rarely extended beyond the limits of western and central Europe and was often contested there.

### PAPAL POLITICS

Until the mid-11th century, the ambitions and actions of the popes were primarily confined to ITALY, where they had to maneuver among the LOMBARDS, the Muslims, the Byzantines, and the noble families of ROME. They had the prestige of the apostolic see, but effective legal and political interventions were difficult and not always successful. They supported MISSIONS to ENGLAND under GREGORY I THE GREAT, to GERMANY in the eighth century, and to central Europe in the ninth. In the eighth century, they formed an alliance with the FRANKS, which accentuated a split with a rival imperial government and the Byzantine Church but permitted a temporal papal state in central Italy, creatively legitimized by the false *DONATION OF CONSTANTINE*. The papal coronation of CHARLEMAGNE as emperor by LEO III in 800 drew the pope even closer to the secular powers. The spiritual and temporal powers of both were accepted as legitimate but were never easy to keep separate or even complementary.

### PAPAL REFORMS

From the mid-11th century, in the papacy of GREGORY VII, the GREGORIAN REFORM began the gradual establishment of a true papal monarchy. As part of the papal plan to control more closely the institutions of the church, this reform attacked what it perceived to be abuses: the purchase of clerical office, the appointment to ecclesiastical office by the LAITY, and the CELIBACY of the priesthood. Over time the papacy accomplished a great deal in all of these matters, but at the cost of sometimes open warfare with secular rulers. To accomplish these aims, the papacy recognized the need for and completed the establishment of a papal state in central Italy. It devised a system of election to the see of Saint Peter through the College of CARDINALS, promoted the growth of a legal system that had the pope as its authority (canon law), and embarked on a large increase in all taxation paid to the Holy See. These were in effect the organs of government that any secular ruler would need to carry out his aims. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the pope developed the Apostolic Camera to collect and account for its growing tax or fiscal system and a chancery and system of legates to facilitate communication and convey papal intentions to the rest of the church and to the secular powers. It established the Penitentiary and the INQUISITION to control the ecclesiastical legal system and promoted new orders, such as the MENDICANTS, who were responsible only to the Holy See, not to the local bishops.

### ASPIRATIONS AND SCHISMS

The popes raised armies and made and funded crusading alliances with princes to carry out their objectives. In the

13th century between the reigns of Pope INNOCENT III and BONIFACE VIII, the popes tried to exercise a full plenitude of powers, acting as monarch in spiritual and temporal affairs. Papal iconography associated the popes with imperial themes to demonstrate and assert apostolic and imperial traditions, power, origins, and glory. Papal tombs became much more pretentious. Various popes did succeed in destroying the German emperors but were unable to cow the kings of FRANCE. When they were forced to leave Rome and move to AVIGNON in the early 14th century, they fell much more under the influence of the French monarchy. During the Great SCHISM (1378–1417), when there were two, and then three, popes with competing claims and allegiances, the prestige of the popes fell, too disgraced to compete with the growing power of the developing state systems of Western Europe. This did not slow an ambitious building program in Avignon or the development of papal institutions and bureaucracies, especially those to gather taxes and keep the pope at the center of the pastoral activities of the church.

In the 15th century after much squabbling, the schism ended. In 1417 the papacy was reunified, and in 1420 it returned to Rome under Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31), who sought to restore papal power. The papacy then, had to face CONCILIARISM and the conciliar movement, which sought to center authority in the church in a conciliar system of government. Councils met at PISA, CONSTANCE, BASEL, and Florence. But in the end the papacy managed to avoid conceding much authority, and the councils were unable to carry out the reform deemed necessary by many of the clergy and laity alike.

### CONCORDATS; FUND-RAISING

The 15th century also saw the appearance of concordats between the Holy See and secular governments. These recognized considerably more influence by kings and princes in their regional or national churches. The popes sought the least unfavorable terms for the Holy See in these agreements. The popes of the 15th century were as incapable of effecting church reform as the councils and they became even more involved in affairs in Italy in their attempt to protect their temporal power in the PAPAL STATES. To finance their ambitions of maintaining control of this region in Italy, the popes had to resort to more and more taxation, even to sanctioning more jubilees to draw more pilgrims to Rome to be taxed and to granting INDULGENCES for payments of money.

*See also* ALEXANDER III, POPE; ALEXANDER VI, POPE; CELESTINE V, POPE AND THE CELESTINES; CHARLES I OF ANJOU; CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX; EUGENIUS IV, POPE; FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA HOHENSTAUFEN, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; FREDERICK II, EMPEROR AND KING OF SICILY; GREGORY IX, POPE; HOLY YEAR; INNOCENT IV, POPE; LAW CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; LEO I, THE GREAT, POPE; LEO III, POPE; MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES, CHRISTIAN; NICOLAITISM; PAPAL STATES; PASCHAL II, POPE;

PHILIP IV THE FAIR; PIUS II, POPE; SYLVESTER II, POPE; URBAN II, POPE; URBAN VI, POPE.

**Further reading:** J. T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927); Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968); Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Walter Ullman, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1972).

**Papal States (Patrimonium Sancti Petri, Patrimony of Saint Peter)** These were the provinces over which the popes claimed rights in ITALY that belonged to the PAPACY as its domain and were under its temporal sovereignty. They had their origins in the donations of several popes, in the fifth and sixth centuries, of their personal possessions and family properties in and near ROME. Until the end of the sixth century, these estates were considered the private possessions of the popes and were therefore exempt from taxes by imperial privileges.

#### CAROLINGIAN INTERVENTION

During a LOMBARD attack on ROME in 590 when the BYZANTINE governor in RAVENNA was unable to defend the city, Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT put the Sign of Saint Peter on the walls of the city transferring sovereignty, giving the Holy See or himself public authority over the region and the city. The Byzantine duchy of Rome was abolished in the seventh century, and its functions were assumed by the papacy. The popes then became the sovereign possessors of the surrounding province of Latium (Lazio). They clashed with the Lombards in the seventh and eighth centuries, because of the latter's efforts to take over Italy, including Rome. The popes then appealed to the FRANKS. For confirmation of his title, PÉPIN III THE SHORT confirmed in 754 papal claims in Italy, including Rome, the Byzantine lands around RAVENNA, and the Lombard lands between the city of Rome and the Po River. This area corresponded with a traditional patrimony that lasted through the rest of the Middle Ages. Parts of it remained in papal hands until the 19th century.

In 774 CHARLEMAGNE confirmed this but undertook to incorporate this state into his empire. With the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, the patrimony theoretically returned to the papacy, but only Latium was under real papal rule. Control of the rest was divided among local rulers.

#### THE PATRIMONY AND RETURN TO ROME

From the 10th century the feudal aristocracy sought to impose its authority over the various FIEFS of the patrimony and even over the popes themselves. In the second

half of the 13th century, the popes recovered much of their sovereignty by obtaining the allegiance of several of GUELF leaders in Ravenna and BOLOGNA. After the settlement of the papacy at AVIGNON in 1305, local lords and tyrants gained an effective autonomy. Even a republic took over temporarily in Rome. The papacy did gain sovereignty over the area around Avignon itself. In 1350 Pope Clement VI (r. 1342–52) dispatched the Spanish cardinal ALBORNOZ to Rome to restore papal authority in the city and over the Patrimony of Saint Peter. Albornoz restored papal authority in most of the patrimony, defeating many local tyrants and communes. After the end of the GREAT SCHISM, the return of the papacy to Rome in 1417, and the conciliar conflicts of the first half of the 15th century, the popes continued to try to maintain their authority over the Papal States, employing many mercenaries and fighting many wars to do so. They succeeded in maintaining control over Latium, Umbria, Ancona, Ravenna, and Bologna.

*See also* ALEXANDER VI, POPE; CHARLES I OF ANJOU; DONATION OF CONSTANTINE; FREDERICK II; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; PASCHAL II, POPE; ROME.

**Further reading:** Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972); Walter Ullman, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1955); Daniel P. Waley, *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1961).

**paper, introduction of** Paper was supposedly discovered in the year 105 C.E. by an official at the court of the Han emperor in China. It was made from pieces of hemp and cloth. In the eighth century the ARABS acquired the technique from two Chinese prisoners. They created a factory at SAMARKAND. From there paper spread west and south to the Mediterranean, SYRIA, EGYPT, the Byzantine world, North AFRICA, and SPAIN by the 11th century. In the 13th century its manufacture and use spread through Spain at VALENCIA, ITALY at Fabriano, FRANCE in PROVENCE, and northern Europe in FLANDERS and GERMANY by 1390.

#### THE PROCESS

Medieval paper manufacturing began by mixing cloth rags or hemp cut into pieces. This was then washed with water and soaked in lime and afterward placed in troughs and beaten into pulp. This pulp was heated in a vat, and hung on a wooden frame fitted with a lattice. At the center of this lattice was usually a metal wire forming a letter or figure, the watermark, which showed the source for the paper and was transparently visible.

After the stretched form was drained, it was placed between layers of felt and pressed to remove the water. The resulting sheets were hung from lines for drying. With one side smooth and the other rougher, the sheets were then polished to produce a smooth surface and seal the pores of the paper, making it more receptive to ink.

#### PROLIFERATION OF USE

Paper was cheaper than PARCHMENT to produce and therefore, in the 13th century, quickly supplanted it for administrative and legal documents. Such a light and cheap material led to the increase in archival and bureaucratic collections from the 14th century. It thus made the work of bureaucracies easier and capable of utilizing past documents and precedents. It made books marginally less expensive to produce, initially and especially after when printing was developed in the 15th century. The more deluxe manuscripts continued to be written on parchment.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CODICOLOGY; PRINTING, ORIGINS OF

**Further reading:** Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002); I. P. Leif, *An International Sourcebook of Paper History* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1978); E. J. Labarre, *Dictionary and Encyclopedia of Paper and Paper-Making: With Equivalent Terms in French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish & Swedish* (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1967).

**papyrus and papyrology** Papyrus as a writing material was made from *Cyperus papyrus*, a plant that grew in the lower region of Mesopotamia, in SYRIA, in eastern SICILY, and especially in the Nile delta of EGYPT. Papyrus was the medium for written documents in the ancient world. Because of its fragility, only a handful of rolls survived from the many produced. Smaller pieces exist in the thousands. Most of them were preserved in the warm and dry climate of Egypt. For manuscript books, parchment in the form of codices, shaped as our books are, replaced papyrus as early as the fourth century.

#### MANUFACTURE AND LATER USE

The manufacture of papyrus involved cutting the pith of the plant stem into ribbons, which were impregnated with water on a table. A first layer was set vertically and a second one horizontally. They were stuck together with a paste made of millet and water. This sheet was pressed, lightly beaten, and rinsed to eliminate surplus paste. It was then dried in the sun and its surface was polished.

The resulting sheets were square and limited to 10 inches in width and 11 inches in height. They were joined by a border to one another to form a roll made up of 20 or so of them, measuring 20 to 40 meters long (or 70 to 100 feet). Writing was usually done only on one

side, the inner face of the roll, but could also be on the reverse side. Papyrus continued to be used for documents in western Europe even after the banning of the export of papyrus from Egypt by the ARABS in 692. The papal chancellery used it until the 11th century. By the 14th century, except in the case of formal and ornamental documents, paper largely replaced papyrus as a medium for transmitting the written word.

See also CODICOLOGY; PALEOGRAPHY; PARLIAMENT.

**Further reading:** Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957–1972); Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London: Routledge, 1995); Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); R. B. Parkinson, *Papyrus* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).

**Paradise** The word *paradise* was of Persian origin (*pairidaeza*). It became the Hebrew word for an “orchard, a park, or an enclosed garden,” rather close to the Sumerian concept and word, *eden*. In the LATIN of the VULGATE version of the BIBLE, it was called *Paradisus*. This became the Garden of Eden of Adam and Eve, with rich vegetation, watered by four rivers, reflecting the presence of GOD, and human mastery over animals. DEATH was not present.

#### FURTHER MEANINGS OF PARADISE

Another paradise was eschatological, or a place or state where the SOULS of the just enjoyed eternal happiness with GOD, possibly in the Garden of Eden. There the just would receive the reward promised them and enjoy eternal happiness while contemplating God. There were many disputes and discussions about this Paradise during the Middle Ages. Questions were asked about the nature of Paradise, whether material or spiritual, and its location. Another was about whether souls separated from bodies had access to the BEATIFIC VISION until the end of time. Theologians at the University of PARIS decided that the blessed see the divine essence immediately. This idea was reaffirmed in the 14th century.

Another Paradise was perhaps on earth, even the church on earth. For monks, it might mean the CLOISTER, an anticipation of the heavenly life. There was also a belief in an earthly location for the Garden of Eden somewhere. Such a concept appeared in the writings of MARCO POLO, John MANDEVILLE, and Christopher COLUMBUS.

#### THE MUSLIM CONCEPTION

Paradise, or *al-Jannah* (Arabic) or *firdaws* (Persian) for Muslims, was the place or garden of reward for dead Muslims. It included enjoyable food, drink, and companionship. Located under the throne of God, it was different



The Archangel Michael expels Adam and Eve from Paradise from a bas-relief from the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto, ascribed to Lorenzo Maitani and made about 1325 (*Courtesy Edward English*)

from the Garden of Eden. There were specific rewards for specific actions. There was no agreement among all Muslims as to whether it was a literal or physical place or an allegorical one. However, belief in reward or punishment for actions has always been fundamental in ISLAM. One was to do good, avoid evil, exhibit true repentance, and believe in the QURAN. It was a state that had not been seen or heard by humankind. MUHAMMAD believed that women would be a minority in heaven and no nonbelievers would be present.

See also ESCHATOLOGY; HARROWING OF HELL; HEAVEN; HELL; LAST JUDGMENT; LIMBO; PURGATORY; REDEMPTION.

**Further reading:** Jean Delumeau, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*, trans. Matthew O'Connell (New York: Continuum, 1995); Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1993); Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988); Alister McGrath, *A Brief History of Heaven* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); Howard Rollin Patch, *The Other World, According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

**parasites** In the Middle Ages as now parasites were usually living organisms that existed temporarily or permanently within or upon a body of another organism, the host. They derived nourishment from the host but did not provide any benefits. They could damage bodily functions and cause death. Parasitism could occur among all kinds of agents such as fungi, worms, bacteria, viruses, arthropods, protozoa, and worms (helminths). They could cause disease in humans and nonhumans. Humans often contracted parasitic diseases from animals.

## VARIETIES AND ENVIRONMENTS

Worms were the most common internal parasite or endoparasite, including: flukes, spread through water; tapeworms, transmitted through fur or contaminated food and water from dogs and cats; and thorny-headed worms and roundworms, transmitted by mosquitoes. Head and body lice, fleas, bedbugs, mosquitoes, mites, and ticks could transmit parasitic infection. Protozoa, or unicellular animals, could also cause a variety of conditions ranging from toxoplasmosis, a common parasite of birds and mammals and contracted by humans from raw or undercooked meat, to leishmaniasis, a skin disease transmitted to humans by sand flies. Most parasitic diseases did not cause bone or skeletal damage; they were limited to soft tissue.

Evidence for the parasites in historical contexts has been found primarily in coprolites from dry environments, intestinal contents of bodies preserved, deposits from latrines and cesspools, and remnants on hair and combs. Preservation depended on the condition of the containing deposits.

**Further reading:** R. J. Donaldson, ed., *Parasites and Western Man* (Lancaster: MTP Press, 1979); K. F. Kiple, ed., *Plague, Pox and Pestilence* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997).

**parchment** Parchment was the most widely used writing material in the medieval world. It was made from animal skins. The technique for turning skins into parchment was developed first, according to legend, in Pergamum in ANATOLIA. The Hellenistic king of EGYPT was jealous of the establishment of a library by his rival, King Eumenes II (197–158 B.C.E.). So he forbade the export of PAPYRUS. Parchment as a writing medium was favored by disruption in the Mediterranean Sea of the Muslim invasion and conquest of AFRICA. Parchment, complex and expensive to produce, worked well enough as the use of writing declined.

In the Middle Ages there were numerous recipes and techniques for the preparation of a skin, be it goat, calf, or sheep. In the basic procedure, skins were first soaked in water for a day and then, washed, to remove oils. They were smeared with a layer of acid lime on the flesh side and folded with the flesh side always facing a flesh side. Lime was to loosen any hair and open pores. Left to stand for 10 days in that state, they were stretched, rewashed in water, and any remaining hair removed. They were scraped again to get rid of any residue, hung on wooden frames, smeared with a chalky powder, and polished with a pumice stone.

## USES

The parchment for charters and official documents was usually of high quality. For everyday material the use of leaves of different formats, full of nodules, holes, and

faults, was common. For important books the practice from late antiquity was to use parchment dyed purple with silver or gold ink. This method or style continued, though in frequently, until the 12th century.

Parchment was made in monastic workshops following various local recipes. With the great increase commercial activity and the number of schools, students, and universities, the manufacture of parchment, as did the work of copying, became commercialized, industrialized, and organized. Monastic communities continued to manufacture parchment. From the 13th century, PAPER gradually replaced parchment for more mundane uses. Parchment continued to be used for manuscripts, as well as for deluxe books throughout the 15th century. PRINTING did not lead to the disappearance of parchment, which continued to be produced for works for princes or kings. Parchment was even used in printing, for luxurious books.

**Further reading:** Ronald Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London: Seminar Press, 1972); Ronald Reed, *The Nature and Making of Parchment* (Leeds: Elmete, 1975); Herbert Fahey, *Parchment and Vellum* (San Francisco: Fahey, 1940).

**Paris, Matthew** See MATTHEW PARIS.

**Paris and the University of Paris** Paris is in the middle of a well-populated region in FRANCE agriculturally rich in grain, vines, and forests and favorable for TRADE and communication. It began on an island, the Île de la Cité, on the Seine River. It was the Gallo-Roman town of Lutetia Parisiorum. The Roman governor's palace was in the west and the temple of Jupiter on the eastern end of the island. The island remained the center for government and for religion for the city. The town was heavily damaged by BARBARIAN raids in the third century and contracted for a time to the island.

#### EARLY HISTORY

CLOVIS and the Merovingians made it a Christian town. Clovis died at the age of 45 in a royal villa there in 511. He founded a monastery dedicated to Saint Geneviève and other monasteries and abbeys in the town such as Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Saint-Victor, Saint-Martin-des-Champs, the royal abbey of Saint Denis outside the town, and Saint-Maur-des-Fossés. Robert the Strong (d. 866) was elected king after he defended the town against VIKINGS in the mid-ninth century. Paris became the principal town of the Capetians. It grew quickly after that, with the right or north bank forming the center of population around the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois; along certain roads, the Rue Saint-Martin and the Rue Saint Denis; and at the outlets of bridges or gates. The WINE trade grew and there were

FAIRS from the early 12th century on the road to the monastery of Saint Denis.

On the left bank, schools were established among vineyards. On the Île de la Cité, the building of the new cathedral of NOTRE-DAME began in 1163. Around 1200, its bishop, Maurice de Sully (ca. 1120–96), set an urban parochial organization and King PHILIP II AUGUSTUS expanded his administration and lived in the city. His palace of the Cité and royal residence became the center of his realm with archives, the royal chapel, administrative offices, and the royal courts. He kept his treasury and prisons in the city at the church of the Temple and in the fortress of the Louvre. In 1190 he started building a wall and towers around the new sections of the city. He promoted commerce and protected it on the Seine, so MERCHANTS gave Philip II Augustus their support by lending him money and managing his finances.

#### AN EDUCATIONAL CENTER AND THE UNIVERSITY

From the 12th century, Paris became an important educational center, with schools at Notre-Dame and the abbeys of Saint-Victor and Sainte-Geneviève. Scholars traveled from all over CHRISTENDOM for the teaching of famous masters such as Peter ABÉLARD. They were initially under the authority of the chancellor of the school at Notre-Dame, but with the royal support, they had organized themselves into an autonomous community. It was powerful and privileged by 1200, with the university, exempt from secular justice and royal taxation. These privileges made 13th-century Paris the intellectual capital of Christendom with teachers such as ALBERTUS Magnus and Thomas AQUINAS.

#### UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM AND ORGANIZATION

In the 13th century the MENDICANT ORDERS established convents on the Left Bank, and colleges were created for the students, such as the Sorbonne in 1257. The disciplines taught in the new university were THEOLOGY, especially at Notre-Dame; the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS; and above all dialectic, which became the great specialty of the university. Schools of LAW and MEDICINE appeared slightly later. The first object of these communities was to organize mutual aid among members, who were often subjected to the hostility of the population and the local authorities. They obtained, with the support of popes, the statutes and privileges of 1215 and numerous fiscal and legal exemptions, gaining a great deal of autonomy. The university organized the internal discipline of the schools and fixed programs. Teaching masters accepted whom they wished and a license to teach was granted by the chancellor after examination by a jury of masters. By 1260 there appeared the *nations* of France, Picardy, NORMANDY, and ENGLAND, into which students were divided by geographical origin; the office of rector; the head of the university; and finally the four faculties of arts, theology, canon law, and medicine, each run by a

dean. This system became a model imitated all over northern Europe. Popes tried to make the new university doctrinal auxiliaries of their own authority, the Roman *magisterium*. They watched over the orthodoxy of teachings and promoted their agents from the new mendicant orders into the system.

To the end of the Middle Ages, the University of Paris remained the largest in the Europe. Around 1400, it had some 4,000 masters and students, 3,000 of them in the faculty of arts. There were also numerous supporting occupations, such as copyists and booksellers. By 1500 there were about 60 colleges. Famous and influential masters continued to teach at Paris in the 14th century, and later, including John BURIDAN, Nicholas ORESME, Pierre d'Ailly, John GERSON, and WILLIAM OF OCKHAM. In the 15th century, the university did not participate in the new humanist learning. During the GREAT SCHISM, the university unsuccessfully tried to play a decisive role. As a result, those who disagreed with its stance on the legitimate pope began to foster their own universities, especially in GERMANY and eastern Europe. The student and teaching bodies changed as a result, more often from northern France, subjects of the French crown. From the mid-15th century and after the revival of royal power at the end of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, the centralizing French kings imposed much more control over university affairs.

#### LATER MIDDLE AGES: POLITICS AND THE CROWN

In the meantime, Paris became even more of a political center for the French monarchy, with a population around estimated at 200,000. More building for administrative offices and the court occurred on the island. LOUIS IX built the SAINTE CHAPEL there to house his RELIC collection. In 1299 King PHILIP IV began the reconstruction of the old royal palace and built the great hall of PARLEMENT. He lived nearby with a large household, a garden, and docks for boats on the river. King CHARLES V abandoned the palace to legal and administrative offices and moved to the Hôtel Saint-Pol on the Right Bank.

The city itself was kept under close royal control and not allowed to form a COMMUNE or have a city council. Several revolts and numerous riots in the city resulted, such as those of Étienne Marcel (1356–58), the Maillotins (1382–83), and the Cabochiens in 1413 and when the Burgundians took control of the city in 1418. Paris fell to the English in 1420, and the English king, Henry VI (1422–61), was crowned king of France there in 1431. In 1436 the French recaptured the city, which had not prospered under the Anglo-Burgundian administration. The king himself did not live there most of the time, but the royal administration in the city slowly revived over the course of the 15th century. Paris did, however, regain much of its prosperity and commercial vitality and some of its population in the second half of the 15th century.

See also ARISTOTLE AND ARISTOTELIANISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES; PETER LOMBARD; PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY;

UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** Pierre Couperie, *Paris Through the Ages* (New York: Braziller, 1968); William J. Courtenay, *Teaching Careers at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1988); Virginia W. Egbert, *On the Bridges of Medieval Paris* (Princeton: N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974); Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985); Mary Martin McLaughlin, *Intellectual Freedom and Its Limitations in the University of Paris in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Arno Press, 1977); Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and Its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420–1436* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

**parish** The medieval parish was a local and defined area that included a church building under the spiritual care of a particular priest. The priest was paid out of the income attached to the parish. There was conflict during the Middle Ages over the right to nominate a cleric to this position. In the mid-13th century, the canonist and Cardinal Henry of Susa or HOSTIENSIS devised the first definition of the parish. The church was the place of worship where most of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS and other ceremonies were celebrated for the faithful under the authority of a priest. The priest sometimes levied fees or dues connected with the administration, a practice, previously imprecise that evolved in the ninth century.

#### ORIGINS AND CHRISTIANIZATION

In Christian antiquity, there was only one ecclesiastical region, that of the urban cathedral church, which was the only church for baptism and the residence of the head, or the bishop, of the diocese. There were local chapels for elite families. Parish churches date from the conversion of the countryside. They became places of worship and reproduced the structure and functions of the old cathedral church. The bishop was entitled to confer orders on priests and to grant local churches some autonomy. To this network of rural churches were added chapels on rural estates and attached to monasteries that sometimes performed religious services for the public. There was tension about any income of these churches and who had the right of appointment to them. Some became in effect the FIEFS of their owner. The number of churches built to serve a growing urban population also of necessity increased.

#### DEFINITIONS AND LATER HISTORY

The COUNCIL of CLERMONT in 1095 tried to establish a strict separation of the temporal and spiritual aspects of

parish. The financial endowments remained the property of the lord, either lay or ecclesiastical, who disposed of the right of PATRONAGE or the presentation of the clerical incumbent. The priest received the cure of SOULS from the bishop and was subject to the control of the diocesan hierarchy. The appointment to a church was no longer defined as a FIEF, but as a BENEFICE. This has remained the basic definition of parish administration. In the later Middle Ages, the LAITY or parishioners acquired more responsibility and control over the fabric of the church.

In the later Middle Ages, decades of war and insecurity destabilized many parishes and ruined their temporal incomes. A number of churches lost an incumbent or priest. At the same time, the beneficial system became rife with nonresidence and pluralism, leading to a decline in the quality of pastoral care. However, the movement that grew up in response to improve the local priesthood increased literacy and improved training in pastoral care activities. CONFRATERNITIES of laity attached to parishes in the later Middle Ages also became more numerous.

See also CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS; GREGORIAN REFORM; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES; SIMONY.

**Further reading:** George W. O. Addleshaw, *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768–814) to Urban II (1088–1099)* (London: St. Anthony's Press, 1954); Joseph Avril, "Parish." *EMA* 2.1,084–1,086; Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); John R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1955); Colin Platt, *The Parish Churches of Medieval England* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1981); Norman J. G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

**Parlement of Paris or France** The Parlement was the supreme court of JUSTICE of the kingdom of FRANCE from 1250 until the French Revolution in 1790. It was established to fulfill the prime duty of the king to provide justice. The publication and registration of royal ordinances were performed at this court. It had its seat in the royal palace on the Île de la Cité at PARIS from the time of King LOUIS IX's reforms of 1258 and 1260 forbidding trial by battle and judicial duel in the royal domain. Louis also made possible a general appeal to the king's court for justice. Appeals then flew in from the whole kingdom to the king's court. Its judicial session became an institution, the Parlement. From then it acquired a name, a fixed seat, and an archive of judgments to use as reference.

An ordinance of 1345 specified the personnel of the Parlement, whose members were now a set number of

professional counselors. The king appointed and paid them, and divided them into three chambers: The Great Chamber or Chamber of Pleas heard pleas spoken in French by advocates before a "bar" in front of the judges. It gave a judgment or final legal decree in LATIN and oversaw the other two chambers. The Chamber of Inquiries was charged with making preliminary investigations of cases and determining the appropriateness of petitions to the upper chamber. If it granted a petition to cite an adversary before the court, letters were issued to that effect and a commissioner was sent to investigate the local particulars of the case. The Chamber of Petitions further examined the admissibility of the case and its documentation. From there the case was sent back to the Great Chamber for judgment.

The personnel of Parlement numbered about 100, including presidents, counselors, king's procurator and advocate, clerks, and ushers. Some of these offices became hereditary and some of these families eventually joined the nobility. The whole system had a reputation for slow action, if not sloth, in the later Middle Ages. Its functioning also suffered from the political and military setbacks of the monarchy in the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR in the early 15th century. After an attempt at reform in 1436, provincial parliaments were established in TOULOUSE in 1443, Grenoble in 1453, Bordeaux in 1463, and Dijon in 1477.

**Further reading:** J. H. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris*, 2d. ed. (Phoenix: Sutton, 1998).

**Parliament, English** Starting in the 1230s certain assemblies were called *parliaments*, which meant "meetings or councils between the king, his ministers, and the magnates and prelates or high ecclesiastical officials of the kingdom to discuss the judicial, political, and fiscal matters of state and to present petitions." Parliament was an instrument of the king, who called it, dissolved it, and set its agenda. During the reign of EDWARD III it was to evolve into two bodies, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Its essential and initial function revolved around the dispensing of JUSTICE guided by the king. In the mid-13th century representatives of the shires and boroughs, administrative districts of the kingdom, were summoned. From 1327 and the important deposition of King EDWARD II, such representatives were regularly summoned and so constituted.

#### DEFINITION AND GROWTH OF JURISDICTION

In about the 1320s a document called *The Way of Holding Parliament* was written. Later in the century there were conflicts in 1341 involving the composition of the peerage and the House of Lords. At the end of the century, the deposition of RICHARD II and accession of Henry IV involved the institution of Parliament more in the functioning of the succession according to the constitution.

When Parliament became enlarged by the attendance of the commons, those representatives of the shires and the boroughs, a distinction was drawn between them and the magnates and prelates, and the term *peers* came into use for the latter two groups. The commons presented petitions to the king and the peers as judges.

In the reign of Edward III a noble group of about 50 became accepted and in 1387 hereditary baronies were created by royal letters that required attendance at Parliament. They were joined by a clerical element consisting of bishops and certain important abbots and priors of religious houses. These bishops were often employed as the principal ministers in the royal civil service. The clergy in this part of Parliament also controlled the taxation of the church in England.

#### BUSINESS: ISSUES AND AGENDAS

The business of Parliament became a discussion of affairs of state, more especially of foreign affairs, legislation, taxation, petitions, judicial business involving criminal and civil clauses, difficult administrative matters, and feudal questions on such procedures as homage. WESTMINSTER palace and abbey became the usual meeting place. Sessions opened with the monarch's receiving petitions, a statement of agenda or questions, and the fiscal needs of the Crown. The two houses, lords and commons, then met separately to discuss these questions. The lords expressed their opinion individually, but the commons had to present corporate opinions. The commons would provide answers to the king by a committee or by 1276 through a speaker. The lords were all summoned as individuals and represented nobody but themselves.

During the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, taxation, either direct or indirect, dominated Parliament, which levied indirect taxes or duties on imports or exports. It could agree to impose quotas for payment on every shire or direct taxation. Parliament tried to maintain control over such matters and had to be consulted regularly for permission for these taxes. The commons were endowed with full power to give legal consent to taxation.

Petitions of two kinds, singular and common, could be presented to and discussed in Parliament. Singular petitions were for one person or subject, not necessarily a member, who wished to make a request to the king. They were passed to persons named to act and dispose of the petitions as seemed appropriate. Common petitions were put forward in the name of the commons attending the Parliament. They were supposed to concern grievances from the common people. These petitions always went to the king and his council. Answers were given by the king with the advice and consent of the lords and eventually with the assent of the commons.

In 1404 the commons claimed by ancient custom certain privileges such as freedom from arrest for debt, trespass, or contract and in 1429 exemption from arrest

for all offenses except treason and serious crimes or felonies. Genuine liberty of speech was not allowed to members in the Middle Ages. The member clergy, in the event of legal issues, could be tried solely in church courts. The lay magnates claimed the privilege of trial by peers and demanded that freedom from arrest extend to their servants.

By the 15th century Parliament had become a national assembly whose statutes prevailed over common law and whose approval was required before TAXES could be levied.

*See also* CORTES; PARLEMENT OF PARIS OR FRANCE.

**Further reading:** R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton, eds., *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981); Nicholas Pronay and John Taylor, *Parliamentary Texts of the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); H. G. Richardson, *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); J. S. Roskell, *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, 3 vols. (London: Hambledon Press, 1981–1983); G. O. Sayles, *The King's Parliament of England* (New York: Norton, 1974).

**Parzival** *See* WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

**Paschal II, Pope (Raniero or Ranerius of San Lorenzo)** (ca. 1058–1118) *Italian pope, Cluniac monk*

Raniero was born in RAVENNA or near Faenza in central Italy about 1058. His first mission to ROME at about age 20 in 1080 demonstrated his early involvement with religion and recognition of this ability. He soon became abbot of the monastery of San Lorenzo or St. Paul's Outside the Walls. Pope GREGORY VII employed him in his household and raised him to the status of CARDINAL. After Urban's death in 1099, the cardinals chose him to be pope, on August 13, 1099. He inherited major problems in carrying out the reform program of his predecessors. He had to confront a schism, pressures from the emperor on investiture, and troubled relations with the Greek Orthodox Church and the Byzantine government. There were four different antipopes raised against him during his reign. The imperial party promoted conflict in the city of Rome and in Latium or Lazio, the surrounding region. More than once Paschal had to leave the city and take up arms to defend the Patrimony of Saint Peter or the PAPAL STATES.

#### INVESTITURE DISPUTES

Paschal tried to stand firmly against the attempts of the emperor Henry IV (1050–1106) to eliminate papal investiture of bishops in Germany. Henry's second son, the emperor Henry V (1086–1125), reached an agreement with Paschal when he needed papal help to replace his father in 1105–6. But Paschal, a weak and timid man, reneged on his promises. He went to FRANCE and reached

a peaceful agreement on the INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY somewhat favorable to the PAPACY with the royal governments of FRANCE and ENGLAND. The kings agreed to renounce rights of investiture but retained the right to receive homage or oaths of loyalty from bishops before their investiture. In the discussions at Sutri near Rome before Henry's coronation in 1111, Henry V reciprocally reneged on his promises. Paschal proposed as a solution that the papacy renounce rights on the royal temporalities or regalia in exchange for a renunciation by the emperor of his rights of investiture of bishops and abbots, or much control over the succession to ecclesiastical office. German churches could still levy tithes and receive private donations. The German episcopate quickly refused to cooperate and broke up a coronation ceremony on February 12, 1111. Henry then had the pope arrested and tried to oblige Paschal to invest him with the imperial staff and ring and crown him at Old Saint Peter's in Rome. The pope refused and was imprisoned; eventually he abjectly agreed to crown him on April 13, 1111, only to revoke this agreement, the Privilege of Mammolo, when he was released from prison. A council in 1116 confirmed Paschal's revocation in 1116 and an imperial army marched on Rome in 1117. Paschal fled into exile in Benevento during the ensuing riots.

Paschal sponsored a CRUSADE that attacked the Byzantines rather than the Muslims in 1105. Despite the considerable recrimination that resulted, the Byzantine emperor, ALEXIOS I, proposed a union of the two churches in 1112. It floundered on Paschal's strong demand for recognition of papal supremacy. Paschal returned to Rome in disappointment in 1118 and died a few days later, on January 21. He was buried secretly in Castel Sant' Angelo with Rome under the control of the emperor.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES.

**Further reading:** Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1100–1110* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978); I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.)

**Passover (Pesah)** Passover during the Middle Ages was the Jewish festival observed every spring to celebrate the liberation of the Children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, as related in Exodus 12. According to the ancient prescription, a lamb was to be slain in each Hebrew household and its blood sprinkled on lintel and doorposts to commemorate the initial act, which spared firstborn Hebrew males from death. Instead, the Bible related that the firstborn sons of the Egyptians were slain. This Tenth Plague imposed on the Egyptians by the Hebrew God compelled the pharaoh to free the

Israelite slaves from bondage. The Lord "passed over" the Hebrew houses marked by the blood of the sacrificed lamb. According to Deuteronomy 16, after the initial event, the sacrifice was performed at the Temple. The eating of this Paschal lamb was associated with the ancient sacrifice.

There have been theories about the festival's origins in nomadic practices or agricultural rites for beginning a harvest or simply a holiday to celebrate the arrival of spring. Passover became the principal Jewish festival of the year, celebrated for eight days from the night of 14/15 Nisan. After the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the Jews continued to observe the feast, omitting the sacrifice of a lamb, using only a bone in its place. The later details of the observance were recorded in the Mishnah tractate *Pesahim*.

#### GOOD FRIDAY

The Last Supper of Christ with his apostles on the night before he was crucified was probably a Passover meal. The Eucharist was instituted at Passover time, and Christian writers stressed that the death of Christ was the fulfillment of the sacrifice foreshadowed by Passover. It is likely that the earliest celebrations of the Christian Easter and the Paschal Vigil Service developed from the Jewish Passover rite. The account of the events in Exodus has traditionally been read at the services.

**Further reading:** Baruch M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds. *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Theodor Herzl Gaster, *Passover, Its History and Traditions* (1949; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984).

**pastoral care** See MENDICANT ORDERS; MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES; CHRISTIAN; PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANIZATION; PREACHING AND PREACHERS.

**pasture and rights of pasture** See AGRICULTURE; PEASANTRY.

**Patrick, Saint** (ca. 389–ca. 461) *fifth-century legendary apostle of Ireland*

Patrick was the only Romano-British citizen who left a significant account of his life. His *Confessio* and *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, both in LATIN, were among the earliest documents known to have been written in IRELAND. Yet little is reliably known of Patrick's life, and information must be gleaned from his own writings, though these were overwhelmingly self-reflectively hagiographical in nature. These events were later elaborated in

about 690 by the saint's biographers, Muirchú and Tírechán, among others.

#### EARLY LIFE

Patrick grew up on a small estate, a *villula*, near the villa of Bannavem Taberniae, whose location is unclear. He was the son of a certain Calpurnius, deacon of the church, and the grandson of the priest Potitus. Patrick's Christianity was not a driving force in his youth. At the age of 16, he was kidnapped by Irish raiders or pirates and subsequently sold as a slave in Ireland. He spent six years tending sheep, a period when his religious faith greatly increased. He escaped to Britain, a years later had a VISION in which a messenger of the Irish, called upon him to return to the land of his captivity. Patrick decided at once and contrary to the wishes of his religious superiors in Britain, to devote his life to preaching the gospel in Ireland. Patrick's ecclesiastical education and organizational preference are not clear. He may have had religious instruction in Britain, Ireland, or Auxerre in France.

#### PATRICK'S MISSION

Patrick focused on converting and baptizing new Christians, consecrating deacons, and consolidating the FAITH of those who had already become Christians after the episcopate of Palladius (ca. 364–430) in earlier in the fifth century. He was concerned with abolishing pagan practices, idolatry, and Sun worship. It is almost certain that Patrick's mission began in the middle of the fifth century, perhaps between 431/432 and 461, but the dates are problematic and could even be between 456 and 490. He began his mission in Leinster and established his see at Armagh.

He may have visited ROME in 442 to explain his activities and been consecrated bishop of Ireland. He introduced to Irish Christians the forms of English church, especially episcopal government. He encouraged the study of Latin and introduced MONASTICISM into Ireland, although most of his foundations were soon taken over by other religious houses. He died, according to various traditions, between 460 and even 490. The place of his death and burial are not known. His feast day is March 17.

**Further reading:** Patrick, *St. Patrick, His Writings and Life*, ed. J. D. White. (New York: Macmillan, 1920); David N. Dumville, with Lesley Abrams, *Saint Patrick, A.D. 493–1993* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993); Richard P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick, His Origins and Career* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1968); E. A. Thompson, *Who Was Saint Patrick?* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1999).

**Patrimony of Saint Peter** See DONATION OF CONSTANTINE; PAPACY; PAPAL STATES.

**patronage** Patronage was a medieval and early RENAISSANCE institution and practice, a relationship between a more powerful person and someone dependent on him or her for assistance. The arrangement could be almost contractual, an obligation of reciprocal support, which could be legal, economic, social, or political. Patronage could bind two people or a community and an individual. Ecclesiastical and lay institutions were often part of these social networks. Patronage could be formally recognized or much more informal and personal, at all levels of society up to a prince or king. Patronage could parallel feudal relationships or be integral to them. The roles of protector or protected could be temporary or close to permanent, constantly contested or mutually comfortable. Given all these conditions, patronage was fundamental and nearly all-pervasive in medieval society and persisted in the modern era in some societies.

#### ARTISTIC PATRONAGE

Artistic patronage could involve individual projects or long-term work on more than one endeavor. Groups of artists sometime formed stables of workers for projects from the building of a CATHEDRAL to the decoration of a chapel. Artists' workshops constituted patronage of younger artists as apprentices of a client, the master or patron. In the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, the artist gained more status than a mere artisan hired for a job, enhancing the terms of patronage. Famous artists and those in demand had more control over the style and content of their works for individual patrons, besides receiving superior pay and protection. However, it is usually unclear who during this era was actually responsible for the style and content. Contacts survived in far greater numbers for the later Middle Ages, and some of them, reflecting a market, showed what was expected and how the artist could be creative and innovative within guidelines set by the patron. Royal and princely courts were centers of patronage that could deeply influence style and content of all artistic objects.

See also BENEFICE; CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS; ELECTIONS; FEUDALISM AND FEUDAL SYSTEM; FIEF; GREGORIAN REFORM; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES.

**Further reading:** Iain Fenlon, ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1994); Karl J. Holzknrecht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (1923; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1966); Bram Kempers, *Painting, Power, and Patronage: The Rise of the Professional Artist in the Italian Renaissance*, trans. Beverley Jackson (London: Penguin Books, 1994); F. William Kent and Patricia

Simons, eds., *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); June Hall McCash, *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

**Paul the Deacon** (Paulus Levita, Warnefrid) (ca. 720–ca. 800) *historian, grammarian, poet, deacon, monk at Monte Cassino*

Paul was a member of one of the oldest LOMBARD families long settled in Friuli by King ALBOIN, the first king of the Lombards in Italy. At Pavia, he was educated in the court of the Lombard king Ratchis (r. 744–749). He was instructed in letters, and learned LATIN. He also received some education in Greek. At Ratchis's court, he heard about the old exploits of the Lombards, which he recorded at the end of his life in his best known work, the *History of the Lombards*. He became a deacon, of the Church of Aquileia and perhaps a notary and adviser of the Lombard king Desiderius (r. 757–774). He taught the royal children.

After 774, when CHARLEMAGNE conquered the Lombards, Paul became a monk at MONTE CASSINO. In 776, his brother participated in a revolt against the FRANKS, for which he was despoiled of his patrimony and banished to Francia. In about 782, Paul visited Charlemagne's court at AACHEN, likely brought there by the grammarian Peter of Pisa (d. ca. 800). While there between 782 and 786, Paul tried to help his brother and worked among the Frankish and other clerics working on a reform education. Back at Benevento again in 786–787 and after the death of the duke of Benevento, Paul returned to Monte Cassino, where he died about 800.

#### LITERARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In a clear and cultivated Latin, he composed a commentary on Donatus (fl. fourth century), a summary of Festus's (fl. ca. 200) dictionary, a homiliary composed at Charlemagne's request, a commentary on the Benedictine Rule, a Roman history, a history of the bishops of Metz, and a hagiographical life of Pope GREGORY I. He is best known for his epic history of the Lombards from their origins in 586 to the death of King LIUTPRAND in 744, written while he was at Monte Cassino. In it he emphasized the triumph of Christianity over Lombard PAGANISM.

**Further reading:** Paul, the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, trans. William Dudley Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1907); Walter A. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

**Peace and Truce of God** The Peace of God, or in Latin *Pax Dei*, was a movement with a moral vision and concern for community that began in southern FRANCE in

the late 10th century and spread to most of CHRISTENDOM. Its influence was apparent until at least the 13th century. Its ideals involved lay and ecclesiastical legislation that regulated WARFARE and tried to establish a social and political peace under the influence of Christianity.

The Peace and Truce of God was a popular religious movement, coinciding with the collapse of the government of the CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY and the violence of the rise of the CAPETIAN DYNASTY in the 10th century, events that generated violence at the local level because of the absence of effective central government. Church councils or meetings of bishops and other clerics with some powerful LAITY were called to stem the rising level of disorder from which all of society was suffering. The resulting synodal legislation in France was designed to protect unarmed civilians, such as churchmen, peasants, MERCHANTS, and pilgrims; and to control the behavior of warriors, who were henceforth obliged to swear an OATH ON RELICS in the presence of others. The new controls relied on noncoercive spiritual sanctions such as EXCOMMUNICATION, the INTERDICT, and the anathema rather than any royal administration of justice. The success of these measures depended on the combined force of a perceived divine will and popular pressure expressed sometimes in miraculous events. In the 11th century, princes and kings joined the Peace and Truce of God. It was especially effective in 1033, the supposed anniversary of Christ's passion and DEATH. Peace leagues grew up. Peasants and lower-level clerics joined nobility in this effort to maintain peace.

#### TREUGA DEI

By the 1040s the Truce of God (*Treuga Dei*) continued to be a center of legislative efforts at control. Aimed at the nobility, involved a voluntary relinquishing of arms at certain times, seeking to limit feuds and private warfare, forming a temporary link between the earlier peace movements and the development of public institutions that could effectively control violence. These truces specified collective peace at specific times: every week from Wednesday evening to Monday and on numerous other Christian feast days the rest of the time. It was sometimes effective. There were attempts to follow its guidelines even during civil wars in ENGLAND and the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Monarchs resorted to such truces to control unruly nobles in the 12th century. Canonists, such as IVO OF CHARTRES, and popes, such as ALEXANDER III, tried to promote it and give it some kind of canonical underpinning, but popular enthusiasm for it began to wane as the strength and coercive power of central governments and other institutions increased.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, ambitious and violent nobles found alternatives for their bellicose energies—they could go off on Crusade and “ethically” combat Muslims or only too often whomever they encountered, including JEWS and other Christians. Even the religiously inspired peasants, once attracted to oppose these local

marauders, joined their Crusades outside Western Europe. Little was heard about the Peace and Truce of God in the later Middle Ages.

See also COMMUNE.

**Further reading:** Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992); Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Robert I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970–1215* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

**peasant rebellions** There were numerous peasant rebellions during the Middle Ages in Western Europe; the best known and most important ones occurred in the 14th and 15th centuries. Documentation of others in Eastern Europe, in the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, and among Muslims is much less extant, if it exists at all. The earlier European revolts were more local than later efforts.

There were common points of conflict in all of the medieval peasant rebellions: the concept of free status, labor service due the lord, rents, taxes, access to vital common rights such as pasture, administration of JUSTICE in the lords' courts, and other particulars of the relationship between the community of peasants and its lord. The success of these movements varied, but they served as reminders of the scope of aristocratic power: there was a limit to what the peasantry would tolerate. The revolts also reflected economic change in labor markets, the rural economy, and agricultural organization. In the 14th century the revolts became more violent, frequent, and ambitious, especially after the PLAGUE of the late 1340s. Major conflicts exploded in FLANDERS between 1323 and 1328 and in FRANCE in the JACQUÉRIE in 1358. The Tuchin movement in central France in the 1360s that lasted until the end of the century. Other uprisings included the English peasant rebellion of 1381 and peasant wars in Catalonia from 1460 into the 1480s. At the same time growing urban labor populations, many of whom were recent transplants from the countryside, caused disorder and conflict over industrial labor conditions in the towns.

#### THE REVOLT IN ENGLAND

The most important and widespread insurrection in English history was the revolt of English peasants during the months of May and June in 1381; it was also the popular rebellion with the best remaining documentation anywhere in medieval Europe. Several causes have been suggested, including a Marxist crisis of FEUDALISM, a dispute over customary relationships, and a violent and unpremeditated reaction of the peasantry to misadministration in government and justice and excessive war taxation—in particular, three oppressive poll taxes between 1377 and 1381.

The uprising was first documented in southern Essex toward the end of May 1381; then, early in June, the commons of Kent forcibly entered the towns of Rochester on June 6 and CANTERBURY on June 10. They chose an obscure but charismatic leader, Wat Tyler. They marched to Blackheath, near LONDON, intending to present grievances to the 14-year-old king, RICHARD II. After the rebels of Essex and Kent broke through the defenses of London, Richard agreed to meet them on Friday, June 14, promising a general emancipation of English tenants from VILLEIN status, the most oppressive form of peasant status.

In the meantime the insurgents were joined by disaffected urban artisans and craftsmen. They sacked the luxurious palace of the Savoy owned by JOHN OF GAUNT and had Archbishop Simon Sudbury (d. 1381) and Treasurer Robert Hales (d. 1381), the most infamous of the king's ministers, executed in the Tower of London. At the meeting between Richard and Wat Tyler, a mêlée ensued in which Tyler was killed, perhaps foiled in an assassination attempt on the king. Thereupon the crowd dispersed and Richard claimed some kind of victory. The rebellion fell apart after that, especially after the city of London did not rise up in support. The king quickly reneged on his promises and his government brutally quelled any further resistance.

Executions of the perceived ringleaders, including the priest John BALL, followed over the next summer. The new poll and ecclesiastical taxes however, were not levied again. Later rebellions involving rural unrest followed, including one led by Jack CADE in 1451. This rebellion had an afterlife in English history for its egalitarian aspirations and for its dream of applying Christian justice to all of society. Conditions of rural work and servitude did not immediately improve, but in the longer run, at least because of change in the rural labor market, genuine serfdom became unprofitable for lords.

See also AGRICULTURE; CIOMPI REVOLT; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; PEASANTRY; SERFS AND SERFDOM; VILLEINS AND VILLEINAGE.

**Further reading:** Richard B. Dobson, ed., *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970); Rodney H. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London: Temple Smith, 1973); Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Michael Mollat and Philippe Wolff, *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages*, trans. A. L. Lytton-Sells (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973); William H. TeBrake, *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323–1328* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

**peasantry** In the medieval world, peasants represented perhaps 80 to 85 percent of the European population.

The conditions for these peasants varied according to a number of factors, including the topography of land on which they had to work, the labor market, the production for the demands of towns and urban populations, the solidarity of their own community, the needs and powers of lords, the type of farming, and the crops and animals involved in production.

In the late antique world and the early Middle Ages, peasants' holdings were not closely tied to particular pieces of land, lords, or institutions. In the 10th century, fixed villages came into being and family houses replaced more collective dwellings. From those evolved much more precise sets of relationships with lords. The legal status of peasants then became more or less free or obligated to certain services and taxes. True slavery had become very rare for production from the land in Europe. The lord had responsibilities to his peasantry, but these were limited. There were also small landholders or tenant farmers, independent of any lord except in certain legal ties to the manorial court system. True serfs, who were not technically slaves but were essentially owned by their master, constituted another element of the peasantry. Their proportion of the rural population varied from region to region, sometimes as high as 35 percent, though in many regions they were completely absent.

#### THE BYZANTINE PEASANTRY

Byzantine peasants played an important role in the empire. They were for several centuries one of the principal supports of the realm. In the early days of BYZANTIUM, the plight of the peasants improved because of a chronic shortage of labor, though the number of agricultural slaves was always low. Small proprietors always existed, with monopolies in a significant number of villages, usually reinforced by the presence of hereditary leaseholders. The fiscal administration had to abandon taxing cities and found taxpayers in rural areas. Peasants also constituted a portion of the support for the Byzantine military districts or themes, which they helped to finance for defense against foreign invasions, especially those of the ARABS.

*See also* AGRICULTURE; BAN; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; PEASANT REBELIONS; SERFS AND SERFDOM; VILLEINS, AND VILLEINAGE.

**Further reading:** Robert Fossier, *Peasant Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1988); Paul H. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999); Angeliki E. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, trans. John Day (1966; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974); Werner Rösener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, trans. Thomas M. Barker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

**Peć (Péc, Pečūy)** Péc was one of two monastic sites that alternated as residences of the archbishop of the Serbs, who became a patriarch in 1346. At the heart of the town were three churches built and decorated within a century of one another. The oldest of this group was the church of the Holy Apostles; its date is not fixed with certainty, perhaps the 1230s. It has FREScoes from the 1260s. Two 14th-century churches surround the Holy Apostles. To the north is Saint Demetrius (1316–24), and to the south is the Theotokos Hodeghetria, built about 1330. Both are decorated with frescoes from the 14th century.

*See also* SERBIA AND SERBS; STEPHEN DUŠAN.

**Further reading:** Suzy Dufrenne, "Peć," *EMA* 2.1,107; John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Radivoje Ljubinkovic, *The Church of the Apostles in the Patriarchate of Pec*, trans. Veselin Kostic (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1964).

**pecia** The Latin word *pecia* designated "a piece." In the book production industry and trade, it designated a partial stage in the copying procedure of a manuscript text that permitted a more rapid circulation and publication of works for scholars. Students and teachers needed manuscript copies of works, producing which was not a simple or cheap process. To avoid the necessity of reproducing a whole manuscript, at once which could tie up the best model text for a long time and yet only obtain a single copy, a scribe was lent an *exemplar* compiled in numbered sections. These were called *pecie* in the plural. The scribe used the "pieces" one after the other, so the other sections might be available for other copies. Several copyists worked on the same text at the same time, so a greater number of full copies of a single work to be rapidly produced. The model text made up of all of the pieces was called an *exemplar*. This was done by booksellers called stationers.

This system arose toward the end of the 12th century at BOLOGNA and spread in the 13th century to PARIS and elsewhere, becoming a commercial enterprise. The university authorities regulated this business strictly. The price for producing each piece was taxed, and each *exemplar* was subjected to checks, and proofreading, even by the authors involved. All this aimed toward ensuring the integrity of the texts. The quality of the texts, nonetheless, transmitted by exemplars was variable. It could be excellent when the stationer had a clear autograph, sometimes even checked by the author, or a very good model. But it could be mediocre. There are numerous examples of corrupted texts. Any modern or scientific editing of these complex philosophical, theological, and legal texts had to confront issues of fragmentation, accuracy, and problematic descent.

See also PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Further reading:** Leonard E. Boyle, *Medieval Latin Paleography: A Bibliographical Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 267–269, 312–313.

**Pelagianism** Pelagianism was a fourth- and fifth-century Christian HERESY, according to which humankind won SALVATION through its own efforts, without the help of divine GRACE. One could win grace by one's efforts. It took its name from PELAGIUS, a British scholar who settled in ROME in the 380s. The doctrine was attacked by the church, which perceived such ideas as dangerous to its role in the administration of sacraments as instruments of divine grace. Such ideas eliminated the need for assistance by the clergy as mediators in Christian FAITH and practice. This heresy's chief adversary was AUGUSTINE of Hippo, who, among several others, brought about its condemnation in 415. Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390–after 455) tried to defend Pelagian ideas, which initially were influential in the East. But they were condemned again by Pope Innocent I (r. 401–417) in 417. Many believers in Pelagianism retired to SPAIN, where they enjoyed a certain degree of liberty under the VISIGOTHS. The movement itself disappeared in the sixth century, but the ideas continued to be discussed.

**Further reading:** Augustine, *Four Anti-Pelagian Writings*, trans. John A. Mourant and William J. Collinge (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992); Gerald Bonner, *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition: Augustine, Pelagianism, and Early Christian Northumbria* (Brookfield: Variorum, 1996).

**Pelagius** (ca. 357–ca. 418) *monk, theologian*

Probably of British origin, Pelagius arrived in about 380 in ROME, where he began to teach. By 410 he had moved to AFRICA, where his views were opposed by AUGUSTINE in 411. According to Pelagius, the human will was completely free, capable of good or evil. Divine GRACE was externally given according to one's earned merits, its purpose merely to facilitate what the will could do by itself. Adam's SIN, or original sin, was purely personal and had no effect on the rest of humanity. All humanity did not bear the guilt of original sin. DEATH was not a punishment for sin but a necessary aspect of human nature.

Pelagius created a THEOLOGY vindicating Christian ASCETICISM against the charge of MANICHAISM by emphasizing human freedom to choose good. Since all were born without original sin, there was no need for infant baptism. PRAYER for the conversion of others was hopeless since it could not help them. REDEMPTION carried out by Christ had no effect except as an example. This became a widespread movement, not especially tied to Pelagius himself.

## OPPOSITION

All these ideas produced a torrent of orthodox opposition and the promotion of Roman hegemony. Augustine in 412, OROSIUS in 415, and JEROME in 415 all attempted refutations. A conference of African bishops persuaded Pope Innocent I (r. 401–417) in 417 to excommunicate Pelagius and denounce his views. However, later that year the Greek pope and saint Zosimus I (r. 417–418) reopened the case and accepted him back into the church. The emperor Honorius (r. 395–423), with papal support, exiled Pelagius from Rome on April 30, 418, because of his renewed heretical teaching. At the Sixteenth Council of Carthage, more than 200 African bishops condemned his teaching. A council of ANTIOCH expelled him from PALESTINE, where he had taken refuge, the following year. Pelagius himself did not try to defend these ideas much himself. He disappeared from history and probably died, perhaps in EGYPT, soon after the condemnations of 418. Others did try to defend these ideas on free will for the next few decades, especially in Britain. Such ideas continued to surface throughout the Middle Ages and returned to full bloom in the reforming movements of the 16th century.

See also GRACE; PREDESTINATION.

**Further reading:** Pelagius, *The Letters of Pelagius and His Followers*, ed. and trans. B. R. Rees (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991); John Ferguson, *Pelagius: A Historical and Theological Study* (New York: AMS Press, 1978); B. R. Rees, *Pelagius: Life and Letters* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1998).

**Peloponnese** See MOREA, CHRONICLE OF, AND DESPOT OF.

**penance** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**Penitentials** Penitentials, or *Libri paenitentiales*, were texts containing lists of sins. For each sin, moreover, there were corresponding penances to be assigned to truly penitent sinners who had to perform them voluntarily. Compiled for the use of confessors in private penance, they were particularly popular in the Celtic church, whose penitential tradition sought correction and improvement, not simple punishment. Most of these texts in manuscripts circulated anonymously or were linked with famous and reputable authors. The earliest examples appeared in IRELAND and WALES in the sixth century. COLUMBAN introduced these ideas and lists to the Continent and Anglo-Saxon England in the first half of the seventh century. By the eighth century, Irish MISSIONS and missionaries had further spread the use of Penitentials.

The concept of establishing specific expiating penalties for specific sins was probably based on such practices in barbarian law codes. The principal act of penance advised in these Penitentials was the FAST, which could

vary in severity and length by a set number of days, weeks, months, or years, depending on the sin and the social and religious status of the penitent. These periods of fasting could usually be replaced by other kinds of penitential activities, including huge quantities of genuflections, numerous recitations of psalms, difficult and dangerous pilgrimages, long vigils, hefty payments for masses, charitable gifts to ecclesiastical institutions, and straightforward monetary payments. Soon even third parties could be employed to carry out penances for wealthy penitents. However, at the councils of Châlon in 813 and Paris in 829, it was decided that bishops were to find any Penitentials in their dioceses and destroy them. They were not canonically or officially approved.

### ORTHODOX CHURCH

In the Orthodox Church, Penitentials were collected into manuals for categories of sins and were intended to provide confessors with a list of penances specified by the decisions of church councils, or as prescribed by the early fathers, or as explicitly stated in rituals for administering the sacrament of penance. They were usually attributed in manuscripts to the patriarch John the Faster (582–595). In the application of this pastoral system, the confessor was to help the penitent improve his or her life by taking account of the age, the social rank, the state of life, and the circumstances of the sin, all done benevolently to inspire a more confident attitude in the penitent that he or she might be able to reform and avoid further sin. These kinds of *Penitentials* had a wider and longer deployment in the Eastern Church.

**Further reading:** Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963); John T. McNeil and Helena M. Gamer, trans., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "Libri poenitentiales" and Selections from Related Documents* (1938; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550–1150* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Julie Ann Smith, *Ordering Women's Lives: Penitentials and Nunnery Rules in the Early Medieval West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

**Pentateuch** The five books of Moses or Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, were considered by Jewish and Christian exegetes to constitute a coherent unit. Called Torah by the Jews, they were supposed to have been written by Moses to represent the essence of the "old law" and were sometimes contrasted with the four GOSPELS. Both had normative elements supplemented by doctrinal considerations; both contained many narrative elements, and the Pentateuch had traditionally been included among the historical books of the BIBLE. The Pentateuch provided the stories of creation, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, the patriarchs, Joseph,

Moses, and much more. These characters became the basis of allegorical and typological interpretations. Historical aspects of the narratives such as chronological, geographical, and archaeological details were studied from the 12th century onward by both Christians and Jews.

For the JEWS, the Torah was the basis of the social and religious legislation known as the *HALAKAH*. It was believed to be decreed by GOD. Its rules and commandments had a permanent value and were the basis of the organization of Jewish religious and community life. The main groups concerned alimentary laws; observance of the sabbath and other festivals, some nostalgically relating to Israel; sacrifices; and numerous social laws that applied to the family, hospitality to strangers, assistance to the needy, and even slavery. Christianity inherited this system, but after Christ, the Old Testament practices and social laws were deemed obsolete. Canon law, however, was inspired by ideas and rules from the Pentateuch.

In the doctrinal sphere, the Pentateuch did not have the importance for Christian thought of John's gospel and the Pauline epistles. However, some fundamental aspects of Christian doctrine were set out in Genesis and Deuteronomy. Christian thought followed the idea, the absolute oneness of God, while understanding other passages as clear indications of the Trinity and the creation of the universe by God from nothing.

*See also* GLOSSA ORDINARIA; HRABANUS MAURUS; JEROME, SAINT; RUPERT OF DEUTZ; STEPHEN LANGTON.

**Further reading:** Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1992); Suzanne Boorer, *The Promise of the Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1992); Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, trans. Bernhard W. Anderson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972); M. H. Segal, *The Pentateuch: Its Composition and Its Authorship and Other Biblical Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1967).

**Pentecost (Whitsunday)** Pentecost was the Greek name for the feast of weeks on the 50th day after Passover or EASTER. The HOLY SPIRIT, the third person of the Trinity, descended on the apostles on this feast to enable them to speak all the languages necessary for their preaching among the Gentiles. As an artistic presentation, it took its source from the description in the Acts of the Apostles. Pentecost was considered the collective feast of the apostles and was celebrated as an institution of the church.

**Further reading:** A. A. McArthur, *The Evolution of the Christian Year* (London: SCM Press, 1955); John Gunstone, *The Feast of Pentecost: The Great Fifty Days in the Liturgy* (London: Faith Press, 1967); Valentine Zander, *Pentecost in the Orthodox Church* (Wirral, England: Anargyroi Press for the Monastery of Saint Seraphim of Sarov, 1994).

people of the Book See DHIMMI.

**Pépin III the Short (Pippin)** (ca. 714/715–768) *mayor of the palace for the last of the Merovingians, king of the Franks*

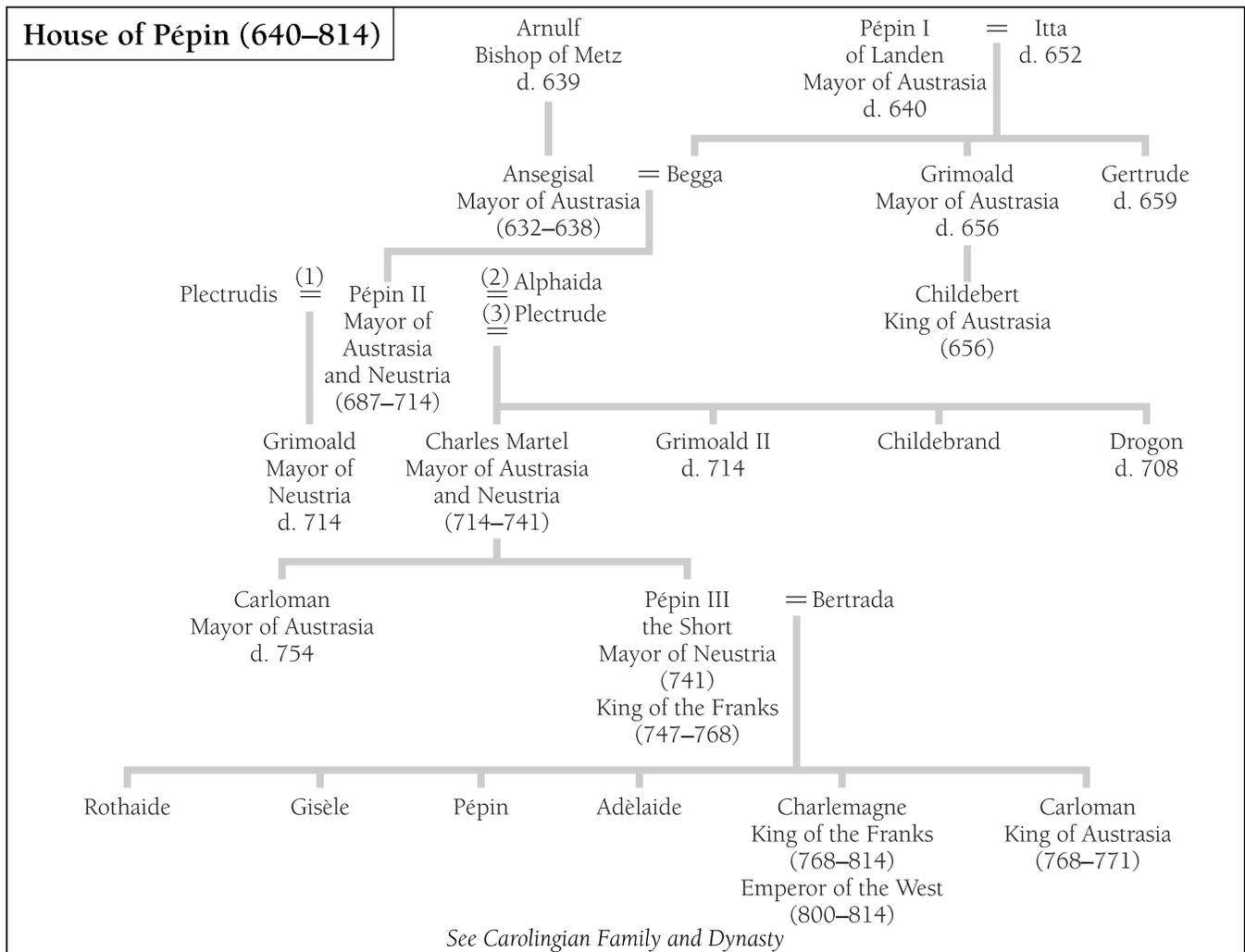
Born about 714/715 at Jupille, Pépin was the son of CHARLES MARTEL and Rothrude and became the father of CHARLEMAGNE. From 741 to 751, he held the office of mayor of the palace and the chief official for the Merovingian king. From 751 to 768, he was king himself after his accession to the Crown. He had spent his youth with the monks of Saint Denis near PARIS. In 735 he was sent to the court of Liutprand (r. 713–744), the king of the LOMBARDS, where he saw a sound administration of government. On his father's death, he inherited control of BURGUNDY, NEUSTRIA, PROVENCE, and the cities of Metz and Trier. His brother, Carloman (d. 754), held the rest of the Frankish kingdom and the mayoralty of Austrasia. In 743 the princes decided to reproclaim and restore the pretense of

the rule of the Merovingian dynasty, interrupted since 737, to satisfy some of objections the Frankish aristocracy.

Pépin and Carloman reformed the Frankish church with the advice of Saint BONIFACE, a representative of the pope. In 744 Pépin assembled Frankish bishops for a council at Soissons, where the resulting legislation or canons obliged clerics to lead a more appropriate life, no longer bear arms, and wear clothing similar to that of monks. Pépin would not restore church property that had been confiscated by Charles Martel, since it was in the hands of his important supporters.

**PÉPIN AS KING**

After Carloman's abdication in 747, Pépin united the two mayorships and began to drive back the SAXONS from the left bank of the Rhine and impose his lordship over BAVARIA. Having received support from the pope, he had himself elected king at Soissons in November of 751. The last Merovingian king, Chilperic III (r. 742–752); entered a monastery. Pépin was then consecrated by the



Frankish bishops. Threatened by the LOMBARDS, Pope Stephen II (752–757) appealed to Pépin. The pope traveled to Gaul to meet the new king in January of 754. He obtained a promise from Pépin to intervene in Italy and consecrated and anointed Pépin and his sons as the ruling family, addressing them as “patricians of the Romans.” The Franks were in theory to choose their king solely from Pépin’s descendants from then on. Pépin then led two successful expeditions to ITALY, in 754 and 756. He restored to the pope the lands confiscated by the Lombards, or the Patrimony of Saint Peter, the basis for the PAPAL STATES. His prestige as the first Carolingian king grew, and he managed to subject AQUITAINE, to defeat the Frisians and the Saxons, and to expel the ARABS from western Provence. He reorganized his court and government by entrusting administrative posts to educated clerics and monks. He resumed a monopoly on coining money and struck a silver penny. He had a new basilica built at SAINT-DENIS, where he died on September 24, 768.

**Further reading:** J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London: Methuen, 1962); Rosamund McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983); Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (New York: Longman, 1994).

**Perceval (Parsifal)** *literary character, hero of several Arthurian romances*

CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES first wrote Perceval’s history in his *Conte du Graal* from about 1182, but perhaps as late as 1191. Supposedly from a rustic background, he was raised apart from knightly life but did have knightly training and then went to the court of ARTHUR where he has several outrageous experiences. There he learned that CHIVALRY did not just consist in bearing arms, but in committing one’s strength and courage to a mission conducted under a precise code, such as the search for the GRAIL. He learned to love from afar. He became aware of his election for a task and need to take responsibility for and purify his past. When he failed on his first visit to the Grail castle, the cause was a SIN committed earlier. He was obliged to evaluate this act and its consequences and free himself by a penance. His faults or those of others and his possible redemption confronted each other inside him. In WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH’s *Parzival* (ca. 1210), the stain was a sin of the flesh. This fault and its redemption remained aspects of Perceval’s later existence as a hero in literature, but eventually as the genre reduced to Galahad’s, his son, companion on the quest for the Holy Grail.

**Further reading:** D. H. Green, *The Art of Recognition in Wolfram’s Parzival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Arthur Groos and Norris J. Lacy, eds., *Perceval-Parzival: A Casebook* (New York: Routledge, 2002);

Will Hasty, ed., *A Companion to Wolfram’s Parzival* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1999).

**person** The medieval philosophical notion of a person had its roots in the definition of BOETHIUS, who explained it as an individual substance with a rational nature. In THEOLOGY it was applied to GOD as a Trinity of persons with Christ as a divine person. Medieval thinkers insisted on individuation or singularity, a fundamental concept that was used in theological and philosophical speculation on God, TRINITARIAN doctrine, the SOUL, substance, NATURE, the nature of humans, ethics, and many other topics.

*See also* AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT; IBN RUSHD; PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1955); Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, and Eleonore Stump, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Quentin Skinner and Eckhard Kessler, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

**Pest** *See* BUDA AND PEST.

**Peter I** (d. 969) *king of the Bulgarians*

Peter I was the son of SIMON I, whom he succeeded in 927. Soon after that, he led a raid near CONSTANTINOPLE to demonstrate his power and then negotiated a favorable treaty with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE that lasted until 965. He married a Byzantine princess. His kingdom was prosperous despite Magyar raids and internal unrest, often linked to his own family. Constantinople even recognized his title as a czar, though inferior to the emperor. When the Byzantine emperor refused to pay tribute in 965, war began. The Russians of KIEV attacked BULGARIA as an ally of the Byzantines. Peter grew sick and in 967 had to abdicate and retire to a monastery, where he died in 969.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

**Peter Damien** *See* DAMIAN, PETER.

**Peter Lombard** (ca. 1095–1160) *bishop of Paris, theologian, biblical exegete*

Peter Lombard was born near Novara in northern ITALY about 1095. Trained first in the law schools of northern Italy, he then attended the CATHEDRAL school at RHEIMS.

There he studied the glosses of ANSELM OF LAON and GILBERT OF POITIERS on the Psalms. He eventually opposed the teaching of Gilbert at the Council of Rheims in 1148. He was accepted at the monastery Saint-Victor in PARIS on the recommendation of BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX; there he studied with HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR. By 1145–47, he had received as a BENEFICE a canonry at NOTRE-DAME in Paris. He was ordained subdeacon in 1147, deacon in 1152, and priest and archdeacon in 1156 or 1157. From 1143 or 1144, he taught at the cathedral school of Notre-Dame, until he was elected to the office of bishop of Paris in 1159, but he died the following year, on May 3, 1160, and was buried in the church of Saint-Marcel.

**WORKS: GLOSSES, A TEXTBOOK,  
AND SERMONS**

Peter Lombard left several collections of glosses on Scripture, 33 SERMONS, and a set of questions on the Trinity, the incarnation, and SINS against the HOLY SPIRIT. His most famous and important work was the *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (Four Books of Sentences). Peter Lombard asserted that he felt a need for a new organization of theological teaching. In the prologue to his work (1155–58), he stated that he wished to collect together the sentences or opinions of the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, with supporting texts and new sources, for the masters and students in the universities. The *Sentences* were divided into books, distinctions, chapters, and articles by the Franciscan Alexander of Hales (ca. 1185–1245), who in 1223–27 was the first Parisian master to use Lombard's work as a basic teaching text. It remained the basic text and reference source for theological studies until the 16th century; nearly every theologian had to write a commentary as a basic part of an advanced theological education.

Lombard's *Sententiae* set the basic framework for systematic theological study and laid the basis and was a model for a synthesis of conflicting opinion. A Scholastic treatise, it dealt with TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE, creation, the Incarnation, REDEMPTION, the VIRTUES, SIN, ANGELS, DEMONS, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the commandments, DEATH, HEAVEN, HELL, the LAST JUDGMENT, and the SEVEN SACRAMENTS. Lombard sought to bring the heritage of the learning of the past to bear on contemporary doctrinal questions.

See also GLOSSA ORDINARIA; SENTENCES.

**Further reading:** Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); G. R. Evans, ed., *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Current Research* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Michael P. Malloy, *Civil Authority in Medieval Philosophy: Lombard, Aquinas, and Bonaventure* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985); Elizabeth Frances Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (Merrick, N.Y.: Richwood, 1976).

**Peter the Hermit** (ca. 1050–1115) *French preacher*

Peter the Hermit was a native of the Amiens region who left his hermitage and began in 1096 to preach charismatically in Berry for the First CRUSADE. In April, he set out from COLOGNE for JERUSALEM with perhaps 20,000 ill-trained and inadequately equipped companions. They attacked numerous Jewish communities on the way. He was well received at CONSTANTINOPLE by the emperor, ALEXIOS I. The troops with him, however, pillaged the city. They were then transferred to ANATOLIA but largely annihilated in a battle by the SELJUK TURKS near NICAEA; survivors joined the main crusading army.

Peter was not with them. His role after that became secondary. His prestige decreased sharply after his ignominious attempt to desert during the siege of ANTIOCH in 1097–98. After the capture of Jerusalem, he returned to Europe and became prior at Saint Augustine at Neufmontier in BELGIUM. He died there in 1115.

**Further reading:** Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Robert Chazan, *In the Year 1096: The First Crusade and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996); John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*. Vol. 1, *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

**Peter the Venerable** (ca. 1092–1156) *abbot of Cluny*

Born about 1092 in central FRANCE, Peter was the son of the noble Maurice II of Montboissier and his wife, Raingarde. Peter was first a BENEDICTINE oblate at Sauxillanges, but in 1109 he was professed as a monk at CLUNY. He was instituted “doctor of the elders and guardian of the order” at VÉZELAY, where he was prior between 1116 and 1120.

On August 22–23, 1122, Peter was elected abbot of Cluny. With the monastery in disorder, he immediately began a program of reform. In spring 1130, on his first journey to ENGLAND, he took back gifts from King HENRY I that gave him the resources to finish the construction of the great church of Cluny. It was consecrated by Pope Innocent II (r. 1130–43) on December 25, 1130. In September 1130, Peter took a stand against the antipope, Anacletus II (d. 1138). Until 1138 he made several journeys to AQUITAIN to try to end this schism. In 1132 he convened at Cluny the first general chapter of the congregation, which ratified his proposals for reform and austerity. These were confirmed by additional statutes of 1146–47 that reduced luxuries in food, dress, and display within the order.

## WORKS AND INFLUENCE

In 1130s and early 1140s, Peter wrote a life of the monk Gerard, attended the council of PISA, a life of Saint Matthew, a treatise on MIRACLES, and a treatise against the heretic Peter of Bruys (d. ca. 1139), which he finished in 1144. In June 1140, after the condemnation of his former teacher, ABÉLARD, Peter kindly allowed him to stay at Cluny and effected the reconciliation of Abélard with BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. After Abélard's death on April 21, 1142, Peter had his body taken to the monastery of the Paraclete, where HÉLOÏSE was abbess.

From March to October 1142, Peter went to SPAIN to meet King Alfonso VII (r. 1126–57) of León and Castile. On the way he commissioned a translation of the QURAN and several other polemical works on ISLAM, yet hoped for fruitful dialogue with and conversion of the Muslims. He also promoted an alliance against the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. In June or July 1143, he wrote a very negative treatise against the JEWS. In mid-March 1147, Peter took part in a diet of Frankfurt-am-Main in preparation for the Second CRUSADE. After the failure of this Crusade, with Bernard and SUGER OF SAINT DENIS, he again promoted a new expedition but was unable to attend a council on the matter at CHARTRES in May 1150. He was honored by his contemporaries for his holiness and gentleness and even then called the Venerable. Peter died at Cluny on Christmas in 1156. His feast was May 11.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM and ANTI-SEMITISM.

**Further reading:** Peter, the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); Gillian R. Knight, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: A Semantic and Structural Analysis* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964).

**Petra** Petra and its basin, where the ancient city rests, were a stronghold, and probably the capital city, of the biblical Edomites. The Greek name Petra simply means “rock.” After the Roman occupation of the city in 106 C.E., Petra acquired other names as well, such as Petra Hadriana, from 131. Petra was the major city of a little-known people, the Aramaic-speaking Nabataeans, who were famous for their ceramics and had unique MOSAICS, architecture, religion, and hydraulic technology. The form of their writing was an ancestor of Arabic. It was an important stop and commercial center on the TRADE routes from the western Arabian Peninsula, carrying spices, frankincense, myrrh, gems, balsam, bitumen, and even SILK from China.

Petra and the Nabataeans were not integrated into the Roman Empire until the second century C.E. It prospered after the Roman takeover, until trade routes shifted. There were vineyards, gardens, orchards, and cultivated

fields within the confines of the city. It was also a natural fortress and not at all easy to access.

## LATER FRAGMENTED HISTORY

By the early 12th century, the site had acquired the name “The Valley of Moses,” as Christian religious zeal extended Mosaic relationships to all parts of Petra. Its urban fabric suffered major destruction from earthquakes and was gradually hidden by sand. Thirty-nine levels of culture were identified between an earthquake of 363 and the modern era. There were five occupations between 363 and another earthquake in 551, followed by six temporary occupations between 551 and the present. It was first abandoned in the seventh century but was known and occupied during the CRUSADES, forgotten until the early 19th century, and rarely visited until after the World War I. It contained numerous famous buildings carved into the rose-red rock in the sides of the hills producing its dispersed city center. The supposed tomb of Aaron, long venerated by Muslims, was nearby.

**Further reading:** Christian Augé and Jean-Marie Dentzer, *Petra: Lost City of the Ancient World*, trans. Laurel Hirsch and David Baker (1999; reprint, New York: H. N. Abrams, 2000); Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Alexander B. W. Kennedy, *Petra: Its History and Monuments* (London: Country Life, 1925).

**Petrarch, Francesco (Petrarca)** (1304–1374) *Italian poet, humanist*

A child of Pietro di Parenzo and Eletta Canisiani of Florence, exiled to Arezzo in 1302, Francesco Petrarch spent his childhood in TUSCANY. In 1311, he moved with his family to Carpentras, near AVIGNON, where his father, a notary, worked at the papal court of CLEMENT V. Following his father's wish that he become a lawyer, he studied LAW at MONTPELLIER in 1319 and 1320 and at BOLOGNA between 1323 and 1325.

He returned to Avignon on his father's death in 1326 and abandoned law for letters to enter the service of the Colonna family. With their PATRONAGE he undertook numerous missions that led to important discoveries of manuscripts and texts for the field of classical philology in Europe and especially ITALY, such as the later discovery at VERONA of Cicero's more personal letters in 1345. On Good Friday, April 6, 1327, he met and immediately fell in love with Laura, the personification of his ideas of truth and beauty and the inspiration for much of his work. In 1341 he was crowned in Rome as a poet laureate in the classical tradition. He made trips back to Italy for the HOLY YEAR of 1350 but quarreled with other potential clerical patrons. He had come to loath the corruption of the papal court at Avignon, although he did scruple to minor orders in return for financial support. He had two illegitimate children. In 1353, he moved

back permanently to Italy, first to MILAN under the patronage of the VISCONTI family, then to VENICE, and to PADUA under Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara (r. 1350–88). He was criticized by his republican friends for accepting the patronage of such princes and tyrants. He died at Arquà, near Padua, perhaps on July 18, 1374. He was discovered then with his head resting on a manuscript of Virgil.

### OPUS

Petrarch did most of his work in LATIN. Often focusing on himself and his own situation, he wrote a huge number of letters, which he carefully collected, and several invectives in response to criticism. His major work, unfinished, was the *Africa* (1338–39), a Latin work telling in Virgilian hexameters the story of the second Punic War. In it he exalted the figure of Scipio Africanus. He also emphasized, in his more intimate and personal writings, the value of the withdrawn solitary life. In the *Secretum*, a dialogue with AUGUSTINE, he proposed remedies for the consequences and results of both good and ill fortune and more or less publicly confessed his faults and weaknesses. He created a series of biographies of famous classical characters over the course of his life and an edition of Livy when he was still in his 20s. He developed a close friendship and mutually supportive relationship with BOCCACCIO.

Two of his works in the VERNACULAR were of major importance. The first was a collection of poems consisting of sonnets, songs, sestinas, ballades, and madrigals, about his love for Laura and his inner crisis at Laura's death on April 6 in the PLAGUE of 1348. The second was the *Triumphs*, an allegorical poem combining a vision of a SOUL with a classical triumph heading toward fulfillment with GOD.

See also AVIGNON AND THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY.

**Further reading:** Julia Conaway Bondanella and Mark Musa, "Petrarch," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Petrarch to Renaissance Short Fiction*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 475–507, especially the list of translations of works by Petrarch up to 1983 on 505–506; William J. Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Nicholas Mann, *Petrarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Giuseppe Mazzotta, *The Worlds of Petrarch* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993); E. H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

### Philip II Augustus (1165–1223) king of France

Born in 1165, Philip was the son of Louis VII (1137–80) and his third wife, Adèle of Champagne (d. 1206); he succeeded his father on September 19, 1180. He was surnamed Augustus because he enhanced his royal domain as the Roman emperor Augustus had. He freed himself of the

influence of his advisers from about 1190, the time of the Third CRUSADE, in which he took part with the king of England, RICHARD I LIONHEART. Quarreling with Richard, on his return he started to move against the English PLANTAGENET family empire on the Continent. He had earlier stirred up rivalries among King HENRY II and his sons, allying with them against him in a humiliating scenario that led to Henry's death. Philip was later less successful against King Richard in occupying NORMANDY and suffered a defeat at Fréteval in 1194. With Richard's death in 1199 and the failures and problems of his successor, King JOHN Lackland, Philip took control of NORMANDY, Maine, ANJOU, Touraine, Berry, and Poitou between 1203 and 1205. He won a great victory at the Battle of BOUVINES, July 27, 1214, against a coalition of King John, the emperor Otto IV (d. 1218), and the count of FLANDERS, which further secured his earlier conquests. Philip more peacefully gained control of other regions, including the Valois, Amiénois, Vermandois, Alençon, and Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, all not far from PARIS, his capital. He was now in charge of the strongest kingdom in western Europe.

### ACCOMPLISHMENTS

For Philip's government to enhance its effectiveness to rule over his expanded domain, it had to develop new methods of administration between 1190 and 1200. While centralizing authority, Philip created a circle linked to himself, including the great barons and educated clerics. Philip then devised specialized judicial sessions in feudal courts to insist on royal rights, an archive to document his rule and his rights, as well as a new bureau of accounts to control the financial resources of his domain. His conquest of Normandy in 1204 confirmed and refined these innovations. His regime enlarged the social and political connections and basis of the Crown, introducing into government the urban middle classes and the CLERGY. He embarked on the great building projects in Paris at NOTRE-DAME, the palace or fortress of the Louvre, and a food market. Philip promoted the development of the city's commercial activities, and the growth of the university, making it the capital of his newly enlarged realm.

A wily diplomat and fine administrator, Philip also promoted a royal ideology and the notions of royal blood and consecration. In France, he carefully cultivated the church, which gave him a great deal of support, especially after he supported the Crusade against the ALBIGENSIANS in the south. He died at Mantes enroute to an ecclesiastical convocation in Paris on July 14, 1223.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180–1223* (New York: Longman, 1998); Elizabeth Hallam, and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 2001).

**Philip IV the Fair** (1268–1314) *king of France*

Born between April and June in 1268, Philip was the grandson of LOUIS IX and the second son of King Philip III the Bold (1245–85) and Isabella of ARAGON (d. 1271). In 1285 he succeeded his father, who had died on a failed Crusade against Aragon in support of his brother CHARLES I OF ANJOU. Philip IV soon restored peaceful relations with the Aragonese. Promoting the reputation of his ancestor Louis IX, he obtained his canonization in 1297. Conventionally pious and voicing moral imperatives, he maintained a realistic political program to enforce, consolidate, and expand royal authority and sovereignty. He sought to reduce the power of the great FIEFS or counties of his realm such as FLANDERS, waging a long war but suffering a serious defeat at the Battle of COURTRAI in 1302.

**MAJOR CONFLICTS WITH THE PAPACY**

He then confronted the pretensions of papal theocratic power over his kingdom by prosecuting clerics for crimes, refusing to permit papal taxation, and imposing emergency royal taxation on the church. These acts led to a confrontation with Pope BONIFACE VIII who was assaulted by one of his ministers in 1303, Philip was the antagonist against whom the papal bull *Unam Sanctam* was issued. He dismantled the rich crusader order of the TEMPLARS. Papal prestige suffered a precipitous decline because of its failures in this confrontation. He relied on advisers trained in the newly evolving system of Roman LAW that promoted secular central authority and independence from ecclesiastical control. The French Estates General, representing all ranks of society, convened for the first time in 1302 to discuss these controversies with the papacy.

**FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES UNRESOLVED**

Differing from the policies followed by Louis IX and Philip III, Philip IV the Fair concentrated his political efforts on internally strengthening royal control of his own kingdom. He let his brother, Charles of Valois (1270–1325), pursue ambitions outside the kingdom. Philip often discussed crusading but never actually crusaded. He had major problems in financing his wars against EDWARD I and Flanders. He expanded taxation as much as he was able, debased the COINAGE, and defaulted on and attacked the resources of his Italian bankers. In 1306 he expelled the JEWS from his kingdom and confiscated their property. But none of these measures solved his fiscal difficulties, and the manipulation of the coinage caused considerable harm to the economy. Philip tried to use the marriage connections of his children for allies with limited success. There was a strong reaction against his ambitions and unscrupulous policies on his death. His successor, Louis X the Quarrelsome (r. 1314–16), had to make numerous concessions in royal prerogatives. At age 46, Philip died on November 29, 1314.

*See also* AVIGNON AND THE AVIGNONESE PAPACY; CLEMENT V, POPE; PARIS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

**Further reading:** Franklin J. Pegues, *The Lawyers of the Last Capetians* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962); Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Elizabeth A. R. Brown, *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1992); Charles T. Wood, ed., *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII: State vs. Papacy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1967).

**Philip the Good** (1396–1467) *duke of Burgundy*

Born on July 31, 1396, Philip was the son and successor of John the Fearless (r. 1404–19), the duke of BURGUNDY and count of FLANDERS. When his father was assassinated in 1419, he became duke of many of the wealthiest regions of FRANCE and the Low Countries. He blamed the assassination of his father on King CHARLES VII of FRANCE. He reigned for 47 years and conferred prosperity, prestige, and territorial expansion on his lands because he was an astute diplomat and judicious warrior. Philip tried to pursue an independent role among ENGLAND, France, and the empire. In the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, he allied with HENRY V of England, in an arrangement that enabled him to augment his control of his French holdings and solidify his possessions in the Low Countries. He expanded his domain by a second agreement in 1422 and a third treaty in 1430. His conquests of HOLLAND between 1425 and 1433 and of Luxembourg in 1443 and peaceful acquisitions of Namur in 1420 and BRABANT in 1430 greatly increased his territories. Philip, however, failed in 1447 to acquire the Crown of a restored kingdom of Lotharingia around the Rhine from the emperor Frederick III (r. 1452–93).

Within France, Philip offered little support to the government of Henry VI (r. 1422–61, 1470–71) of England. He later even aligned himself with his old enemy, Charles VII, in 1435 in the Treaty of Arras. Wary of a revived French monarchy, Philip sat out the last campaigns of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR but gave shelter to the fugitive dauphin, the future LOUIS XI, in 1456. Despite this, his duchy was threatened again with war by the French Crown at the end of his reign.

**HISTORICAL HINDSIGHT**

Philip made much of ideas of CHIVALRY to strengthen the cohesiveness of his duchy, founding the Order of the Golden Fleece to link the nobility of his territories and to define a relationship with princes outside it. His court was famous for its spectacle, ritual, and festivals, all confirming his wealth and prestige. On the personal level, he played the role of handsome, courageous, pious, self-indulgent, and extravagant model chivalric KNIGHT and king.

He associated himself frequently with a proposed CRUSADE but never made any real efforts either to undertake one personally or support those who did. He supported some outstanding artists and writers of his time, such as Jan Van EYCK, his court painter. A great patron of the arts, he collected and commissioned illuminated manuscripts, tapestries, and PAINTINGS. He died on June 15, 1467.

**Further reading:** Joseph Calmette, *The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Magnificent Dukes and Their Courts*, trans. Doreen Weightman (1962; reprint New York: W. W. Norton, 1963); Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy: Studies in the History of Civilization* (London: Kegan Paul, 1929); William R. Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970); Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975).

**philosophy and theology** The reconciliation of philosophy, a love of and search for wisdom, and theology, true doctrine seeking GOD, was always a main concern for the exclusive, monotheistic religions of Christianity, ISLAM, and JUDAISM. Philosophers and theologians often had to reconcile reason or rational speculation, FAITH, and revelation. This difficulty became even more acute as the ideas and culture of the classical pagans, especially the Greeks, became more accessible.

#### FINER POINTS OF COMPARISON AND RECONCILIATION

There always had to be a theological aspect and development of medieval speculation. Orthodoxy was always to be maintained and defended. Philosophy itself had three aspects, all with theological implications: Moral philosophy dealt with action; natural philosophy was reserved for theory; rational philosophy distinguished the true from the false. Despite a great diversity of approaches and conceptions, medieval philosophy was a specific form of knowledge that was distinguished by its method and unique foundation. It was a work of reason, and its universal application was rarely questioned in the Middle Ages.

When these methods were applied to theological questions there were, however, always concerns about reconciling reason with faith. At the same time there were interaction and exchange among the philosophers and theologians of all three of these religions, particularly when they shared accurate texts and debated one another. In the later Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE, more new texts entered Europe with the increased interest in classical writers and cultures.

#### THE ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVE

These problems were of less importance in Islam, in which philosophy was more marginalized and called

*Falsafa*. This concept tended to oppose KALAM, which served the purposes of the revealed law. *Falsafa* was interested in apologetic theology, methodology of LAW, mystical speculation, ethics, reflection on language, and the lessons of history. It never had official sanction and was often even linked with HERESY and heterodoxy. Greek philosophers were well known, especially ARISTOTLE and the NEOPLATONISTS. The SUNNA linked it with SHIA and speculation, and thus found it antithetical to Islam.

*See also* AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT; ARISTOTLE AND ARISTOTELIANISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES; AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; BOETHIUS; BONAVENTURE, SAINT; AL-GHAZALI; IBN RUSHD; ISLAM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; JUDAH BEN SAMUEL HALEVI; MAIMONIDES, MOSES; NOMINALISM; PLATO AND PLATONISM; REALISM; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Further reading:** Brian P. Copenhaver and Charles B. Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (1964; reprint, London: Kegan Paul International, 1993); Étienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938); Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1955); Isaac Husik, *A History of Jewish Philosophy* (1941; reprint, Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2002); Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, and Eleonore Stump, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman, eds., *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 2 vols. (New York: Routledge, 1996).

**Photian Schism** *See* PHOTIOS I THE GREAT, SAINT.

**Photios I the Great, Saint (Photius)** (ca. 810–ca. 893) *patriarch of Constantinople*

Photios was born in CONSTANTINOPLE about 810 of a noble family, the nephew of Patriarch Tarasios (r. 784–806). After the restoration of Orthodoxy during the Iconoclastic controversy and following a career, he was in charge of the imperial chancery. When the patriarch Ignatios (r. 847–858) was banished, the emperor Michael III the Drunkard (r. 842–867) replaced him with Photios. After successfully becoming a cleric in three days, he was consecrated patriarch on Christmas of 858. He soon held a synod, in early 859, that confirmed the deposition of Ignatios and the exile of his supporters. This was not an end of this problem which troubled the Byzantine Church until the end of the ninth century.

In 867, the new emperor, BASIL I, restored Ignatios, called a council at Constantinople (869–870) to approve

Ignatios (second tenure, 867–877), and deposed and sent Photios to a monastery. In 873, however, Basil I allowed Photios to be in charge of the education of his children. An agreement was reached between Ignatios and Photios. On Ignatios's death in 877 Photios became patriarch again. With the approval of Pope John VIII (r. 872–882), a new council at Constantinople in 879–880 canceled the decisions taken against Photios a decade before. On the death of Basil I in 886, Leo VI the Wise (r. 886–912) deposed Photios and replaced him with his own brother, Stephen I (r. 886–893). Banished once again to a monastery, this time to Armeniaki, he died there about 893.

#### FURTHER CONFLICT AND SOME SUCCESS

Photios's patriarchate was the occasion for successful Christianizing missions to the BULGARS and for conflict with the PAPACY. The unbending personality of Pope Nicholas I (r. 858–867) and the Bulgarian conversions to Orthodoxy aggravated the developing schism between ROME and Constantinople. The pope held a synod in March 862 and annulled the decisions taken against Ignatios and another Roman council in April 863 condemned Photios. King BORIS I, KHAN of BULGARIA, was baptized in about 860 and sought the creation of a patriarchate for Bulgaria. When Photios declined to give his permission, Boris applied to Rome. The Byzantine clergy was expelled and replaced by Latin clerics. Photios in 867 denounced Rome for its conduct in Bulgaria, some of its practices such as Saturday FASTS, priestly CELIBACY, and certain dogmatic innovations such as the addition of the *FILIOQUE* CLAUSE to the Creed. He next called a council at Constantinople that anathematized Pope Nicholas. In autumn 867, the uncompromising Nicholas I was replaced by Adrian II (r. 867–972). A council in Rome in June 869 condemned the Photian council of 867 and anathematized Photios. It further called for a great council, which met in Constantinople in 869–870 and ratified the Roman positions and condemned Photios. The Bulgarian czar, Boris I, became dissatisfied with the pope and turned to Constantinople for support. Yet another council at Constantinople in 879–880 rehabilitated Photios and annulled the decisions of 869–870.

#### WORKS AND LEGACY

Photios left letters, HOMILIES, and dogmatic works against the *Filioque* clause. He was a major figure in a ninth-century Byzantine renaissance with his encyclopedic work called *Bibliotheca* (Library). It showed the culture of a learned man and constituted a monument of early Byzantine HUMANISM. His *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* formed the basis for later Byzantine objections to Western ideas on dogma. The Photian schism about the nature of Christ and Papal authority was an important step in dividing the Eastern and Western Churches.

**Further reading:** Photios I, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, trans. Cyril Mango (Cambridge,

Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism, History and Legend* (1948; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Richard S. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland, 1975); Joan M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Liliana Simeonova, *Diplomacy of the Letter and the Cross: Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy, 860s–880s* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1998); Warren T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1980); N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

**Piast dynasty** The Piasts were the reigning dynasty of the state of POLAND from its beginnings to 1370. Piast, a farmer, was the legendary founder of the Kingdom of Poland, according to the early 12th-century chronicle by the “Gallus Anonymus.” He united Slavic tribes between the Oder and Vistula Rivers. This legend probably related some of the events that transpired in the ninth century. The first member of the family to be documented was Mieszko I (r. 963–992). He was the creator of a Polish state whose center was at Gniezno. Mieszko I and his son, BOLESLAV I THE GREAT or Brave became rulers in popular memory and legend over a “Golden Age.” Mieszko II Lambert (r. 1025–34) had a good education and married a granddaughter of the emperor Otto II (r. 973–983), but under his reign the state lost several territories to BOHEMIA and the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. His son, Casimir I the Restorer (r. 1034–58), led at the cost of a long effort a reconstruction of the Polish state, whose center moved to CRACOW. Casimir's son, Boleslav II, the Bold (r. 1058–79), was crowned king in 1076. He lost wars to the Bohemians and became very dependent on the clergy for support.

The murder of Bishop Stanislas of Cracow in 1079, perhaps by the king's order, led to a revolt and flight of the king to HUNGARY, where he died in 1082. He was succeeded by his brother, Ladislas I Herman (r. 1079–1102), who was a weak and incompetent ruler. Boleslav III Wrymouth (r. 1102–38) led several successful wars early in his reign and became the real founder of the kingdom. He ruthlessly put down a Pomeranian revolt, but the wars of his later years against the Bohemians and Hungarians were fruitless. When he died, he divided the kingdom into duchies for each of already quarreling sons. After this the family disintegrated into a series of lines linked to particular provinces. The princes of Cracow were supposed to exercise supreme government over the others, but there were repeated challenges to the unity of the state and internecine conflicts during the 13th century. Prince Ladislas (r. 1314–33) the Short had himself crowned king of Poland at Cracow in 1320 with the



died in 1382. Other Piast princes ruled Silesia and Mozovia longer but were never kings of a united Poland.

**Further reading:** Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Paul Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East-Central Europe, 1320–1370* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

**Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius** See PIUS II, POPE.

**Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni** See MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI PICO DELLA.

**Picts** The Picts were a Celtic tribe in SCOTLAND who were never conquered by the Romans. Their society was based on clans led by military chieftains, who frequently attacked Roman Britain in the fourth and fifth centuries. By the end of the fifth century, they were ruled by kings; in the sixth century Irish monks arrived to spread Christianity. About the same time Scottish tribes from IRELAND penetrated the southwestern part of the kingdom, and by the eighth century the Picts had been absorbed by the Scots, forming a newly united kingdom.

The Picts in the south spoke a Celtic language, related to Welsh, but the language of those in the north has remained unclear. Until the settlement of Scandinavians in the north and on the islands, during the ninth and 10th centuries, the Picts along with the Scots probably controlled all of Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde. Their new royal family followed the principle of matrilineal succession: That is, the kings were selected according to the royal status of their mother rather than their father. Thus a king's nephew or brother, rather than his son, would succeed him.

See also MACALPIN, KENNETH.

**Further reading:** J. M. P. Calise, ed., *Pictish Sourcebook: Documents of Medieval Legend and Dark Age History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002); Sally M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels, and Scots: Early Historic Scotland* (London: B.T. Batsford/Historic Scotland, 1996); Isabel Henderson, *The Picts* (New York: Praeger, 1967); Lloyd Robert Laing, *The Picts and the Scots* (Wolfeboro Falls, N.H.: Alan Sutton, 1993); A. F. T. Wainwright, ed., *The Problem of the Picts* (1956; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970).

**Piero della Francesca (de' Franceschi)** (1410/1420–1492) *painter*

Piero was born at Borgo San Sepolcro in Umbria between 1410 and 1420, the son of Benedetto dei Franceschi and Romana Pierino da Monterchi. Little is known of his artistic training and formation. He seemed to have been impressed by the work of Paolo UCCELLO, for his geometrical formalism, and by the paintings of Fra

ANGELICO. In 1439 historical records trace him to FLORENCE, where he worked with Domenico Veneziano (ca. 1400–61) and Alessio Baldovinetti (1426–99) on a cycle of paintings now lost. In 1445, his first known work was commissioned, the *Misericordia Polyptych*, clearly influenced by MASACCIO. From 1450 his painting the *Baptism of Christ* has survived in the National Gallery in London. In the same year, Piero was at the ESTE court at FERRARA, where he painted more FRESCOES that are now lost to us. In 1451, he was working for Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417–68), the lord of Rimini. He painted an idealized and flattering version of his patron and Peter, his namesake saint, in an architectural space suggested by the style of Leon Battista ALBERTI. Between 1450 and 1455 he painted the pregnant Madonna for a chapel at Monterchi near Arezzo, where his mother was probably buried.

In the later 1450s he traveled to ROME to decorate the Vatican rooms later covered over by Raphael's frescoes. From around this time were the famous *Flagellation of Christ* in Urbino, and the cycle of the *History of Discovery of the Holy Cross* from 1466 for the choir of the



Piero della Francesca, portrait of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, Uffizi, Florence, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

church of San Francesco at Arezzo. It was inspired by the frescoes of Agnolo Gaddi (d. 1369) and by JAMES OF VORAGINE'S *GOLDEN LEGEND*. In these paintings and frescoes, he showed the influence of Flemish art, combining geometrical styles and perspectives with light and naturalism. In 1465 he was at the court of FEDERICO DA MONTEFELTRO, the lord of Urbino, for whom he painted portraits of Federico and his wife, Battista Sforza. Between 1472 and 1474, he created the Brera altarpiece in MILAN, depicting the Virgin gazing at the sleeping Christ Child. Piero wrote treatises on geometry, perspective, and PAINTING. He stopped painting in the early 1470s; however, there is a reference to yet another lost fresco in 1478. Although Vasari reported that his sight might have failed, he probably devoted his attention to writing until he died in 1492.

**Further reading:** Perry Brooks, *Piero della Francesca: The Arezzo Frescoes* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992); Kenneth Clark, *Piero della Francesca*, 2d ed. (1969; reprint, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero: Piero della Francesca*, trans. Martin Ryle and Kate Soper (London: Verso, 2000); Anna Maria Maetzel and Carlo Bertelli, eds., *Piero della Francesca: The Legend of the True Cross in the Church of San Francesco, Arezzo* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001); Jeryldene M. Wood, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Piero della Francesca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

**Pierre d'Ailly** See AILLY, PIERRE D'.

**Piers Plowman** The allegorical work called *The Visions of Will Concerning Piers Plowman* existed in many manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries and in several printed versions from the 16th century. They were linked with an author named William LANGLAND, who referred to himself as Will several times in the manuscripts. There were three versions, known as A, B, and C, all said to have been composed between about 1360 and 1395. They were allegorical accounts of the corruption of society and an attempt to purify it through a certain Piers the Plowman, the personification of the ordinary man. He sought goodness through humility, honest endeavor, and obedience to the law of GOD. This didactic, somewhat satirical, and alliterative poem could be read in several ways. There have been numerous disputes about the relationships of the different versions and whether they were written by one person.

*Piers Plowman* was a long dream allegory describing aspects of social and religious conditions in ENGLAND that needed reform. The author used the techniques of the dream and allegory for a moral and religious purpose, to examine the natures of heavenly love and virtue, at both the literal and figurative levels. This view of the world left little room for sympathy for conditions as they were. The world had been corrupted by love of

money and by vice pretending to be virtue, especially among the CLERGY. Its concern for the poor, the oppressed, and the wretched was obvious and credible. *Piers Plowman* was contemporary with the Peasant Rebellion of 1381, built on popular religious ideas, anti-clericalism, and contemporary exemplars or didactic stories common in sermons.

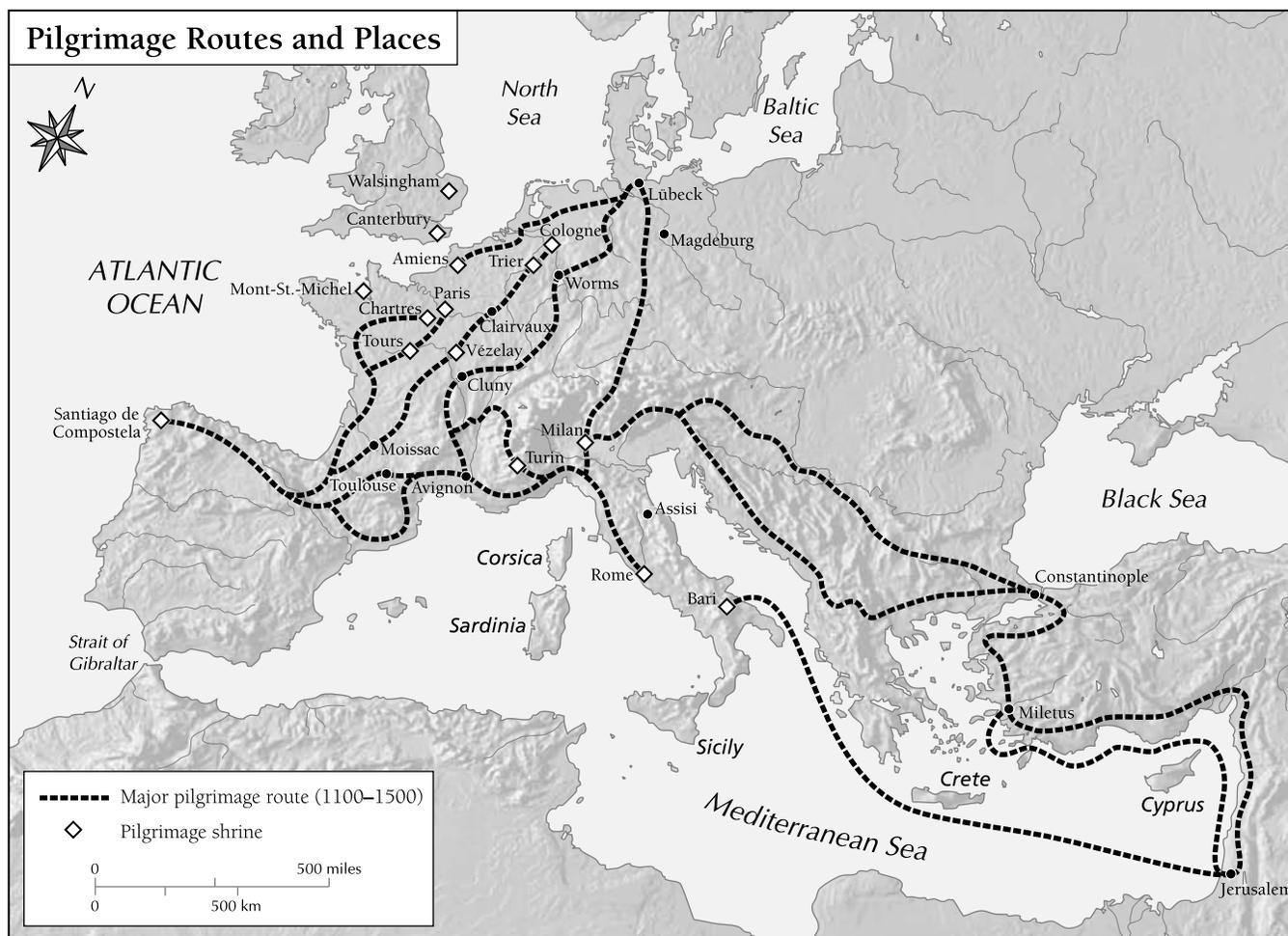
See also JUSTICE; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** William Langland, *Piers the Plowman*, trans. J. F. Goodridge (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1959); David Aers, *Chaucer, Langland, and the Creative Imagination* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); John A. Alford, ed., *A Companion to Piers Plowman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Morton W. Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962); Charlotte Brewer, *Editing Piers Plowman: The Evolution of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Derek Pearsall, *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of Langland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

**Pietro of Morrone** See CELESTINE V, POPE AND THE CELESTINE ORDER.

**pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites** In Christianity, JUDAISM, and ISLAM, a *pilgrimage* could be defined as "a journey to a holy place done out of religious piety." The pilgrimage was supposed to be a manifestation of piety and was one of the five pillars of Islam. The HAJJ to MECCA was required sometime during the life of every Muslim. The pilgrim was one who devotedly, perhaps penitentially, certainly voluntarily, exiled him or herself to break with the world, purifying his or her souls by the very fact of departure. Some Christian pilgrims even wandered perpetually, seeking pardon for their sins. Pilgrims were directed to the temple in the Jewish BIBLE then to the holy places that had been sanctified by the passage of Christ or the presence of RELICS. There were two main sites for medieval Christianity: Christ's tomb at JERUSALEM and the tombs of Saints Peter and Paul at ROME. In the ninth century another was added, the tomb wrongly considered to be that of Saint James the Great at Compostela in SPAIN. Eventually it became possible to hire another to perform a meritorious pilgrimage.

The number of local places of pilgrimage grew as a result of intense popular piety and the realization by the CLERGY that such visits could produce considerable revenues while helping people save their SOUL. The relics at these locations could supposedly produce the MIRACLES that seekers hoped for, so sanctuaries abounded all over Europe, especially as more relics and saints' bodies were found or discerned. Papal jubilees or HOLY YEARS in



Rome produced revenue for the people of Rome and prestige for the Holy See. The rituals of pilgrimage became more elaborate over the course of the Middle Ages, and the status and legal rights of pilgrims became more defined and protected in canon law and practice.

The CRUSADES were seen as a form of pilgrimage. They could also be an interesting, albeit somewhat dangerous, form of recreational travel. In the later Middle Ages, the more mystically minded clergy and LAITY set about on interior pilgrimages of the mind and soul to GOD. As pious works designed to gain merit and GRACE, they became a primary target of many of the Protestant reformers of the 16th century.

See also BONIFACE VIII, POPE; INDULGENCES; PALESTINE.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Barber, *Pilgrimages* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1991); Linda Kay Davidson, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Research Guide* (New York: Garland, 1993); R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1977); Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); George Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*

*in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984); Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975); Gary Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1982); Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c. 700–c. 1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

**pipe rolls** The pipe rolls contained the financial accounts of the COURT OF EXCHEQUER in ENGLAND. Many of them have been preserved and have been used as important sources for the economic and administrative history of medieval England.

**Further reading:** Richard Fitzneale, *Dialogus de Scaccario—The Course of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. Charles Johnson, with corrections by F. E. L. Carter and D. E. Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Pipe Roll Society, London, *Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls* (1884; reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1966); Reginald Lane Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912).

**Pisa** Medieval Pisa was an Italian city in TUSCANY on an alluvial plain formed by the Arno, a short distance, 6 miles, from the Tyrrhenian or Mediterranean coast. Its original position, at the intersection of the rivers Arno and Serchio and connected with main roads, was strategically protected and important in the city's development.

At the end of the Roman Empire, the fortunes of Pisa declined, while the buildings and architecture were oriented toward defensive requirements, mainly fortified buildings. During the rule of the FRANKS, from the eighth century, churches were added to the urban landscape. Its commercial exchanges and links with the eastern Mediterranean were never interrupted and enabled the city to have an appearance and culture of its own, based on classical models enriched with Byzantine or Arab elements. The CRUSADES produced added commercial prosperity from the 11th century, as did the conquest of SARDINIA in 1163, as had that of CORSICA earlier in the 10th century. A cloth and SILK industry evolved in the 13th century. However, Pisa suffered a devastating defeat by its great rival GENOA at the Battle of Meloria in 1284 and lost most of its colonial possessions in the eastern Mediterranean. It never reacquired its prestige or power after that, and the PLAGUE of 1348 might have killed half of its population.

These traumas were followed by numerous social conflicts in the city and control by various tyrants. By 1406, after a long war, Pisa was under the control of FLORENCE. An important church council called to end the GREAT SCHISM met there from March to August of 1409. It tried to end the Great Schism by deposing the two pretenders but failed and merely elected yet a third pope. It remained an important port until silt deposited by the Arno blocked navigation up the river to the city by the mid-15th century.

#### ROMANESQUE PISA; THE CATHEDRAL

From the 11th century, Pisan architecture saw its greatest accomplishment in the complex or building in the Piazza dei Miracoli. There the bell tower, CATHEDRAL, Camposanto or graveyard, and baptistery were built. The occasion traditionally given for transforming the old, simple complex was an important military victory in 1063/64, when off PALERMO a small Pisan fleet defeated a powerful Arab one and sacked the city. The planning of the area and a new group of buildings were entrusted to Maestro Buscheto. Buscheto tried to build a sacred complex reflecting the civil and urban-political ideals of Pisa. The works proceeded comparatively rapidly, especially from 1189, so that in 1116, 50 years after its beginning, a cathedral was completed; it was consecrated two years later.

A decision to enlarge the cathedral was made soon after 1116 and construction was then directed by Rainaldo, Buscheto's collaborator from 1110. Between 1115 and 1130 he furnished the façade with an extensive

program of sculpture. The largely unknown Guglielmo followed Rainaldo, who with workshop worked on the sculptures of the lower façade and the upper levels, during the 1160s and 1170s. An important and influential pulpit carved by Giovanni PISANO was not completed until 1310. The small octagonal baptistery was replaced by the present cylindrical structure over the 12th century. In 1170 or shortly before, the famous leaning campanile or bell tower was added and almost immediately started to lean perhaps because of poorly designed foundations. By 1278 a final element, the Camposanto or graveyard, was completed.

The city's great economic prosperity attained in the 12th century was accompanied by a large increase in population, and suburbs had to be added, encircled by a new set of walls. In the 14th century the city suffered the beginnings of a severe economic depression and a long-suspension of building activities.

*See also* ROMANESQUE ART.

**Further reading:** David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Urban Growth* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1958); William Heywood, *A History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921); Janet Ross, *The Story of Pisa* (London: J. M. Dent, 1909).

#### **Pisan, Christine de (Pizan, of Pisa)** (1364–ca. 1430) *French poet, author*

Christine's life can be reconstructed from her literary works, which are highly revealing about her and her ideas about writing. She was born in ITALY, probably in VENICE, in 1364 and moved to FRANCE in 1368 with her father, a certain Tommaso Pizzano, a Bolognese doctor and astrologist. She looked back on her childhood as a golden age. She much admired the French King, CHARLES V THE WISE. In 1389, at age 25, she became the widow of Étienne du Castel, her husband and a notary in the royal household, by whom she had had three children. After the end of this happy marriage, she had to face and surmount many financial difficulties. From 1400 on, she had to live by her writing, viewing it as "becoming a man." As a writer she first wrote love poetry and then participated in the debate over the satirical ideas about women in the *ROMAN DE LA ROSE*. She defended the honor and position of women. Much admired by her contemporaries, she also wrote lyrical and didactic poems, ballads, a biography of Charles V, and a manual for the education of women.

She knew well the from classical antiquity, in French or in LATIN. She adapted these pagan ideas to Christian morality and created distillations touching on nearly every intellectual field, including chivalry and the art of war. She gained the patronage of the dukes of Orléans, BURGUNDY, and Berry. Christine wished, moreover, to be a critical and constructive political adviser. She had little

success in coping with the madness of Charles VI (r. 1380–1422), the king of France, and in resolving a civil war between Burgundy and the rest of France. Frustrated, she retired probably to Poissy, reappearing only to celebrate JOAN of Arc in a poem in 1429. Her writing tells us much about court life around 1400 and contemporary ideas and reactions to female authors. She died in 1430 or as late as 1434.

**Further reading:** Christine de Pisan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985); Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the Body Politic*, ed. Kate Langdon Forhan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Christine de Pisan, *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector*, ed. Jane Chance (Newburyport, Mass.: Focus Information Group, 1997); Angus Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: A Bibliographical Guide* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1994); Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Persea Books, 1984).

**Pisanello (Antonio Pisano, II Pisanello)** (1395–ca. 1450/55) *court painter*

Antonio Pisano, called Pisanello, was a maker of medals and a painter, who worked at the most impressive Italian courts of his time, the VISCONTI and the SFORZA at MILAN, the Gonzaga at Mantua, the ESTE at FERRARA, the Malatesta at Rimini, the Aragonese kings at NAPLES, and Pope EUGENIUS IV at ROME.

Born at PISA in about 1395, he grew up in VERONA. He had many contacts with the artists of the time and especially with GENTILE DA FABRIANO. Before that he had studied at Verona and painted FRESCOES now lost in the Doge's Palace in VENICE in 1415–22. Others are lost, such as those in the castle of Mantua, and those at Saint John Lateran in Rome. All done between 1422 and 1426. Later, in 1441, he did a portrait of Lionello D'Este (1407–50), part of a competition with Jacopo BELLINI, another portrait of a princess of the house of Este, the *Vision of Saint Eustace*; and the *Madonna with Saints Anthony Abbot and George*.

Famous for his medals and as draftsman, Pisanello's international GOTHIC painting style included sharp forms, naturalistic detail, as well as color. In his drawings, in the Vallardi Codex, and in his medals, there are a clear lines, such as in his images of the Byzantine emperor JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS; Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1447); Cecilia, Gianfrancesco (1466–1519), and Ludovico (1412–78) Gonzaga; Francesco I Sforza (1401–66); Lionello d'Este; ALFONSO V of ARAGON; and many other court and literary personalities of the time. He died about 1455.

**Further reading:** Jakob Rosenberg, *Great Draughtsmen from Pisanello to Picasso* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon, *Pisanello: Painter to the Renaissance Court* (London: Yale

University Press, 2001); Johanna Woods-Marsden, *The Gonzaga of Mantua and Pisanello's Arthurian Frescoes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

**Pisano, Andrea (Andrea di Ugolino di Nino da Pontedera)** (ca. 1290–ca. 1348/49) *goldsmith, sculptor*

Andrea da Pontedera, was trained in PISA as a goldsmith, before winning fame for the bronze south doors of the baptistery in FLORENCE done between 1330 and 1336. These doors were innovative in their assimilation of French styles in an Italian context. On GIOTTO's death, Andrea was called upon in 1337 to continue Giotto's work on the bell tower of Santa Maria del Fiore, the CATHEDRAL of Florence. He later appeared in documents at Pisa and then at Orvieto, where he was in charge of the works for the cathedral. He died at Orvieto in 1348.

*See also* GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** Charles Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture* (London: J. Murray, 1970); G. H. Crichton and E. R. Cichon, *Nicola Pisano and the Revival of Sculpture in Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938); Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola Pisano's Arca di San Domenico and Its Legacy* (University Park: Published for College Art Association by the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture, c. 1250–c. 1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**Pisano, Giovanni** (ca. 1245/50–ca. 1314/18) *pioneer in the development of modern sculpture*

The son of Niccolò PISANO, Giovanni was trained in his father's studio, collaborating with him and his assistants on the pulpit of the CATHEDRAL between 1265 and 1268 at SIENA and on the large fountain, finished in 1278, at Perugia. Between 1284 and 1299 he lived in Siena, as the master builder of the cathedral. From 1295 he moved to PISA, where again he was in charge of the works on the cathedral between 1299 and 1308. He created a pulpit for that cathedral between 1302 and 1310. At about the same time, he worked in other cities doing a pulpit of Sant' Andrea in Pistoia in 1301 and the tomb of Margaret, the wife of the emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg (r. 1308–13), in GENOA. Besides assisting in the design of the façade of the cathedral of Massa Marittima in TUSCANY, he began the façade of the Cathedral of Siena.

Giovanni followed his father's forms in his earliest works but soon grew to express his own sensibility. He was much more intensely interested than his father in French GOTHIC art. He may have traveled to FRANCE between 1270 and 1275, perhaps to RHEIMS and PARIS. He, too, drew on French sculpture, inspired by the ivory carvings circulating widely at Pisa. Giovanni was also interested in the forms of classical art, but from it he

sought ideas and models different from those of his father. He died probably at Siena between 1314 and 1318.

See also GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** Michael Ayrton, *Giovanni Pisano, Sculptor* (New York: Weybright & Talley, 1969); John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, Vol. 1, 4th ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1996); Adolfo Venturi, *Giovanni Pisano: His Life and Work* (Paris: Pegasus Press, 1928); John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250–1400*, 2d ed. (1967; reprint, New York: Viking Penguin, 1987).

**Pisano, Niccolò (Nicola)** (ca. 1220–1280/84) regarded by some as the founder of modern sculpture, Italian artist. Niccolò was probably a native of Apulia in southern Italy. He was probably trained in LOMBARDY and in the workshops of the emperor FREDERICK II, in the revived classical style. He knew French and GOTHIC sculpture mainly through ivory and bronze works and studied the works of antiquity, as preserved in ancient sarcophagi or caskets in the graveyard at PISA.

His most famous work was a pulpit in the Pisan baptistery. It was a hexagonal construction, remarkable for its monumental conception as well as its adaptation of the iconographical program to the style of the surrounding architecture. Its panels illustrated the narrative of Christ's infancy and Crucifixion and the LAST JUDGMENT. In 1264 he carved with other artists the shrine for Saint DOMINIC in San Domenico in BOLOGNA and a deposition from the Cross in the CATHEDRAL in LUCCA. From 1260 to 1268 he worked on the pulpit in the cathedral of SIENA. Its structure was also octagonal, with the iconography again centered on Christ. Much more innovation was his bas-relief done for the lower basin of a major fountain at Perugia made between 1277 and 1278. Much of this was done with his son, Giovanni PISANO, who worked in his workshop for years. Niccolò was celebrated by Vasari in connection with the architecture of the church of Santa Trinità in FLORENCE. He died in Pisa between 1280 and 1284.

See also GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** G. H. Crichton, *Nicola Pisano and the Revival of Sculpture in Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938); Barbara W. Dodsworth, *The Arca di San Domenico* (New York: P. Lang, 1995); Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola Pisano's Arca di San Domenico and Its Legacy* (University Park: Published for College Art Association by the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

**Pius II, Pope (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Enea Silvio)** (1405–1464) Italian humanist

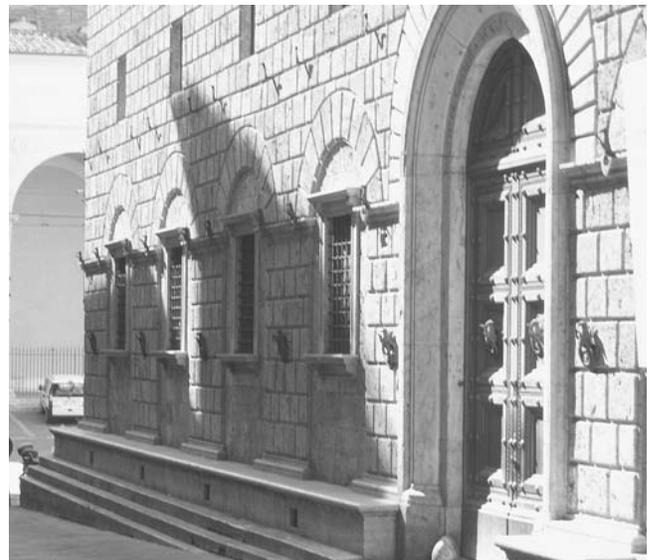
Born in Corsignano near SIENA in 1405, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was a member of an impoverished branch of that noble family. Despite preferring humanist studies, he

first became a doctor of LAW. From 1432 he was a household familiar of cardinals and bishops, whom he accompanied on their missions in ITALY and elsewhere. In 1436 attended the COUNCIL OF BASEL where he supported conciliar ideas as secretary to the antipope Felix V (Amadeus VIII of Savoy, 1383–1451).

He joined the imperial chancery of the emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–93), who crowned him poet laureate in 1442 and in 1450 appointed him a councilor of the empire. In 1446 he went to ROME as an ambassador. After making amends to Pope EUGENIUS IV for his past indiscretions in supporting conciliarism, having several illegitimate children, and writing erotic stories, he was ordained a priest in 1446. Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) appointed him bishop of Trieste in 1447, then of SIENA in 1449. In 1456 Pope Calixtus III (r. 1455–58) made him cardinal of Santa Sabina. After 1455 he lived in Rome and was elected pope on August 19, 1458, and crowned on September 3 at age 53, though already in failing health. He took the name Pius after Virgil's Pius Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. According to his own account, he was chosen over the French candidate, Guillaume d'Estouteville (1403–83), because of the support of the duke of MILAN, King Ferdinand I (r. 1458–94) of NAPLES, and the cardinals Borgia, Colonna, and Barbo.

#### ATTEMPT AT CRUSADE

His main preoccupation during his reign was the CRUSADE against the OTTOMAN TURKS because of the catastrophic defeat at the Battle of Varna in 1444 and the fall of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1453. Pius II issued the bull *Vocavit nos* in October 1458 and summoned all princes to a congress at Mantua in 1459. There was little



The late 15th-century palace and loggia of the Piccolomini family in Siena, made possible by the benefits derived from the papacy of Pius II (Courtesy Edward English)



The architectural remains for a massive expansion of the cathedral of Siena that had to be abandoned because of financial difficulties resulting from the plague of 1347, among other causes (Courtesy Edward English)

response. Realizing that peace within Europe was necessary before rulers would contemplate a crusade, Pius II sought to mediate among the Italian states and the northern European states. He recognized Ferdinand I of Aragon as the king of NAPLES. He further persuaded King LOUIS XI of France to agree to minor changes in the PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES in 1461 limiting the control of the French Crown over the French church. He was unable to prevent the wars in GERMANY and obliged to excommunicate the lord of the Tyrol for an attack on NICHOLAS OF CUSA, Pius's friend, and the archbishop of Mainz.

The pope also had to deal with conflict in BOHEMIA caused by George Poděbrady, the king of Bohemia, and the hostility of the heretical UTRAQUISTS. When Pius II revived the idea of a Crusade in 1462–63, Venice, George SKANDERBEG OF ALBANIA, and MATTHIAS I CORVINUS OF HUNGARY promised their support. The discovery of alum at Tolfa near ROME provided a new source of papal income that could be used toward the expenses of a

crusade. Despite ill health, Pius II tried to travel to Ancona on the Adriatic Sea, where he was supposed to embark as a leader. Disappointed again, he found only a few Venetian galleys and few crusaders there. He died there on August 15, 1464. His heart was buried in Ancona and his body was taken to Rome.

#### OTHER ISSUES OF THE PAPACY

Pius II as pope abandoned any pretense of support for CONCILIARISM and published a bull on January 18, 1460, in which he forbade the submission of any papal acts to any scrutiny by a council. He spent most of his reign in or near Siena, sometimes conducting papal business under a tree in the open. He also badgered that city to readmit his family, who had earlier made attempts to establish a lordship over the city and been banished for their schemes and uprisings, into its politics. By threatening to move the bishopric of Siena to Florence and by promising to canonize CATHERINE OF SIENA, he persuaded the COMMUNE to permit the Piccolomini to reenter its

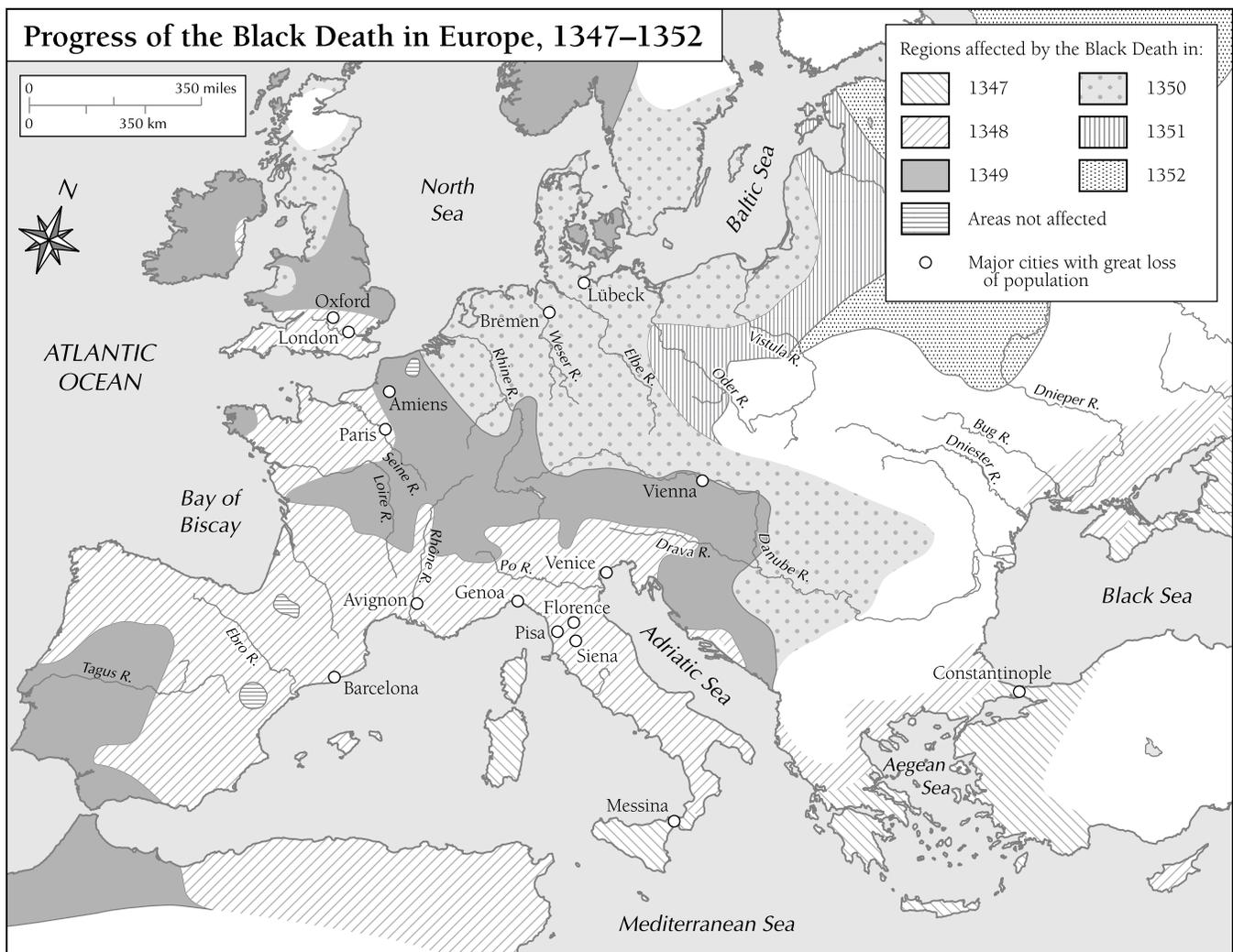
political circle. He also had the village of his birth, Corsignano, reconstructed into a model of Renaissance architecture, renamed Pienza. As soon as Pius died, the Sienese political rights of the Piccolomini were revoked; Catherine of Siena had already been canonized.

He tried to defend the JEWS and to reform the morals and quality of the CLERGY, with little success. Before his conversion to a more moral life, he had written a number of works that gained him wide attention as a humanist and author. These included erotic poetry, historical and geographical texts, an autobiography, hundreds of letters, commentaries on his times, and a proposal for educational reform using classical models. He sponsored other building projects in Rome and in Siena.

**Further reading:** Pius II, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II, an Abridgement*, trans. Florence A. Gragg (London: Allen and Unwin, 1959); C. M. Ady, *Pius II (Æneas Silvius Piccolomini) the Humanist Pope* (London: Methuen, 1913); R. J. Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara: Pope Pius II, 1458–1464* (London: Harvill Press, 1962).

**plague** There were major pandemics of disease in the sixth century and in the 14th century. Plagues disappeared in the West by 750 but returned before 1350 and persisted until after 1650. The earlier pandemic spread from ABYSSINIA or Ethiopia, traveled through Byzantium, then under the rule of JUSTINIAN; and eventually reached the British Isles between 541 and 546. There were other outbreaks in about 542, about 558, about 572, about 581, about 590, and about 600. By the seventh century urban centers, such as CONSTANTINOPLE and ANTIOCH, had been greatly depopulated. In the seventh century and after the Arab conquests, the situation stabilized in the east. The ARABS initially left the cities during the summers and their armies moved into the desert or the mountains, thus escaping the worst of the plagues season. However, episodes of plague did catch up to them, especially in the second half of the seventh century. In the first half of the eighth century, plagues afflicted the eastern Mediterranean but were generally absent from northern Europe.

It is not clear which diseases were actually involved, but the mortality rate seemed to have been high and



varied according to locale and age group, a characteristic of plagues in general. Some areas escaped one outbreak only to be devastated in the next. Any devastation was horrific and perceived as arbitrary; repetitions compounded insecurity and a sense of helplessness in that no controls or cures were available. All of this took place in an environment of other endemics unfortunately more familiar such as smallpox. It has remained unclear whether these earlier plagues were bubonic or even a form of influenza.

### BLACK DEATH

In the 1340s a new plague, usually associated with the Yersin bacillus, spread again, this time from central Asia, as tracked by mortality rates on dated central Asia and Nestorian gravestones from 1339. The weather had been abnormally dry, forcing rodents and their disease-bearing fleas into greater contact with human beings. In 1346 the plague appeared at Caffa in the Crimea, a colony of GENOA on the BLACK SEA. From there it spread by sea and land to most part of Europe and throughout the Middle East. By 1348 it had reached Constantinople, ITALY, and FRANCE. ENGLAND was affected in the winter of 1348–49, and by 1350 plague had swept across GERMANY, POLAND, and Scandinavia. This pandemic was later called the Black Death. It was again followed by successive waves of great severity all over the west and the Mediterranean, in 1348, 1362, 1374, 1383, 1389, and 1400. After that the outbreaks became less frequent and slightly less intense, taking on marginally different forms and probably involving different and evolving communicable diseases.

### CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

The disease generally called the plague last appeared in England as the Great Plague of 1665. Symptoms changed over time as the microbes evolved and resistance in human beings increased. It is reasonable to believe that a third of the population of Europe died in the first visitation of 1348 and that the plague was a definite factor in the great demographic collapse of the late 14th century. Populations in most places did not reattain earlier levels until well after 1500, and some not until the 19th century.

The FAMINES of the early 14th century continued in some areas, creating a population of undernourished and permanently stunted or weakened people who were even more vulnerable to the plague. The weather might have also contributed to its severity as it also promoted famine. There was no effective treatment except avoidance of those suffering it and their dwelling places. It seemed to be transmitted by fleas, contact with fluids, and even sometimes droplets in the air as in pneumonic plague, this concept was not clearly understood in the 14th century. The agent for this disease was probably a bacillus called *Pasteurella pestis*, a form of which still exists all over the world. It is unclear whether the plague that regularly but occasionally has appeared in modern

times was quite like the 14th-century one, in which some have suggested a form of anthrax may have been combined with pneumonia. The symptoms and conditions of transmission were not consistently described in the 14th century. Its behavior did not neatly match that of the modern version.

The 14th-century plagues had many consequences. JEWS were blamed for transmission of the disease and were persecuted and massacred. Fear of Black Death also led to the growth of fanatical religious groups. The effect of the plague on the agrarian economy and society was complex, leading at least initially to attempts to impose and restore more oppressive feudal rights and services. This in turn led to outbreaks of violence such as the risings of the JACQUÉRIE in France in 1358 and the Peasants' Revolt in England in 1381; but in the longer run it altered the landlord and peasant tenant relationship, because of the reduced labor supply. This plague also may have influenced the development of more labor-saving devices, as well as promoting a changed and more open environment in the universities and art world as whole generations of scholars and artists were devastated. The same kind of devastating consequences also occurred in the Islamic world, especially in great cities such as CAIRO.

See also BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI; DANCE OF DEATH; FLAGELLANTS; PEASANT REBELLIONS.

**Further reading:** Rosemary Horrox, ed. and trans., *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting War, Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Norman F. Cantor, *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World It Made* (New York: Free Press, 2001); Samuel K. Cohn Jr., *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London: Hodder, 2002); Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977); John Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348–1530* (London: Macmillan, 1977); David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, ed. Samuel K. Cohn Jr. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); William H. McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1977).

**Plantagenets** The name Plantagenet has sometimes been given to the dynasty who ruled ENGLAND from 1154 to 1485. None of the Plantagenets actually bore this surname, which was derived from Geoffrey IV (r. 1129–51), the count of ANJOU-Maine-Touraine, and the father of the future king HENRY II. Geoffrey had married the daughter of King Henry I, Matilda (1102–67), in 1128. The name was applied by historians to the dynasty after Henry II succeeded King Stephen (r. 1135–54), after a civil war between Stephen and Matilda. It was taken up again by the Yorkists in the WARS OF THE ROSES in the 15th

century. On the death of RICHARD III in 1485, the line became extinct.

See also ANJOU; AQUITAINE; EDWARD I, KING OF ENGLAND; EDWARD II, KING OF ENGLAND; EDWARD III, KING OF ENGLAND; EDWARD IV, KING OF ENGLAND; HENRY III, KING OF ENGLAND; HENRY V, KING OF ENGLAND; JOHN LACKLAND, KING OF ENGLAND; RICHARD I LIONHEART; RICHARD II.

**Further reading:** Jean-Marc Bienvenu, "Plantagenets," *EMA* 2.1, 149–52; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); Elizabeth Hallam, ed., *Four Gothic Kings: Henry III, Edward I, Edward II, Edward II—Seen through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987); Frederick Hepburn, *Portraits of the Latter Plantagenets* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986).

**Plato and Platonism** The thought of Plato itself and its later form in NEOPLATONISM were a philosophical system, which evolved through time. Initially it was based on the works of Plato of Athens and was developed after Plato's lifetime at Hellenistic academies at Athens and ALEXANDRIA. TWO FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 160–215) and ORIGEN, were deeply influenced by it in the second and third centuries and tried to Christianize it. AUGUSTINE referred to its ideas in his work and made it an acceptable philosophical tool and method. Platonism was practically the only method of learning in early medieval Christian society and until the works of ARISTOTLE reappeared in the 12th and 13th centuries through Muslim intermediaries. Even after the reappearance of Aristotelian thought in UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS, Platonism continued to be influential. As part of a humanist movement in the 15th century, interest in Plato himself and his ideas revived as new translations became available and Platonic academies became fashionable.

See also ADELARD OF BATH; BACON, ROGER; BOETHIUS; DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE FICINO, MARSILIO; GROSSETESTE, ROBERT; JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; JOHN TAULER; MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA NEOPLATONISM; NICHOLAS OF CUSA; PLOTINUS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

**Further reading:** A. H. Armstrong, ed., *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); Stephen Gersh, *Concord in Discourse: Harmonics and Semiotics in Late Classical and Early Medieval Platonism* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996); James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990); Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages with a New Preface and Four Supplementary Chapters; Together with*

*Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, with a New Introductory Preface* (Munich: Kraus International Publications, 1981); Dominic J. O'Meara, *The Structure of Being and the Search for the Good: Essays on Ancient and Early Medieval Platonism* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1998).

**Platonism, medieval** See NEOPLATONISM AND PLATONISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES; PLATO AND PLATONISM.

**Plotinus in the Middle Ages** (ca. 204–270) *founder of the Neoplatonic system*

Plotinus was born in Lycopolis in Upper EGYPT to an upper-class Greek family in about 204. He moved to ALEXANDRIA in 232 and settled in ROME in 244, after narrowly escaping death on a failed Roman expedition to the East led by the emperor Gordian III (r. 238–244). He had gone on this campaign to learn about Indian and Persian philosophy. His biographer and pupil, Porphyry (ca. 232–ca. 305), also edited his lectures.

In his most famous work, the *Enneads*, Plotinus synthesized the PHILOSOPHY of PLATO with other philosophies. He never aspired to be more than an interpreter of Plato, while combining Aristotelian and Stoic ideas with those of Plato. His main concern was spiritual progress toward the "One" or the "Good." He also saw reality at several ascending levels. Matter was only the projection of forms. The THEOLOGY of Plotinus was distinctly Hellenistic and its mystical monotheism influenced Christian ideas, especially about the Trinity. Plotinus was only known indirectly in the Middle Ages through his influence on AUGUSTINE, BASIL, BOETHIUS, and PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS. In 1492 Marsilio FICINO translated into Latin the Greek *Enneads*, which became a fundamental contribution to Renaissance NEOPLATONISM.

See also PHOTIOS I, THE GREAT, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE; PLATO AND PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Plotinus, *Plotinus*, trans. A. H. Armstrong, 7 vols. (London: Harvard University Press, 1966–1988); A. H. Armstrong, *The Architecture and the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus: An Analytical and Historical Study* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1967); Lloyd P. Gerson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Plotinus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Thomas Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists: A Study in the History of Hellenism*, 4th ed. (Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1961).

**podestà (podesta)** The *podestà* was one of the supreme magistrates of Italian cities governed by COMMUNES. The powers and characteristic of the office varied over time and place. The *podestà* had the greatest power and institutional significance in the first half of the 13th century. In later and broader-based regimes, the *podestà* lost some

of its primacy, regressing into a bureaucratic and jurisdictional position.

In the 13th century, he was chosen annually or semi-annually from qualified candidates from other cities and thus theoretically outside local politics and interests. As the government's chief executive officer and head judge, he was hired and paid by the commune and was accompanied by a "family" of professional officials, including judges, notaries, and soldiers who sometimes served as his police force. He represented the commune, personifying its prestige and power and protecting rights fundamental to its autonomy. After swearing to uphold the town's statutes or legal system, he convened and presided over various councils. Besides that he led the army, ensured public order, administered criminal justice, oversaw the collection of taxes and public works, and protected the road system and commerce. At the end of his tenure, he was audited and held accountable. These duties accumulated from the beginnings of the communes in the late 12th century as they tried to govern themselves.

Over the 13th and 14th centuries, the *podestà* lost many of his administrative roles to other magistrates, to assure fair treatment to other, new elements of the commune, that is, the new social classes that demanded other officials to protect them and their interests from the old elite. Podestas were now regarded as the promoters and agents of the old original communal elites. The office further evolved in the Renaissance. It became the office maintained by cities over subject towns as part of an evolving city-state system. The podestas became the officials of an external, sometimes oppressive, regime either princely or republican. The office still kept order but now explicitly represented the interests of a ruler or other town.

See also FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA; CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS; FLORENCE; ITALY; MILAN; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES; SIENA.

**Further reading:** David Chambers and Trevor Dean, *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Laura Ilkins Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3d ed. (London: Longman, 1988).

**Poggio Bracciolini** See BRACCIOLINI, POGGIO.

**Poitiers, Battles of** There were two battles of Poitiers. On October 25, 732, CHARLES MARTEL and the FRANKS defeated an Arab and Muslim raiding party from the Iberian Peninsula. The defeat has long been regarded as the turning point in the first Islamic assault on Europe, and the farthest point of Muslim penetration into northern Europe. Charles has traditionally received credit for halting the advance of Muslim progress into Europe. The second Battle of Poitiers took place on September 19,

1356, during the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR between ENGLAND and FRANCE. The Anglo-Gascon forces were led by EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE. At least 2,000 nobles on the French side were killed or captured, including King John II of France (r. 1350–64) and his son, Philip the Bold (1342–1404). King John remained a prisoner of the English until he agreed to major and humiliating concessions of territory and a three-million-gold-crown ransom. This also forced the 18-year-old dauphin, CHARLES V, to assume temporary control of the French government. This loss was a serious blow to the French crown, a disaster not overcome for years.

**Further reading:** Bernard S. Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (1980; reprint, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984); Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War. Vol. 2, Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 195–249.

**Poland** Medieval Poland was a Slavic kingdom situated on the eastern territories of Western Christendom, north of the Carpathian Mountains and south of the Baltic Sea. It took definitive form in the reigns of Duke Mieszko I (r. ca. 960–992) and BOLESLAV I THE BRAVE, both of the PIAST dynasty. Mieszko was baptized in 966 into the Western Church; in return he received a bishopric directly dependent on Rome in 968 and finally an archbishopric at Gniezno in 999/1000. Boleslav's victorious war against the emperor Henry II (r. 1002–24) and his conquest of KIEV in 1018 confirmed the strength of the new state. Boleslav was crowned king of Poland in 1025. His realm at the end of his reign consisted of five provinces: Great Poland, Little Poland, Silesia, Mazovia, and part of Pomerania.

After a crisis of state and church in the 1030s, Boleslav II the Bold (1058–79) was crowned king in 1076. However, he was forced to leave the country after his murder of Bishop Saint Stanislas in 1079. From the middle of the 11th century, the capital of the country was CRACOW. King Boleslav III Wrymouth (r. 1102–38) conquered and Christianized Pomerania, on the shores of the Baltic. The position of the church was strengthened and Gregorian ideas of reform were put into practice. The religious orders, both monastic and MENDICANT, then flooded into the country.

After the death of Boleslav III in 1138 the realm was divided into smaller states or duchies and this period was marked by the Tatar invasions, the expansion of Brandenburg, and the creation of the state of the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS to the north. There was a widespread colonization of the countryside by Germans, particularly in Silesia and on the Baltic. Large villages and towns appeared, provided with considerable autonomy based on the Magdeburg Charter of Urban Liberties. Alongside the Germans, present in strength particularly in the



larger towns and in certain regions, Jewish communities appeared in Silesia, emphasizing still more the diversity of a commercial middle class.

#### CASIMIR THE GREAT AND LATER HISTORY

At the time he was crowned king in 1320, Ladislas or Wladyslaw the Short (r. 1305/06–1333), held only two provinces, Great Poland and Little Poland. The Teutonic Knights had occupied East Pomerania and the town of Gdańsk or Danzig, while the Bohemians had taken possession of the rich province, of Silesia. The reign of CASIMIR the Great (r. 1333–70) produced stability. He

profited from the his successes against the Tatars and annexed Red Ruthenia or GALICIA, the western part of Ukraine, into Poland after 1340. The old province of Mazovia became a FIEF of the Crown. Founded by Casimir in 1364, the University of CRACOW grew and trained jurists for royal service. Casimir's nephew, Louis of Anjou, king of HUNGARY (r. 1370–82), united Poland and Hungary. Louis's daughter, Hedwig or Jadwiga (ca. 1383–99) was queen of Poland between 1384 and 1399. She married in 1386 the pagan Jagiello, or Jagailo, the grand duke of LITHUANIA, who took the name Ladislas, or Wladyslaw, II at his baptism on February 15, 1386. At

the same time he became king of Poland (r. 1386–1433). This Polish Lithuanian Union of 1385 lasted for centuries, despite differences between the Catholic kingdom of Poland and the pagan and Orthodox Lithuanian-Ruthenian grand duchy. The Lithuanian nobility, however, converted to Roman Catholicism. A Polish victory over the Teutonic Knights at the Battle of Grunwald or Tannenberg on July 15, 1410; gravely weakened the Teutonic Knights, who later piecemeal joined themselves to Poland in the 1460s. The Jagiellonian dynasty made several attempts to take over BOHEMIA and Hungary, winning battles but ultimately failing. At the same time the realm suffered territorial losses in the northeast as a result of the expansion of MOSCOW.

#### PROSPERITY AND NOBLE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

This period of rule by Casimir and the later Jagiellonians was marked by peace, cultural development, and economic prosperity. The nobility gained a series of privileges and followed the principle of equality of rights for all its members, regardless of their real social and economic position in a hierarchy. In the 15th century, a “little diet” of nobles became an important organ of territorial autonomy. In the late 15th century, the nobles of the little diets even created a body called the “chamber of deputies.” The old royal council was transformed into a senate of high dignitaries and bishops. The later Polish parliament has its origins in these diets and councils. These bodies were primarily representative of the nobility, and limited the rights and opportunities of an urban middle class and the PEASANTRY. There were a few major towns such as Gdańsk, Cracow, Torun, and Elblag or Elbing.

#### CULTURE AND TOLERANCE

GOTHIC architecture was important in the towns, especially Cracow. The University of Cracow had great prestige in Eastern Europe, and in fact all Europe. By 1500 there were small SCHOOLS in nearly every parish, town, and village. The rate of literacy was high and literature in the Polish language grew. From the 14th century, the Catholic Church coexisted well with the Orthodox Church. Jewish communities grew and enjoyed wide autonomy, as the Jagiellonians, including Gediminas (r. 1316–42), in Lithuania, Ladislas II Jagiello, and Casimir IV (1440–92) in Poland, favored religious toleration.

**Further reading:** Aleksander Gieysztor, “The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 727–747; Paul W. Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320–1370* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); Jacob Litman, *The Economic Role of Jews in*

*Medieval Poland: The Contribution of Yitzhak Schipper* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984); Tadeusz Manteuffel, *The Formation of the Polish State: The Period of Ducal Rule, 963–1194*, trans. Andrew Gorski (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982); Michael J. Mikos, trans., *Medieval Literature of Poland: An Anthology* (New York: Garland, 1992); W. F. Reddaway, ed. *The Cambridge History of Poland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941); H. B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470–1543* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

**political structure** See CALIPHATE AND CALIPH; KINGS AND KINGSHIP, RITUALS AND THEORIES OF; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; PAPACY; PODESTÀ; POLITICAL THEORY AND TREATISES; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE.

**political theory and treatises** For medieval authors, politics was an important aspect of theological and philosophical reflection. The nature of society and of the practice of public affairs were two of the essential ethical dimensions of a person. The political community and the religious community were not thought of as separate or opposed. There was, however, throughout most of the Middle Ages and early RENAISSANCE, much conflict over the relationship between the power of the church and the power of temporal or secular realms or states. GOD delegated power on earth to Christ, who according to the church delegated it to the pope, who delegated it to bishops and lay rulers, according to the idea of the Two Swords, one held by the church and the other held by the state. Yet all was to be controlled by the pope in the minds of some. The question was whether God intended the emperor, or a monarch, or the state to wield the temporal sword, independent of the pope but as part of a rightly ordered Christian society.

Politics and political power existed to protect order and virtue from the consequences of the naturally sinful human condition. The introduction of Roman LAW and Aristotelian thought in the *Ethics* and *Politics* complicated these matters in the 12th and 13th centuries. The later development of NOMINALISM encouraged the idea that only the individual was fundamental and the state existed for the protection of individual liberty. This was countered by the early development of the idea of absolutism of either a monarch or a pope. The addition of such new entities as the city-states of ITALY complicated the issues of this scheme. The new cities, much influenced by Ciceronian republicanism at least in theory, wanted to pay as little attention to an emperor as possible. From the political thought and practice of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, historians have discerned, perhaps to an exaggerated degree, the beginnings of the

modern ideas of the separation of church and state, representative government, the popular roots of political power and government, the evolution of authority and justice, the function of the law, and justification of property rights.

#### ISLAMIC THOUGHT AND COMPARISONS TO CHRISTIANITY

Medieval Islamic political thought was based on the QURAN and the HADITH, in other words, the ideas of MUHAMMAD as a prophet or messenger inspired by God. These encompassed religion, law, ethics, PHILOSOPHY, and statecraft. During the Middle Ages Muslim writers produced systematic treatises, occasional writings, official rhetorical statements, and popular slogans all based primarily on them.

Just as in Christianity, Islamic political thought was a religious ideology active in society. Both the religious and the secular communities were the products of the legacy of Abraham and the classical world. Their medieval traditions and cultures were monotheistic, believed in a final revelation by God to humanity in particular texts, and were strongly influenced by the ideas and systems of classical antiquity.

See also ALIGHIERI, DANTE; AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; CALIPHATE AND CALIPH; FORTESCUE, JOHN; GREGORIAN REFORM; ISLAM; IBN KHALDUN, WALI AL-DIN ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN MUHAMMAD; JOHN OF PARIS; JOHN OF SALISBURY; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; MARSILIUS OF PADUA; MIRROR OF PRINCES; PAPACY; WILLIAM OF OCKHAM; WYCLIFFE, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi, eds., *Medieval Political Philosophy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963); Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan, eds., *Medieval Political Theory—a Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100–1400* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Hans Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); Antony J. Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001); J. H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350–c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300–1450* (New York, Routledge, 1996); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

**poll tax** See PEASANT REBELLIONS.

**Polo, Marco** See MARCO POLO.

**polyphony** Medieval polyphony was a method of writing music in which several voices were superimposed on each other while harmonizing with melodies not parallel to each other. It appeared in the ninth century in the West. Several kinds of polyphonic musical forms succeeded each other or coexisted in the Middle Ages.

The *conductus* was a polyphonic piece in which a low or tenor voice followed a more or less spontaneous melody. Thus polyphony was no longer just an ornament of GREGORIAN CHANT, but a new and autonomous way of writing music. *Conductus* often accompanied the liturgy as processional chants. In the 13th century, the principal polyphonic musical form was the MOTET. In the 14th century, rhythmic relations between voices characterized a new style, the *ars nova*, in contrast to the *ARS ANTIQUA* cultivated earlier in the 13th century. The most celebrated musician of the *Ars nova* was Guillaume de MACHAUT. From the late 14th century, polyphonic composition began to be simplified in the Franco-Flemish school best represented by Guillaume Dufay (ca. 1400–74). Secular polyphonic song also developed, but composing for the MASS remained the most complex genre.

**Further reading:** David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1982); Anselm Hughes, *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1951); Heinrich Husmann, *Medieval Polyphony*, trans. Robert Kolben (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1962); Ernest Helmut Sanders, *Medieval English Polyphony and Its Significance for the Continent* (New York: Sanders, 1968). There are available numerous sound recordings and musical scores.

**polyptych** In the Middle Ages, the word *polyptych* and its derivatives designated land registers. Polyptychs, especially in the ninth century, recorded lands, tenants, and the services they owed to the lord of the estate. Some 30 CAROLINGIAN polyptychs have survived. They were drawn up on land between the Loire and the Rhine; on the estates of Saint-Germain-dès-Prés, Saint-Remi at RHEIMS, and at Prüm; but also in other regions of the Frankish Empire such as northern ITALY at Bobbio. Most were compiled from great monasteries and demonstrated the great expansion of cultivation taking place during that era.

#### HISTORICAL VALUE

Polyptychs were also intended to assist in the management of royal FIEFS and ecclesiastical properties. They were used by a few lay lords. Studied by modern scholars as sources for social and economic history, they recorded transport services and monetary payments. By listing various members of peasant households they provided a snapshot for the history of the family. They contained place- and human names useful to philologists. They

were, however, limited in scope and in time to only the particular property and people inventoried, with little on anything outside the estate. They recorded what the lord thought he should be able to collect from his estate and his tenants, not what he actually collected. The polyptych was particular to the Carolingian period, but other kinds of similar surveys and inventories existed for later estates, especially for taxation purposes in ENGLAND.

See also AGRICULTURE; DOMESDAY BOOK; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; PEASANTRY.

**Further reading:** Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. Cynthia Postan (1962; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), especially 366–371; Adriaan Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

**poor** See CHARITY AND POVERTY.

**Poor Clares** See CLARE OF ASSISI, SAINT.

**pope(s)** See individual popes; PAPACY.

**popular art and religion** Medieval popular religion was made up of the practices, images, behavior, beliefs, representations, and ideas of the majority of the population of CHRISTENDOM, ISLAM, or JUDAISM. It could also include the artistic output, both secular and religious, designed to teach people or to convey their beliefs and images. Such a concept is vague but can form a useful starting point for studying and understanding popular and marginal culture in the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE.

Some historians had called it folk religion. It has been studied primarily in terms of its relationship and interaction with what is called learned or institutional religion or that of the clergy or specialists in religious matters, those who teach and formulate its norms. It has been a way to transcend mere religious doctrine and theological disputes to analyze religions and cultures as they functioned in society and were understood by the unlettered but not necessarily passive. It can also indicate how the literate and pastoral class saw their flocks and tried to influence them. This relationship worked both ways: doctrines and pastoral care could be influenced by popular ideas and expectations. It has been a tool to study influenced by methods and focuses of anthropologists and folklorists, who compare the “rational” with the “irrational” or the “written” with the “oral” in a society or culture. It can discern the real issues or needs of the mass of religious believers or unbelievers. The study of popular art and religion reminds us that both popular and learned religion existed together. Neither concept or classification reflects by itself the reality of any religious community.

See also BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS; DEVIL; FEASTS AND FESTIVALS; GHOSTS; HAGIOGRAPHY; HERESY AND HERESIES; INDULGENCES; LAITY; MAGIC AND FOLKLORE; MARY, CULT OF; MASS, LITURGY OF; MISSIONS OF MISSIONARIES, CHRISTIAN; PILGRIMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE SITES; PREACHING AND PREACHERS; PURGATORY; WITCHCRAFT.

**Further reading:** John Shinnors, ed., *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000–1500: A Reader* (Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1997); Rosalind B. Brooke and Christopher N. L. Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe, 1000–1300* (London: Thames and Hudson 1984); Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250–1550* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Gábor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Singerman and ed. Karen Margolis (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

**Porette, Margaret (Marguerite Porete)** (d. 1310) *member of the heresy of the Free Spirit*

Margaret was probably a BEGUINE and a native of Hainault in FRANCE. As a visionary and adherent of the sect of the Brethren of the FREE SPIRIT, she was burned at the stake in PARIS on June 1, 1310, for continuing to circulate copies of her book, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, written sometime between 1296 and 1310. It can be seen as a NEOPLATONIC dialogue among allegorical figures about the nature of the relationship between the individual SOUL and GOD. It had been explicitly condemned as heretical. Known as an executed heretic, she became better understood when her authorship of that work was discovered in the 20th century. The work itself was long considered to be anonymous. It had circulated in Latin, English, and Italian translations.

Her *The Mirror of Simple* was a rare and important witness to the beliefs and ideas of adherents of what has been called the HERESY of the Free Spirit, whose beliefs were only really known from the records of their trials and references to their ideas by their persecutors. The major threat they posed for Christianity was their suspicion of the necessity of clerical intermediation between the Christian and God. To suggest and circulate such ideas usually led to a death sentence.

See also VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** Marguerite Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Edmund Colledge, J. C. Marler, and Judith Grant (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (d. 203) to Marguerite Porete (d. 1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Amy M. Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); Joanne Maguire Robinson,

*Nobility and Annihilation in Marguerite Porete's Mirror of Simple Souls* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); Bernard McGinn, ed., *Meister Eckhart and the Beguine Mystics: Hadewijch of Brabant, Mechthild of Magdeburg, and Marguerite Porete* (New York: Continuum, 1994).

**pork** See AGRICULTURE; ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; FOOD, DRINK AND NUTRITION; FORESTS AND FOREST LAW.

**portolan charts** (*portulan*) In modern usage, the term *portolan chart* means "a nautical map or chart"; in the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE the *portolanus* was a text listing distances and directions between places on a coast. It also contained the conditions and dangers of navigation. The most common charts depicted the Mediterranean, BLACK SEA, and Atlantic coasts from MOROCCO to the Baltic. They used conventional signs for directions, coasts, and places.

The surviving examples date from 1296 and number more than 100, preserved separately or within atlases. They had earliest origins among Italians and Majorcans, who employed them for information on the Mediterranean Sea. Using them skillfully and in combination with a magnetic COMPASS, one could follow known routes and perhaps even navigate to destinations. There is some question, however, about how much they were actually used aboard ships. They might have been employed more by MERCHANTS planning trading voyages than by practicing mariners.

See also NAVIGATION.

**Further reading:** Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, trans. D. L. Paisey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966); Jonathan T. Lanman, *On the Origin of Portolan Charts* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1987); Raleigh A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps: Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (New York: Praeger, 1958); Ronald V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers* (London: Batsford, 1949); John Noble Wilford, *The Mapmakers* (New York: Knopf, 1981).

**Portugal** Medieval Portugal was a country in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula. Its name developed from its first capital city, Porto. In the fifth century the region, the Roman-dominated province of Lusitania, was conquered by the Suevi, BARBARIANS who conquered its northern area; the VISIGOTHS, who took the center; and the VANDALS, who settled in the southernmost region. In the sixth century the Visigoths annexed all of the future Portugal to their kingdom. In 711–714 Portugal was overrun by the ARABS and incorporated into the Umayyad CALIPHATE of CORDOBA. After the caliphate's fall in the 11th century, it was subject to the Muslim kings of SEVILLE. In 1097 King Alfonso VI (r. 1065–1109), the king of CASTILE, conquered its northern section and made

it a Castilian county, giving it to his son-in-law, Henry of BURGUNDY (r. 1097–1112), who was married to his illegitimate daughter Teresa.

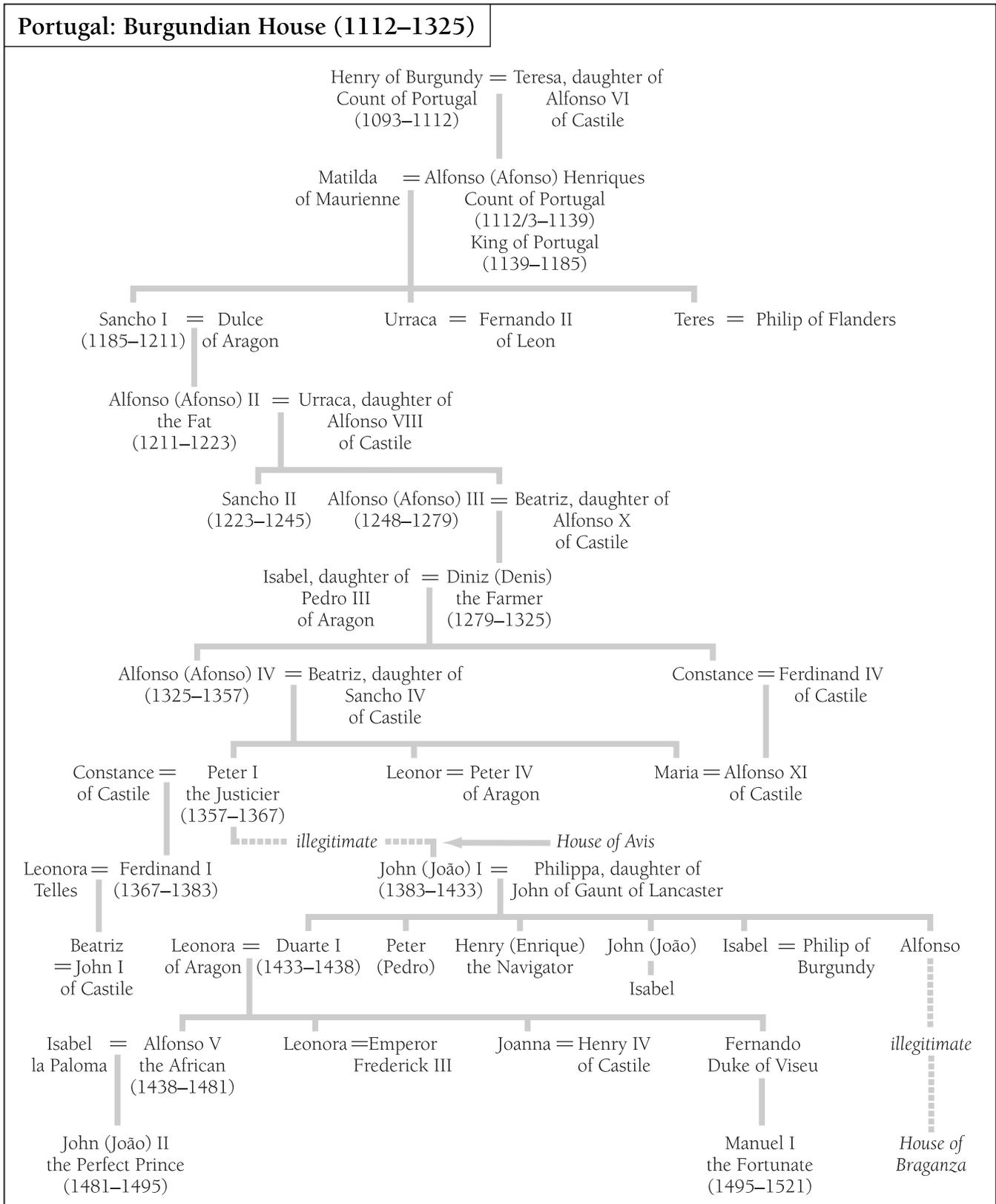
#### A SEPARATE KINGDOM

Portugal became independent in 1109 and started pursuing wars of reconquest against the Muslims. In 1139, Henry's son, Afonso I (r. 1112–85), was proclaimed king and established the new state of Portugal. In 1148, he conquered LISBON, with the help of English and Scandinavian crusaders. This established his realm's southern border on the Tagus River. In the second half of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, under the rule of Sancho I (r. 1185–1211) and Afonso III (r. 1248–79), there was continued southward expansion at the expense of the Muslims. This culminated in the conquest of the Algarve, the southernmost region of Portugal.

In the 13th century the kings dedicated their efforts to organizing the kingdom and imposing royal authority on the church and the nobility. The kings worked with the commoners, who were admitted in 1254 to the CORTES or representative assembly, to help balance and check the nobility. In 1280, a university was founded at Lisbon and later transferred to Coimbra, the capital before Lisbon. In the 14th century, Portugal became involved in the political affairs and dynastic conflicts of Castile. The Crown and the Cortes, however, strongly resisted extensive Castilian influence, though there were intermarriages between members of the ruling dynasties of both realms. During the 14th century also, the Portuguese people became aware of an identity. A linguistic unification of the country occurred on the basis of a synthesis between the Galician-Portuguese of the north and the Arabic-tinged dialects of the south, particularly in the reign of Denis (Dinis) I (r. 1279–1325). King John (João) I (r. 1385–1433) defeated the Castilians at the Battle of Aljubarrota in August 1385 and preserved Portugal's independence.

#### THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

The great age of Portuguese expansion and search for GOLD, and eventually African slaves, began in the late 14th century and was carried forward by Prince HENRY, called the Navigator. Henry and King John I took advantage of the anarchy in North AFRICA to capture towns in MOROCCO such as Ceuta in 1415. Maritime expeditions followed along the African coast from 1415. The CANARY ISLANDS in the 14th century, Madeira in about 1419, and the AZORES in about 1427 were discovered and colonized. Cape BOJADOR, once considered impassible, was rounded in 1434. Factories or trading posts were established all along the African coast. King John II (r. 1481–95) continued Henry's maritime exploration and sought to find PRESTER JOHN in the East. Bartholomew DIAZ rounded the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa in 1488, and Vasco da GAMA reached India and returned in 1497. The Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 divided the "new" discoveries



between SPAIN and Portugal in 1494. All these events led to Portugal's vast colonial empire in Africa, Brazil, southern Asia, and the Far East.

See also GALICIA; SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY.  
**Further reading:** Charles Wendell David, trans., *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon* (1936);

reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Peter Linehan, "Castile, Portugal and Navarre," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300*, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 668–699; Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (London: Hutchinson, 1969); A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia and America, 1415–1808* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992).

**Portuguese expansion and trade** See PORTUGAL.

**poverty** See CHARITY AND POVERTY; POVERTY, VOLUNTARY.

**poverty, voluntary** Voluntary poverty, traditionally one of the three vows of religious life, had various forms before 1500. Voluntary or spiritual poverty was based on the GOSPEL inviting Christians to follow the example of Jesus and renounce material goods. They impeded the gaining of salvation and lessened trust in the good providence of GOD. BENEDICTINE MONASTICISM made poverty obligatory on the individual monk but authorized the ownership of goods by the monastic community.

With the new prosperity arising from agrarian and commercial revolutions between 1000 and 1300, spiritual poverty became a new fundamental and external way of life through the MENDICANT ORDERS. There were attacks on clerical wealth throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, both by orthodox reformers and by heretics. Voluntary poverty was one of the main aspects of the mendicant idea as founded by FRANCIS of Assisi. The quick relaxation of his original austere practices created divisions within the Order of Friars Minor, especially among the SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS. Pope JOHN XXII condemned their doctrine of Christ's poverty in 1323.

**Further reading:** David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Jan G. J. van den Eijnden, *Poverty on the Way to God: Thomas Aquinas on Evangelical Poverty* (Louvain: Peeters, 1994); David Flood, ed., *Poverty in the Middle Ages* (Werk: D. Coelde, 1975); Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978); Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986).

**Praemunire** The Statutes of Praemunire were issued by English kings to protect their rights from encroachment by the PAPACY and as an effort to assert royal sovereignty over the church in ENGLAND. The first such

statutes were issued in 1353, 1365, and 1393. That of 1353 forbade appeal to the papal court of cases usually and traditionally kept within the purview of the king's courts. That of 1393 forbade EXCOMMUNICATION of a person or issuance of a papal bull without royal assent.

See also PROVISIONS, ECCLESIASTICAL.

**Further reading:** May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307–1399* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (1955; reprint, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963).

**Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges** The Pragmatic Sanction was promulgated as a royal decree by King CHARLES VII in 1438 at Bourges, to regulate relationships among the Crown, the French church, and the PAPACY. There had been much conflict between Pope EUGENIUS IV and the COUNCIL of BASEL. The king of France tried to follow a policy of neutrality. Largely influenced by Gallican bishops and the traditional antipathy to papal pretensions from at least the reign of PHILIP IV THE FAIR, Charles called an assembly of the clergy at Bourges. There most of the conciliar decrees of Basel were adopted, including the council's superiority to the pope, the suppression of certain taxes, annates, and limits on appeals to the court of ROME and on papal influence on and control of the distribution of clerical BENEFICES. To these were added a series of prescriptions on the sacraments and a long treatise on the necessity of reform of the church. These ideas were not all acceptable to the clergy of France and naturally aroused strong opposition from the Holy See. King LOUIS XI played politics and abrogated the ordinance in 1461, restored it later, and eventually in 1472 reached an agreement with Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) in the concordat of Amboise. It was finally abrogated by the concordat of BOLOGNA in 1516. Its effect was always to replace papal power over the French church with that of the monarchy. It has been considered the foundational charter of a Gallican church independent of the Holy See.

See also PROVISIONS, ECCLESIASTICAL.

**Further reading:** Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: The Universal Spider* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); P. S. Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (London: Melbourne, 1968); Malcolm G. Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

**Prague (Praha)** Prague, the capital of BOHEMIA and the present capital of the Czech Republic, is situated in the Prague basin over both banks of the river Vltava. Slavs settled there toward the end of the sixth century and in the course of the next two centuries erected there numerous fortresses. On the site of one of these forts, a PREMYSLID prince, Bohvoj I (r. 870–895), built a CASTLE and made it the political center of his duchy. In the ninth century churches were built, including the church of the Holy

Virgin in about 885, the basilica of Saint George between 915 and 921, the church of Saint Guy shortly before 935, and a BENEDICTINE monastery in 970. The bishopric of Prague was established in 973. Another residence of the Premyslid princes was built in the 10th century at Vysehrad further south on the right bank of the river Vltava. Between these two castles there developed a network of roads and houses. In the late 11th century, commercial activities moved from the left to the right bank and from the mid-12th century, a more sophisticated urban settlement developed, complete with dressed stone buildings, impressive houses, and workshops of artisans. At the start of the 13th century, the town was still small with maybe 3,500 inhabitants, but it was encircled by a fortified wall from 1231. King Premysl Ottokar II (r. 1253–78) in 1257 undertook to build a planned town at the foot of Prague castle.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, Prague's political and economic importance grew. CHARLES IV in 1348 created another planned urban center called the new town (Nove Mesto). This enlarged city formed by the four urban cells, founded at different times, soon numbered perhaps some 50,000 inhabitants, rivaling PARIS or BRUGES. In the reign of Charles, 1346 to 1378, the Gothic cathedral of Saint Guy and a new stone bridge were built. Charles University or the University of Prague, the first in central Europe, was founded in 1348. The city was at the center of the Hussite Wars with the Germans in the 15th century as it declined in wealth and importance.

**Further reading:** Albert Kutal, *Gothic Art in Bohemia and Moravia*, trans. Till Gottheiner (London: Hamlyn, 1972); Karel Neubert, *Portrait of Prague*, trans. John Eisler (New York: Hamlyn, 1969); Karel Stejskal, *European Art in the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Till Gottheinerová (London: Octopus Books, 1978); Lisa Wolverton, *Hastening toward Prague: Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

**prayer and prayers** (Arabic, *salat*; Hebrew, *tefillah*) Prayer held a fundamental place in religious life in the Middle Ages, when it was believed that the order of things and the destiny of each person depended on a providence influenced by his or her requests or prayers. In both Christianity and JUDAISM, one could influence the course of events by asking GOD for help, or at least divine mercy. Along with FASTING and almsgiving, prayer reconciled the sinner with God. It could foster spiritual solidarity with one's fellow Christians, the heavenly spirits, and the saints and even help the dead. It had to be sincere and well intended.

Common or public prayer was offered to God in the name of the people by the clerical ministers of the church, an intermediary way to God. It consisted of external acts of worship, the divine OFFICE, PROCESSIONS,

and PILGRIMAGES. Private prayer could be vocal or interior, performed by an individual.

The earliest collections of prayers were Celtic or Anglo-Saxon. They consisted of invocations and supplications addressed to the Trinity, Christ, the Virgin MARY, the ANGELS, and the saints. Litanies solicited the protection of HEAVEN against spiritual or temporal dangers. The Carolingians favored the spread on the Continent of the PSALTER. Later Saint ANSELM tried to facilitate more sustained personal meditation by favoring simple adoration, praise, and prayer celebrating God's greatness, goodness, and mercy. This would produce humility and trust within the person who prayed. Group prayer was promoted for religious and clerics, lay brothers, penitents, members of CONFRATERNITIES, and LAITY of all conditions. For the more educated, in the later Middle Ages, BOOKS OF HOURS appeared. Theologians at the same time speculated on the structure, forms, and degrees of prayer. Programs were devised that if followed would lead the praying Christian to a better relationship with Christ and to SALVATION itself. In the later Middle Ages movements such as the Modern Devotion or *DEVOTIO MODERNA* promoted these programs of prayers.

#### PRAYER IN ISLAM

Prayer, or *salat*, was derived from the HADITH and was regarded as the second of the five major duties of the Muslim, ranking only after the declaration of FAITH. ISLAM required direct communication with God, so that no priest or intermediate performed this function. Prayer was to be performed five times a day, each with particular qualities of performance. The prayers could be done with a group or alone. All must be accompanied by a ritual purification, declared a prayer, and be done in the direction of MECCA, with prostrations and formulaic recitations. These rituals were to create a sense of community and group solidarity.

See also FRIDAY PRAYER.

**Further reading:** Richard C. Trexler, *The Christian at Prayer: An Illustrated Prayer Manual Attributed to Peter the Chanter (d. 1197)* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987); Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Sergius Wroblewski, *Bonaventurian Theology of Prayer* (Pulaski, Wisc.: Franciscan Publishers, 1967).

**Preachers, Order of** See DOMINICAN ORDER.

**preaching and preachers (homiletics)** Medieval preaching might be defined as explicating in the VERBACULAR the texts of the liturgy of the day. According to a CAROLINGIAN council in 813, bishops and their CLERGY were to preach at least on Sundays and on feast days. Collections of sermons by AUGUSTINE, Caesarius of

Arles (469/470–542), and Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT were compiled and recopied from Christian late antiquity. One model for this was a homiliary written by the LOMBARD monk PAUL the Deacon. He collected patristic texts meant for particular feasts for a lectionary to use in the liturgy and in preaching to the people. Preaching was, however, secondary to the liturgy and the sacraments in pastoral care.

In the 13th century, with the rise of the MENDICANT orders and an increased awareness of HERESY, the PAPACY began to promote more preaching activity to assist people in understanding and practicing a true Christian life. An increased emphasis was placed on clerical education to enable priests to preach more effectively, to combat evangelization by heretical groups, and to avoid unknowingly spreading unacceptable doctrine.

The DOMINICANS and the FRANCISCANS adopted the technique of the so-called modern SERMON. In form the preacher began with a verse from the liturgy of the day, or the theme, and explained it point by point. Collections of model sermons were compiled for general use according to the CALENDAR of the church, for the feasts of saints, for occasions such as funerals and for certain social classes of people. Aids for the preacher soon followed. These were treatises on the art of preaching, or *ARS PRAEDICANDI*, concordances of Scripture, summaries of the lives of the saints, the writings of more or less contemporary Scholastic theologians and the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, and lists of exemplary stories for the edification of the hearer. Some of the friars became famous for their effective and entertaining preaching. They drew huge open-air crowds, especially for their sermons during the seasons of ADVENT and LENT. The parish clergy also began to preach much more frequently, backing up the friars in the towns and particularly in rural parishes, where the mendicants rarely appeared. The 15th century was the great age of mendicant preachers.

See also ANTHONY OF PADUA, SAINT; ANTONINUS, SAINT; BERNARDINO OF SIENA, SAINT; BERTHOLD OF REGENSBURG OR RATISBON; EXEMPLUM; RHETORIC; SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO; VITTORINO DA FELTRE.

**Further reading:** Jonathan Porter Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes praedicandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992); David L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); David L. D'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); James J. Murphy, ed., *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521*

(Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979); Marc Saperstein, ed., *Jewish Preaching, 1200–1800: An Anthology* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); P. S. Wilson, *A Concise History of Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992).

**predestination** Predestination in the Middle Ages was the idea that some people, the elect, were gratuitously already destined for and were infallibly guided to SALVATION. It was considered a HERESY in the Middle Ages, but it and its implications were a part of much theological discussion and dispute. It could abrogate or at least question the doctrine of free will: that people can choose to do good or evil and then suffer the consequences, either salvation or damnation. GOD could also let people fall short of what was destined for them by their own actions or reprobation.

Predestination was a profound problem for medieval THEOLOGY and became an even greater issue in the 16th-century Reformation. It raised questions about the nature of GRACE, the universal saving will of GOD, divine gratuity, human merit and the value of good actions, future contingency, and, most important, human freedom and divine prescience. For the medieval church grace was a prerequisite for salvation, but it was not arbitrarily bestowed and could be earned.

See also AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; HUS, JOHN; JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; PELAGIANISM; WILLIAM OF OCKHAM; WYCLIFFE, JOHN.

**Further reading:** John Scottus Eriugena, *Treatise on Divine Predestination*, trans. Mary Brennan (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998); William of Ockham, *Predestination, God's Foreknowledge, and Future Contingents*, trans. Marilyn McCord Adams and Norman Kretzmann, 2d ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983); Harm J. M. J. Goris, *Free Creatures of an Eternal God: Thomas Aquinas on God's Infallible Foreknowledge and Irresistible Will* (Louvain: Peeters, 1996); James L. Halverson, *Peter Aureol on Predestination: A Challenge to Late Medieval Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

**Premonstratensians (Norbertines, White Canons)** The Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré in the Middle Ages was an order of regular canons living together in autonomous abbeys under the AUGUSTINIAN Rule. The foundation of the order was part of the great 12th-century reforming movement known as the GREGORIAN REFORM. When NORBERT OF XANTEN and his first disciples, all clerics and canons, made a profession in the solitude of Prémontré, near the town of LAON, on Christmas night 1121, the order was born. They aimed to establish a community based on the common ownership of goods, hospitality to the poor and pilgrims, solemn liturgical worship, and PREACHING. Their influence soon spread, producing a network of abbeys in FRANCE, GERMANY, ENGLAND, HUNGARY,

SPAIN and PORTUGAL, the NETHERLANDS, Scandinavia, POLAND, ITALY, PALESTINE, GREECE, and CYPRUS.

Norbert was made archbishop of Magdeburg and chancellor of the empire in 1126. In 1128 he entrusted the abbey of Prémontré to a successor, Hugh de Fosses (d. 1164). Hugh governed the order until his death in 1164. Under his leadership, it acquired a stable structure and set of practices consisting of an annual general chapter under the presidency of the abbot of Prémontré, a liturgical unity, and a convent life inspired by the CISTERCIAN customs of Cîteaux. It had great success because it fulfilled the need for more pastoral care in the church, which the well-educated members of this order were equipped to provide.

#### LAY BROTHERS AND A FEMALE COMMUNITY

The order also included *fratres conversi*, or “lay brothers,” who were by far the most numerous in the 12th century but whose number declined thereafter. They were present at a part of the divine OFFICE and dedicated their day to manual labor, playing a decisive role in the economic foundations of the abbeys. After Norbert settled at Prémontré, he welcomed women, whom he allowed a place complementary to his ideal of the male apostolic life, that is, nearby but in the background. The female community lived in a building of the abbey, making it a double monastery. The sisters spent their time in PRAYER and domestic duties, under the prioress and the abbot. In about 1140 the general chapter suppressed double monasteries. This measure marked the disappearance of all but a few of the Premonstratensian women’s monasteries. A few survived in BOHEMIA and Poland. In the mid-12th century, the LAITY was allowed to participate in the spiritual life of the order, which changed over the Middle Ages into more withdrawn and contemplative life than active in pastoral care.

**Further reading:** David N. Bell, ed., *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians* (London: British Library in Association with the British Academy, 1992); James Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958); Howard Montagu Colvin, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951); Cornelius James Kirkfleet, *History of Saint Norbert: Founder of the Norbertine (Premonstratensian) Order, Apostle of the Blessed Sacrament, Archbishop of Magdeburg* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1916).

**Premyslid dynasty (Přemyslids, Přemysl)** This dynasty held power in BOHEMIA from its beginnings in about 870 until 1306. The family name is from a legendary farmer, Premysl (Přemysl). Libuše, a mythical prophetess appeared at an assembly for consultation on governance. She ordered that Premysl become prince and marry her. He then united the tribes of Bohemia, founded the first part of the city of PRAGUE, and established a principality.

The first documented member of this family at the end of the ninth century, was Bofivoj, who was baptized. Bofivoj’s wife, Ludmilla, and his grandson, Prince Wenceslas the Saint, who reigned in the years 921/922–929, became the country’s patron saints. The reigns of Boleslav I (r. 929–967) and Boleslav II (r. 967–999) consolidated the realm into the kingdom of Bohemia but subordinated it to the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Bohemia declined in importance, though princes such as Bretislav I (r. 1034–55) and Vratislav II (r. 1061–92) succeeded in maintaining and promoting the interests of the state.

In the 13th century, Premysl Ottokar I (r. 1197–1230) unified the country and established the principle of hereditary succession for the dynasty. He also received recognition from the emperors as the prince of Bohemia. His grandson, Premysl Ottokar II the Great (r. 1253–78), journeyed to the shores of the Baltic, supporting troops of the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS. He occupied AUSTRIA and what are now Slovenia, Carinthia, and Carniola. RUDOLF of Habsburg was elected king of Germany in 1273 and halted this Czech expansion southward. Ottokar II’s son, Wenceslas II (r. 1278–1305), turned his attention northward and obtained in 1300 the title of king of POLAND. After the extinction of the ÁRPÁD dynasty in HUNGARY in 1301, Wenceslas II’s son, called Wenceslas III (r. 1305–06), was crowned as king of Hungary. For a short time, in 1305–06, the Premyslids united three Central European monarchies under their rule. The assassination of Wenceslas III in 1305/06, however, put a dramatic end to rule of the Premyslid dynasty.

See also PIAST DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962); Francis Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 2d ed. (Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1974); Mikuláš Teich, ed., *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

**Prester John (Presbyter John)** Prester John was a legendary wealthy ruler somewhere in the East. During the CRUSADES, stories circulated about a priest-king from the East, practicing a form of NESTORIANISM, who was thought to have marched to help liberate JERUSALEM from the Muslims. OTTO of Freising mentioned such a possibility. In 1160/65 a famous letter from him supposedly circulated among the rulers of Christendom. It described the power of a sovereign who reigned over a fabulously rich and exotic country earlier converted by the apostle Saint Thomas, perhaps India. The letter also showed the value of a realm where the church and the secular power worked well together. Even Hebrew versions referred to the lost tribes of Israel as living there. In 1177, Pope ALEXANDER III received a message from a certain “John,

King of the Indies,” which might have been from ABYSSINIA or Ethiopia.

After an invasion of Persia by the MONGOLS in 1221, additional information reached the West through the intermediary of the Christians migrating from the East. They attributed these conquests to a “King David,” the son of Prester John, but they seem to have confused him with JENGHIZ KHAN. Throughout the 13th century, travelers sought to identify this Christian “king of the Indies.” He was a Christian king, sometimes defeated by the Mongols, sometimes holding out against them. His kingdom was at times identified with the land of the three kings of the Nativity of Christ and was situated either near China or in India. This was probably connected to the dying Nestorian Christian principalities in central Asia being swept aside by the Mongols. There were references to him and his kingdom on maps and in literary references.

In about 1321 a certain Jordan of Sévérac sought him in AFRICA and identified his realm with Ethiopia or Abyssinia, which was then regarded as one of the “Indies.” The Ethiopians had encountered Europeans in Jerusalem. It was hoped that any Christian king from there could help the Christians in their struggle with the Muslims of EGYPT. Travelers in the 13th century continued to try to reach Prester John’s kingdom in India or Africa. When the church, however, finally did make contact with the Ethiopians in the middle of the 15th century, Prester John was only a vague memory.

See also JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI; MANDEVILLE, JOHN, AND MANDEVILLE’S TRAVELS; MARCO POLO; WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK.

**Further reading:** L. N. Gumilev, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom: The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*, trans. R. E. F. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, eds., *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1996); Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: The Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959).

**priests and priesthood (presbyter)** Christianity was constructed as an alternative to Jewish ritualism and priestly tradition. That tradition attributed to the priesthood the management of the sacred. In the Christian New Testament, there was little allusion to a priesthood. In the early third century, the CLERGY gradually emerged and separated from the LAITY. Until then there was evidence that all Christians were deemed priests.

Eventually Christianity fixed on several traits of the concept of priest, which it then marshaled to clarify the role of the priest in the Christian religion. Jesus became the one mediator and model for the clergy. There was a vague concept of the priesthood of the whole church. Priesthood could be accorded by the GRACE of baptism. They further promoted the idea of a ministerial priest-

hood with a necessary role in the administration and validity of the sacraments. These ideas were worked out through numerous conflicts lasting centuries. The specialized function of the priest was capped by a fundamental demand for a vow of CELIBACY, reception of the sacrament of Holy Orders, and a system of economic support. Many Christians questioned the necessity of all of this during the Middle Ages, especially the idea of a priest as a link between GOD and humankind, the privileged place of the priest in the world, and the relationship between the clerical and papal church and the rest of CHRISTENDOM.

See also ANTICLERICALISM; BENEFICE; CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS; GREGORIAN REFORM; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES; HUS, JOHN; LOLLARDS; SEVEN SACRAMENTS, WYCLIFFE, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Robert B. Ekelund, *Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Richard W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970); Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**primacy of pope** See PAPACY.

**printing, origins of** Printing emerged in the 15th century. It was already known in China but probably developed independently in the West. The mechanical problems of producing printed matter were resolved into a workable method by the Mainz goldsmith Johann GUTENBERG. In 1455–56 he published his first printed book, the Gutenberg Bible, on paper and vellum. His lead type font was cut by hand in the German Gothic script of contemporary writing. This technique spread rapidly. By 1500 presses in Germany numbered about 60. Outside GERMANY Gothic type persisted for religious and law books for another century or far longer in some cases, but elsewhere it was replaced by a Roman type based on a 15th-century Italian humanist script similar to Caroline minuscule. The first press in ENGLAND was established in 1476 by William CAXTON, and the first dated English printed book appeared in 1477. The early printers were artists, craftsmen, publishers, and booksellers, who favored commercial centers, such as VENICE. The effect of printing and the shift from handwritten script to print on the distribution and communication of culture was obviously important, but the exact trends and the implications of this change are complex and much debated.

See also PARCHMENT; PUNCTUATION.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Lucien P. Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book:*

*The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard and ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton (London: N.L.B., 1976); Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979); David McKitterick, “The Beginning of Printing,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 287–298; James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

**prisons** In the Middle Ages *prison* could refer to an arrest and subsequent temporary confinement until the accused was obliged to appear before a judge on a fixed day. The prisons ensured that appearance and were not considered a punishment in themselves. Only rarely were they used as permanent or even temporary places to confine those being punished for a crime, or considered a threat to the safety of society for various reasons determined locally. This category comprised closed prisons in buildings intended for that purpose and under the surveillance of a jailer. Confinement in them was reserved for those who could not meet financial or human pledges guaranteeing their appearance for justice. If one could not pay the fine imposed by a court, one would have to remain in these houses of detention until the fine was paid. Ecclesiastical courts sometimes considered such sojourns an opportunity for reform. Since



The imprisoned Saint Columba of Sens is saved by a bear from an attack on her person (ca. 1350, Giovanni Baronzio), Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Italy (*Erich Lessing / Art Resource*)

ecclesiastical authorities did not practice the death penalty, they replaced it with perpetual confinement. Nonetheless, prisons in the late Middle Ages had bad or dangerous reputations. The inmates were poorly supported in this system. Conditions were particularly unpleasant and dangerous because of the bad and unhealthy state of the places themselves. Moreover, prisoners were obligated to pay for their own keep, whether they had the resources to do so or not. Security was never very strict or competent, however, and there were frequent prison escapes and breaks. There were benevolent organizations, such as certain CONFRATERNITIES, whose charitable mission was to help those in prison.

See also CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND THE COURTS; JUSTICE; OUTLAWRY.

**Further reading:** John G. Bellamy, *Crime and Public Order in England in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); Christopher Harding, *Imprisonment in England and Wales: A Concise History* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Norvall Morris and David J. Rothman, eds., *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Ralph B. Pugh, *Imprisonment in Medieval England* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

**processions, liturgical** When ritual required positional changes within the church during liturgy—for example, at an entrance, the offering, or moving forward for communion—these changes were done to the accompaniment of music and followed an organized ritual of movement. “Procession” was reserved for important movements, distinguished by their function or by their occurrence often answering a special event or necessity. Other motion within a church service was “ordinary,” or usually occurring regularly. Medieval processions occurred daily, such as at vespers; weekly, such as during Sunday blessings or Wednesday and Friday penitential processions; or annually, such as at Candlemas or Easter eve. During pilgrimage visits to prestigious sanctuaries, there were often festive processions to Roman sacred places. The Palm Sunday procession commemorated Jesus’s entry into JERUSALEM. All these processions became associated with the notion of PILGRIMAGE. The music of all these processions might vary from a penitential psalm, with ANTIPHONS that served as refrains, to a festive or joyous HYMN for a happy commemoration.

Religious processions were more numerous at CONSTANTINOPLE than elsewhere, lent the capital a particular festive dignity, and provided a good example of Christianity’s dominating the urban milieu. The system of processions seems to have developed in the fifth and sixth centuries as Constantinople built more churches. Processions could be organized on the occasion of a rare event such as earthquakes, invasions, translations of RELICS,

and demonstrations of obedience to the emperor. Other occasions for processions were feasts of Christ, the Virgin MARY, the saints; the anniversary of the dedication of Constantinople on May 21; deliverance from siege; or commemoration of a victory. There were, moreover, some 68 annual processions filling out the calendar at Constantinople.

**Further reading:** Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971); Colin Dunlop, *Processions: A Dissertation, Together with Practical Suggestions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932); Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**Procopius of Caesarea** (ca. 500–ca. 560/565) *historian* Procopius was born in Caesarea in PALESTINE. After a classical education and practicing as a lawyer or advocate and rhetorician, he became secretary to the general BELISARIUS in 527. He took part in his wars against the Persians, the VANDALS, and the OSTROGOTHS. Disillusioned with Belisarius, he probably had returned to CONSTANTINOPLE by 542; there besides witnessing the great PLAGUE, he wrote a history of Belisarius's wars and an account of the public buildings, including HAGIA SOPHIA, constructed during the reign of JUSTINIAN. His notorious, but remarkable *Secret History* from about 550 recorded the scandals of the court of Justinian and his wife, THEODORA, including, if not highlighting, their personal failings. Some have claimed that he could not have intended that it ever be circulated or published. He died sometime after 560.

**Further reading:** Procopius, *Procopius*, trans. H. B. Dewing, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953–1962); Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); J. A. S. Evans, *Procopius* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972).

**prohibited degrees** See FAMILY AND KINSHIP; MARRIAGE.

**prophecy** Prophets were the inspired deliverers of God's message in Christianity, JUDAISM, and ISLAM. Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament was uttered by the prophets of Israel who were chosen by God and were sent as a guiding spirit. Among their roles were announcing the coming of a Messiah by explaining signs and reminding kings of their fidelity to an alliance between God and his chosen people. Jesus was considered by some the culmination of this prophetic tradition; with him revelation was

now complete. For Muslims, Moses and Jesus were prophets of God but had an incomplete message fully conveyed later by Muhammad, who was the last true prophet of God.

For medieval Christianity prophecy and the status of the prophet changed. It was no longer necessary to decode obscure passages from the past, particularly those linked to the time when the Messiah would return. The belief evolved that prophetic abilities or at least interpretation of the intentions of God was now reserved to the pope, bishops, and clergy, who were charged with guiding CHRISTENDOM. As the sole interpreters of Scripture, they considered themselves to have the power and responsibility for distinguishing true and false prophets. All prophecy outside Christendom including the message of Muhammad, was considered inauthentic.

The writings of HILDEGARD of Bingen in the late 12th century made warnings of dire punishments by several popes and the emperor FREDERICK I Barbarossa because of their political and religious conflicts. Medieval prophecy about the ages of the world and its end was made more complicated around 1200 by the work of JOACHIM of Fiore.

The first half of the 14th century was distinguished by numerous odd prophetic groups in Languedoc, such as those around Peter John OLIVI; Arnold of Villanova (ca. 1240–1311), a doctor for the king of Aragon; and the Franciscan Angelo Clareno (ca. 1255–1337) in Italy. They stressed the possible eschatological role for the laity. The papacy reacted quickly and brutally to what was perceived as a threat to its spiritual hegemony, often killing inopportune prophets. Still other prophets linked the crises of plague, military defeats, and all kinds of other problems with the arrival of an ANTICHRIST. He was already born and would soon cause the end of the world. The prophets' roles had changed to interpreting contemporary events and to identifying an Antichrist or a messianic king among the princes of his time. Prophecy had become a political genre especially interested in the worldly fate of Christendom, its kingdoms, or even down to the level of the Italian cities. The ecclesiastical chaos and the consequent discrediting of the clergy during the GREAT SCHISM between 1378 and 1417 increased this kind of activity. For the rest of the 15th century prophets cast doubt on the magisterium or the teaching authority of the papacy and of learned university professors and on the role of the clergy as the exclusive intermediary between God and humans.

See also BIRGITTA OF SWEDEN, SAINT; CATHERINE OF SIENA, SAINT; ESCHATOLOGY; GERSON, JOHN; JOAN OF ARC, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Lesley A. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000); Yohanan Friedmann, *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and Its Medieval Background* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

1989); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Prophetic Inspiration after the Prophets: Maimonides and Other Medieval Authorities*, ed. Morris M. Faierstein (Hoboken, N.J.: Ktav, 1996); Theodore L. Steinberg, *Piers Plowman and Prophecy: An Approach to the C-Text* (New York: Garland, 1991).

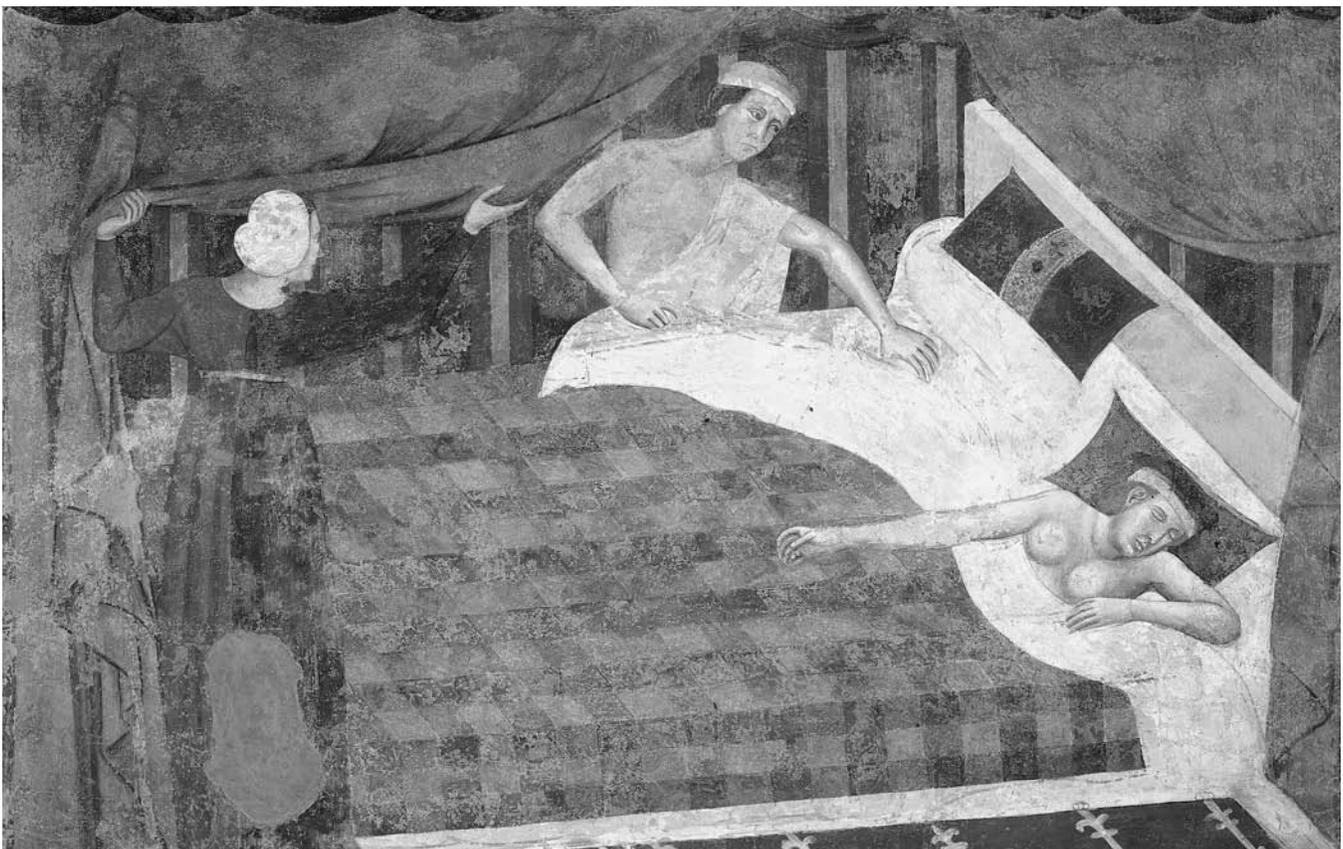
**prostitution (zina)** Medieval prostitution was the selling of one's body for the pleasure of others in exchange for financial or other forms of profit. There were several levels or kinds of prostitution in the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE. Some prostitutes worked in rural communities and some in cities at a variety of social levels, accessibility, and exploitation. Some of the medieval public considered them to be a social necessity and guarantee of matrimonial order.

Prostitution was justified as a necessary sexual outlet for the young until they could marry and for the relief it afforded to the tense and restrictive systems of marriage. Prostitutes could turn people away from more sinful unions that led to concubinage and grave adultery, thus threatening social organization and elite status or succession. They could function out of regular houses well known for this activity or else find their work on streets at certain locations, sometimes even approved by

the government. Those who sold their body were usually driven to this by poverty and a lack of alternatives for survival. For women this could include being victims of rape, which, if known, severely limited their prospects for marriage. Sometimes they wore distinctive clothing to demonstrate their status. Selling one's body might have felt empowering to some, given the alternatives of complete poverty. Prostitution was considered reflective of the fallen state of humankind. There was little concern for the people forced to work as prostitutes. On the other hand, there were examples of municipal governments, or even ecclesiastical authorities, who actually profited from prostitutes' activities. In Islam, prostitution, or *zina*, was any unlawful intercourse and was punishable by stoning, whipping, or exile.

See also CHARITY AND POVERTY; CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION; MARRIAGE; SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES.

**Further reading:** Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (1980; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (1984; reprint, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).



Bathhouse romance from the story of the dissolute young man. Fresco, ca. 1303–05, attributed to Memmo di Filippuccio (fl. 1294–1326), Museo Civico, San Gimignano, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

**Provence** The name of the region of Provence developed from the Latin *provincial*. That geographical area had formed the Roman province of Cisalpina, later Narbonensis, and initially had covered the whole of southern Gaul. During the Middle Ages, it referred to a larger area than the French region does today, including CATALONIA in Spain and eastward to Liguria in Italy.

#### EARLY MIDDLE AGES

In the early Middle Ages, the BURGUNDIANS, the VISIGOTHS, the OSTROGOTHS, and the FRANKS all periodically controlled this region, which included the towns of Marseille, Arles, Aix, Fréjus, Riez, and Cimiez. There was considerable continuity of settlement and habitation between the fifth and the eighth centuries and trade continued with North Africa and the East until the late sixth century. This began to change after 739 and the Battle of POITIERS, when CHARLES Martel took control of this region at the margins of the Frankish kingdom. From 855, the progressive disintegration of the Carolingian Empire led to the creation of the Burgundian kingdom, or the kingdom of Arles. With the weakening of that government, Muslim raiders even set up a century-long settlement at Fraxinetum or La Garde-Freinet from 883.

#### ECONOMIC REVIVAL AND CULTURE

There was a revival of economic activity in the 11th century, and ecclesiastical activity fostered by the GREGORIAN REFORM movement and the foundation or expansion of monastic institutions. The second half of the 12th century was marked by a flowering of Provençal ROMANESQUE art and architecture and by development of the language and poetry of the TROUBADOURS.

A divided succession led in 1125 to a partition of Provence with the house of TOULOUSE, which acquired the land north of the Durance; the rest settled on the counts of BARCELONA. Provence would not have native or genuinely local rulers until modern times but did preserve a local assembly that had to be consulted on many matters. At the beginning of the 13th century, Raymond Berenguer V (d. 1246) established his rule and made Aix-en-Provence the seat of his government and court. In 1246, a representative of the northern French Crown, CHARLES I OF ANJOU, took control. Provence embarked on an era of economic growth and prosperity, supplemented by the settlement of the popes and their court at AVIGNON in the early 14th century. Most of the towns grew in prosperity and size, benefiting more than suffering from the provisioning and troop movements necessary for Crusades and other warfare, now almost constant. The MENDICANT ORDERS entered the cities, built churches, and tried to improve pastoral care of growing populations.

#### LATER MIDDLE AGES

Despite the presence of the papacy in Avignon, the 14th century was more difficult. There were sporadic famines

from the 1310s to the 1330s. The Black Death entered Europe and Provence through the port of Marseille in 1348. Outbreaks of this disease became endemic, and it killed at least a third of the population. The warfare associated with the Hundred Years' War sent bands of mercenaries into the region, when they destroyed property, killed civilians, and demanded huge bribes to leave. Not until the peace treaties of the middle of the 15th century did a renewal of peaceful prosperity in the countryside and a revival of urban activity occur. The region was able to do well even under the harshly exploitative circumstances of the reign of King René of Anjou (1409–80). Though famous as a patron of the arts, he chose to wage expensive wars in northern France and in Italy to protect and regain his property and rights on NAPLES. In 1474, René left the region to his nephew, Charles of Maine, who in 1481 bequeathed Provence to another of René's nephews, King LOUIS XI of France. It then became formally part of the kingdom of France.

See also LANGUEDOC.

**Further reading:** John H. Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981); Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel, eds., *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Daniel Lord Smail, *Imaginary Cartography: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseilles* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

**provisions, ecclesiastical** Ecclesiastical provisions were appointments by the pope to an ecclesiastical BENEFICE for which the pontiff received a fee. The new practice of ecclesiastical provision in the 12th century replaced elections for major benefices, self-appointment, and presentation by a patron for minor benefices. Beginning as a recommendation in ecclesiastical reform movements, it had become mandatory and was the usual practice by the 13th century. Very financially lucrative for the Holy See, it grew ceaselessly from then until the Great SCHISM in the late 14th century, when it was reduced by concordats between the papacy and the nationalistic governments of the 15th century. Such appointments could even take the form of expectative placements or promises for the possession of benefices not yet even vacant. The ability to do this was given to papal legates for the regions to which they had been sent. It was an important part of the expansion of papal power and papal taxation in the 14th century, all done for the needy popes in AVIGNON.

See also GREGORIAN REFORM; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES; PAPACY; PRAEMUNIRE; PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES; SIMONY.

**Further reading:** Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (1949; reprint, New

York: T. Nelson, 1963); Yves Renouard, *Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*, trans. Denis Bethell (London: Faber, 1970).

**Prudentius (Aurelius Prudentius Clemens)** (ca. 348–ca. 410) *Christian Latin poet*

Almost all knowledge of Prudentius's life has to be based on his own writings. He was born a Christian in Spain about 348 and as an adult practiced law. After a successful career as a civil administrator, in which he rose to a position at the imperial court, he decided to devote himself to composing didactic Christian poetry and to writing about other ecclesiastical and theological matters. He published most of this poetry in a collection in 405. It showed a close acquaintance with classical Latin poetry.

#### OTHER WORKS

His work consisted of treatises in several genres. One was his lyrical *Hymns for Every Day*, made up of 12 poems, six for use at particular hours of the day and six for occasional use. His didactic *The Divinity of Christ* treated the nature of Christ, while *The Origin of Sin* was aimed at the Gnostic errors and the teachings of the the second-century heretic Marcion (d. ca. 154). The *Spiritual Combat* (*Pyscomachia*) was his most popular work in the Middle Ages. It was allegorical, describing combat between the personified VIRTUES and the vices. His tract *Against Symmachus* concerned the controversy over the removal of the altar of Victory, a great symbol of paganism, from the Roman senate house in 382. His arguments were similar to those of AMBROSE of Milan, especially in their ideas that the empire might now incorporate everyone as one people. It ended with an appeal to the emperor Honorius (r. 395–423) to end the gladiatorial games that still occurred. He also wrote hymns about Spanish and Italian martyrs and sets of verses linked to specific scenes from Scripture. He died about 410.

See also BREVIARY; HYMNS, HYMNALS, AND HYMNOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Prudentius, *The Poems of Prudentius*, trans. M. Clement Eagan, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1962); Martha A. Malamud, *A Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989); Anne-Marie Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

**Prussia** Medieval Prussia was a region on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, between the Vistula and Niemen Rivers and inhabited from the sixth century by the Prussian tribes, related to the Lithuanians. Despite their contacts with Christian POLAND from the 11th and 12th centuries, they preserved their tribal structure and remained pagan. In 1220, the emperor FREDERICK II, urged the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS and their grand master, Hermann of Salza (d. 1239), to invade, conquer, and Christianize Prussia. Consequently the Prussians were

forcibly converted. Those who resisted were killed. In their desire to control the region, the Teutonic Order introduced German settlers into Prussia. The Teutonic Knights expanded their control during the 13th century, both along the Baltic coast toward LIVONIA and Pomerania and to the south. This expansionary process of Germanization and the economic activity of the HANSEATIC LEAGUE yielded prosperity and led to the establishment of cities. These urban centers in the 14th century sought communal privileges. Conflict between the cities and the order weakened the power of the knights, and in the early 15th century Polish kings intervened. In 1410 King Ladislas II (r. 1399–1434) defeated the knights at Tannenberg. Prussia after that was tied to the emergence of Brandenburg and the HOHENZOLLERN dynasty.

See also LITHUANIA.

**Further reading:** Michael Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order: An Aristocratic Corporation in Crisis c. 1410–1466* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); F. L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954); Andrzej Nowakowski, *Arms and Armour in the Medieval Teutonic Order's State in Prussia*, trans. Maria Abramowicz (Łódź: Oficyna Naukowa MS, 1994); William L. Urban, *The Prussian Crusade* (Lanham, Md.: University of America, 1980); Stanislaw Zajackowski, *Rise and Fall of the Teutonic Order in Prussia* (London: J. S. Bergson, 1935).

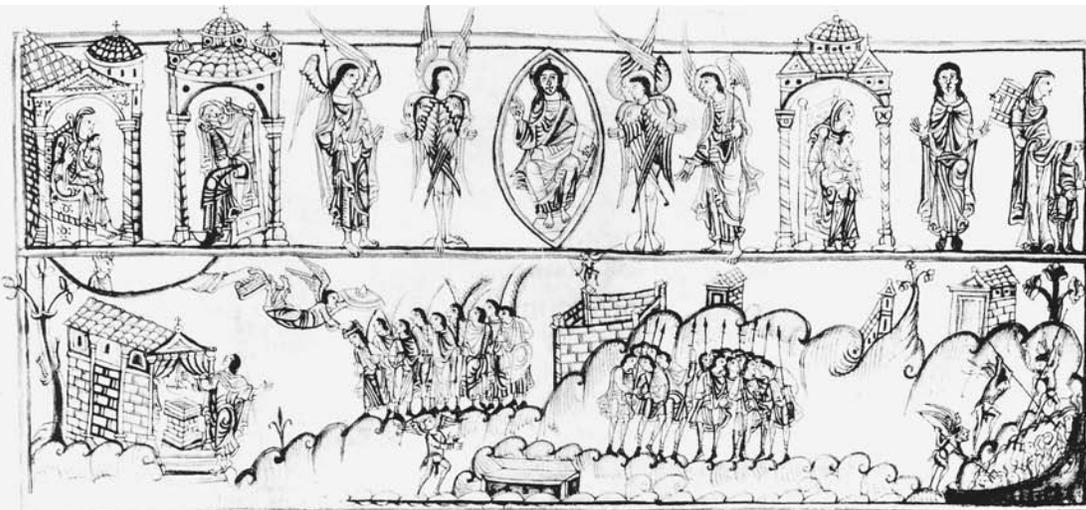
**Psalter** The traditional medieval Psalter was a collection of 150 lyric poems from the BIBLE, probably composed between the 10th and third centuries B.C.E. Although originally written in Hebrew, the contents were translated into Latin using the Greek Septuagint version of the texts. These poems were well adapted to encourage meditation. The Psalter became a liturgical book used by monks to be read or heard as part of the daily OFFICE, as had been defined by the Rule of Saint BENEDICT. In the Middle Ages, monastic life involved an almost continual reading of the Psalter.

#### BIBLICAL AND LITURGICAL PSALTERS

From the early Middle Ages, a distinction developed between the biblical Psalter and the liturgical Psalter. The former retained the biblical version of the Psalter, the liturgical Psalter had seven subdivisions that corresponded to each day of the week. During the Carolingian period, the liturgical Psalter was enriched with HYMNS, ANTIPHONS, canticles, and prayers, all forming the core of the BREVIARY. From 1100, new collections were made and became more specialized, created for night offices, morning hours, or daytime hours.

#### ILLUSTRATION AND DECORATION

Throughout the Middle Ages, Psalters were also viewed as luxurious books and were decorated. In both the East



**Q**UONIAM  
 ERBA  
 mea  
 audi  
 domine. intel  
 lige murmur  
 meum: aduer  
 ad uocem clamo  
 nis: mea;  
 Rex meus &  
 deus  
 quia te depre  
 cor: Domine  
 mar  
 te  
 audies uocem  
 meam: mane  
 preparabor ad  
 te, & contem  
 plabor. Quo  
 nam  
 non es deus  
 uolens impetra  
 re tu. nec habi  
 tabit iuxta te  
 malignus: Non sta  
 bunt in iustu

**Q**UONIAM  
 ERBA  
 mea  
 audi  
 domine. intel  
 lige murmur  
 meum: aduer  
 ad uocem clamo  
 nis: mea;  
 Rex meus &  
 deus  
 quia te depre  
 cor: Domine  
 mar  
 te  
 audies uocem  
 meam: mane  
 preparabor ad  
 te, & contem  
 plabor. Quo  
 nam  
 non es deus  
 uolens impetra  
 re tu. nec habi  
 tabit iuxta te  
 malignus: Non sta  
 bunt in iustu

**Q**UONIAM  
 ERBA  
 mea  
 audi  
 domine. intel  
 lige murmur  
 meum: aduer  
 ad uocem clamo  
 nis: mea;  
 Rex meus &  
 deus  
 quia te depre  
 cor: Domine  
 mar  
 te  
 audies uocem  
 meam: mane  
 preparabor ad  
 te, & contem  
 plabor. Quo  
 nam  
 non es deus  
 uolens impetra  
 re tu. nec habi  
 tabit iuxta te  
 malignus: Non sta  
 bunt in iustu

**Q**UONIAM  
 ERBA  
 mea  
 audi  
 domine. intel  
 lige murmur  
 meum: aduer  
 ad uocem clamo  
 nis: mea;  
 Rex meus &  
 deus  
 quia te depre  
 cor: Domine  
 mar  
 te  
 audies uocem  
 meam: mane  
 preparabor ad  
 te, & contem  
 plabor. Quo  
 nam  
 non es deus  
 uolens impetra  
 re tu. nec habi  
 tabit iuxta te  
 malignus: Non sta  
 bunt in iustu

**Q**UONIAM  
 ERBA  
 mea  
 audi  
 domine. intel  
 lige murmur  
 meum: aduer  
 ad uocem clamo  
 nis: mea;  
 Rex meus &  
 deus  
 quia te depre  
 cor: Domine  
 mar  
 te  
 audies uocem  
 meam: mane  
 preparabor ad  
 te, & contem  
 plabor. Quo  
 nam  
 non es deus  
 uolens impetra  
 re tu. nec habi  
 tabit iuxta te  
 malignus: Non sta  
 bunt in iustu

**Q**UONIAM  
 ERBA  
 mea  
 audi  
 domine. intel  
 lige murmur  
 meum: aduer  
 ad uocem clamo  
 nis: mea;  
 Rex meus &  
 deus  
 quia te depre  
 cor: Domine  
 mar  
 te  
 audies uocem  
 meam: mane  
 preparabor ad  
 te, & contem  
 plabor. Quo  
 nam  
 non es deus  
 uolens impetra  
 re tu. nec habi  
 tabit iuxta te  
 malignus: Non sta  
 bunt in iustu

Verba

Verba

Verba

Verba

Verba

Verba

HEBR.

ROM.

HEBR.

ROM.

HEBR.

ROM.

DE COMETA JAM STEORJAN  
 Dyllicne leoman hæpð  
 cometa se steorja 7 on  
 engles hinc man nemð  
 se feaxða steorja he hinc  
 acwþ seldan 7 mbe  
 pēla pincta 7 þonne  
 for fortræne.



The Canterbury Psalter, an illuminated manuscript with an illustration thought to be of Halley's comet (12th century) (Courtesy Library of Congress)

and the West, illustrated Psalters had full-page paintings, decorated with ornate initials, glosses, and marginal illustrations. These Psalter illustrations in the Middle Ages were intended to transform the text of the psalms into literal and didactic images that reflected the content, meaning, and sentiment of the psalms.

See also ILLUMINATION; PRAYER.

**Further reading:** Janet Backhouse, *Medieval Rural Life in the Luttrell Psalter* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Anthony Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters of Byzantium* (Paris: Picard, 1984); Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Adam Cleghorn Welch, *The Psalter in Life, Worship and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

**Psellos, Michael (Constantine)** (1018–ca. 1078) *Byzantine writer, statesman*

Constantine Psellos or Psellus was born at CONSTANTINOPLE or Nicomedia in 1018, in a noble but not rich family. He later as a monk took the name Michael. He was raised by his mother, for whom he expressed great admiration in her funeral eulogy. He received a broad education in the law, rhetoric, and PHILOSOPHY. After beginning a legal career and service as a judge's clerk in ANATOLIA, he entered the administration of the central government in Constantinople in about 1042, being favored as a counselor of the intellectual emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–55). Appointed to the prestigious office of chief of philosophers, Psellos taught philosophy at the new University of Constantinople. He had wide interests and wrote treatises on RHETORIC, the law, philosophy (including NEOPLATONISM), MEDICINE, history, and ALCHEMY.

This interest in the pagan philosophers and occult sciences made him suspicious to some of the clergy of the Orthodox Church. After accusations of being a pagan, he had to make an explicit profession of the Orthodox faith in 1054. In the meantime he had fallen into disgrace for political reasons. Psellos had to move with his friend, the patriarch of Constantinople, John VIII Xiphilinos (r. 1064–75), to a remote monastery on Mount Olympus. He was recalled to court and once more played a political role by helping secure the accession of Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–78) in 1071, after unscrupulously helping in the deposing of the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1067–71), who had lost the catastrophic Battle of MANZIKERT that same year. However, another turn of events and fortunes led to his retirement from the world again in 1074. He died as a monk in about 1078 at the monastery of Narsou.

#### BREADTH OF WRITING

Besides being known for his personal vanity and dubiously ethical political activities, Psellos left a wide variety

of written work, including an encyclopedic manual on the origin of numerous aspects of the fields of THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, and the natural sciences. In addition, he wrote a legal treatise, important historical works on the Byzantine Empire in the 10th and 11th centuries, funeral eulogies, grammatical treatises, letters, several smaller philosophical essays, his lecture notes, and a collection of answers to miscellaneous philosophical and cultural questions posed by students. He always strenuously denied any belief in the pagan doctrines he discussed and studied, asserting that he explored them better to serve the Orthodox faith, though he continued to be attacked throughout his life for his alleged pagan ideas.

See also MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Michael Psellus, *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953); Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966); Anitra Gadolin, *A Theory of History and Society with Special Reference to the Chronographia of Michael Psellus: Eleventh Century Byzantium and a Related Section on Islamic Ethics* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1987); Joan Hussey, *Church & Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867–1185* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); Anthony Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Jaroslav L. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*. Vol. 2, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIIth and the XIIIth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

**Pseudo-Dionysian writings** See DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

**Ptolemeic astronomy** See ASTRONOMY.

**Ptolemy of Lucca (Bartolommeo Fiadoni, Tolomeo)** (ca. 1236–1327) *civic and ecclesiastical author*

Born into the Fiadoni family in LUCCA, Ptolemy joined the DOMINICANS as an adult. He became a close friend of Thomas AQUINAS, whose *On the Regime of Princes* he supposedly finished, in the early 1270s. Prior of convents at LUCCA and FLORENCE, Ptolemy spent a decade at AVIGNON, between 1309 and 1319. As the bishop of Torcello from 1318, he was imprisoned by the patriarch of Grado, but he was freed on orders from Pope JOHN XXII in 1323. He was a supporter of communal theory of government and a strong promoter of the hierocratic theory of papal power. He also wrote a respected history of the church. He died at Torcello in 1327.

**Further reading:** Ptolemy of Lucca, *On the Government of Rulers*, *De regimine principum*, trans. James M.

Blythe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); James M. Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

**Pucelle, Jean** (ca. 1295–ca. 1334) *French illuminator of manuscripts*

We know little about Jean's place of birth or the training of this manuscript illuminator. Between 1319 and 1327, he directed an important studio for decorating manuscripts at PARIS. Two of his known and signed works were accomplished in collaboration, the *Belleville Breviary* (1323–26) and the *Bible of Robert de Billyng*. On the other hand, his masterpiece, the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux* (1325–28), was probably created entirely by him alone. He drew it in grisaille, a Flemish style in shades of gray. This work was commissioned by King Charles IV the Fair (r. 1322–28) for his third wife, Queen Jeanne d'Évreux. It is now in the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. According to stylistic similarities, other manuscripts have been attributed to Jean Pucelle and his studio: the *Breviary of Blanche of France*, the *Hours of Jeanne of Savoy*, the *Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, the *Hours of Jeanne II Navarre*, and the *Psalter of Queen Bonne of Luxembourg*.

Known for his complex programs of uneven quality, he usually surrounded the text with grotesque figures. His taste for pictorial space and naturalistic PAINTING probably derived from a trip to ITALY, where he visited PISA, FLORENCE, and SIENA. He created somewhat awkward perspective and foreshortening. Pucelle was an early participant in the development of the international GOTHIC style and dominated Parisian art in the first half of the 14th century. He died in Paris sometime after 1334.

See also ILLUMINATION.

**Further reading:** François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century, 1310–1380*, trans. Ursule Molinaro with the assistance of Bruce Benderson (New York: G. Braziller, 1978); Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt, and William D. Wixom, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux: Acc. No. 54.I.2, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, New York* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000); Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

**Puglia** See APULIA.

**punctuation (pointing)** The use of punctuation in medieval texts and writing was a way of clarifying visually the elements of meaning or the grammatical structure of a written text as they might be clearly enunciated and distinguished in speech. Punctuation was also useful in reading aloud, according a clear rhythm. Conventions

of punctuation developed over time according to a number of variables and needs, including the language used and the purpose of reading. A result of the growth in literacy, punctuation developed to make writing readable by a wider audience, who might not be completely familiar with a text. Its development showed clear growth and changes in the number, range, and meaning of its signs over time, as texts were read silently more often and dissociated from oral performance. In addition to marks of punctuation, there were changes in the conventions of textual layout such as the use of capital or majuscule letters, spacing between words, lineation, and division into chapters, books, or sections. All of this was ultimately intended to contribute to clarifying the meaning of written texts.

Separation between words was not consistently practiced until the Carolingian period. Ancient grammarians had employed three signs for marking divisions of speech, the point low down, or comma, for a brief pause; the point halfway up, or the colon, for medial-length pauses; and the point at the top, or the period, for the end of sentences. This simple classical system became the basis for medieval punctuation. It was further modified by the introduction of new signs such as the semicolon and the two-point colon for medial pauses and the question mark during the Carolingian era. Other marks of punctuation were added in the later Middle Ages to divide texts according to content, such as the paragraph sign (¶) and the section mark (§). The use of all of these conventions varied with time and place. Modern punctuation was derived from these medieval conventions.

See also CASSIODORUS, SENATOR; PALEOGRAPHY; PRINTING, ORIGINS OF.

**Further reading:** Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí ÓCróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Peter Clemons, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts* (Binghamton: CEMERS, 1980); Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

**punishment** See CRIME, PUNISHMENT AND THE COURTS; LAST JUDGMENT.

**purgatory** Purgatory designated the place where the SOUL of those who had not yet expiated their venial sins went after DEATH. This idea gradually took shape from a slow development of ideas, beliefs, and practices concerning the destiny of the soul immediately after death. Purgatory did not have a scriptural basis. It was tied essentially to the custom and practice of praying for the dead, which in turn was linked to the belief that the condition of life beyond the grave could be alleviated by



*Christ in Purgatory and Descent into Hell, engraving by Andrea Mantegna (Courtesy Library of Congress)*

efforts among the living. Some of the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH thought that between the particular judgment of a soul at death and the LAST JUDGMENT there could be sinners who might still attain salvation through a purification and could be helped by the prayers of the living.

Purgatory was a sort of midpoint for those who had committed sins that did not condemn one to hell yet barred one from PARADISE or HEAVEN. These were pardonable or venial, but not mortal sins. Purgatory was a place of expiation or punishment carried out beyond the grave. Punishment there was dual: the pain of postponement from the BEATIFIC VISION and the pain of cleansing fire. The intensity and duration of the pain were to be proportional to the fault and could be alleviated by the prayers of the church in this world. This doctrine was defined in the early 12th century and elaborated in the 13th century by Scholastics such as Thomas AQUINAS. Papal and conciliar approval followed in the 13th through 15th centuries. It was a comforting thought to Christians that the deceased, though not perfect in this world, might still have a chance for salvation when assisted by the actions of those still alive. An economy of salvation that quantified ways of assistance, such as paying for clerical prayers and gaining or buying INDULGENCES for the deceased, developed. Such ideas did not exist in JUDAISM or ISLAM. Their assumption was that only the mercy and JUSTICE of GOD were involved in one's fate after death.

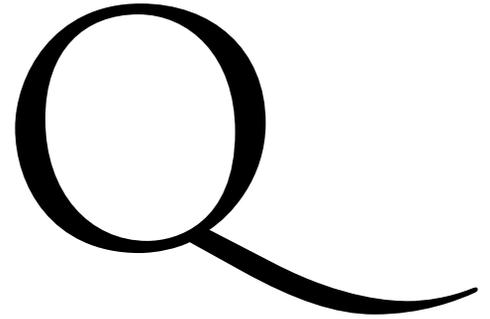
*See also* ALIGHIERI, DANTE; HARROWING OF HELL; INDULGENCES; LIMBO; REDEMPTION.

**Further reading:** Michael Haren and Yolande de Pontfarcy, ed., *The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory: Lough Derg and the European Tradition* (Enniskillen: Clogher Historical Society, 1988); Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Takami Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997); Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

**pyx and pyxis (boxwood vessel)** The pyx is a generally small object, usually a cylindrical box of IVORY, silver, GOLD, or other metal. Such boxes or containers had been used in antiquity to store jewels or incense. In the Middle Ages there were two main uses for such boxes, as a reliquary or as a receptacle to store consecrated hosts from one eucharistic to another eucharistic service. Such a reliquary was designed by the term *capsa* and contained the consecrated host. It too was called *pyxis* or *pyx* and was used for taking communion to the ill or dying.

*See also* METALSMITHS AND METAL WORK, METALLURGY.

**Further reading:** "Pyx," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1353.



**Qaba** See KABA.

**qadi (cadi)** In Islamic society, the *qadi*, or “judge,” was a salaried official responsible for interpreting details and rendering judgments in legal cases. The first qadis were appointed by the CALIPHS in MEDINA in the 630s. During the Umayyad Caliphate between 661 and 750 C.E. most qadis were appointed by local governors. Qadis represented and personified the judicial authority of the caliph, who of course could not be everywhere. With no hierarchy of courts or judges, there could be little appeal actions on his own. He heard cases in MOSQUES or in his own home. The role of the qadi grew in Umayyad provincial administration, in which local governors had much autonomy. Over time the duties of the qadi grew to encompass a range of administrative as well as judicial duties.

Until more than a century after the life of MUHAMMAD, there was no written or as yet commonly accepted corpus of Islamic legal doctrine on which to base judicial decisions. So qadis had to be learned in the QURAN themselves and knowledgeable about the ideas and practices of Muhammad. When the core of a case was not directly addressed in the Quran, they relied on local customary law, local consensus (*ijma*), and their own personal reasoning. Not all qadis were known for their piety or religious learning—some had received their positions because of political connections. Toward the end of the Umayyad period, they were more often in conflict with governors as their decisions became more specifically identified with enforcing and defining religious law, the nascent sharia.

ABBASIDS from 750 tried to implement more explicitly the Islamic religious law, or the sharia, which was not

clearly defined until the 11th century. Beginning with reign of HARUN AL-RASHID, his central government and established appointed of local judges a chief judge in BAGHDAD. From then on qadis confined to cases explicitly involving Islamic law. The Abbasid government tried to assume more responsibility for administrative and criminal cases in private, civil, and public matters.

Pious men were reluctant to accept the role of *qadi* because of fear of divine punishment for wrongful or mistaken verdicts or of reprisals by vengeful governors.

**Further reading:** Antony J. Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qadi al-Qudat in Cairo under the Bahri Mamluks* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1984); Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori (1910; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

**al-Qayrawan (al-Kairouan, Kairwan, Qairouan)** Medieval al-Qayrawan was a city in present-day TUNISIA, now called Kairouan. It was founded in 670 by Uqbah ibn Nafi (d. 682), the Arab general who conquered Ifriqiya. It started as a military camp, because the early Muslim armies were quartered apart from the newly subjected populations. The principal monument in al-Qayrawan is the Great Mosque, also known as the MOSQUE of Sidi Uqba. It was built in 724–43. The present MINARET was added in 836. It was modified and rebuilt several times between then and 1294. There were three satellite cities, impressive cisterns, and a town wall from 1052. Until the

11th century, it was the administrative, religious, and commercial capital of Islamic North Africa.

See also AFRICA; AGHLABIDS; BERBERS; FATIMIDS.

**Further reading:** William Dallam Armes, *The African Mecca: The Holy City of Kairouan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915); Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, eds., *Islam: Art and Architecture*, trans. George Ansell et al. (Cologne: Könemann, 2000); Graham Petrie, *Tunis, Kairouan and Carthage: Described and Illustrated with Forty-Eight Paintings* (London: Darf, 1985).

**Qipchaqs** See CUMANS.

**quadrivium** See SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**Qubilai** See KUBLAI KHAN.

**quodlibet (whatever you please)** This was a special kind of disputed question in medieval universities. The discussion was not on a prearranged subject, but a master had to answer spontaneous questions posed by the audience. As a literary genre it had origins in PARIS in the first quarter of the 13th century and was further developed by Thomas AQUINAS. At the end of the century and the start of the 14th, it became one of the preferred modes of teaching. Giles of Rome (1247–1316), Richard of Middleton (d. 1305), Godfrey of Fontaines (d. 1302), and especially HENRY OF GHENT often worked in this format. During the 14th century it gradually fell out of use in Paris for THEOLOGY, but it remained alive in other faculties within universities there and elsewhere.

See also PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Further reading:** Thomas, Aquinas, *Quodlibetal Questions 1 and 2*, trans. Sandra Edwards (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983); Louis Jacques Bataillon, "Quodlibet," *EMA* 2.1, 207.

**Quran (Koran, al-Kuran, Recitation, Proclamation)** The Quran was and has remained the Islamic Scripture. It contained the revelations from GOD to MUHAMMAD, who recited it to his followers over a period of about 20 years, up to his death in 632 C.E. During his lifetime and for some time afterward, most of the 114 units of the revelation, later to be called suras, did not have an agreed-upon form but were constantly revised and expanded to be as he was believed to have recited them.

#### CONTENT

One distinctive characteristic of the Quran was that its content followed the circumstances of Muhammad's life. So its content offered encouragement in moments of persecution and doubt; while at other moments, they refuted

accusations that he was a magician, soothsayer, or poet inspired by an evil spirit. Muhammad sometimes also responded to specific questions raised by his followers. God was always the "speaker" throughout the Quran, and Muhammad was frequently the person addressed. Certain passages were addressed to contemporaries of Muhammad, his opponents in MECCA, Jews in MEDINA, hesitant followers, and wives. All of it was taken to be normative and didactic.

Much of the Meccan portions were of narratives similar to stories in the BIBLE. However their details were sometimes only found in Jewish and Christian apocryphal writings and oral traditions. There were stories about Adam, Noah, Abraham or Ibrahim, Moses or Musa, and Jesus or Isa ibn Maryam (Jesus, son of Mary). These biblical characters promoted submission to the one true God, the core of ISLAM. In later Islamic teaching God through the angel Gabriel had given portions of his truth to these earlier prophets. The Jews and Christians then distorted it further. Only the Quran was an exact copy of the heavenly book of revelation and instruction. Previous Scripture was only valid when it conformed to the Quran.

Some parts of the Quran were from the last 10 years of Muhammad's life, when he was organizing a new religious community in Medina, one that was independent of and consciously trying to be different from those of the Jews or the Christians. It was then that he instituted fundamental Islamic practices, such as the daily PRAYER ritual called the *salat*, fasting during the month of RAMADAN, and an obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca. Other Quranic statements made clear the required belief in one God, his ANGELS, his Scriptures, his prophet Muhammad, and the future last day of judgment.

#### EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT

A complete and official text was compiled and edited about 20 years after the death of Muhammad, during the reign of the third caliph, UTHMAN IBN AFAN. This text contained 114 *suras*. Early manuscripts of the Quran were written in a script that consisted only of consonants, without any diacritical marks to help with understanding and reading. Such diacritics were later used to indicate vowels and distinguish two or more consonantal sounds sharing the same written form. The Quran continued to be interpreted and recited in a variety of ways. The powerful governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj (694–714), tried to stabilize this text and establish a standard system of signs for indicating vowels and dots for marking consonantal sounds. This way of writing was accepted very slowly, and even then it did not prevent the text from continuing to be read in sundry and diverse ways. Three centuries after the death of Muhammad, however, Ibn Mujahid (d. 936) established a uniform text of the Quran by asserting that only a Uthmanic consonantal text was authentic, rejecting so-called companion texts

or codices. Eventually a version of these readings was accepted throughout the Muslim world. For Muslims the Quran was more than an equivalent to the sacred Scriptures of other religious communities.

#### RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The Quran was explicitly and preeminently the word of God. A vast majority of Muslims experienced the Quran only in an oral form. After memorizing and reciting it, they then often encountered its words in a visual form written in Arabic calligraphy, which was a major decorative and didactic motif in Islamic architecture and art. The words must be approached within the context of a ritual piety, since they were divine signs and proofs of God. It should only be read and understood in the Arabic language, whatever the language of a believer. It was a guide for everything in life.

During the formative years of Islam, the Quran was the primary source of Islamic theology and law, the Sharia. The belief that the Quran was the eternal speech of God was one of the most important cornerstones of Islam. This produced a belief that it was the highest form of Arabic expression; its language came to influence and dominate standard Arabic grammar and lexicography. Christian reactions to the Quran were critical and tried to show that its message was at best derivative. However, Christian commentators did show a clear awareness of its importance for Islam.

*See also* ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; LAST JUDGMENT.

**Further reading:** *The Koran*, trans. N. J. Dawood (1959; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1999); Muhammad Abu-Hamdiyyah, *The Qur'an: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2000); M. A. Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

**Quraysh** The Quraysh were the dominant tribe in MECCA in the time of MUHAMMAD, who was a member of the Hashemite clan within it. The Quraysh seemed to have been named after an aquatic mammal, perhaps a shark or a dugong, of the Red Sea. This etymology suggested a trading group based on the sea. Later members of this tribe were eligible to serve in the office of CALIPH according to SUNNI ISLAM.

**Further reading:** Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); Wilfred Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Róbert Simon, *Meccan Trade and Islam: Problems of Origin and Structure*, trans. Feodora Sós (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

# R

**Rabanus Maurus** See HRABANUS MAURUS.

**Rabat (al-Ribat al-Fath)** The medieval city of Rabat, the capital of present-day MOROCCO, was located on the southern side of the mouth of the Bou Regreg River as it entered the Atlantic Ocean. There were a twin city on the northern bank, Salé. There may have been a Roman town earlier; the present city was founded in the 12th century by the ALMOHAD ruler Abd al-Mumin (r. 1130–63) as a base for his invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. The walls and two gates that he built still stand. The MOSQUE of Hasan, the most famous monument in the city, was meant to be the largest in the Islamic world. Building was started in 1196 after an Almohad victory over Alfonso VIII the Noble (r. 1158–1214) at Alarcos in SPAIN. At the death of Abu Yaqub al-Mansur (r. 1184–99) in 1199, construction was stopped, but significant remains are extant, including the MINARET of Hasan.

The Marinids built the principal mosque in the city in the 13th century. An important MADRASA was founded in 1341 across the river in Salé. Rabat, however, was always a secondary city for the various dynasties who subsequently controlled Morocco.

**Further reading:** Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, eds., *Islam: Art and Architecture*, trans. George Ansell et al. (Cologne: Könemann, 2000); E. Levi-Provençal and J. F. Troin, “Ribat al-Fath,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 8:506–508.

**Radegund, Saint (Radegunda)** (ca. 520–587) *founder of several monastic and charitable institutions*

An important participant in the establishment of female MONASTICISM in the early Middle Ages, Saint Radegund, was well represented by contemporary sources: in the

letters of her friend Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 535–ca. 610), a life written by one of her followers, and a description of her by her protector, GREGORY OF TOURS. She was born in Thuringia, the king’s daughter. On the conquest of her kingdom by the FRANKS in 531, Radegund at age 12 and her brother, were imprisoned and taken by King Clothar (r. 511–561), the king of Soissons and later a Merovingian king of the Franks, to his palace of Athies. He was an evil man, was completely unfaithful, and had debased tastes.

At Athies Radegund received an education in Christianity by studying the Scriptures and their patristic commentaries. From then on she grew more devoted to PRAYER and the care of the poor. Clothar decided to marry her because of her beauty and the political advantages of her royal background. After an unsuccessful attempt at escape, Radegund was forced into marriage; she became queen at Soissons in about 540. She continued her pious foundations and gave herself over to long hours of prayer and penance, deserting the conjugal bed to pray. Clothar unhappily nicknamed her the “queen-nun.” His murder of her brother about 555 and his taunting about their childlessness drove her to desert him, this time successfully, and retreat to Noyon, where she became a nun, was consecrated a deaconess, and went on a PILGRIMAGE.

## RADEGUND AS A NUN

Radegund then moved to Saix, where she founded a house for the poor and sick and started living a life in common with the companions who had followed her. She was soon threatened by Clothar’s efforts to take her back as a wife. Avoiding him in about 561 she founded a monastery, Saint Mary’s, at Poitiers, where she lived as a simple nun in her own cell. She gathered RELICS for the monastery, including

a fragment of the True Cross in 569. As the renamed Monastery of the Holy Cross, it adopted the monastic rule of Caesarius of Arles (469/470–542) to guide the life of the 200 nuns who eventually joined. After her death there on August 13, 587, MIRACLES began to occur, and the monastery became an important place of pilgrimage.

**Further reading:** Venantius Fortunatus, *Venantius Fortunatus: Personal and Political Poems*, trans. Judith George (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995); Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. Ernest Brehaut (1916; reprint, New York, Octagon Books, 1965); Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, eds. and trans., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992), 70–105; Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481–751* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ian N. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London: Longman, 1994).

**Ragusa** See DUBROVNIK.

**Ramadan (Sawm, Siyam)** Ramadan is the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar and occurs at different times of the Western calendar year. It was to be a period of FASTING, the fourth pillar of ISLAM. All eating, drinking, and sexual activity were forbidden from sunrise to sunset. All who had reached puberty and were in full possession of their senses were bound to observe it. The sick, elderly, travelers, and women who were breast-feeding, were menstruating, or had just given birth were excused. They were to compensate for not fasting by performing an equal number of days of fasting later. The ensuing sense of bodily deprivation was to make Muslims aware of their dependence on God for life. After sunset, there were traditionally joyful festivals and feasting. The QURAN was supposedly first revealed in this month.

**Further reading:** K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968); Gustave von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals* (New York: Schuman, 1951); M. Plessner, "Ramadan," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 8:417–418.

**Rambam** See MAIMONIDES, MOSES; NACHMANIDES, MOSES.

**Ranulf de Glanville** (d. 1190) *English author, judicial official, adviser to King Henry II*

The Anglo-Norman Ranulf was born in Stratford in Suffolk. He entered royal government, rising to the rank of sheriff. He demonstrated his loyalty and his competence to King HENRY II by his defense of the north during the rebellion of 1173–74. He even captured King WILLIAM I the LION of SCOTLAND near Alnwick in Northumberland.

When Henry went to FRANCE, he so trusted Ranulf that he appointed him as justiciar to act in his place in ENGLAND. In this capacity Ranulf succeeded Richard de Lucy (d. 1179) in 1179; he held the post until 1189, when RICHARD I LIONHEART removed him from office and imprisoned him. He was released on the payment of a ransom of 15,000 pounds and went with Richard on the Third CRUSADE, dying on the way at ACRE in 1190.

Ranulf's fame rests on the work traditionally attributed to him, *Treatise Concerning the Laws and Customs of England*, published in about 1188. There is some speculation that it was written by his nephew and secretary Hubert Walter (d. 1205). Based on his experience and knowledge of statutes, it was a manual and description in commentary format for the practice, procedures, and principles of the royal courts. It broadened and clarified common law by distinguishing it from canon and feudal law by means of specific examples. He further distinguished between criminal and civil cases and explained the function of royal writs. His goal was effective law enforcement by means of specific, impartial royal orders to overcome conflicting jurisdictions and to ensure the efficient maintenance of the king's peace. Ranulf's *Treatise* consolidated the position of common law for trials as against feudal, canon, and Roman legal systems and courts.

**Further reading:** Ranulf de Glanville, *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England, Commonly Called Glanvill*, ed. and trans. G. D. G. Hall (1965; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); John H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 3d ed. (London: Butterworth's, 1990); S. F. C. Milsom, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*, 2d ed. (London: Butterworth's, 1981); W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

**Raoul Glaber (Rodulphus Glaber, the Bald)** (ca. 985–ca. 1047) *French monk, historian*

Born about 985, Raoul was probably of Burgundian origin. In his youth he entered the monastery of Saint-Germain at Auxerre, where he was educated in the traditions of the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE. Somewhat unstable, he moved frequently from monastic house to monastic house. He was attached to William of Volpiano (962–1031) at Dijon and became a disciple of Saint Maiolus (ca. 909–994) and Saint ODILO, abbots of CLUNY. At Cluny, he began a *Universal History*, which he finished shortly before his death at Saint-Germain d'Auxerre in 1047. It was an account of events and legends that happened around the millennium or, between 1000 and 1033. Although he was not very critical of his sources, it was a valuable and rare source for the early 11th century. It was accompanied by a meditation on the order of the world, reflecting the ideas of AMBROSE OF MILAN and Maximus Confessor (580–662).

**Further reading:** Raoul Glaber, *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque—The Five Books of the Histories/Rodulfus Glaber*, ed. and trans. John France; *Eiusdem auctoris Vita Domni Willelmi Abbatis—The Life of St. William*, ed. Neithard Bulst and trans. John France and Paul Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

**Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, Rabbi Shelomo Yitshaki)** (ca. 1040–1105) *Jewish biblical scholar, commentator*

Solomon ben Isaac, called Rashi, was born at Troyes in BURGUNDY about 1040. He received his education from his learned father and maternal uncle. In about 1060, he went to Mainz, where he was a student of the person he would consider his master, Jacob ben Yaqar (d. 1064). He continued his training at Mainz, with Isaac ben Judah, then at Worms with Isaac ben Asher Halevi (d. 1133). It was at Mainz and Worms that Rashi began to consult manuscripts of the TALMUD and tried to establish a correct text. He also worked on a commentary, deploying and amending a method used in the Rhine cities by GERSHOM BEN JUDAH.

His method of commentary was simple and precedent-setting, a philological and grammatical explanation of words linked with an exegesis of themes and contents. The words and grammar were in Aramaic, Hebrew, and French. He led readers through the arguments systematically, pointing out the sometimes obscure breaks in the unpunctuated text and clarifying questions and answers in dialectic or dialogue format. He located the propositions of the masters in their historical period. He offered a plain meaning, then, if necessary, looked for a deeper meaning. He also analyzed the various techniques used by the previous masters of the Talmud. This form of exegesis was influential to later Christian and Jewish commentators and scholars. He identified his approach as combining a literal and a figurative reading that drew on midrashic and the philological methods. Rashi also wrote important responses to legal and religious questions. He lived to see the massacres of the Jews accompanying the First CRUSADE and died at Troyes in 1105.

See also BIBLE.

**Further reading:** Scot A. Berman, *Learning Talmud: A Guide to Talmud Terminology and Rashi Commentary* (Northvale, N.J.: J. Aronson, 1997); Pinchas Doron, *Rashi's Torah Commentary: Religious, Philosophical, Ethical, and Educational Insights* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 2000); Sampson A. Isseroff, *An Introduction to Rashi's Grammatical Explanations in the Book of Deuteronomy-Shaar le-Dikduke Rashi, Sefer Devarim* (New York: M. P. Press, 1993); Esra Shereshevsky, *Rashi: The Man and His World* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1982).

**rauda** See GARDENS.

**Ravenna** Medieval Ravenna was a city in northern Italy near the convergence of the Po River and the Adriatic Sea. The town of Ravenna, and the military port of Classis attached to it, had their origins as an important center when the Western Roman emperor Honorius (r. 395–423) established his official residence there in 402. Surrounded by mosquitoes and marshes, Ravenna offered him security from the barbarian raids and greater ease of contact by sea with the Eastern Empire.

#### A SUCCESSION OF RULERS

Ravenna remained a political capital throughout the fifth and sixth centuries under ODOACER, THEODORIC, and the Byzantine reconquest by JUSTINIAN in 540. It benefited during this time from large building projects. Two palaces were built, along with the churches of Saint John the Baptist, Santa Croce, San Vitale, Sant' Apollinare in Classe, and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, as well as the mausoleums of GALLA PLACIDIA and Theodoric.

#### GRADUAL DOWNTURN

The Lombard invasion did little damage to the town but diminished its role as the political capital. However, it became the Italian seat by Byzantine power and until 751 was also the home of an exarch whose office gave its name to the region, the Exarchate. The Carolingian conquest in the mid- to late eighth century expelled the Lombards, but pillaged the palaces and churches for CHARLEMAGNE'S palace at AACHEN. For years thereafter Ravenna was a place of contention between the Frankish monarchy and the PAPACY. The archbishops of Ravenna established their authority based on their rich temporal rural possessions, taxing commerce on the Po, and income from saltpans. The emperor OTTO I promised to restore the Exarchate to the papacy but never did. The archbishops of Ravenna, fearing papal ambition, invariably gave active support to the imperial party against the Holy See.

Ravenna's spiritual and temporal importance and powers were further curtailed in the 12th century despite the formation of a COMMUNE in 1218. The silting of its port prevented the city from competing with VENICE. FREDERICK II took control of the town in 1240. In 1270 the emperor RUDOLF OF HABSBURG ceded the town to the pope in exchange for recognition of his imperial position. After a period of independent lordship exercised by the Da Polenta family, there was an era of direct political control by the Venetian republic between 1449 and 1509.

See also ALARIC I, KING OF THE VISIGOTHS; ART AND ARCHITECTURE, BYZANTINE; BELISARIUS; LOMBARDY AND THE KINGDOM OF THE LOMBRADS; MOSAICS; PÉPIN III THE SHORT; STILICHO; TOTILA.

**Further reading:** Giuseppe Bovini, *Ravenna*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (1971); reprint, New York: Abrams, 1973); Edward Hutton, *Ravenna* (London: J. M. Dent and

Sons, 1913); Spiro Kostof, *The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965); Otto Georg Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (1948; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem, and Ravenna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

**Raymond IV of Saint Giles of Toulouse** (ca. 1041–1105) *one of the leaders of the First Crusade*

Born about 1041, Raymond was the second son of Pons of Toulouse and the thrice married Almodis of La Marche. The marquis of PROVENCE from 1063, on the death of his brother, he became count of TOULOUSE in 1093. He was the first prince to respond to Pope URBAN II's call for a CRUSADE, and he left for the East in 1096. After refusing to pay homage to the BYZANTINE emperor ALEXIOS I, he eventually worked out an agreement with the Greeks to organize a joint crusade. After the siege and capture of ANTIOCH in 1098, he tried to restore that city to the Byzantines but failed, losing it to BOHEMOND I. From then on he played a more successful role in the leadership of the First Crusade, which captured JERUSALEM in 1099. He refused the offer to become king and protector of the holy places. Instead he founded the county of TRIPOLI, after campaigning in ANATOLIA. Settling in the East, he died in his CASTLE near Tripoli on February 28, 1105.

See also LATIN STATES IN GREECE.

**Further reading:** Edward Peters, ed., *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 2d ed. (1971; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); John Hugh Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*. Vol. 2, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

**Raymond of Peñafort, Saint** (ca. 1175/85–1275) *Catalan Dominican friar, canonist*

Raymond was born at Villafranca del Penedes near BARCELONA between 1175 and 1185. He studied there in 1204, then at BOLOGNA from 1210 and became a doctor of LAW in 1216. After teaching in Bologna for some years, he returned to Barcelona in 1220 or 1222 and entered the DOMINICAN ORDER in 1222. From 1228 he traveled with a papal LEGATE applying and enforcing the reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. His fellow canonist, Pope GREGORY IX, called him to his court in 1229 as a

confessor and to assemble and order the papal and canonical documents from 1140 and GRATIAN's *Decretum*. This new collection called the *Decretals* was promulgated by Gregory IX on September 5, 1234.

Raymond returned to live in CATALONIA from 1236 to 1238. The meeting of the general chapter of the order at Bologna in 1238 chose him as master general. In that capacity he drew up the order's constitutions. In 1240 he resigned from his position and returned to Barcelona, where he intervened in the affairs of the kingdom of ARAGON and encouraged the conversion of JEWS and Muslims. He died on January 6, 1275, at Barcelona, perhaps 100 years old. His canonization process began at a council of Tarragona in 1279 but ended successfully only in 1601.

#### WORKS AND THOUGHT

He also wrote several other important canonical and ethical works, a summa on canon law after 1216, another summa on penance in 1220/21, a third one after 1234, and a treatise on matrimony between 1210 and 1214. The treatise on penance was a manual for Dominican confessors to deal with sins against GOD such as SIMONY, HERESY, apostasy, perjury, sorcery, sacrilege, and the withholding of tithes. Other topics were SINS against one's neighbor, including homicides, tournaments, duels, thefts, arson, and usury.

The penitential thought of Raymond of Peñafort tried to clarify the actual responsibility of the individual Christian. Priestly confessors were exhorted to judge an exterior act in terms of the person, his or her intention, and his or her circumstances, and to determine whether a SIN was actually committed and if so, to assess its magnitude and the appropriate response by the penitent.

See also PENITENTIALS.

**Further reading:** Stehan Kuttner, "Raymond of Peñafort as Editor: The Decretals and Constitutions of Gregory IX," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 12 (1982): 65–80; Thomas M. Schwertner, *Saint Raymond of Peñafort*, ed. G. M. Woodcock (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1935).

**al-Razi, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya (Rhazes)** (ca. 854–925/935) *Persian philosopher, alchemist, scientist, physician*

Born at Rayy in Persia about 854, al-Razi wrote in Arabic. Although his philosophical thought was not known to the medieval West, his medical and pharmacological works were the object of Latin translations by GERARD of Cremona. There were other translations into the VERNACULAR languages. Al-Razi was a practicing clinician, who headed hospitals at Rayy and BAGHDAD. His *Treatise on Small-pox and Measles* contained the first accurate description of those deadly diseases. Al-Razi was aware of psychotherapy and opposed to metaphysical explanations and the idea of the natural predisposition. For him, the

curing process required understanding the intelligible order of the world and acting on it to attain a determined end. Al-Razi's name is connected with experimentation and surgical procedures. He denounced charlatans, listing their fallacious procedures. In his *Proof of the Doctor*, he suggested norms and possible content for medical treatment, and in his *Treatise on Drugs*, he applied his alchemical or chemical knowledge to medicine. He died in 925/935 at Baghdad.

See also MEDICINE.

**Further reading:** Al-Razi, *A Treatise on Small-Pox and Measles*, trans. William A. Greenhill (1847; reprint, Baltimore: Williams & Williams, 1939); al-Razi, *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, trans. Arthur J. Arberry (London: Murray, 1950); Donald E. H. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and Its Influence on the Middle Ages* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1926); L. E. Goodman, "Al-Razi, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 8:474–477; Sarah Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam: Ibn al-Rawandi, Abu Bakr al-Razi and Their Impact on Islamic Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Dominique Urvoy, "Rhazes," *EMA* 2.1,233–1,234.

**realism** For the question of universals, realism was any doctrine, generally Platonic, that held that the universal existed in things or even as a thing. For the philosophy of knowledge, realism was any doctrine that asserted the reality of a world external to thought and the ability of that thought to obtain authentic knowledge of it. Medieval Christianity claimed to be realistic. It was wary of speculation and tried to root itself in fact. Abstract concepts or universals did have a real existence apart from individuals for many medieval thinkers.

See also ABÉLARD, PETER; ADELARD OF BATH; AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; MARTIANUS CAPELLA; NOMINALISM; PLATO AND PLATONISM.

**Further reading:** Frederick C. Copleston, *Medieval Philosophy* (1952; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1961); Robert Heinaman, ed., *Aristotle and Moral Realism* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995); Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, and Eleonore Stump, eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Gordon Leff, *Medieval Thought: St. Augustine to Ockham* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958); Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, and Jill Krayer, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

**Recared I** (560–601) *king of the Visigoths*

Born about 560, Recared was the second son of Leovigild (r. 568–586). His reign unified the Iberian Peninsula under his royal authority. He continued his father's

project of religious unification by converting the VISIGOTHS to Christianity. In the spring of 587, on the advice of Leander of Seville (540–599) and working with Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, Recared deserted ARIANISM. This course was soon followed by the bishops, the nobility, and the whole of the Visigoths. There were minor centers of unsuccessful resistance at Merida and within the court of TOLEDO.

On May 8, 589, at the third council of Toledo, Recared declared his adherence to the anti-Arian dogma defined by the first four ecumenical orthodox councils. This conversion began the fusion of the Visigothic and Roman populations. By doing so he strengthened the ties between the church and the Crown, but he persecuted JEWS and uncooperative Arians. Besides suppressing several uprisings, he pushed the BYZANTINES back into an enclave around Cartagena. He died at about 601, the time of his deposition from the throne by the nobility.

See also BASQUES.

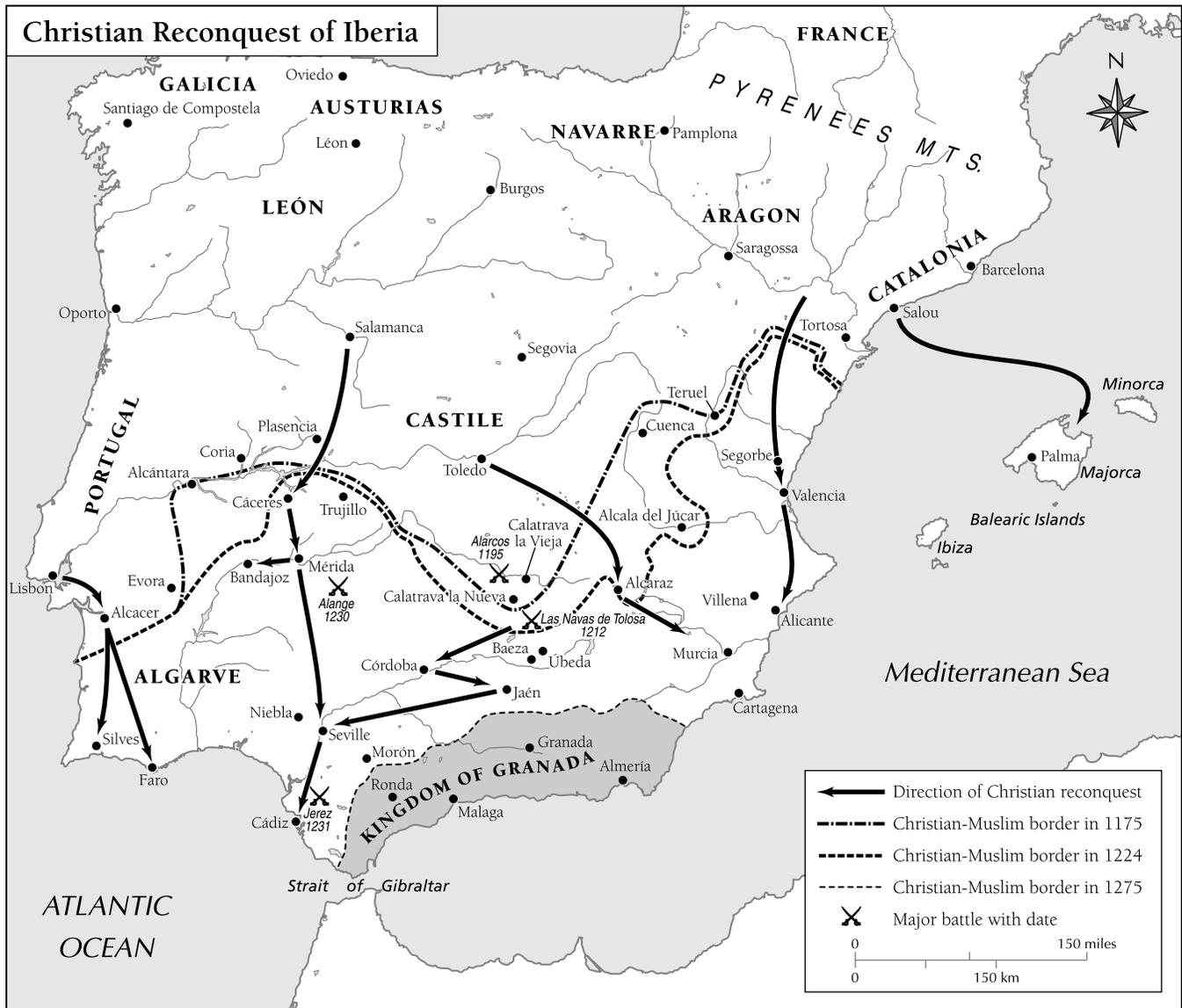
**Further reading:** E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Alberto Ferreiro, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 418–711: A Bibliography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

**Reconquest (Reconquista)** One of the formative and the major events of medieval Spanish history the Reconquest of the peninsula by the Christians began in the mid-11th century and was fulfilled with the surrender of GRANADA in 1492. The ARABS had controlled much of the Iberian Peninsula from the early eighth century. The Reconquest a military and economic crusade, constituted close to a permanent state of war for both sides. Monarchs took the excuse to extend their powers, levy extraordinary taxes, and control the church. Christian CASTILE and ARAGON became societies organized for war. Knightly and military prowess was highly valued and social mobility was high, as Christians availed themselves of the frequent opportunities to move to newly controlled territories.

TOLEDO was taken in 1085. LISBON was captured in 1147. The Christian victory at the Battle of La Navas de Tolosa in 1212 led to the taking of SEVILLE and CÓRDOBA, leaving only the kingdom of GRANADA in Muslim hands. FERDINAND II and ISABEL I managed the surrender of the last stronghold the town of Granada in 1492. Despite all this conflict, there was cultural interaction, though continually declining, among the Christians, Muslims, and JEWS until after the fall of Granada.

See also ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS; ASTURIAS-LÉON, KINGDOM OF; BARCELONA; CRUSADES; RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR, HISTORY AND LEGENDS OF

**Further reading:** Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, trans., *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Health Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women*



in *Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978); Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031–1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992).

**Redemption** In the Middle Ages, the concept of salvation departed from the patristic conception of exchange and moved toward a theory of Redemption that interpreted it in terms of ransom. Salvation could be part of creation and require Redemption. The Middle Ages approached this idea through the problem of the Incarnation of Christ.

The councils of Quierzy in 853 and Valence in 855 used the biblical terms *ransom* and Christ’s *sacrifice*, ending a controversy over PREDESTINATION. ANSELM of Laon justified the Incarnation of Christ in his *Why God Became Man*, asserting that it was the only possible way of paying GOD for the debt by humankind owed for sin. Without paying a ransom for the acquittal of this debt, SIN could not be left punished and no sinner could attain salvation. Sinners could not pay for the remission of their sins by their own strength; thus the necessity of the compensatory Incarnation. Christ died for sinners and was the Redeemer. Through his divine and human natures, Christ alone could give God the price of this ransom, through his Passion, death, and Resurrection. God simply by means of his mercy supposedly was not able to remit sin. There had to be a just reparation, and no created being could restore wounded human nature and thus have

eternal life or the BEATIFIC VISION. According to Thomas AQUINAS, sacrificial Redemption could only be carried out by the blood of God, who had created and recreated human nature. This notion depended on the concept of the Trinity and the sacrifice was commemorated in the Eucharist, one of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS. Medieval Christians believed that salvation occurred in and through the mediation of Jesus Christ, the second person of the Trinity, who shared completely in God's divinity. Whether this Redemption might lead all or only some people to salvation and the role of GRACE in this were problems.

See also BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, SAINT; BONAVENTURE, SAINT; CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY; JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE.

**Further reading:** Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991); C. William Marx, *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995); Brian Murdoch, *Adam's Grace: Fall and Redemption in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000); Marie-Anne Vannier, "Redemption," *EMA*, 2.128–1,1219.

**reform, idea of** In the Middle Ages, any concept or even the term *reform* was used only for religious matters. There was little concept of reform or change in the feudal, the political, and the secular legal systems or in the economic or social structure. Reform was a restoration or resumption of forgotten practices or institutions, now rediscovered or discerned. Some reform movements, such as that of the GREGORIAN REFORM, introduced new ideas about the relationship of the church and the state to restore its proper functioning. In the monastic world, there were "reforms" regularly all through the medieval period to set monks back on the right path. This could involve a general reform or reform of a particular convent or monastery. Other innovations included dispatching MENDICANT ORDERS out into the world to reform and help with pastoral care, to adapt to the needs of society and CHRISTENDOM. ISLAM, as did Christianity, underwent changes in religious practice and belief, all classified as reform and attempting to resume the original correct practice. For both religions these reform movements sometimes led to general changes and the secession of heretical groups.

See also HERESY AND HERESIES; MONASTICISM.

**Further reading:** Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); Guy Fitch Lytle, *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church* (Washington, D.C. Catholic University of American Press, 1981); Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Steven E. Ozment, *The Age of Reform (1250–1550): An Intellectual and Religious*

*History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980); Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (1988; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

**relics** In the Middle Ages Christian relics were either the actual physical remains of men or women venerated as saints or objects sanctified by any contact or even vague association with them. The expectation of a physical resurrection lent value to the proximity of the remains of the Saints. From early Christian times this veneration of martyrs and, later, other selected holy persons at their tombs diverged from Hellenistic and Jewish traditions, which avoided polluting contact with corpses.

With their nearby bodies as signs of a pledge to help their communities, dead saints continued to be part of that local community of the faithful. They were expected to provide support through MIRACLES. The miracles of the saints, not done on their own but were believed to be the work of GOD, who was prompted by the saints and their relics. Veneration of the saints was absolutely secondary to the adoration reserved for God only. This distinction was not always clear to the faithful. Ecclesiastical authorities, recognized their value and tried to control these cults to their own benefit, even financial gain.

#### COMMERCIALIZATION

By the mid-fourth century bodies and body parts were being moved about or translated from east and west. In the west the dismemberment or translation, sale, or theft of saints did not become common until the eighth century. There was always some concern about authenticity, so superficial steps were taken to verify it. Doubts also arose about their efficacy throughout the Middle Ages, among both heretical groups and the skeptical orthodox. Relics tied to Jesus and his mother, the Blessed Virgin MARY, grew in importance in the later Middle Ages.

#### MATERIAL DESCRIPTIONS

In the Byzantine world, relics were primarily the bodies or pieces of the bodies of saints. Relics of Jesus were objects that supposedly had been in contact with him or his Passion. There were pieces of the cross in CONSTANTINOPLE and in JERUSALEM and many fragments were soon scattered all over Europe. The body of the Blessed Virgin had been assumed into heaven, so her relics were necessarily secondary, such as her girdle, cloak, or breast milk. The veneration of bodies of the saints and martyrs and of tombs was well established in Byzantine Christianity. The Iconoclasts, especially in the eighth century, sought to suppress the cult of relics, considering them idolatrous. When the crusaders sacked Constantinople in 1204, many relics were taken back to western Europe.

Relics in the East and the West were also owned by private individuals, who honored them at home or wore them as CHARMS. The reliquaries to hold relics multiplied, along with rings, bracelets, and necklaces containing holy fragments. When others were found in the central Middle Ages, their spiritual and economic value was recognized by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. They could be related to both the Old and the New Testament. These included the rim of the Samaritans' well, the trumpets used to knock down the walls of Jericho, Christ's swaddling clothes, fragments of the cross, nails from the Crucifixion, the crown of thorns, baskets from the multiplication of loaves, Noah's ax, the crosses of the two thieves crucified with Christ, Mary Magdalene's vase of perfume, Moses' rod, and Saint Stephen's right hand.

See also RELIQUARY.

**Further reading:** John R. Butler, *The Quest for Becket's Bones: The Mystery of the Relics of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); Bernard Flusin, "Relics: Byzantium," *EMA* 2.1,224; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Medieval Enamels: Masterpieces from the Keir Collection*, ed. and trans. Neil Stratford (London: British Museum Publications, 1981); Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978); D. W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1989); G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); H. W. van Os, *The Way to Heaven: Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages* (Baarn: de Prom, 2000).

**religious instruction** See EXEMPLUM; PREACHING; SERMONS AND HOMILIES; SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS; SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**reliquary** Reliquaries were containers that held RELICS. The earliest were the tomb or shrine containing a holy body of a martyr. Altars enclosed relics. The function of reliquaries was to promote, by the beauty of their artistic work, the potency of the relics they contained. No particular form was fixed for them: They could be decorated by an iconographical statement about their contents. They could be caskets decorated with ENAMELS or statues or could have the form of what they contained, such as an arm. The tendency to divide up the bodies of the saints and the spread of relics from the crusading expeditions to the East and the Holy Land led from the early Middle Ages to the creation of movable reliquaries for transport or ritual procession. Buildings such as the SAINTE-CHAPELLE OF PARIS built by LOUIS IX to house relics including the Crown of Thorns can be seen as similar to reliquaries. The smaller variety were kept in church treasuries, exposed to the faithful, or borne in PROCESSIONS.

See also IVORY.

**Further reading:** Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trans. J. A. Underwood. (Secaucus, N.J.: Wellfleet, 1986); Ragnall Ó Floinn, *Irish Shrines and Reliquaries of the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Country House, in association with the National Museum of Ireland, 1994).

**renaissance and revivals in art and culture** The concept of a renaissance or rebirth is essentially a modern idea devised to describe and understand the objectives and driving forces for reform or change in various cultures in the past. Particular periods were designated as eras of renaissance and given such a label. They were deemed as being highly concerned about integrating the ideas, art, styles, practices, traditions, and literature of the classical Greek and Roman worlds into the culture of their own time. Intellectuals around 1400 in Italy were highly concerned with doing just that. The term was applied to several periods in European history from the ninth to the 15th century in particular. The 19th-century historians Jules Michelet and Jacob Burckhardt were especially instrumental in the introduction and evolution of that word and concept; they considered renaissances progressive evolutions toward better, more rational, and more modern ideas and practices, especially in intellectual and artistic matters.

Over the next century and a half, scholars discerned them in the ninth century (known as the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE), in the 12th century, and archetypically in Italy in the late 14th and 15th centuries. The emergence of the individual and the state were considered the hallmarks of the most recent era, the classic Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries. Other periods were added by scholars of the Middle Ages to combat the stereotype of the "Dark Ages" sometimes applied to that period and to minimize the uniqueness and originality associated so strongly with the Italian and later northern Renaissances.

There were clear changes in educational ideals and styles of art, at the very least, during several periods before 1500. Certainly some intellectuals, in the midst of this change or in the effort to promote it, were highly aware of their actions and were consciously promoting a rebirth of culture and religion. This way of conceptualizing cultural changes and explaining creativity in certain periods can lead to oversimplification, to overemphasis on particular individuals, and to misunderstandings about the originality, roots, and context of change. The renaissance as a concept has not been much applied by scholars to creative eras in Jewish or Islamic history, perhaps because of preconceptions about the lack of change in those cultures and religious beliefs and practices.

See also MIDDLE AGES, CONCEPT OF; PETRARCH, FRANCESCO; REFORM, IDEA OF.

**Further reading:** Robert Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham, eds. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Press, 1982); Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 2 vols., trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, introduction by Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus (New York: Harper, 1958); Peter Burke, *The Renaissance*, 2d ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini, eds., *Islam and the Italian Renaissance* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1999); Deno Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1927; reprint, New York: Meridian, 1957).

**Renard the Fox** See BEAST EPICS OR FABLES; FABLES AND FABLIAUX OR COMIC TALES.

**representative assemblies and institutions** Medieval representatives assemblies first appeared in the late 12th and 13th centuries and spread throughout Western Christendom in the 14th and 15th centuries. They were most common in towns and cities. Their members were in theory chosen to represent the people but usually actually represented the interests of the small ruling elite who elected them. At the same time regional or countrywide representative bodies composed initially of the feudal nobility, were established for communication with a king or prince and addressing subjects such as policy and taxation. In the 13th century, these feudal assemblies were enlarged to accept citizens who were elected to represent their towns, especially in fiscal matters. Elected representatives of the clergy and the knights then sat alongside prelates and barons, so that now the representative assemblies featured the three estates of society, the clergy, the nobility, and the middle class. In ENGLAND the word *Parliament* first appeared in 1236; in FRANCE the word *Parlement*, first used in 1250, was reserved for courts of justice. The HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE continued to use the term *Diet*.

Assemblies appeared earliest in southern Europe, for instance, in PROVENCE in the late 12th century and shortly thereafter in LEÓN and CASTILE. They spread throughout England and France in the 13th century and the Holy Roman Empire in the 14th century; but they did not gain real influence until the second half of the 14th century, when wars required extensive taxation. It was then also that they called and met more frequently and acquired the power to deal with princes.

These representative assemblies appealed to certain concepts and principles derived from Roman LAW and canon law, especially the principle that what concerns all must be approved by all, a basis for taxation by consent. The principle of the greater and wiser part of the members assembled evolved to the practice of discerning the majority by counting voices. The idea that another could represent one evolved to the idea that these representatives received a mandate from their electors to act in their name.

The decline of representative assemblies coincided with the end of CONCILIARISM in the mid-15th century. By then WARFARE was less frequent and monarchs had other resources that established regular systems of taxation and income that did not require the constant approval of subjects.

See also CORTES; CONCILIARISM AND CONCILIAR THEORY; PARLEMENT OF PARIS OR FRANCE; TAXATION, TAXES, AND TRIBUTE.

**Further reading:** Thomas N. Bisson, *Medieval Representative Institutions, Their Origins and Nature* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1973); Bertie Wilkinson, *The Creation of Medieval Parliaments* (New York: Wiley, 1972).

**Responsum literature, Jewish** See GERSHOM BEN JUDAH; JACOB BEN MEIR; JEWS AND JUDAISM; MAIMONIDES, MOSES; TALMUD.

**Resurrection, Christian** See APOCALYPSE AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; LAST JUDGMENT; REDEMPTION.

**resurrection, Islamic (Bath)** In pre-Islamic Arabia, there was a belief that the SOULS of the dead lived on in some shadowy way, but there was no concept of resurrection of the body. The QURAN suggested that there would be a resurrection of both the body and the soul, but in the Middle Ages, some Muslims believed only in the resurrection of the soul. The Quran described the day of resurrection, *Yawm al-Qiyam* or *Yawm al-Din*, with details about its cataclysmic terrors and judgments. One had to account for the way one had led his or her life.

See also HEAVEN; LAST JUDGMENT.

**Further reading:** al-Ghazali, *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife*, trans. T. J. Winter (1989; reprint, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1995); Jane I. Smith and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981).

**Reynard the Fox** See BEAST EPICS OR FABLES; FABLES AND FABLIAUX OR COMIC TALES.

**Rheims and Rheims Cathedral (Reims)** Rheims was initially the capital of the ancient Gallo-Roman province of Belgica Secunda. It had a bishop by the mid-third century. CLOVIS was baptized there on Christmas 498/499, the founding of a Christian kingdom. Its saintly Bishop Remigius (ca. 438–ca. 533) became one of the patrons of FRANCE. His successors claimed the privilege of consecrating the kings of France and conferring magic powers to cure kings' diseases. Its cathedral of Notre Dame became one of the best examples of 13th-century GOTHIC architecture with its façade decorated with a gallery of the

kings of France. The town became well known for the quality of its schools until it was eclipsed by PARIS in the 12th century. The archbishop maintained tight control over Rheims which was populated with numerous clerics.

See also HINCMAR OF RHEIMS; STAINED GLASS; SYLVESTER II, POPE.

**Further reading:** Hans, Jantzen, *High Gothic: The Classic Cathedrals of Chartres, Reims, Amiens*, trans. James Palmes (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962).

**rhetoric** In ancient Rome rhetoric was taught to the elite to prepare them to deliver speeches. In the Middle Ages it was considered second among the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS. It was taught with commentaries on ancient poets and prose writers, especially Cicero, and manuals and exercises created in imitation of the masters of antiquity. It was deemed especially important for diplomacy, chancery letter writing, and PREACHING. With the rediscovery of ARISTOTELIAN thought and the advent of SCHOLASTICISM, rhetoric began to be considered as more of a scientific system valuable in dialectical exposition. The notarial culture of 13th-century ITALY used rhetorical texts in its educational system, preparing students for notarial legal business and the conduct of communal government.

Rhetoric always had an important role in Byzantine culture and education. There it was considered an aristocratic art, the province of an elite who cultivated eloquence as a distinguishing and refined ability.

See also ARS PRAEDICANDI; BRUNETTO LATINI; GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, SAINT; NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIATE; PSELLOS, MICHAEL; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Further reading:** Martin Camargo, "Rhetoric," in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. David L. Wagner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 96–124; George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2d ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Jerrold E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism: The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968); Jody Enders, *Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992); Douglas Kelly, *Medieval Imagination: Rhetoric and the Poetry of Courtly Love* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); Joseph M. Miller, ed., *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973); James J. Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric: A Select Bibliography*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Scott D. Troyan, *Textual Decorum: A Rhetoric of Attitudes in Medieval Literature* (New York: Garland, 1994).

**Rhodes** Medieval Rhodes was the principal island of the Dodecanese in the Aegean Sea. It was strategically situated at a crossroads in the eastern Mediterranean, at the juncture of the north-south route between

CONSTANTINOPLE and ALEXANDRIA and the west-east route between ROME and PALESTINE and the Levant. It was captured in 654 by the Arabs and pillaged several times in the eighth century, especially between 751 and 753. It was soon reintegrated in the BYZANTINE Empire's system of naval defense, serving as an important base blocking the route to Constantinople from the south and east. Regaining prosperity in the 11th century, with the recovery of maritime commerce then, it became a staging area and port of passage for the CRUSADES. From 1204 to 1234, it was a principality temporarily held by Leo Gabalas (fl. 1190–1234), a former Byzantine governor who took possession of it during the chaos after the capture of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade. From 1234 it was ruled by the Byzantines from the Empire of NICAEA, the Venetians, and then the Genoese. In 1309, it passed into the hands of the HOSPITALLERS, who made it their home base after their departure from SYRIA. The knights survived several attempts to conquer it by the OTTOMAN Turks in the 15th century, especially the famous siege in 1480, but in the end they were forced to surrender and abandon it in 1522 when they moved their headquarters west to MALTA.

See also ANATOLIA; VENICE.

**Further reading:** Marc Angel, *The Jews of Rhodes: The History of a Sephardic Community* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1978); Elias Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes: The Palace and the City* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1991); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999); H. J. A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994).

**Rhodes, Knights of** See HOSPITALLERS; RHODES.

**rib** See GOTHIC.

**Richard I Lionheart (Coeur de Lion)** (1157–1199) *king of England, warrior, crusader*

Richard was born on September 8, 1157, the third son of HENRY II and ELEANOR of AQUITAINE. Richard was not expected to inherit the English Crown, but the premature death in 1183 of his older surviving brother, Henry, changed that. He was always more interested in AQUITAINE, his mother's duchy, which he obtained in 1172 as duke. He rebelled against his father with his brothers in 1173–74 but was defeated and pardoned by his father. Apart from a few months in 1189–90, when he was preparing for CRUSADE, and again in 1194, when he quelled a rebellion by his brother, JOHN LACKLAND, he was on crusade between 1190 and 1194 in the East or protecting his continental possessions from 1194 to 1199. The administrative institutions and competence of his father's government allowed him to leave his kingdom for long periods.

He was betrothed to Princess Alais of FRANCE but married Berengaria of NAVARRE in 1191. However, he showed little interest in women and produced no successor. Wounded during a siege by riding within the striking range or bow shot of the walls, he was hit by an arrow and suffered for several days, before he died at Chaluz in the Limousin in France on April 6, 1199. He was buried near his father at Fontevraud Abbey in France and was succeeded in his numerous realms by his brother John.

#### RICHARD AS CRUSADER

Richard was very successful as a crusader, taking Messina and the island of CYPRUS on the way, capturing ACRE, and defeating SALADIN in the Battle of Arsuf in 1191. Recognizing his genius in WARFARE, Saladin avoided battle with Richard thereafter. Disputes and quarrels with PHILIP II AUGUSTUS of France and Duke Leopold V of AUSTRIA (c. 1177–94) hampered efforts to capture JERUSALEM and ended the crusade. Philip abandoned the coalition in 1191, returned to France, and took advantage of Richard's absence to try to capture NORMANDY. Richard struck a truce with Saladin that gave the Christians access to the holy places in peace. On his way back in disguise, Richard was captured by followers of Duke Leopold in VIENNA in December 1192. Richard was held until an enormous ransom of 150,000 marks was collected by some of the heaviest taxation ever imposed in England. Richard was also forced to pay homage for England to the emperor HENRY VI (r. 1190–97). On his return in March 1194, he remained in England only to effect the submission of his rebellious brother John. He then left the administration of the realm to Hubert Walter (d. 1205), archbishop of CANTERBURY. He returned to the Continent, defeated a French army at Fréteval in 1194, recaptured Normandy, and built the great defensive CASTLE of Château Gaillard to guard the Seine River and block the approaches to Normandy. All this reinforced his authority throughout his French dominions, but resistance to his rule required the constant warfare that led to his DEATH.

See also RANULF DE GLANVILLE.

**Further reading:** Ambroise, fl. ca. 1196, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, trans. Merton Jerome Hubert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941); John T. Appleby, *England without Richard, 1189–1199* (London: G. Bell, 1965); James A. Brundage, *Richard Lion Heart* (New York: Scribner, 1974); John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Ralph V. Turner and Richard R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189–99* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

#### Richard II (1367–1400) king of England

Richard was born on January 6, 1367, at the Abbey of Saint André in Bordeaux in FRANCE, the son of EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE, and Joan of Kent (1328–85). Richard

succeeded his grandfather, EDWARD III, as king of ENGLAND in 1377, when he was a boy of 10, with his uncle, JOHN OF GAUNT, the duke of Lancaster, as regent. In 1381 his regime was threatened by the Peasants' Revolt, in which he played a key but duplicitous role.

He married Anne of Bohemia (1366–94) in 1382. His dependence on unpopular favorites caused discontent; and in 1386, while John of Gaunt was in SPAIN, he was deprived of power by a council of nobles and ministers, the Lords Appellant. In 1388 a number of his close associates, such as Michael de la Pole (ca. 1330–89), were charged with treason by the Merciless PARLIAMENT. In 1389 he regained his right to rule. During the next few years, a peace was negotiated with France and Richard married his second wife, Isabel (1389–1409), the daughter of Charles VI of France (1368–1422). From 1397 he began to take revenge, punishing those who had been involved in opposition to him. His cousin, Henry Bolingbroke of Lancaster, the son of John of Gaunt, whom Richard had deprived of inheritance and then sent into exile, mounted an armed invasion in 1399. This royal confiscation in March 1399 from Henry caused Richard to be perceived as a threat to everyone's property rights in the realm. Henry easily took Richard prisoner, when he stupidly surrendered his person from the safety of a castle. Richard abdicated, and Henry seized the throne as Henry IV (r. 1399–1413). Richard died, probably starved to death, in Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire in February 1400. He was buried in WESTMINSTER ABBEY in 1413.

See also PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH; TYLER, WAT.

**Further reading:** Chris Given-Wilson, ed. and trans., *Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397–1400: The Reign of Richard II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Anthony Goodman and James L. Gillespie, eds.,



Richard II at the death of Wat Tyler in the Peasants Rebellion of 1381, *Chroniques de France et d'Angleterre*, British Library, London (*Art Resource*)

*Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); Richard H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II: Absolutism in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968); Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).

**Richard III** (1452–1485) *last Yorkist king of England*

Richard was born October 2, 1452, in Fortheringay Castle in Northamptonshire, the youngest son of Richard (1411–60), the duke of York, and Cecily of York. He was the youngest brother of EDWARD IV, during whose reign he became the duke of York and the powerful royal representative in the north of ENGLAND. He was a good soldier and an important commander in his brother's victories in the WARS OF THE ROSES. In the north he gained a reputation as a competent and fair administrator and ruler over one of the most lawless parts of England. In 1483 he was appointed guardian to his nephew, the boy-king Edward V (r. 1483). However, on the death of his brother on April 9, 1483, he seized the throne for himself, deposing the 13-year-old, and destroyed the family of his mother, Elizabeth Woodville (ca. 1437–92). She was the second wife of his brother, Edward IV, whose family Richard considered far too influential. He was endorsed on June 25 by an assembly of lords and commoners, who had been told that Edward IV's marriage to Elizabeth was not valid and her sons were illegitimate. Edward and his younger brother disappeared while in confinement in the Tower of London later that summer. Because Richard had much to gain from their disappearance, an accusation that he had them murdered resulted. Skeletons of two boys were later found hidden away in the tower presenting the opportunity for others to claim the throne. Richard's only son, Edward (1473–84), died in April 1484, and his wife, Anne Neville soon afterward on March 16, 1485. The duke of Buckingham failed in an attempt to gain the throne in 1483, but Henry Tudor, a distant Lancastrian claimant to the throne and later King Henry VII (r. 1485–1509), defeated Richard in the Battle of BOSWORTH FIELD in 1485. Deserted by allies and constrained by the terrain, Richard was killed in the battle on August 22, 1485. Tudor historians and playwrights later deliberately tried to destroy his reputation. No evidence supports the tradition, popularized by Shakespeare, that he was a hunchback.

See also TUDOR, HOUSE OF

**Further reading:** Dominicus Mancinus, *The Usurpation of Richard the Third*: Dominicus Mancinus ad Angelum Catonem de occupatione Regni Anglie per Ricardum Tercium libellus, trans. C. A. J. Armstrong, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Anne F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, eds., *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984); Alison Hanham, *Richard III and His Early Historians, 1483–1535* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); Michael Hicks, *Richard III*, rev. ed. (Stroud: Tempus, 2000); Rose-

mary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Paul Murray Kendall, *Richard the Third* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1956); Jeremy Potter, *Good King Richard?: An Account of Richard III and His Reputation, 1483–1983* (London: Constable, 1983); Charles Ross, *Richard III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Charles T. Wood, *Joan of Arc and Richard III: Sex, Saints, and Government in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

**Richard Rolle of Hampole** (ca. 1295/1300–1349) *English hermit, mystic, author*

Richard Rolle was born about 1295/1300 at Thornton Dale in Yorkshire. After studying at Oxford, he returned to his family, but he soon left them again in about 1328 to become a hermit on the property of a friend. His PREACHING and denunciation of vice were not especially popular. After wandering around, he settled at Hampole near Doncaster. Toward the end of his life, he directed the NUNS of a small Cistercian community. Eventually popular in ENGLAND and on the Continent, he was venerated as a saint soon after his death.

Richard wrote numerous prose exegetical treatises, spiritual commentaries, and letters in LATIN and English as well as lyric poems. He made TRANSLATIONS of parts of the BIBLE, denounced the excesses and abstractions of Scholastic thought, and wrote a meditation on Christ's suffering. He liked to talk of how he was set on fire by a divine love that was physical and spiritual, painful and soothing. Rolle mistrusted all theological speculation. He died in 1349.

See also MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle, the English Writings*, trans. Rosamund S. Allen (New York: Paulist Press, 1988); Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

**Riga** See HANSEATIC LEAGUE; LIVONIA.

**ring** See MARRIAGE.

**ritual** See DEATH AND THE DEAD; KINGS AND KINGSHIP, RITUALS OF; MASS, LITURGY OF; PROCESSIONS, LITURGICAL.

**ritual murder** Ritual murder, the alleged murder and cannibalism during their ceremony of the Eucharist, was an accusation initially formulated by pagans against Christians in the second and third centuries C.E. From the 12th century, the accusation was aimed at JEWS. At Norwich in ENGLAND in 1144, some Jews were accused of killing a Christian child, William (d. 1144) whose body was found in a nearby forest. According to a story in

1169 by Thomas of Monmouth, the Jews each year decided which community would be instructed to mimic and mock Christ's Passion on the body of a Christian child. At Blois in 1171, after a similar accusation but no corpse, a whole community was burned. This accusation surfaced periodically in several parts of Europe in incidents involving the deaths of Richard of Pontoise in 1179, Hugh of Lincoln in 1255, Werner of Bachrach in 1287, and others at Gloucester in 1168, Fulda in 1236, and Saragossa in 1250. There were further notorious incidents in the late Middle Ages, such as the murder of Simon of Trent in 1475, which led to the persecution of Jewish communities in ITALY.

These accusations and ensuing events followed a common pattern. The discovery of a corpse, usually of a child, was followed by suspicions of a conspiracy among a local Jewish community. Torture was alleged to have been inflicted on the victim. There was a quick condemnation of that community or individual members of it. Stories circulated that the victim's blood was used for making unleavened bread and then ritually consumed in derision of Christ and Christianity. MIRACLES soon followed at the tomb and a cult of the victim arose.

Some of these victims were even beatified. These cult figures were then memorialized in didactic Christian art. Church authorities only too feebly tried to stop these events, without much success. The emperor FREDERICK II gathered experts to denounce these hysterical claims, which were completely opposite to the tenets of JUDAISM. They continued long after the Middle Ages and became part of the stock in trade of vicious adherents of modern anti-Semitism.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; HOST DESECRATION LIBEL.

**Further reading:** Mary Désirée Anderson, *A Saint at Stake: The Strange Death of William of Norwich, 1144* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964); R. Po-chia Hsia, *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992); Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999).

**Riurik** See RURIK.

**Riurikid dynasty (Rurikids)** See RURIK.

**roads and bridges** The huge and strategic Roman road system was maintained in many parts of the empire until the fifth century. It followed ridges and was straight wherever possible. Most were not made of the dressed stone familiar from the Appian Way near ROME, but rather, usually of gravel or packed sand. They could favor



The medieval road between Siena and Massa Marittima  
(Courtesy Edward English)

the movement of invaders as well as the Roman army. They led between the major towns and cities and converged on Rome or CONSTANTINOPLE. By the early Middle Ages, there were definite signs of neglect and decay as communication and transport on them became much more difficult. However, many remained in use throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, at least as rights of way.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, there was an effort to improve the roads and bridges near the towns of LOMBARDY, the CHAMPAGNE FAIRS, and FLANDERS as the growth of commerce and urban development demanded better and faster transport and movement. Passages through mountains, especially over the Alps, were improved. Bridges were built or rebuilt and maintained through tolls. In the later Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE, kings and princes began to pay much more attention to roads and bridges, recognizing their value for promoting and taxing commerce and for maintaining political control.

Royal roads in England were legally required in theory to be wide enough for two wagons to pass or 16 KNIGHTS to ride abreast. In reality they were well-trodden paths surrounded by high grass or weeds on each side. Villages and towns, too, took more interest in the local situation by clearing and maintaining pathways to and from rural areas. Causeways through swamps were constructed. In the towns the main streets were paved and town squares for markets were created, paved, and maintained. The responsibility for all this was constantly disputed, but roads could be financed by tolls, as bridges were. Most travel would be done by foot, but certainly, some were able to travel by horse or donkey. Carriages and wagons were uncomfortable since they were not yet very well sprung, so they carried luggage and whatever was being transported. On a horse one could travel 20 to 30 miles a day under the right conditions. Guides or locals were often necessary to find one's way safely or

expeditiously. Travel by water was slower but often more comfortable. Conditions in the Byzantine and Islamic worlds were similar.

See also MAPS; TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**Further reading:** Brian Paul Hindle, *Medieval Roads and Tracks*, 3d ed. (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1998); Albert C. Leighton, *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe, A.D. 500–1100* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972).

### **Robert I the Bruce** (1274–1329) *king of Scotland*

Born on July 11, 1274, Robert was the son of Robert Bruce of Annandale (d. 1295) of the Anglo-Norman Bruce family of Scotland. His family was among the claimants to the throne on the death of King Alexander III (r. 1249–86) in 1286. EDWARD I of ENGLAND intervened and began the wars of Scottish independence. After wavering between some acceptance of JOHN Balliol, whom Edward had placed on the throne, and assisting the rebellions of William WALLACE, he claimed the Scottish Crown for himself against the wishes of Edward I. He was supported by most of the Scottish nobles, except for the Comyns family, as the champion of national independence. He killed a rival, John Comyns (d. 1306), and was hastily acknowledged as king at SCONE (without the presence of the stone of Scone) on March 25, 1306. He then lost two battles to the English and retreated into guerrilla warfare. His brothers were killed and his sisters were confined to cages by the enraged Edward I, who felt deeply betrayed by a man to whom he had shown favor.

After Edward I's death in 1307, Robert revolted against English rule and controlled most of Scotland from 1309. In 1314 he took EDINBURGH and defeated the inept EDWARD II at the Battle of BANNOCKBURN on June 24, 1314, then captured Berwick in 1318. He then allied Scotland with FRANCE and sought its support against England. Adopting English practices, Robert based his government on cooperation within a community of the realm. He was recognized as king by the treaty of Northampton in 1328 and sealed that with the marriage of Joan (1321–62), the sister of the English king, EDWARD III, to his son and successor, David (1329–71). He died on June 7, 1329, and his body was buried in Dunfermline Abbey.

**Further reading:** G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 3d ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Seán Duffy, ed., *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars: The Invasions of Ireland 1306–1329* (Charleston, S.C.: Tempus, 2002); James A. Mackay, *Robert Bruce: King of Scots* (London: Hale, 1974); Ronald McNair Scott, *Robert the Bruce, King of Scots* (London: Hutchinson, 1982); Alan Young and Michael J. Stead, *In the Footsteps of Robert Bruce* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999).

**Robert Grosseteste** See GROSSETESTE, ROBERT.

**Robert Guiscard** See GUISCARD, ROBERT.

### **Robert of Arbrissel, Saint** (ca. 1047–1116) *hermit, preacher, founder of the Order of Fontevault*

Robert was born about 1047 at Arbrissel, in the diocese of Rennes in FRANCE. Not a good student, he nonetheless, succeeded his father as the village priest. In 1076 after he supported an election to the bishopric of Rennes of a cleric who was soon deposed, Robert had to leave for PARIS to resume his studies. In 1089 the deposed bishop, Sylvester of La Guerche (d. 1093), returned to his see and became a supporter of the GREGORIAN REFORM movement. He recalled Robert, by then a priest, to Rennes to assist him in reforming the CLERGY of BRITTANY. Robert battled SIMONY and NICOLAITISM. In 1093, on the death of Sylvester, Robert was so hated by the local clergy that he had to flee to Angers.

A few years later he moved to the wilderness to lead the ascetic life of a HERMIT and was described as resembling a wild lunatic. He gathered and founded an abbey at La Roë. In 1096 he preached before Pope URBAN II, but by 1098, he had resumed his wandering life. As a skillful preacher he drew a large number of penitents of both sexes who were soon camping unsupervised in the woods together. Robert was rebuked for allowing this potential sinful practice. He then chose in 1101 to settle his followers in the valley of Fontevault, not far from Saumur. After further criticism, Robert, who refused to be called an abbot, though his deeds and leadership practices were autocratic, reordered his foundation more strictly and divided it among convents for men and women, both under a prior. He returned to preaching and attracted to Fontevault lepers, the sick, nobles, the poor, wealthy matrons, and prostitutes.

In 1115 he entrusted his by now rich double order to an abbess. On February 18, 1116, he fell ill and died on February 25 in the priory of Orsan in Berry. There was a violent struggle over his body, but it was returned to Fontevault by March 7, 1116. He had asked to be buried among the lepers and poor at Fontevault but instead was interred in a place of high honor by the high altar. Robert of Arbrissel did not have much of a cult and has been the object of varied interpretations by historians. He has been portrayed as a defender of the exploited by some and a promoter of religious opportunity for women by others.

**Further reading:** Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150* (London: Macmillan, 1984).

**Robin of Courson** See COURSON, ROBERT.

**Robin Hood** Robin Hood has been the most famous of all medieval legendary outlaws. The obscure origins, appeal, and identity of Robin Hood have remained

controversial. As a composite figure, he probably did have some historical basis, however. There are hints of someone with a similar name now and again in the 13th century, but there is little beyond a name. The first known reference to a popular enthusiasm for stories about a Robin Hood appeared in 1377 in one of the texts of William LANGLAND'S *PIERS PLOWMAN*. During the 15th century, the Robin Hood ballads, such as *Robin Hood and the Monk* in 1450, established enduring themes. By 1500 he, as a yeoman, was inseparably associated with his skill as an archer and believed to have been a master of disguise and the leader of a band of "merry men." He had become a courteous and benign outlaw who treated the rich in ways they deserved. A class hero, he nonetheless respected the Crown, except in his indulgence in deer poaching. He fought against abuses of power while yet showing little concern for the real conditions of the PEASANTRY. He was religious but had little respect for corrupt clergy. Other plays and works provided the other characters of the fully developed legend, such as Friar Tuck and Maid Marion.

See also OUTLAWRY.

**Further reading:** R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, eds., *Rymes of Robyn Hood: An Introduction to the English Outlaw* (London: Heinemann, 1976); John C. Bellamy, *Robin Hood: An Historical Enquiry* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1985); John C. Holt, *Robin Hood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982); Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, 3d ed. (London: Routledge, 2000); Stephen Thomas Knight, *Robin Hood: A Complete Study of the English Outlaw* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994); John Matthews, *Robin Hood: Green Lord of the Wildwood* (Glastonbury: Gothic Images, 1993).

**Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (El Cid Campeador, al-Sid, the Lord), history and legends of (ca. 1043–1099) mercenary soldier, hero of a Spanish epic story**

Rodrigo Díaz was born into a family of the lower nobility in the village of Bivar near Burgos. He was raised at the court of Ferdinand I of CASTILE and LEÓN (r. 1038–65) and educated with Sancho II of Castile (ca. 1065–72), the future king of Castile, who made him a leader of his army. In January 1072, at Golpejera, he defeated Sancho's brother, Alfonso VI of León (r. 1065–1109). A few months later, however, Sancho was assassinated or died during a siege at Zamora. Alfonso VI was suspected of ordering the death but inherited the Crown anyway, becoming the king of Castile and León (r. 1072–1109). Despite resenting a humiliating OATH of purgation imposed on him by Rodrigo Díaz, Alfonso still needed Díaz de Vivar's military ability and sent him to collect a protective tribute from the emir of SEVILLE and then to conduct a campaign against GRANADA.

**SERVING GOD AND MAMMON**

On his return to Castile, Rodrigo fell completely out of favor because of his feuds with other court nobles.

Alfonso VI exiled him in 1081, and he entered the service of the Muslim ruler of Saragossa. In 1082 he took prisoner Ramón Berenguer II (r. 1076–82), the count of BARCELONA, on the first of two occasions. Two years later, he defeated Sancho I Ramírez (r. 1063–94), the king of ARAGON. In 1097 Alfonso VI, whose kingdom was threatened by the ALMORAVIDS, recalled him. But a second banishment soon forced Rodrigo, whose lands had been expropriated by the king, to consider moving on VALENCIA. He captured fortresses leading to the city and defeated an army sent by the count of Barcelona in 1090. He then defended the emir of Valencia from an Almoravid attack. But in 1093, after his Muslim ally or employer was assassinated during a revolt in Valencia, Rodrigo laid siege and captured the town the next year. With the help of Peter I of Aragon (r. 1094–1104), he stopped Muslim advances at the Battles of Cuarte in 1094 and Bairén in 1097. After suppressing rebellions by Muslims in Valencia, he championed the Christians there and turned the major MOSQUE of the city into a CATHEDRAL.

Reconciled yet again with Alfonso VI, he ruled Valencia in his name. Rodrigo did not promote toleration among Christians and Muslims, who had once been allies. He had married a woman named Jimena or Ximena; their only son was killed in a battle in 1097. In 1098 he married his daughters to the king of NAVARRE and the count of Barcelona. Their descendants became the kings of Castile and León in the 12th century and even entered the royal line in ENGLAND through a 13th-century marriage. He died on July 10, 1099, in Valencia. The city was back under Almoravid rule by 1102.

Rodrigo was a skilled mercenary soldier who worked for whoever paid most. He was considered a cruel oppressor by the Muslims but a saint by some Christians. His name Cid, given to him by the Muslims, means "lord." The *Poem of the Cid* was written about 1207. In it he was presented unrealistically as a brave, loyal, resourceful, wise, courageous ruler and ideal KNIGHT.

**Further reading:** *The Poem of the Cid*, trans. W. S. Merwin (London: Dent, 1959); Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, eds., *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), especially 90–147; Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Richard Hitchcock, "Al-Sid," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 9:533–535; Colin Smith, "The Cid in Epic and Ballad," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 113–136.

**Roger I (1031–1101) count of Sicily and Calabria**

Roger was born in 1031, the youngest son of Tancred of Hauteville (fl. 1000–35). He joined his relative in Calabria, ROBERT GUISCARD, in 1057 and was especially

helpful in capturing Reggio in 1060. He was installed as Roger I of SICILY, called the Great Count, in 1061. He exploited disputes among the Muslim rulers of Sicily and successfully completed its conquest between 1060 and 1072. Supported by the Christians of the northeastern side of the island and the Pisan fleet, he captured Nolo, the last Muslim stronghold, in 1091. He established a strong government on the island and relied on an administrative and fiscal regime run by Greek and Muslim personnel. On Guiscard's death in 1085, he assumed the rule of both Sicily and Calabria. He obtained from Pope URBAN II the privilege of an apostolic legateship for Sicily in 1099. A tolerant ruler, he granted religious freedom to JEWS and Muslims, evidence that he exercised effective control of the CLERGY of Sicily and Calabria. He died on June 22, 1101, leaving behind his third wife Adelasia (d. 1118) as regent for his son ROGER II.

See also NORMANS IN ITALY.

**Further reading:** Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily and the Normans in Lower Italy, 1016–1154* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912); D. A. Loud, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1999); Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

### **Roger II** (1095–1154) *count, king of Sicily*

The son of ROGER I of SICILY and Adelasia (d. 1118), Roger II was born in 1095. He succeeded his brother, Simon (d. 1105, as count of Sicily at age nine in 1105 and assumed full control in 1112. As an initial act, he transferred the seat of power to PALERMO. Roger gained control over the other Norman possessions on the mainland, the duchy of APULIA and the principality of Capua. He was crowned at Christmas 1130, with the consent of the antipope Anacletus (r. 1130–38). Pope Innocent II (r. 1130–43) later reluctantly recognized his coronation in 1138 after being captured. Roger entrusted the reorganization of his kingdom to an authoritarian and bureaucratic regime to the Syrian Christian George of Antioch (ca. 1085–ca. 1150), exploiting as further support Norman traditional feudal ties. His ships, mostly Greek, captured Corfu, raided up to the walls of CONSTANTINOPLE, and set up a temporary base in Tunisia. His court was an important center of cultural and intellectual patronage in the 12th century, in which Jewish, Islamic, and Christian ideas met. He died on February 26 or 27, 1154, either of a fever or, in the mind of some, of an excess of sexual activity.

See also NORMANS IN ITALY.

**Further reading:** D. C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate, 1100–1154* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1976); Hubert Houben, *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*, trans. Graham A. Loud and Diane Milburn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge:



Coronation of King Roger II of Sicily, Byzantine mosaic, La Martorana, Palermo, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Julius Norwich, *The Kingdom in the Sun, 1130–1194* (Harlow: Longmans, 1970); William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Making History, The Normans and Their Historians in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

**Roger Bacon** See BACON, ROGER.

**Rolle, Richard** See RICHARD ROLLE.

### **Rollo (Hrolfr)** (ca. 860–ca. 932) *Viking chief*

Born about 860, Rollo was perhaps of Norwegian origin but called a Dane in Norman sources. In 911 he received from King Charles III the Simple (r. 893–923, d. 929) grants of territory around ROUEN and Évreux in modern NORMANDY, on the condition that he protect the approaches to PARIS from raids. Considered the first “duke of Normandy,” he has remained a mysterious figure even with uncertain dates. Under the name of

Göngu-Hrólf, or Hrolf the Ganger, he became a legendary figure to whom a saga was dedicated in the 14th century. Some texts said that he had been banned by the king of NORWAY. He certainly had stayed in the north of the British Isles on the Orkney and Hebrides Islands, before he entered the Seine Valley, where Viking raids had been endemic since 820.

Frankish sources were unclear as to the circumstances of Rollo's arrival on the Seine, but he was in control of ROUEN early in the 10th century. In 911 his army was defeated close to CHARTRES. In 912 Rollo was baptized and allowed the Christian clergy into Rouen. About then the agreement was struck with Charles the Simple whereby he also married Charles's daughter, Gisla. A later royal CHARTER of 918 referred to a concession to the NORMANS of an area situated on both sides of the Seine. Supposedly in control of a dependent FIEF, in 924 Rollo acted quite autonomously, in 924 adding territory to the original grant. He kept order in his county asserting his authority over its Scandinavian colonists. Rollo died in about 930/932. He was succeeded by his son, William Longsword (d. 942).

**Further reading:** David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915); Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

**Romagna** The medieval Romagna was a region in north central Italy bordering the Adriatic Sea, south of the Po River and northeast of the Apennine Mountains, now part of the modern province of Emilia-Romagna. The use of the name first occurred in the sixth century in a political division, when its western part was occupied by the LOMBARDS and its eastern region remained part of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, with a strong Greek presence. The borders of Romagna varied over the Middle Ages, but the towns of RAVENNA, Imola, Forlì, Cesena, and Rimini were always considered part of its core. Other cities were frequently considered to be within its boundaries, such as BOLOGNA, Modena, Parma, and FERRARA. From the eighth century, the popes claimed sovereignty over the Romagna, arguing from an alleged restitution made by PÉPIN III the Short to Pope Stephen II (III) (r. 752–757) in 754. It supposedly was merely restoring papal control initially gained in the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. Nonetheless, the region was long controlled by the German emperors and a shadowy count of the Romagna. In the 13th century the Romagna was used as a base of operations by FREDERICK II in his struggle against the towns of northern Italy of the second Lombard League.

The defeat of Frederick II and RUDOLF of Habsburg's formal renunciation of sovereignty over Romagna in 1278 still did not make papal control over the region much

easier. Diplomatic and military activities by the papal legates, such as Bertold Orsini, Bertrand du Poujet (ca. 1280–1352), Cardinal ALBORNOZ, and others in the 14th and 15th centuries, ultimately resulted only in a strengthening of the autonomy of rival towns, some of which were ruled by tough lords such as those of the Da Polenta at Ravenna and Malatesta at Rimini. Romagna also became a cockpit of control of northern Italy among MILAN, FLORENCE, VENICE, and the papacy in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. Despite this warfare and violence, Romagna remained a region famous for producing horses, grain, and wine. It was rich in mercenaries much esteemed by the great Italian powers, and finally a land of art inspired by the Byzantine tradition in Ravenna and the new style fostered by GIOTTO in Rimini. It lost its political designation and was at last fully integrated into the PAPAL STATES in 1503 by Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13).

**Further reading:** John Larner, *The Lords of the Romagna: Romagnol Society and the Origins of the Signorie* (London: Macmillan, 1965); Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal States in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1972); Daniel P. Waley, *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1961).

**Romance of the Rose** See ROMAN DE LA ROSE.

**romances** The word *romance*, which first appeared in the 12th century, originally referred to a poem written in French, itself a "Romance" language derived from the popular or rustic LATIN spoken by some of the inhabitants of what became France. French was also spoken in ENGLAND, the Low Countries, and Lorraine. Romances constituted a diverse genre of literature: prose narratives or poems telling stories and tales based on legends, chivalric love, adventure, religious or secular allegories, and the supernatural. They included narratives from the ancient world (Alexander the Great and Troy in particular), the court of CHARLEMAGNE, and the Celtic tradition concerning ARTHUR, a legendary ruler of the Britons.

Lavish in detail, romances often focused on the exotic, the remote, and the miraculous, almost anything except real local situations. Their love stories usually ended happily, but not always. They had their origins in the aristocratic courts of the 12th century, such as that of ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE. Later, when they were written in English, they encompassed stories about legendary and historical English heroes, such as HAVELOCK THE DANE and RICHARD I LIONHEART. They emphasized courtesy, quests taken on as challenges, tests of honor, and the acquisition of wisdom through trials. All were set and accomplished within chivalric codes of behavior. They contained details about feasts, dancing, tournaments, hunting, and sparkling conversations. When romances were set in the ancient world, the details of clothing,

conduct, and activity remained contemporary. They were read and enjoyed not only by the knightly aristocracy, but by the literate mercantile class.

*See also* ALEXANDER ROMANCES; CHANSONS DE GESTE; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; EPIC LITERATURE; GAWAIN AND THE GAWAIN ROMANCES; HARTMANN VON ANE; ROMAN DE LA ROSE; WACE.

**Further reading:** W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London: Longman, 1987); Douglas Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Roberta L. Krueger, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Eugène Vinaver, *Form and Meaning in Medieval Romance* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1966).

**Roman de la Rose (Romance of the Rose)** The *Romance of the Rose* has been regarded as the greatest of the Old French medieval romances. This poem, 23,000 lines long, was written by William de Lorris (d. 1240) and JEAN de Meun, both from near Orléans. William was the author of the earlier and much shorter section of the *Roman de la Rose*; almost nothing has been discovered about him except that he lived in the region of the Loiret. He wrote the first 4,500 lines, which were characterized by a vivid allegorical story and beautiful language. His technique of allegorical presentation was an innovation and became a model for later writers. The whole first part was rich in allegory and the main ideas of COURTLY love. In it love was attainable while the VIRTUES AND VICES were portrayed in the context of life and love. There were numerous disapproving observations about idleness, pleasure, danger, shame, the evils of clerical CELIBACY, the abuse of power, and jealousy. The second very popular and much more ironical and satirical part by Meun, was written as a continuation of the first between 1275 and 1280. It told the tale of a youth who dreamed about a rose or maiden enclosed in a GARDEN. He struggled to reach her and encountered and overcame numerous problems and confrontations along the way. Immensely popular in France and England, especially for the long digressive speeches, the poem had references to real contemporary characters and problems.

**Further reading:** Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971); Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot, *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992); John V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969).

**Romanesque art and architecture** The term *Romanesque* was first used pejoratively by a French archaeologist in the 19th century to describe a style

supposedly derived from Roman art and paralleling the development of Romance languages. It was formerly considered meager and impoverished in comparison with the glorious GOTHIC style that followed. The term Romanesque now describes the art of Western Europe from the 10th to the 13th century. It varied over time and according to local influences and circumstances. The sources of Romanesque art were not only Roman, but also Byzantine, Islamic, Germanic or Nordic, and Celtic.

#### RANGE AND FEATURES OF STYLE

Romanesque art began to evolve in the 11th century and became dominant in the 12th century. Its origins were closely linked with the reform of religious life and ritual in the 10th and 11th centuries. This artistic style was predominantly the result of monastic patronage and was often produced by monastic workmanship. The development of GREGORIAN CHANT suggested a need for the good acoustic space that was provided by its new system of vaulting. The early copying of liturgical and other texts for worship and reading in this style was done in the monasteries, although the decoration of books with miniatures soon passed to secular or lay artisans.

Some of the standard Romanesque characteristics were simplicity, sequences in spaces and spacing, a love of decorative pattern, and grandeur in size, scale, and desired effect. Stylistic similarities existed in book ILLUMINATION, MOSAIC, intricate GOLD work, IVORY carving, TEXTILES, and sculpture in wood and stone. The craftsmen and artisans were experienced and highly trained to work in several media. Each region under Romanesque influence developed a particular artistic tradition and style, all now classified as Romanesque.

#### ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATIONS

Besides vaulting large spans to improve acoustics and help protect a building from fire, Romanesque MASONS and architects introduced several innovations, including a choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels enclosing an eastern apse. This was ideal for the display of shrines with RELICS and for the easy circulation of large crowds of pilgrims. The interiors of these Romanesque buildings were divided into bays through the use of shafts, columns, and other devices. Rib vaulting prefigured the Gothic style of vaulting. Romanesque churches still required thick walls to carry the great weight of this stone vaulting. Only later pointed arches enabled buildings to have spans over bays of various shapes and of larger sizes. Windows were small, since the walls had to bear considerable weight. Interiors were thus dark. Sculptural decoration using stiff and formal figures became common, in particular by doorways and later in pulpits. Mural painting also was regularly employed for interior decoration, though more abstract than earlier work.



Eve as temptress, carved by Gislebertus in the 12th century at the Musée Rolin, Autun (Courtesy Edward English)

See also CRYPTS; OTTONIAN ART; PILGRIMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE SITES; SUGER OF SAINT DENIS, ABBOT; SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA; VÉZELAY, CHURCH OF LA MADELEINE.

**Further reading:** Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982); Kenneth John Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200*, 4th ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978); Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* trans. Mary Whittall (1968; reprint, New York: H. N. Abrams, 1970); Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Andreas Petzold, *Romanesque Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995); Meyer Schapiro, *Romanesque Art* (New York: G. Braziller, 1977); Rolf Toman, ed., *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, trans. Fiona Hulse and Ian Macmillan (Cologne: Könemann, 1997).

**Rome** The city of Rome was important throughout the Middle Ages and early RENAISSANCE, though compared to those of its long period as the capital of the Roman

Empire its population, size, and vitality, were diminished considerably. The population might still have been 500,000 in the mid-fifth century, down from the figure of one million 200 years before. Rome's importance at this point centered on the PAPACY and its court. After the establishment of CONSTANTINOPLE and various sacks, in 410 by ALARIC and in 455 by GAISERIC Rome's history can be divided into two periods. The first period included a slow recovery and irregular growth from the depths of its decay and destruction during Justinian's Gothic wars in the sixth century to the 13th century and the great jubilee or HOLY YEAR of 1300. Soon after that the papacy moved to AVIGNON and later a long era of schism produced two or three claimants to the papal throne. When the schism ended in the early 15th century, another period of growth for the city began and lasted into the 16th century and beyond.

#### EARLY MIDDLE AGES

From the mid-sixth to the mid-eighth century, Rome underwent one of the darkest periods of its history. The

population fell to a few tens of thousands, yet it was still one of the most populous cities in Europe. In the second half of the eighth and in the ninth century, public building was resumed, both religious and secular. The population for this period cannot even be estimated. The Vatican region underwent remarkable growth at this time with the development of accommodations for pilgrims, and a new palace near Old Saint Peter's built by CHARLEMAGNE. This area was sacked in 846 by Arab raiders, who pillaged the basilica. The quarter was enclosed by a wall under Pope Leo IV (847–855), forming the Leonine City, a new religious and political center. This affirmation of the city as a religious capital did not support much economic or population growth in the rest of the city. By then the city had broken down into scattered villages within the Aurelian walls. The largest ones were in the forum, on the Campus Martius, in the Leonine City, and in Trastevere, the area across the Tiber. There were also numerous scattered monasteries and churches with large holdings of land throughout the area of the classical city.

#### CYCLICAL REBIRTH

The population had started to grow again by the 11th century, but the sack of the city by the NORMANS under Robert GUISCARD in 1085 did tremendous damage. In the meantime the GREGORIAN REFORM movement tied the government of the popes more closely to the prestigious city of Rome and its surrounding territory. The Holy See also sought to impose its will much more thoroughly on the city and its people. The city recovered again as the PAPACY gained more income and prestige. The population may have risen to some 30,000 in the 13th century. This growth probably lasted until about 1300, peaking during the jubilee of 1300 proclaimed by Pope BONIFACE VIII. After the disasters of the end of Boniface's pontificate, the popes departed for AVIGNON, to the great detriment of the city.

In the meantime a COMMUNE had arisen in the mid-12th century. Strongly opposed by the Holy See, it had few moments of independence from the temporal rule of the popes, though the popes did not always live in the city in the 12th and 13th centuries. They frequently moved around central Italy, usually trying to assert control over the Patrimony of Saint Peter and opposing the ambitions of FREDERICK II and CHARLES I OF ANJOU to control central Italy and Rome. When they returned to Rome in the 15th century, the popes had much more control over the city than ever before. That control led to a new era of growth, population expansion, building, and prosperity.

See also ALBORNOZ, GIL, CARDINAL; ALEXANDER VI, POPE; BELISARIO; CARDINALS, COLLEGE OF; CLEMENT V, POPE; GREGORY I THE GREAT, POPE; GREGORY VII, POPE; HOLY YEAR; INNOCENT III, POPE; PAPAL STATES; LIBER PONTIFICALIS; PETRARCH, FRANCESCO; PILGRIMAGE; URBAN VI, POPE.

**Further reading:** Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1998); Robert Brentano, *Rome before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (New York: Basic Books, 1974); Ferdinand A. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. Annie Hamilton, 8 vols. (London: G. Bell, 1894–1902); Richard Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London: Faber, 1971).

**Roncevaux, Battle of (Roncesvalles)** Roncevaux was a historic battle immortalized but somewhat altered in the epic *La Chanson de Roland*. In it the hero Roland, the prefect or warden of the Breton march for the emperor CHARLEMAGNE, was killed in a titanic fight with Muslims, which historically was actually a battle with BASQUES. In charge of the rear guard of a retreating army led by Charlemagne, Roland was trapped in 778 in a valley between FRANCE and SPAIN. He and his great army fought gloriously until he and many of them were killed. In the epic, much bravery was demonstrated. In the real battle numerous Carolingian dignitaries were actually killed. This extremely popular epic poem, some 4,000 lines, was written in the 11th century. It drew on elements of the real battle to tell a story highlighting feudal values of loyalty among lords, vassals, and knights.

See also EPIC LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Frances F. Beer, trans., *The Chanson de Roland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969); Robert Francis Cook, *The Sense of the Song of Roland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987); Barton Sholod, *Charlemagne in Spain: The Cultural Legacy of Roncesvalles* (Geneva: Droz, 1966).

**rosary** The term *rosary* was attached in the 15th century to an exercise of PRAYER previously known as the “psalter of the Virgin,” which had consisted of reciting either the Ave Maria, as many as 150 times or the same number of psalms. This “psalter of the Virgin” had originated in the eighth century, when those who could not recite psalms from memory instead said a series of prayers. The development of the cult of MARY from the 12th and 13th centuries introduced specific prayers addressed to her, other than the old Ave Maria. The regular recitation was begun by the CISTERCIANS, well known for their devotion to the Blessed Virgin. The Carthusians suggested that Mary would collect these prayers as if gathering roses, and the name *rosary* thus evolved.

The rosary was much practiced in the Rhineland, COLOGNE, and eventually ITALY. It was particularly cultivated by the DOMINICANS, who turned it into meditations on the five joyful mysteries of the life of the Virgin, such as the ANNUNCIATION and Nativity of Christ, and the five

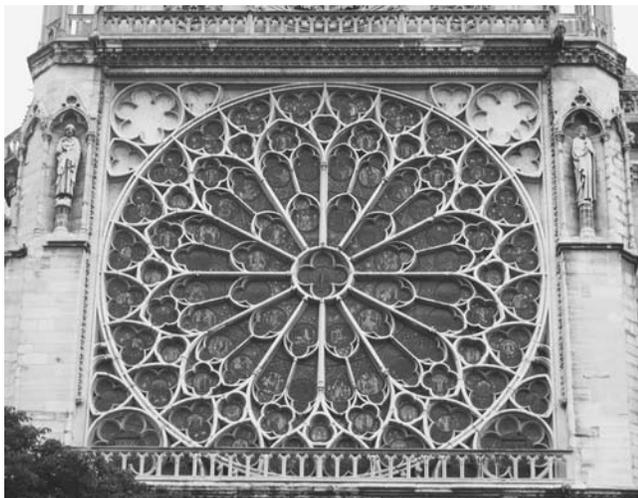
sorrowful mysteries, such as the agony in the garden and the CRUCIFIXION. Suggested also was contemplation of the five glorious mysteries, including the Resurrection. Each set of five formed decades or sets of repeated prayers. It became the usual practice to recite five decades and their surrounding prayers while contemplating a mystery of the faith. Fifteen decades comprised all of the 15 mysteries.

**Further reading:** Franz Michel Willam, *The Rosary: Its History and Meaning*, trans. Edwin Kaiser (New York: Benziger, 1953); John Desmond Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns and Oates, 2002); Catherine Vincent, "Rosary." EMA 2.1,261; Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

**rose window** A medieval rose window was a circular window shaped with ribs to resemble a rose. It was designed to draw light into the interior. It could be in the façade, the transepts, or the choirs. This usually exquisite form was developed in ROMANESQUE and especially GOTHIC architecture. It had a technical and symbolic aspect all set within other STAINED GLASS in a church. It developed a clear wheel-with-spokes shape, eventually with delicate tracery added.

**Further reading:** Painton Cowen, *Rose Windows* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1979).

**rota** The term *rota* denoted a specialized judicial body formed by the papacy in the Middle Ages. It had its origins in the pontificate of the prominent jurist Pope ALEXANDER III, when the number of cases brought to papal arbitration increased. This increase caused reorganization within the judicial procedures of the Roman Curia



A rose window from the transept of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, with its original glass (Courtesy Edward English)

or court. Its areas of jurisdiction and competence were originally almost unlimited, since it was soon intended to be the court of last appeal and could involve the pope himself. Only criminal cases were outside its purview.

The term *rota* was first used for this court about 1360 and probably designated a desk mounted on wheels in the deliberation room at the Papal Palace at AVIGNON, on which the registers of cases were laid out. Equally likely, however, was that the term referred to a porphyry table in the Vatican Palace around which popes, cardinals, and their advisers assembled to judge major cases. From the early 13th century, papal chaplains began to replace cardinals in this system of administration of justice. This centralization of the administration was part of the attempt of the Holy See to control more closely the affairs of the church. The secular powers, bishops, and local churches opposed its jurisdictional interference.

**Further reading:** Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (1949; reprint, New York: T. Nelsons 1963); Walter Ullman, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, 3d ed. (1955; reprint, London: Methuen, 1970).

**Rouen** Medieval Rouen was positioned on an alluvial bank of a loop in the Seine River in FRANCE. The first town wall of this originally Gallo-Roman town was hastily built in the late third or early fourth century. There was a mint from the ninth century, an era dominated by the Scandinavian invasions. In 841 a VIKING fleet attacked and burned the town. With the concession to ROLLO in 911 of the districts of the lower Seine, the town became the main center of his county and then of the duchy of NORMANDY. A ducal tower was built in the 10th century in the southeast of the town. The Norman Conquest of ENGLAND in 1066 linked Rouen with England.

In the next century King HENRY II gave the town a communal CHARTER. After capturing it in 1204, King PHILIP II AUGUSTUS built a new fortress within the city. During the 13th century, a new city wall was built. The insecurity of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR led in the mid-14th century to an eastward expansion and repair of the town's walls. Through the 13th and 14th centuries, there were internal conflicts and uprisings against power being monopolized by a few families and the imposition of heavy financial burdens arising from war. In 1419 King HENRY V took the town. It remained in English hands for the next 30 years, despite several attempts by the French to retake it. JOAN OF ARC was executed there. After 1449 it was returned to the control of the French kingdom.

See also HENRY I; JOHN LACKLAND; WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR.

**Further reading:** David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact on England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); Jonathan Sumption, *The*

*Hundred Years' War: Trial by Fire* (1990; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Jenny Stratford, ed., *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen* (London: British Archaeological Association, 1993).

**Round Table** The Round Table was first mentioned by the WACE in his romance, *Brut*, taking the idea from GEOFFREY of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. The Round Table represented the idea of a brilliant collection of KNIGHTS under the authority of King ARTHUR. The form of the table ensured meant that there were to be no quarrels over prestige. Its destruction meant the loss of the Arthurian idealistic kingdom. Robert de Boron (fl. 1200) in his book *Merlin* said that it was made by Merlin for Arthur's father. It was meant to be reminiscent of the table for the Last Supper and another where the GRAIL rested. One seat was to be vacant until the coming of a chosen knight, who only by means of his perfect virtue would be able to sit at the real table of the Grail. Developing the idea further CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES listed the Knights of the Round Table. The valor and prowess of these knights were the pillars of the Arthurian court but also ultimately the sources of the end of the dream of Camelot.

See also GALAHAD; GAWAIN AND THE GAWAIN ROMANCES; GUINEVERE; LANCELOT; MALORY, THOMAS; PERCEVAL; TRISTAN AND ISEULT.

**Further reading:** Anne Berthelot, *King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997); Christopher Dean, *Arthur of England: English Attitudes to King Arthur and Knights of the Round Table in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); James A. Schultz, *The Shape of the Round Table: Structures of Middle High German Arthurian Romance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

**Rudel, Jaufré** See JAUFRÉ RUDEL.

**Rudolf of Habsburg** (1218–1291) *king of Germany, emperor*

Rudolf, the count of HABSBURG, was born in 1218 in a family with property and substance in upper Alsace and near Zurich. He was elected king of the Romans in September 1273 after a long interregnum. He did not maintain the Italian policies of the HOHENSTAUFEN dynasty and refused an imperial coronation in ROME, being crowned instead at AACHEN. At the Diet of Nuremberg in 1274, he began a policy of claiming all the imperial rights once held by FREDERICK II. He defeated and killed Premysl Ottokar II (r. 1253–78), the king of BOHEMIA, his rival for the imperial office, in 1278 at the Battle of Drünkrut or Marchfeld. He tried systematically then to increase his power by taking possession of the

duchies of AUSTRIA, Carinthia, and Styria which became the bases of Habsburg power for centuries. He was a capable and fair administrator, created peaceful conditions in the empire, and gained the support of the magnates and many of the princes of GERMANY. He was moderate in his dealings with the PAPACY, even surrendering claims to SICILY and parts of the PAPAL STATES. Nonetheless, at his death July 15, 1291, he was unable to pass on the imperial and royal titles to his son Albert I (r. 1298–1308).

See also SWABIA.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Basingstoke, England: Macmillan, 1997); F. R. H. Du Boulay, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); Joseph P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066–1307)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Joachim Leuschner, *Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. Sabine MacCormack (Amsterdam: North-Holland 1980).

**Ruiz, Juan (Archpriest of Hita)** (ca. 1283–ca. 1350) *Spanish poet, cleric*

Juan was born about 1283 and was educated at TOLEDO. Little is known of his life. While he was the archpriest in the village of Hita near Alcalá, he wrote in about 1330 *The Book of Good Love*. There were later versions, including one from 1343 which consisted of 12 narrative poems describing different love affairs in a morally ambiguous way. The author distinguished between good LOVE, that of GOD, and carnal love. He praised spiritual love but described in great detail a male hero's unsuccessful attempts at seductions of women. It contained high-spirited descriptions of amorous adventures and satirical pictures of life. He drew on FABLES, FABLIAUX, mock heroic allegory, and parodies. Ruiz employed lower-class characters, mostly comical, and used popular speech and proverbs drawn from a variety of sources, including the BIBLE and ancient and Arabic authors. He died about 1350.

**Further reading:** Juan Ruiz, *The Book of Good Love*, trans. Elizabeth Drayson MacDonald (London: Dent, 1999); John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de buen amor* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994); Laurence De Looze, *Pseudo-Autobiography in the Fourteenth Century: Juan Ruiz, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, and Geoffrey Chaucer* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997) Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Canon Law and the Archpriest of Hita* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984); Rigo Mignani, ed., *A Concordance to Juan Ruiz, Libro de buen amor* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977).

**Rumi (Jalal al-Din, Mawlana, Our Lord, Djelaleddin, Jelalod-din)** (1207–1273) *Persian mystic, poet*

Rumi was born perhaps on September 30, 1207, at Balkh in Khurasan, modern-day Afghanistan. Jalal al-Din Rumi

was called *Mawlana*, “Our Master,” in Persian. He was the founder of the confraternity of the *Mevlevis*, known as the dancing or whirling dervishes in the West. With his family, he left his homeland because of the devastations of the MONGOL invasions in the 1220s and after a period of wandering settled at Konya in ANATOLIA in 1228, then the capital of the SELJUKS of Rum and the place where his father had taught theology. There he soon began to teach and to play an important role in intellectual and religious life. His most influential and didactic work was the mystical poem the *Mathnawi*, of some 25,000 verses. Rumi also wrote *Rubaiyat* and a lyrical and metaphorical poem, the *Diwan-e Shams*, in honor of his teacher, Shams al-Din of Tabriz (d. 1247). Rumi had been so obsessed with this wandering mystic that his students supposedly murdered Shams in order to refocus Rumi’s attention on them. His ideas and visions were based on an intense desire for union with GOD through LOVE and the spiritual dance or *sama* to the sound of a reed flute. His work remained popular throughout the Islamic world until this day. He died at Konya in Anatolia on December 17, 1273.

See also SUFISM.

**Further reading:** Jalal al-Din Rumi, *The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, ed. Reynold A. Nicholson, 3 vols. (London: Printed for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1977); Jalal al-Din Rumi, *The Mystical Poems of Rumi*, trans. Arthur J. Arberry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Afzal Iqbal, *The Life and Work of Jalal-ud-din Rumi* (London: Octagon Press, 1983); Fatemeh Keshavarz, *Reading Mystical Lyric: The Case of Jalal al-Din Rumi* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998); Annemarie Schimmel, *I Am Wind, You Are Fire: The Life and Work of Rumi* (Boston: Shambhala, 1992).

**runes, runic script, and inscriptions** The name *runic* has been applied to the script that the early Germans used from the third century C.E. It became almost an exclusively Scandinavian art after the conversion of most of the Germans to Christianity and their adoption of the Latin script. The runic alphabet first comprised 24 signs, in three groups of eight runes each. These were reduced to 16 around the year 800 for the business requirements of VIKING MERCHANTS. The 24 runes initially corresponded to the phonetic needs of a language, early Norse. The 16 new runes could be thought of as similar to modern shorthand. Runes at the same time were thought to be magic signs, a more or less esoteric means of communication, even in a secular sense or for religious purposes. The word *rune* can also be read as a “mystery,” a “secret,” or a “whispered message.” Runes were usually engraved with a stylus or a punch on a hard surface such as stone, wood, bone, IVORY, metal, or, leather and did not lend themselves to the writing of long texts.

**Further reading:** Elmer H. Antonsen, *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions* (Tübingen: M.

Niemeyer, 1975); Ralph W. V. Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959); R. I. Page, *Runes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

**Rupert of Deutz** (1075–1129/30) *reactionary monastic theologian, conservative reformer*

Rupert was born in 1075 in the region of Liège and there entered Saint Lawrence’s monastery in Liège for his education. Rupert followed his abbot into exile between 1092 and 1095. The abbot had been expelled in favor of an appointment bought by SIMONY. He fought with the bishop of Liège and was not reconciled with him until 1108. At about the same time, he experienced a spiritual change marked by visions encouraging him to write. Between 1111 and 1117, he wrote *On the Trinity*, which analyzed the historical books of the BIBLE. He also wrote a commentary on the gospel of John. In another, *On the Will of God*, he began to try to refute early Scholastic ideas and practices.

From 1116 he found a safer and calmer refuge with the abbot of Siegburg, and later the archbishop of COLOGNE, who allowed, in 1120, his election as the abbot of Deutz. After his earlier writings had been approved by the pope, he went on to compose a *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, the *Glorification of the Trinity*, and a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian. The dialogue was intended to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian New Testament over the Jewish Bible. He then went on to write polemics against the German emperor; pre-Scholastics such as ANSELM of Laon; the CISTERCIAN ORDER; and regular canons, such as those linked with NORBERT of Xanten. He unflinchingly rejected the new dialectic method and nascent Scholastic intellectual speculations. He emphasized the value of PRAYER and celebrated the Virgin MARY, whom he proposed as an ideal model for the church. He died in 1129/30.

**Further reading:** Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

**Rurik (Rlurik Ryurik, Roerck)** (d. 879) *Viking leader, founder of the first principality at Novgorod*

Rurik is known basically only as a legendary Scandinavian chieftain of the VARANGIANS. With his brothers Rurik took power at NOVGOROD in the ninth century. IGOR, perhaps his son, was the first historically attested member of the family. Igor reigned at Kiev in the first half of the 10th century and was the real founder of the dynasty. After him, the throne of Kiev passed to his son, Svatyslav (r. 945–972); his grandson, VLADIMIR I THE GREAT; and then YAROSLAV THE WISE, whose direct descendants reigned over the principality until the Mongol invasion. Rurik died in 879 probably near Novgorod.

The Rurikid dynasty ruled RUSSIA AND RUŚ from the ninth century until 1598 or 1614.

See also KIEV AND KIEVAN RUŚ; MONGOLS AND THE MONGOL EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953); Nora K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History: An Enquiry into Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946); H. R. Ellis Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976); Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Ruś, 750–1200* (New York: Longman, 1996).

**Rushd, Ibn** See IBN RUSHD.

**Russia and Ruś** Modern Russia had its origins in Kievan Ruś, which was formed during the ninth century under the leadership of a merchant and military elite of Scandinavian origin. That principality had its own origins from the late eighth century in the region between Lake Ladoga and NOVGOROD. These armed bands traded with the lands of the ARABS and the MERCHANTS of CONSTANTINOPLE. They lived in settlements along the river journey to the BLACK SEA. They had to subdue the Slavic tribes who lived along that route from the Baltic and North Seas. Kiev was the principal river port on this route and soon became the residence of the leading merchants and entrepreneurs.

#### THE PRINCES OF KIEV

In 860, these aggressive merchant-raiders even besieged Constantinople itself. The first princes of Kiev, OLEG and IGOR, attacked the Byzantine capital and obtained peace treaties and commercial privileges in 911 and 944. Later in the 10th century, Igor's son, Svatyslav (r. 945–972), tried to extend his power eastward into the KHAZAR kingdom that controlled the route from the Volga River to the Caspian Sea. He then attacked BULGARIA but was countered by opposition from the Byzantines. The Kievan princes continued to try to control the Slav and Finnish subject tribes. During the 10th and 11th centuries, the old tribal regions were replaced by administrative centers controlled by strongholds and fortified towns. From the early 11th century, the term Ruś designated the territories subjected to the princes of Kiev or from the shores of the Baltic to the course of the Dniepr River, and from the Dvina River to the upper course of the Volga.

#### CHRISTIANIZATION

The official adoption of Christianity by VLADIMIR I THE GREAT in 988 was the next step in a process of cultural unification of these territories. The Orthodox Church in

Constantinople sent priests and helped in establishing a diocesan organization. Kiev was elevated to rank of metropolitan for the area in about 990 and retained this ecclesiastical preeminence until the 14th century. The allegiance of the Kievan church to the Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople played a decisive role in the development of Russian culture, literature, intellectual models, and the arts.

#### MONGOL INVASIONS AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW CENTER

By the late 12th century, Ruś had been transformed into a federation of principalities, independent but seemingly allied against the new Mongol threat. With the capture of Kiev by the Mongol Khan Batu in 1240, a new center of government had to be established in the “grand principalities” of northeast Russia, a hitherto marginal region for Kievan Ruś, between the courses of the Volga and Oka Rivers. This area became the cradle of the later Russian nation. Populated by Finno-Ugrian tribes it was covered with forests but was crossed by commerce linking the Baltic to the Caspian Sea. It was called the land of Rostov or Suzdal from the name of its major towns. In the 11th century, it was already under the control of the princes of Kiev and now presented itself as the sole heir to Kievan Ruś. Agriculture there was then progressively dominated by great landowners, princes, and BOYARS. With a social and economic system that soon led to the establishment of an oppressive serfdom, it suffered periodically from Mongol incursions and the paying of a large tribute. From 1243 to 1480 North-East Ruś was a province of a part of the Mongol Empire, the western march of the Golden Horde. It has remained unclear how much economic and social damage this new state suffered from the Mongols.

#### THE PRINCES OF MOSCOW

From this the grand duchy of Moscow emerged, and the son of Alexander NEVSKY, David (r. 1280–1303), became the first to be called the prince of MOSCOW. The prestige of the grand principality of Vladimir or Moscow was assisted when a metropolitan, Maximus, fleeing Kiev, settled there in 1299. These princes of Moscow, especially IVAN III THE GREAT, began to break Mongol control. At Kulikovo, DIMITRI of the Don had already won a great victory over the Mongols, which led to the virtual independence of Moscow. Russia was dominated by Moscow from then on.

See also KIEV AND KIEVAN RUŚ; MONGOLS AND THE MONGOL EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Robert Auty and Dimitri Obolensky, eds., *An Introduction to Russian Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pavel Markovich Dolukhanov, *The Early Slavs: Eastern Europe from the Initial Settlement to the Kievan Ruś* (London: Longman, 1996); Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Ruś, 750–1200* (New York:

Longman, 1996); Thomas S. Noonan, "European Russia, c. 900–1016," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 487–513; P. B. Golden, "Ruś," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 8:618–629.

**Ruysbroeck, Jan van, Blessed (Ruusbroec, Ruusbrochius)** (1293–1381) *Flemish mystic, participant in the movement of Free Spirit*

Jan van Ruysbroeck was born in 1293 at Ruusbroec, a small town near Brussels in BRABANT. In 1304 he moved to Brussels, where he was educated at the school of the collegiate church. Intended for the priesthood, he was ordained in 1317. For 25 years, he was the vicar of the collegiate church of Saint Gudule but in close contact with BEGUINES of Brussels. Through them he was probably exposed to the writings of HADEWIJCH OF ANTWERP, Beatrice of Nazareth (ca. 1200–68), and MARGARET PORETTE. This led him to the ideas of the FREE SPIRIT. Under the influence of Meister ECKHART, and trying to promote a more orthodox spirituality, yet at the same time one critical of the institutional church, he wrote spiritual and mystical treatises in the VERNACULAR,

Flemish or Middle Dutch. His great work, among several others, was *Adornment of Spiritual Marriage*. Some of these were later translated into LATIN.

Around Easter of 1343, Ruysbroeck moved with some friends to Groenendaal in the forest of Soignes, where they lived for seven years in a community without rule. In 1350 they adopted the AUGUSTINIAN RULE becoming a community of regular canons. There he was perhaps visited by JOHN Tauler and undoubtedly by his disciple, Gerhard GROOTE. He died at Groenendaal on December 2, 1381. In 1908 he was beatified by the pope, and his feast is commemorated in dioceses in Flanders on December 2.

*See also* DEVOTIO MODERNA; KEMPIS, THOMAS À; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Louis K. Dupré, *The Common Life: The Origins of Trinitarian Mysticism and Its Development by Jan Ruusbroec* (New York: Crossroad, 1984); Paul Mommaers, *The Land Within: The Process of Possessing and Being Possessed by God According to the Mystic Jan van Ruysbroeck*, trans. David N. Smith (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1975); Paul Verdeyen, *Ruusbroec and His Mysticism*, trans. André Lefevere (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1994).

# S

**Saba** See SAVA NEMANJA OF SERBIA, SAINT.

**sabbath and witches' sabbath** The sabbath had two meanings in the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE. It was the seventh day of the week for JEWS and Christians, Saturday. It initially did and in some denominations still does prohibit work. It was to be a day limited to rest and the worship of GOD, for God himself had rested on the seventh day during his creation of the world. Christians transferred this custom to Sunday during the Middle Ages, presumably because they believed that Christ's Resurrection and the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost both occurred on this first day of the week. For the Jews the sabbath retained its initial character and there was considerable discussion about what they were and were not allowed to do on that day of the week.

In very different terms, the witches' sabbath occupied an important place in the definition of the crime of WITCHCRAFT, as described in the theoretical treatises and trial confessions from at least the 15th century. If someone was found, or perceived, to have participated in its celebration or practice, he or she was assumed to be a witch and was thus liable to execution. The witches' sabbath was thought to be the central ritual of a cult antithetical to Christian worship. Its fundamental aspects allegedly included nocturnal flights, sometimes on a stick rubbed with an unguent, sometimes on an animal, to the place where dreamlike, yet voluntary and "sabbatical" acts were performed. These acts might include carnal unions with demons or and cannibalism of newborn children. No proof exists that these events actually took place. In witchcraft trials, they could have emerged from the imaginations and the cultural and

religious superstitions of the accusers and melded into the confessions of the accused.

See also VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** Montague Summers, trans., *The Malleus Maleficarum of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger* (1928; reprint, New York: Dover, 1971); Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972); E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM Press, 1990).

**Sachsenspiegel (the Mirror of Saxon Law)** The *Sachsenspiegel* was a collection of customary on feudal laws mainly from SAXONY which was compiled first in Latin then in the German vernacular about 1225 by Eike von Repgow (ca. 1180–ca. 1235) with a final version appearing in 1270. It synthesized German law in reaction and opposition to the centralizing efforts of the ambitious HOHENSTAUFEN dynasty, who were trying to increase their control over the German states by imposing a centralized, standard, and imperial code of law. The *Sachsenspiegel* was heavily influenced by Roman law, which favored imperial authority. The *Sachsenspiegel* was divided into two parts, the law of the land and the law of fiefs or feudal law. It assumed a duality of law between the secular and the ecclesiastical but gave the papacy no role in the Law of Germany. GREGORY XI condemned 14 articles in it in 1374. The HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE was in theory to be based on a common and unifying law within a collection of interacting polities or states. The *Sachsenspiegel* later

became one of the bases for an electoral system for the Holy Roman Empire by defining who were the seven electors. It consisted of two parts. The first covered customary law on inheritance, the family, legal procedure, criminal law, and laws to maintain public peace. The second part concerned feudal obligations, especially those of Saxony.

See also FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; FREDERICK II, EMPEROR AND KING OF SICILY.

**Further reading:** Maria Dobozy, trans., *The Saxon Mirror: A Sachsenspiegel of the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Guido Kisch, *Sachsenspiegel and Bible: Researches in the Source History of the Sachsenspiegel and the Influence of the Bible on Mediaeval German Law* (1941; reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1960); Guillermo F. Margadant, *The Illustrations of the Sachsenspiegel: A Medieval German Law Book* (Austin: Joseph D. Jamail Center for Legal Research, The University of Texas School of Law, 2000); Theodore John Rivers, "Sachsenspiegel" DMA 10.602–604.

**sacramentary** During the Middle Ages, the sacramentary was principal book used for the celebration of MASS. In it nearly all the PRAYERS of the Christian Church were preserved. It was also among the most illustrated liturgical books of the early Middle Ages. It contained all the prayers for the celebrant, whether pope, bishop, or priest, for each day of the liturgical year. It also contained the canon of the Mass or eucharistic prayer. The sacramentary contained the formularies, usually three orations and a preface for the temporal and the sanctoral. These were usually supplemented by a CALENDAR, ritual prayers, and blessings for baptism, EXORCISM, funerals, penitential services, and various votive masses. Many of these were made and decorated simply or lavishly. They are recorded from the time of Pope LEO I in the fifth century. The most common model for them was associated with Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, whose prestige enhanced its authority. During the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE and reform, these books were standardized for a common liturgy throughout the empire. In the 12th century, the contents of the sacramentary were included in the MISSAL.

See also ILLUMINATION; LITURGICAL BOOKS.

**Further reading:** Yitzhak Hen, ed., *The Sacramentary of Echternach* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 9433) (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1997); Richard W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 72–79; Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986).

**sacraments** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**Sacred College** See CARDINALS, COLLEGE OF

**sacristy** The sacristy or *sacrarium* in LATIN was the place where sacred and valuable objects, such as RELICS, liturgical vessels, and VESTMENTS, were kept. It was the place where the priest and the ministers put on those vestments. Most of these areas or rooms in medieval churches have not survived or have been heavily redone. Only a few CATHEDRALS from the late middle Ages and RENAISSANCE have kept their original sacristies.

See also AMIENS CATHEDRAL; CHARTRES, CATHEDRAL OF

**Further reading:** Reinhard Bentmann, *Churches of the Middle Ages*, trans. Anthony Lloyd (London: Cassell, 1979); Paul Hetherington, *Byzantine and Medieval Greece: Churches, Castles, and Art of the Mainland and Peloponnese* (London: J. Murray, 1991); H. W. van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism*, trans. Eva Biesta (New York: A. Schram, 1974); Colin Platt, *The Parish Churches of Medieval England* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1981).

**Saffarids (Safawids)** The Saffarids were a ruling Muslim dynasty from Sistan in eastern Persia or IRAN between 873 and 900. The dynasty founded in Khorasan by Yaquub ibn al-Layth (al-Saffar, the coppersmith) (r. 867–79), a former MERCHANT who organized a local militia of merchants and craftsmen to defend their trades. By 873 the Saffarids had conquered the major part of Khorasan, most of Persia, and territory well east into Afghanistan and even India. Yaquub died in 879 and was succeeded as emir by his brother, Amr (r. 879–900). The dynasty reigned until 900, when Emir Amr was captured and dethroned by the SAMANIDS. The empire quickly fell apart, but the family remained a local power in Sistan for several centuries, even surviving the invasion of the MONGOLS.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 103–106; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz: (247/861 to 949/1542–3)* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers in Association with Bibliotheca Persica, 1994); R. M. Savory et al., "Safawids," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 8.765–793; Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Colin Turner, *Islam without Allah?: The Rise of Religious Externalism in Saffavid Iran* (Richmond, England: Curzon, 2000).

**saffron** Saffron in the Middle Ages was an expensive and important spice used primarily as flavoring for food, particularly in Mediterranean foods, especially those using fish or rice. It also served as a dyestuff for yellow to bright orange and as a medicinal drink. Saffron consisted of the whole or powdered dried stigmas of the flowers of

the plant *Crocus sativus*. That somewhat rare plant usually only annually bloomed for a two-week period in late autumn. The word *saffron* was derived from the Arabic word *zaaran* or “yellow.” It could require perhaps 70,000 flowers to yield a single pound of saffron.

The taste for and use of saffron were probably introduced to ITALY, FRANCE, Iberia, and GERMANY by returning crusaders during the 13th and 14th centuries. Saffron from VALENCIA and CATALONIA initially dominated the market in Western Europe, while saffron from Tuscany did so in the eastern Mediterranean market. Certain towns, such as MONTPELLIER and San Gimignano in TUSCANY soon specialized in its production, and made fortunes from its production.

See also FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; SPICES AND THE SPICE TRADE.

**Further reading:** John W. Parry, *Spices: Their Morphology, Histology and Chemistry* (New York: Chemical, 1962); Frederick Rosengarten, *The Book of Spices* (Wynnewood, Pa.: Livingston, 1969).

**sagas** Medieval sagas were prose narratives, sometimes including skaldic strophes or even long poems, composed in ICELAND from the 12th to the 14th century. Some followed classical and hagiographical Latin models. The word itself derived from the verb *segja*, “to say” or “to recount.” They were not intended as history but often reflected considerable historical reality. Most were written by literate lay or clerical authors, much under the influence of oral traditions. There were pagan elements running through them, but they were influenced by Christian ethical ideas.

#### GENRES

Dating from the early 13th century, the historical sagas tried to trace the lives of the kings of NORWAY or DENMARK, such as in SNORRI STURLUSON’S *HEIMSKRINGLA* from about 1225. The Icelandic sagas or family sagas were tales about the great colonizers of Iceland or their immediate descendants, such as *Saga of Burnt Njal* and the *Saga of Egill Son of Grimr the Bald*. Those later-named contemporary sagas were chronicles of events contemporary with their anonymous authors, such as the *Sturlunga Saga*. There were the knights’ sagas (*riddarasogur*), adaptations of courtly texts from the romantic and Germanic courtly world. Last there were sagas set in ancient times, basically legendary, archaic, and more generally Germanic, such as the *Volsunga Saga*.

See also ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Jesse L. Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Carol J. Clover, *The Medieval Saga* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982); Paul Schach, “Norse Sagas” in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval*

*Drama*, eds. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 377–404.

**Saint-Denis, abbey and church of** Around 475 Saint Geneviève (d. 500) had an oratory built on the tomb and in memory of Denis or Dionysius (d. ca. 250), a Christian missionary, patron saint of France, and the bishop of Paris who was martyred in the midthird century on a road north of Paris. He was buried there by a pious woman. The Merovingian dynasty soon took an interest in the sanctuary because of its powerful RELICS. Around 550 Childebert I (r. 511–58) enlarged the monastery and made it the religious heart of his kingdom. He also made it the royal necropolis. By the late sixth century, many members of royal family were buried there. The abbey became very rich. The Carolingians built a new church and also used it as a burial site for their kings, CHARLES Martel and CHARLES THE BALD, among others. The Capetians, as lay abbots of Saint Denis, enriched the abbey’s position still further and allied it even more closely with the Crown. To show this the royal battle insignia from the 12th century, the oriflamme, became the banner of the abbey.

A new church built by SUGER between 1130 and 1144 housed the tombs of all the Capetian kings except Philip I (r. 1060–1108), who was at Fleury; Louis VII (r. 1137–80), who was at Barbeau, and Louis IX who was at Cléry. The abbey fared poorly during the HUNDRED YEARS’ WAR and thereafter never regained its prominence and links with the new VALOIS dynasty.

See also CRYPTS; DEATH AND THE DEAD; GOTHIC.

**Further reading:** Pamela Z. Blum, *Early Gothic Saint-Denis: Restorations and Survivals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Paula Lieber Gerson, ed., *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986); Sumner M. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: From Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151*, ed. Pamela Z. Blum (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Anne F. Rockwell, *Glass, Stones and Crown: The Abbé Suger and the Building of St. Denis* (New York: Atheneum, 1968); Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946).

**Sainte-Chapelle of Paris** The Sainte-Chapelle of PARIS was built for King LOUIS IX, in a courtyard of the Palace of the Cité, to house the RELICS of the Passion taken by Baldwin II the Latin emperor, from Byzantium and the Near East between 1239 and 1247. It was modeled on a palace of the Byzantine emperors, Bucoleon, on the edge of CONSTANTINOPLE. This treasure house was enriched later by gifts, and exchanges of relics and, in 1306, by a RELIQUARY of Saint Louis IX, who had been

canonized in 1297. They were placed behind the high ALTAR of the upper chapel and displayed to the people of Paris during HOLY WEEK and to important visitors. Some relics, such as a cross of victory or a crown of thorns, were carried in the great Parisian processions.

Designed and built in a very short time by an unknown architect, the Sainte-Chapelle was consecrated on April 26, 1248, just before Louis's departure on a Crusade the following June. It was a reliquary church on two levels, the upper level having immense and dazzling STAINED glass windows, including a ROSE WINDOW. The windows included biblical themes and the history of the relics of the Passion. Considered a prime GOTHIC example of the mid-13th-century court style, the Sainte-Chapelle was frequently imitated. A major and heavy-handed restoration was accomplished in the 19th century. Some of its medieval contents are known today, especially IVORY work, jeweled book covers, and small reliquaries. An abundant staff of canons and court officials were commissioned by Louis to serve as caretakers of the Sainte-Chapelle.

**Further reading:** Yves Bottineau, *Notre-Dame de Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle*, trans. Lovett F. Edwards (London: Allen, 1967); Robert Branner, *The Painted Medallions*



The Gothic exterior of the Sainte-Chapelle rising in the center of Paris (Courtesy Edward English)

*in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968); Alyce A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

**Saint Patrick's Purgatory** *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* was a visionary text written by an English Cistercian monk about 1190. In it a knight, Owein, entered a particular well God had revealed to Saint PATRICK, in order to cleanse himself of his sins and attain HEAVEN. This well or Saint Patrick's purgatory was situated on an island in IRELAND. Inside it the knight passed through several regions where souls suffered infernal tortures in order to fulfill the penance earned by their terrestrial SIN. The qualities and length of their passage were proportional to the gravity of their sins but could be lessened or cut short by the PRAYERS of those still living. After enduring such purgation, souls emerged to an earthly and then a heavenly PARADISE. Owein escaped the torments due him by invoking the name of Jesus Christ and becoming a monk. This was a popular tale and was translated into several languages including one by MARIE DE FRANCE. A well on Station Island in county Donegal in Ireland became identified with Saint Patrick's Purgatory and was reputed to be this entrance to penance and salvation. It became a great site of PILGRIMAGE from the 12th century.

See also PURGATORY; VISIONS AND DREAMS.

**Further reading:** Jean-Michel Picard, trans., *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth Century Tale of a Journey to the Other World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1985); Howard R. Patch, *The Other World, According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950); Shane Leslie, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* (Dublin: Colm O Lochlainn, at the Sign of the Three Candles, 1961).

**Saladin** (Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, al-Malik al-Nasir Abu l-Muzaffar) (1137/38–1193) *Kurdish sultan of Egypt, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty*

The son of al-Ayyub, a minister of Zengi and NUR AL-DIN, Saladin was born at Tikrit in IRAQ about 1137 or 1138. Of Kurdish origin, he was at first in the service of Prince Nur al-Din, who was trying to reunify the Muslim world to oppose the crusading Europeans. Once they achieved Syrian unity in 1154, Nur al-Din sent Saladin with his uncle, Shirkuh (d. 1171), to conquer EGYPT. It was there that his military career began to flourish. Shirkuh held the post of vizier of CAIRO by 1169. After his death, Saladin succeeded him, and in 1171 he restored Sunni rule, ending two centuries of Shiite FATIMID rule in Egypt. He subsequently seized power in Egypt, risking the enmity of Nur al-Din in DAMASCUS, who was preparing to attack him when he died in 1174.

Saladin immediately sought to succeed him. Branded as a usurper by the partisans of Nur al-Din's young son,

another Nur al-Din (d. 1181), Saladin claimed that he was the only prince capable of leading a successful war or JIHAD against the Franks in the Levant. Saladin controlled Damascus and central SYRIA by 1174 and then eventually upper Mesopotamia, or IRAQ, and northern Syria by 1183. He then attacked the Christians. Profiting from a crisis of succession in the kingdom of JERUSALEM, in 1187 Saladin won a resounding victory over the Kingdom of Jerusalem at the Horns at HATTIN near Tiberias. The kingdom of Jerusalem was suddenly defenseless and fell into his hands. Jerusalem was taken on October 2, 1187, without much bloodshed, and in the following months many fortresses capitulated in northern Syria. Only TYRE, TRIPOLI, ANTIOCH, and a few CASTLES remained in Frankish hands. The West soon organized a Third CRUSADE, in which FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, PHILIP II AUGUSTUS, and RICHARD I LIONHEART took part. They failed to retake Jerusalem on this crusade but did capture ACRE and some coastal strongholds. Saladin skillfully avoided a decisive battle, especially with Richard I. The treaty of Jaffa in 1192 allowed the reestablishment of a second kingdom of Jerusalem, or the kingdom of Acre, much reduced from the first but easier to defend. Saladin died of a fever following year, March 4, 1193, in Damascus.

#### IDEALIZED LEGACY

Saladin's success rested on the support given him by powerful religious leaders including Kurdish and Turkish emirs. He sought to restore economic support for Sunnite ISLAM by granting important landed incomes. He restored the Egyptian fleet and sought good relations with the Italian towns to ensure that they would supply him with the wood and iron necessary for his armaments. He concluded alliances with the SELJUQS of ANATOLIA in 1180 and the BYZANTINES in 1185. The unity of his state collapsed soon after his death, in part because of financial difficulties and in part because of its division among his sons. Known for his toleration of non-Muslim subjects, he has remained a hero for many Muslims to this day.

See also ALEPPO; MOSUL.

**Further reading:** Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*—or, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wal-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972); H. A. R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin: From the Works of Imad ad-Din and Baha ad-Din* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); Geoffrey Hindley, *Saladin* (London: Constable, 1976); R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977); Margaret A. Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography* (Lewiston, Maine: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000); Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); P. H. Newby, *Saladin in His Time* (London: Faber and Faber,

1983); D. S. Richards, "Salaln al-Din," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 8.910–914.

**salat** See PRAYER AND PRAYERS.

**Salerno** See MEDICINE; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS; TROTA.

**Salian dynasty (Salier dynasty)** The Salians were the imperial family who reigned from 1024 to 1125 over the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Named for the Salian FRANKS, they were originally from the Middle Rhine region. The dynasty began when the duke of Lotharingia, Conrad the Red (r. 944–953), married Liudgard (d. 953), a daughter of the emperor OTTO I. Conrad's great-grandson, Conrad II (r. 1024–39), was proclaimed king in 1024. Conrad II and his three successors, all called Henry, ruled the empire for a century. One, Henry IV, reigned for 50 years, from 1056 to 1106.

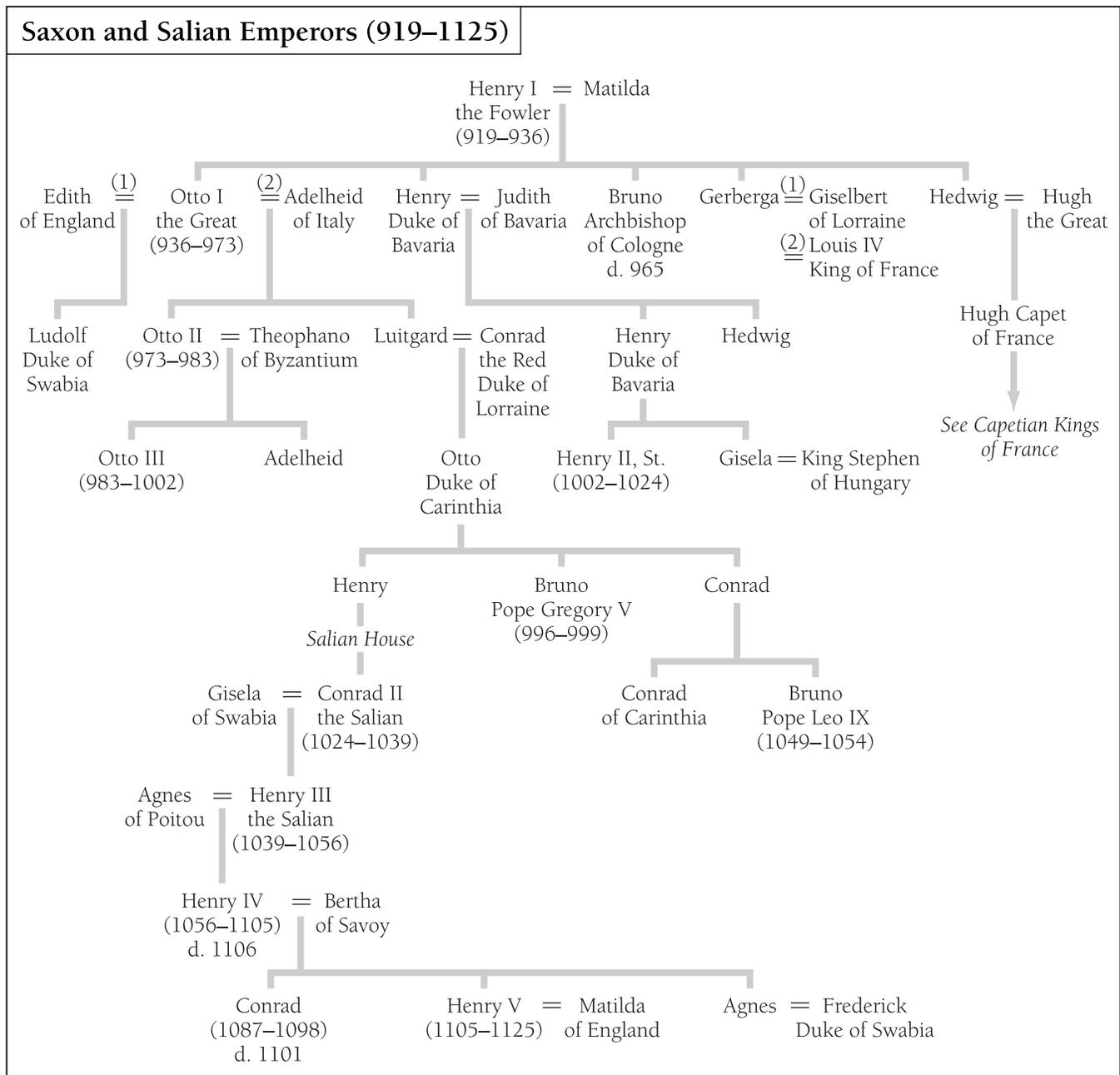
The Salians based their power and patrimony on lands and fiefs in FRANCONIA and the Rhineland. They rebuilt and enlarged the CATHEDRAL of Speyer for a family necropolis. Heirs to the policies of the Ottonians and Henry II the Saint (r. 1002–24), they continued to foster an imperial dominated church, as did Conrad II. HENRY III (r. 1039–56) was unsympathetic to SIMONY, nonetheless used his authority over the church to appoint three successive popes and preside over a council with one of them, Leo IX (r. 1049–54). Henry IV battled but failed both in taking control of SAXONY and in gaining influence with Pope GREGORY VII. His sons finally rose against and deposed him in 1105. Henry V (r. 1105–25) fought with popes but also reached an accord with the church in the Concordat of Worms in 1122. The last Salian, Lothair III, ruled from 1125 to 1137. At his death the HOHENSTAUFEN dynasty took over.

See also CANOSSA; GREGORIAN REFORM; PASCHAL II, POPE.

**Further reading:** Karl Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*, trans. Ralph Bennett (1968; reprinted Oxford: Blackwell, 1973); Stefan Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. Barbara M. Bowlus (1991, reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

**Salimbene de Adam (Ognibene)** (1221–after 1288) *Italian Franciscan friar, traveler, chronicler*

Salimbene was born at Parma in 1221, the son of Guido de Adamo and Iumelda de Cassio, who were related to Pope INNOCENT IV. The sources for his life are found almost completely in his *Chronicle*. On February 4, 1238, at Parma, he was admitted into the FRANCISCAN ORDER by



the minister general, Friar Elias of Cortona (d. 1253), much against the advice of his father. He studied and led the itinerant life of a Franciscan friar, perhaps spying on what he saw in his travels for the PAPACY. From 1239 to 1241, he studied Scripture, THEOLOGY, and singing at Lucca. It was there that he met the emperor FREDERICK II. In 1241 he was at SIENA, where he encountered the ideas of JOACHIM OF FIORE. In November of 1247, he was in Parma while the town was besieged by Frederick II. He was sent by the city to the pope at LYON to beg for help.

Thereafter he continued his travels from town to town and carefully wrote about what and whom he saw in his *Chronicle*. At Tarascon he met the Franciscan min-

ister general John of Parma (d. 1288) and received authorization to preach in public but was ordered to live at GENOA. After he arrived there early in December 1248, he was ordained a priest but left almost immediately for FRANCE in February 1249. He traveled to AVIGNON and Lyon, where he again joined John of Parma and returned to ITALY through SAVOY, GENOA, Parma, and FERRARA, where he settled for seven years between 1249 and 1256 and began to write full time. In 1260, when the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore were not fulfilled, he abandoned his Joachite convictions and resumed his travels across northern and central Italy from 1261 to 1287, and finally settled at Reggio Emilia.

Salimbene's *Chronicle* is known from a single incomplete but autographed manuscript. An original work of history and autobiography, it is loaded with sharp and insightful anecdotes along with legal, literary, and historical knowledge. A unique work, it is an important source for historians of the tumultuous 13th century. He died sometime after 1288.

**Further reading:** Salimbene, da Parma, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986); Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (1968; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

**Salisbury, cathedral of** The CATHEDRAL of Salisbury in Wiltshire, ENGLAND, was in its organizational practices and liturgy was one of the most influential of English cathedrals in the Middle Ages. The diocese of Salisbury was established as an episcopal see in 1075. The first cathedral of Salisbury was at Old Sarum, north of the present city, and within the walls of a Norman CASTLE. That church was dedicated in 1092 by Bishop and Saint Osmund (1078–99), the nephew of WILLIAM I.

By the end of the 12th century, the location of Old Sarum was be considered inappropriate for a cathedral. In 1218 its chapter decided to move to the planned town of New Salisbury. In 1220 Bishop Richard Poor (d. 1237) laid the foundation stone of the new cathedral which was consecrated in 1258; with roof completed in 1266. The cloisters, chapter house, and spire, the highest in England, were added over the course of the 13th century. This cathedral was remarkable for its architectural unity, a version of the GOTHIC style known as Early English or decorative style.

The statutes and administrative practices of the cathedral chapter and the conduct of services were recorded in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. They formed a guide to what became known as the *Use of Sarum*. It exercised enormous influence on constitutional and liturgical practice in English cathedrals in the later Middle Ages. By the mid-15th century it was used throughout England, WALES, and IRELAND. The cathedral community became famous for its learning and liturgy. Its surviving manuscript books from the late 11th and early 12th centuries have lent support to the assertion of the chronicler WILLIAM of Malmesbury that the Salisbury chapter was the most learned community of canons in England. In the 13th century Salisbury reached the height of its fame as a center of learning.

**Further reading:** G. L. Cochrane, *Salisbury Cathedral: The West Front with a Description of the Statues* (Salisbury:

Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, 1971); Thomas Cocke and Peter Kidson, *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History* (London: H.M.S.O., 1993); Laurence Keen and Thomas Cocke, eds., *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral* (London: British Archaeological Association, 1996); R. O. C. Spring, *The Stained Glass of Salisbury Cathedral*, 2d ed. (Salisbury: Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, 1979); Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

**salt and salt trade** Salt is generally considered essential to the well-being of human beings and animals. It gives savor to foods and plays an important physiological role in digestion, cellular health, and the transmission of nerve impulses. It has been used for centuries to desiccate and preserve fish, meat, and vegetable by preventing the growth of bacteria.

In medieval Europe the main sources of salt were along the seashore and from mining inland. In the early Middle Ages, sea salt was gathered from salt marshes. Away from the coasts, rock salt was mined from deposits underground. A new technique was added in the 12th century in which water was poured to dissolve rock salt, thereby producing a brine that was then carried by channels to a saltworks, where it was boiled in pans to remove the remaining water to produce a granulated salt. Transport costs were always high since salt is heavy and bulky. The salt trade was considered essential to the public good and from the 13th century was organized by states and cities as monopolies to facilitate taxation and guarantee supplies.

*See also* FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; RAVENNA; SARDINIA; TRANSYLVANIA; VENICE.

**Further reading:** Samuel Adrian M. Adshead, *Salt and Civilization* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker, 2002); Robert P. Multhauf, *Neptune's Gift: A History of Common Salt* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

**Salutati, Coluccio** (1331–1406) *Florentine humanist scholar, bureaucrat, chancellor*

Born at Stignano in Valdinievole in 1331, Coluccio, studied the notarial art at BOLOGNA under the patronage of the powerful Pepoli family. From 1350 he was a professional NOTARY in many Italian cities while following his literary studies. He maintained a close correspondence with BOCCACCIO and especially with PETRARCH. He worked for the town bureaucracies of Todi, LUCCA, and the PAPACY. In 1374 he moved to FLORENCE, hired first as notary of the *Tratte* or the electoral system and eventually chancellor of the COMUNE in 1375. In this office, which he held until his death, he was renowned for his powerful diplomatic correspondence. He found ways to apply an

ideology of civic HUMANISM to engage in an impassioned and intense defense of republican institutions and Florentine freedom. The immediate historical and most productive setting for this were the difficult years of the War of the Eight Saints (1375–78) against both the PAPACY and the expansionist policies of the VISCONTI of MILAN.

Coluccio's humanist ideal assigned to people, intellectuals in particular, the duty to defend the dignity and necessity of political intervention by scholars and citizens in the affairs of this world. One should read the classics to learn how to accomplish this most effectively. One should not withdraw into an intellectual exile. Classical culture thus influenced if not permeated the writings from his Florentine chancery further enriched the style of Florence's embassies, adding a solemnity and competence enhancing the civil and political prestige of the city. He encouraged the study of Greek and Hellenic culture in the educational system and welcomed the Byzantine humanist Manuel CHRYSOLORAS to the city in 1397.

In his philological and rhetorical studies *Salutati* transcribed and studied Cicero's letters and was the first to attribute to Julius Caesar the *Gallic Wars*. Coluccio wrote treatises on many of the themes important to humanist culture, from the defense of poetry and classical studies to the philosophical contrasts between an active life and a contemplative or monastic life, educational reform, and a comparison between fate and free will. Like PETRARCH, he demonstrated how the classical pagan myths and allegories could be useful and instructive to Christians. He collected a great library and made it available to young scholars. He died on May 4, 1406.

See also BRACCIOLINI, POGGIO; BRUNI, LEONARDO; TRAVERSARI, AMBROGIO.

**Further reading:** Ephraim Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny: Studies in the Italian Trecento* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925); Stephanie H. Jed, *Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Berthold L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padova: Antenore, 1963); Ronald G. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1983).

**salvation (soteriology)** See REDEMPTION.

**Samanids** They were a dynasty of emirs who were autonomous from, but loyal to, the ABBASID caliphs in BAGHDAD. They began their dynasty in Transoxiana from 875 but soon took over the region around Khurasan in eastern IRAN from 900. They were the descendants of a local landowner from the Balkh region in northern Afghanistan, Saman-Khuda (819–864), who was a recent convert to Islam. Basing their power on an aristocratic class, they organized a complex state system. They benefited from the slave trade and the general economic

prosperity of Transoxiana, which they protected from the predations of TURKS from Central Asia. Their capital BUKHARA became a great intellectual center of Persian literature. The Samanids were supported by Turkish mercenary units. However, after a series of palace revolutions, they would be deposed in the late 10th century by two dynasties of Turkish origin. The GHAZNAWIDS took over around Khurasan in eastern Iran and the Qarakhanids seized power in Transoxiana. The last fugitive Samanid pretender to the throne was killed in 1005.

See also BUYIDS; SAFFARIDS; SAMARKAND.

**Further reading:** Iraj Bashiri, ed. and trans., *The Samanids and the Revival of the Civilization of Iranian Peoples: Collected Research Materials* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1998); Clifford Edward Bosworth and Yolande Crowe, "Samanids," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 8.1,025–1,031; Clifford Edward Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 101–102; Richard Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975).

**Samarkand (Marakanda, Mawaraal-Nahr)** Medieval Samarkand was a city in central Asia or Uzbekistan on the Zeravshan River about 120 miles from BUKHARA. Called Afrasiyab, it was the main town of Sogdiana, and under Turkish rule from the fifth century. It retained its Sogdian language and culture until the 10th century, and Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity all coexisted there. The Arab conquest of 712 and 713 did not eliminate the Christian community. It became something of a NESTORIAN metropolis between 712 and 728 and propagated that version of Christianity in central Asia. In the eighth through 10th centuries, Samarkand developed into an important commercial and industrial center famous for its steel, PAPER, and rug industries. Under the rule of the SAMANIDS in the ninth and 10th centuries, the city became a brilliant cultural and artistic center. In 1220 it was destroyed by JENGHIZ Khan, but during the 13th century the inhabitants who survived rebuilt it. An important Christian community still existed into the late 13th century. A Latin bishopric was created at Samarkand for a DOMINICAN friar in 1329.

Christianity was later persecuted when TAMERLANE and the TIMURIDS made Samarkand their capital from 1369 and promoted the building of still extant and impressive MOSQUES such as the Bibi Khanum Mosque. They also left impressive tombs, a MADRASA, and an observatory from the 15th century.

See also KHWARIZMSHAHS; MONGOLS AND THE MONGOL EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** Wilfrid Blunt, *The Golden Road to Samarkand* (New York: Viking Press, 1973); René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppe: A History of Central Asia*, trans. Naomi Walford (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970); Vadim Evgenevich Gippeneiter,

*Fabled Cities of Central Asia: Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989); Luc Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads: A History of Central Asia, 500–1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979); J. Lawton and F. Venturi, *Samarkand and Bukhara* (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1991); H. H. Schaeder, C. E. Bosworth, and Yolande Crowe, "Samarkand," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 8:1,031–1,039.

**Samuel, czar of Bulgaria (Samuil of Bulgaria)** (ca. 980–1014) *king of the Bulgarians*

The son of a provincial governor, Shishman, in MACEDONIA Samuel restored the Bulgarian empire, which had been destroyed by the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes (r. 969–976). Samuel established his capital at Preslav and then OCHRIDA. After successful military campaigns and overrunning Macedonia and SERBIA, his rule extended over most of the Balkans and Thessaly in GREECE. From 1005 Samuel was attacked by Emperor BASIL II, who systematically campaigned and defeated the Bulgarians twice and in 1014 destroying most of the Bulgar army. Tradition has it that Basil blinded 15,000 prisoners and sent them, led by a few men who were left with one eye, back to Samuel. He supposedly died of an apoplectic fit or stroke when he saw such treatment. This ended any semblance of Bulgarian independence from the BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1930).

**Santiago de Compostela** Santiago de Compostela is a city in northwestern SPAIN in the province of GALICIA. Local traditions from the 10th and 11th centuries claimed that Compostela was the burial site of Saint James the Great (d. 44), the apostle and "brother of Christ." The body of James was supposedly spirited away from JERUSALEM after his martyrdom by his followers. It was taken west and eventually buried in Compostela (the original place-name) at the western end of the Roman Empire. He was to become the patron saint of the RECONQUEST. From the end of the 10th century his grave was promoted as a shrine and attracted great numbers of pilgrims from all over Western Europe. Santiago de Compostela became a major pilgrimage site, behind only Jerusalem and ROME.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, hospices and Cluniac abbeys were built along the roads to Santiago de Compostela. The city revived in prosperity. The popularity of this cult and pilgrimage in the 11th and 12th centuries was helpful in recruiting pious knights from FRANCE for the wars against the Muslims in Spain. The see was elevated to that of an archbishop and a great new cathedral was begun in 1128 and consecrated in 1211. The name of the city was officially changed to Santiago

de Compostela. A military order, the Knights of Santiago, was founded there in 1170 to protect pilgrims.

*See also* ASTURIAS-LEÓN, KINGDOM OF; CALATRAVA, ORDER OF; PILGRIMAGES AND PILGRIMAGE SITES; ROMANESQUE ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1994); Paula Gerson, ed., *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: The Pilgrim's Guide: A Critical Edition*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998); William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993); Edwin B. Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1974); Marilyn Jane Stokstad, *Santiago de Compostela in the Age of the Great Pilgrimages* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).

**Saracens** Sarakenoi in Greek, Saraceni in Latin was the term commonly used in the Christian West for Arabs and Muslims. The term Sarakenoi initially appeared in classical authors as a name for a nomadic Arab tribe living between the Sinai Peninsula and the Dead Sea. This suggested another Greek word, *skénitai*, or "those who live under tents." Some ecclesiastical authors in the early Middle Ages, such as ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, gave this word another origin, linking it with Sarah, the wife of Abraham. According to the odd, but clearly hostile version of Isidore, some Muslims were trying to claim their origins from the legitimate son of Abraham by Sarah, Isaac, instead of the illegitimate son, Ishmael, by Abraham's servant girl, Hagar. Both the biblical and Quranic traditions said that Sarah was the mother of Isaac, the ancestor of the Jewish tribes, and Abraham's servant-girl Hagar was the mother of Ishmael, who was considered by Muslims to be the ancestor of the Arab tribes.

From the eighth century, Latin authors such as BEDE began to call the new invaders who raided into Gaul, ITALY, and PROVENCE Saracens. Other such names were used, such as Moors, Agarenes, Ishmaelites, pagans, infidels, and Mahometans. The slanderous word Saracen stereotypically meant an idolatrous pagan warrior, a treacherous and debauched destroyer and pillager, or even a servant of the devil. This representation was based on a misunderstanding of Islam and hostility to a perceived and real threat. It had little if any relation to Muslims or Islamic civilization. By the time of the CRUSADES, chronicles and *chansons de geste* used this term. The word continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages and far longer in polemics and in propaganda promoting crusading or colonization efforts. Other Christians who had more direct experience with Islam sometimes did have a more accurate appreciation of Muslims, but continued to use the term.

*See also* ISLAM; LULL, RAMÓN, AND LULLISM; RECONQUEST.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edward Bosworth, "Saracens," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 9.27–28; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960); Richard Fletcher, *The Cross and the Crescent: Christianity and Islam from Muhammad to the Reformation* (New York: Viking, 2004); Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962); John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

**Sardinia (Sardegna)** Sardinia is the largest island in the Mediterranean and is about 145 miles west of Italy. Western Sardinia is made of plains and hills and is richer, more populated, and more Romanized than the other regions. Eastern and central Sardinia are mountainous, wooded, and isolated with a smaller population who struggled to survive on sparser resources. It was conquered by ROME in 238 B.C.E. Held by the VANDALS from the mid-fifth to the mid-sixth century, Sardinia underwent only a partial Christianization.

Retaken by the Byzantines under JUSTINIAN in 533, Sardinia remained under Greek control until the 10th century. Greek culture and religion had significant influence on language and religious practice. By the 10th century the island was essentially independent of CONSTANTINOPLE and had to face almost constant attacks from Muslim raiders, some of whom settled on the island. The PAPACY claimed Sardinia as part of the Patrimony of Saint Peter and in 1015 encouraged the Genoese and Pisans to try to expel the Muslims; they succeeded, but papal control never really took effect and the island became disputed between GENOA and PISA. The papacy did reform and reshape the church on Sardinia into a more Western form, partially by sponsoring numerous settlements of Benedictine monks. The influence of Pisans continued to grow, and during the late 12th century, they took control, but a smaller colony from Genoa also established itself on the island.

Sardinia then became closely tied to the mainland and attained considerable prosperity through its production of cheese, grain, SALT, wool, metals, and hides. The largest town, Cagliari, became an important trading center in the western Mediterranean. The emperor FREDERICK II made Sardinia into a kingdom for his son, Enzo (1220–72), in 1239. In 1284 Genoa wrested control of it from the Pisans. In 1325 the Aragonese, with papal sponsorship, began to take over, and with the completion of their conquest in 1348, Sardinia remained under Aragonese, Catalan, and Spanish control until 1713. There were periodic successful rebellions, especially under Queen Eleanora of Arborea (d. 1421), but at her death, ALFONSO V regained control of the island.

**Further reading:** Marco Tangheroni, "Sardinia and Corsica from the Mid-Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth

Century," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 447–457; Robert Rowland, *The Periphery in the Center: Sardinia in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001).

**Sassanians (Sasanids)** The Sassanians were a Persian dynasty founded about 224 by Ardashir I (r. 224–40), replacing the Parthian dynasty. From Fars in IRAN they might have been distant relatives of the former Persian Achaemenid dynasty. They replaced Parthian rule in Iran and made their capital in Ctesiphon in IRAQ. Their government consisted of a centralized bureaucracy and legal system. It used Pahlavi as the official language and sponsored ZOROASTRIANISM as the state religion. Zoroastrianism especially regarded the king or *shahanshah*, as chosen by GOD. He possessed a divine right to rule as protector and as an impartial judge of his subjects. The Sassanians fought frequent and devastating wars with the Roman Empire but were conquered by Arabic Islamic armies after the major Battles of Qadisiyya in 636 and Nihavand in 642. Yazdegird III (r. 632–651), was the dynasty's last ruler.

See also BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND BYZANTIUM; HERAKLEIOS I, BYZANTINE EMPIRE; ISLAM; LAKHMIDS.

**Further reading:** Nina G. Garsoïan, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985); Roman Ghirshman, *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians*, trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962); M. Moray, "Sasanids," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 9.70–83; Ahmad Tafazzoli, *Sasanian Society* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000).

**Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni di Consolo)** (ca. 1390/1400–1450) *Siennese painter*

Stefano de Giovanni di Consolo, called il Sassetta, was born in SIENA between 1390 and 1400. He introduced a new and original figurative language to painting, paralleling contemporary Florentine PAINTING. Among his first works was the polyptych for the chapel of the wool GUILD of Siena (1423–26) now dismembered and scattered in various museums. In the figures of the saints and prophets or in the episodes of the predella, he was influenced by SIMONE MARTINI, the LORENZETTI, Masolino (ca. 1383/4–1447?), and MASACCIO. He created a highly original synthesis of elegant late Gothic linearism and the spatial depth of RENAISSANCE perspective. Sassetta painted ALTARPIECES between 1430 and 1432 for San Domenico in Cortona and an important polyptych for the church of San Francesco at Borgo Sansepolcro between 1437 and 1444. His very personal style was derived from various past experiences, and he used light and elegant images to produce a medieval courtly world, even while portraying religious scenes. His colors were delicate, and

his landscapes and spaces have been called ethereal. His last work was a FRESKO of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, once at the Porta Romana in Siena in 1450. He had numerous Siense followers. He died in 1450.

See also ANGELICO, FRA; GENTILE DA FABRIANO; GOTHIC.

**Further reading:** Bruce Cole, *Siense Painting in the Age of the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); John Wyndham Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1939).

**Satan** See DEVIL.

**Sava Nemanja of Serbia, Saint (Rastko Nemanjic, Saba)** (1175–1235) *patron of the arts, theologian, founder of the Serbian Church, statesman*

Sava of SERBIA, or Rastko, was born about 1170/75, the third son of Stefan Nemanja (r. ca. 1167/68–96), grand Zupan or king of Serbia, and his wife, Anne. He became a monk on MOUNT ATHOS in 1192. Sava and his father, who had joined him in the monastic life, later founded the Serbian monastery of Chilandar in about 1196. He established the cult of Saint Symeon near Chilandar and then at Studenitsa, where the RELICS of this first Serbian saint were transferred in 1206 or 1207. At Studenitsa or Studentica between 1207 and 1217, Sava sponsored FRESKOES and the building of two monasteries in 1208–09. Highly educated and a connoisseur of the arts, he influenced numerous artistic projects at Studenitsa and elsewhere, reproducing the styles of the artists of CONSTANTINOPLE, thus linking Serbian religious art and culture to the great artistic centers of Byzantium.

In 1219, having the confidence of the patriarch and emperor of NICAIA because of his consistent Orthodoxy, Sava was consecrated an archbishop. The Serbian Church soon became independent under his leadership. In 1220 Sava organized Serbian bishoprics, consecrated bishops, and drew up dioceses. He founded monasteries in Serbia, on Mount Athos, and at JERUSALEM, overseeing the drawing of their foundation charters endowments. As the leader of the Serbian Church, he was carried out important diplomatic ecclesiastical missions to CONSTANTINOPLE, Nicaea, PALESTINE, Sinai, ALEXANDRIA, EGYPT, and ANTIOCH. Sava died at Turnovo in 1235. In 1236/7 his relics were transferred to Mileseva. In 1594/5 the OTTOMAN TURKS exhumed and publicly burned them at Belgrade in an attempt to suppress his nationalistic cult.

**Further reading:** Nicholas Velimirovič, *The Life of St. Sava* (Libertyville, Ill.: Serbian Eastern Orthodox Diocese for United States of America and Canada, 1951); Alain Ducellier, "Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 779–795; Mateja Matejic, *Biography of Saint Sava* (Columbus: Kosovo, 1976).

**Savonarola, Girolamo (Socrates of Ferrara)** (1452–1498) *Italian Dominican friar, reformer*

He was born at FERRARA in northern ITALY on September 21, 1452. He received a good education through the efforts of his grandfather, a Paduan physician at the court of the ESTE. Perceiving that he had a vocation to the priesthood, in 1475 he entered the DOMINICAN ORDER at BOLOGNA. In 1479 he was sent back to Ferrara as a novice master and in 1482 he moved to Florence and the Convent of Saint Mark. There he taught biblical exegesis and began to preach ineffectively at first. At San Gimignano, in 1485, he felt himself to be inspired with a prophetic mission for the reform of the church through preaching. After trips to Bologna and other towns, he returned to Florence in 1490. There he began preaching on the theme of living a true Christian life and predicting that a catastrophe that would soon bring about a new life for the church.

#### REFORMING IDEAS

On April 6, 1491, he publicly denounced the tyrannical government of the first citizen of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent (1449–92). After being elected as prior of Saint Mark's, he continued to preach along the same lines. After the death of Lorenzo on May 8, 1492, he predicted the imminent arrival of a divine punishment for the city. Savonarola in the meantime published a series of treatises on his own spiritual life as guides for others. Assuming that the reform of the whole church must begin with the one at Florence, he obtained an order on August 13, 1493 from Pope ALEXANDER VI removing Saint Mark's Convent from the Dominican province of LOMBARDY. This autonomy allowed him to work more ardently for beginning reform from Saint Mark's.

In August 1494, King Charles VIII (r. 1483–98) of France invaded Italy. On September 21 Savonarola preached in the cathedral to a terrified congregation that a real retribution for the many sins of the city was on its way. Piero de' Medici (1471–1503), Lorenzo's son and successor, fled the city. Savonarola met the king of France and persuaded him to go around the city on his way to NAPLES to claim his Angevin inheritance of that kingdom of Naples. Given more prestige by this, Savonarola preached and sought to persuade Florence to effect internal peace and a moral reform that would make it a model for institutional and personal reform. As part of this, he preached against gambling, carnival festivities, and worldly adornment and display. Great bonfires of the vanities soon followed. Such preaching and officially mandated austerity, however, was only temporarily popular.

#### FLORENTINE AND PAPAL POLITICS

The flight of the Medici at the same time led to the establishment of a new republic of Florence in late December 1494. Nonetheless internal discord remained strong in the city and led to the formation of two parties, the

“Weepers” for Savonarola and the “Enraged,” supporters of the Medici. Soon afterward Savonarola opposed Florence’s participation in a league established among cities against Charles VIII’s expedition. In the meantime his enemies gained the support of the pope, Alexander VI, who in September and October 1495 accused Savonarola of heresy, false prophecy, and disobedience. On October 16 the pope forbade him even to preach. On February 7, 1496, invited by a somewhat sympathetic Florentine regime, he began to preach again. On August 15, he publicly refused the pope’s odd offer of a cardinalate, saying he desired only reform and martyrdom.

#### LOSS OF SUPPORT IN FLORENCE AND DEATH

After anti-Savonarola changes in the membership of the councils governing Florence left the friar deprived of his protective support, Alexander VI approved the excommunication of Savonarola on May 12, 1497. Over the next few months he wrote new tracts on prophecy as still having a proper and useful status within the life of the church, while proclaiming the legitimacy of his own actions and continuing to attack the pope. In February 1498 he started to preach again, and on April 8, the regime in control of Florence decided to arrest him. He was tortured in prison with two of his Dominican followers. Between May 19 and May 22 civil and ecclesiastical trials were held that condemned all three to death as heretics and schismatics. Savonarola and his two companions were hanged and burned on May 23, 1498, on the piazza in front of the town hall of Florence.

**Further reading:** Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence, 1494–1545* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Girolamo Savonarola*, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Routledge and Paul, 1959); Ronald M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola, Florentine Art, and Renaissance Historiography* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1977); Pasquale Villari, *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*, trans. by Linda Villari, 2d ed. (London: T. F. Unwin, 1889); Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

**Savoy, county and duchy of (Piedmont-Savoy, Savoia, Savoie)** Now an Alpine French province on the Italian border, Savoy from the 11th century onward was tied to the history of the house of Savoy. They were a family who borrowed their name from the province. Throughout the early Middle Ages, Savoy had no autonomous political existence. In 443 it was occupied by the BURGUNDIANS, and in 532 it became part of the Merovingian and later Carolingian Kingdom and Empire. From 888 Savoy was integrated into the short-lived kingdom of BURGUNDY. It rejoined the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE in 1032, when the first documented count

appeared, Humbert I “Whitehands” (r. ca. 1003–1046/7). Because one of his sons was the bishop of Aosta, then the archbishop of LYON, and another was the bishop of Sion, Humbert benefited from the territorial rights and incomes that accrued. Later another of his sons, Odo I (ca. 1051–57), acquired by a marriage several possessions in Piedmont, extending their property into present-day ITALY. The dynasty flourished in its remarkably strategic position on major passes over the Alps.

#### WARS AND CONSOLIDATION

From the 11th century, the counts of Savoy worked to overcome this difficult mountainous terrain and to unite these dispersed possessions. The Savoyards fought long and frequent wars until the mid-14th century with their neighbors, the rulers of Geneva and the Viennois. The Savoyard state took a decisive turn in the 13th century when Count Thomas I (r. 1189–1233) took over Valais and the *pays de Vaud*, part of the Piedmontese, and finally in 1223 acquired the town of Chambéry, their new capital. The family married into the royal family in ENGLAND through Eleanor of Provence (1223–91), the wife of HENRY III. Count Peter II (r. 1263–68) introduced the efficient methods of English administration into his judicial and legal systems. He ordered the building of numerous CASTLES to maintain his states. At the same time, the princes of Savoy acquired an important position in the church, accumulating numerous incomes and prestigious bishoprics. Amadeus V (r. 1285–1322) became count in 1285 and, by his marriage, united Bresse to Savoy. Although his sons were provided with their own parts of the state at his death, these soon returned to the control of the main line of the family. The power of the county of Savoy was reinforced still further in the 14th century as they acquired more land and gained access to the sea at Nice. Counts such as Amadeus VI, the “Green Count” (r. 1343–83), acquired international importance as military leaders and arbitrators of disputes. Amadeus VIII (r. 1416–40) was even elected pope (Felix V [r. 1439–49]), in an effort to end the Great Schism.

#### DECLINE AND DIVISION

Their successors were not as successful at maintaining control. Internal conflict weakened the duchy. The king of France, LOUIS XI, profiting from this internal discord, acquired great influence in Savoy. The confederate Swiss cantons also seized the opportunity to expand their territories. The decline of Savoy continued until its division in 1536 between France and SWITZERLAND.

*See also* BASEL, COUNCIL OF; EUGENIUS IV, POPE.

**Further reading:** Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967); Eugene L. Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy: The House of Savoy in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (Princeton, N.J.:

# House of Savoy (1003–1504)

Humbert I the Whitehanded  
Count of Savoy  
(ca. 1003–1047/8)

Amadeus I  
Count of Savoy  
(ca. 1048–1051)

Odo (Oddone)  
Count of Savoy  
(ca. 1051–1059)

Peter I  
Count of Savoy  
(ca. 1059–1078)

Amadeus II  
Count of Savoy  
(ca. 1078–1080)

Bertha = Henry IV  
Emperor

Humbert II the Stronger or the Fat  
Count of Savoy  
(1080–1103)

Amadeus III  
Count of Savoy  
(1103–1148)

Humbert III the Holy, Blessed  
Count of Savoy  
(1148–1189)

Thomas I  
Count of Savoy  
(1189–1233)

Amadeus IV  
Count of Savoy  
(1233–1253)

Thomas II  
Ruler of Piedmont  
(1233–1259)

Peter II  
Count of Savoy  
(1263–1268)

Philip I  
Count of Savoy  
(1268–1285)

Boniface  
Count of Savoy  
(1253–1263)

Amadeus V the Great  
Count of Savoy  
(1285–1323)

Edward the Liberal  
Count of Savoy  
(1323–1329)

Aimone (Aymone)  
the Peaceful or Pacific  
Count of Savoy  
(1329–1343)

Amadeus VI the Green Count  
Count of Savoy  
(1343–1383)

Blanche = Galeazzo II  
Visconti of Milan

Amadeus VII the Red Count  
Count of Savoy  
(1383–1391)

Amadeus IX the Blessed  
Duke of Savoy  
(1465–1472)

Philip II the Landless  
Duke of Savoy  
(1496–1497)

Bonne = Galeazzo  
Maria Sforza  
Duke of Milan

*Dukes of Savoy*

Amadeus VIII the Peaceful d. 1451  
Count of Savoy (1391)  
Duke of Savoy (1416–1440)  
as Antipope Felix V (1439–1449)

Philibert I  
the Hunter  
Duke of Savoy  
(1472–1482)

Charles I  
the Warrior  
Duke of Savoy  
(1482–1490)

Philibert II  
the Handsome  
(1497–1504)

Louis (Ludwig)  
Duke of Savoy  
(1440–1465)

Charles John  
Amadeus  
Duke of Savoy  
(1490–1496)

Princeton University Press, 1974); Eugene L. Cox, "The Kingdom of Burgundy, the Lands of the House of Savoy and Adjacent Territories," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 358–374; Charles W. Previté-Orton, *The Early History of the House of Savoy (1000–1233)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912).

**Saxo Grammaticus** (ca. 1150–1220) *Danish cleric, writer*

Saxo Grammaticus, an assumed name, was born probably at Zealand in DENMARK about 1150. A Danish cleric, perhaps a scribe and monk, he wrote at the order of his archbishop, with the help of Latin models and inspired by sources such as ADAM of Bremen, a history. His *Deeds of the Danes* in 16 books related a mythical history and then a factual history of Denmark. His ornate style and skill as a writer earned him his nickname *Grammaticus* or "fine stylist." With a rare talent as a storyteller and historian, Saxo described a number of traditions that compare with those of the Icelander SNORRI STURLUSON in his prose *Edda*. They included sagas, lays, and tales of Hamlet and WILLIAM TELL. He died in 1220.

See also CANUTE II THE GREAT; WALDEMAR I THE GREAT; WALDEMAR II THE CONQUEROR.

**Further reading:** Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes*, trans. Peter Fisher and ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979–1980); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2d ed. (London: Penguin, 1997); Karsten Friis-Jensen, ed., *Saxo Grammaticus: A Medieval Author between Norse and Latin Culture* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1981).

**Saxons and Saxony (Sachsen)** The Saxons were a German people who appeared first in the first century C.E. in the region north of the mouth of the Elbe, neighboring the Jutes and Angles. Around 200, some of them left their original home for the northwestern coasts of FRANCE and later for ENGLAND. Fighting frequently with the Thuringians and the FRANKS, the remaining population gradually occupied the territory extending from the Ems to the Elbe and Saale Rivers, from the Harz Mountains north to the sea.

The Saxons seem to have comprised four kinds of people: dominant nobles; free men, essentially small farmers; freed men from conquered ethnic groups; and slaves. They settled into four districts: Westphalia, Angaria, Eastphalia, and Nordalbingia. Lacking a king, they held annual general assemblies of tribal groups.

In the eighth century and early in the reign of CHARLEMAGNE, the Franks carried out a military conquest and forced conversion to Christianity. Begun in 772, this took almost 30 years of frequent war and was marked by violent outbreaks of rebellions in 777–785

by the famous WIDUKIND and a more general one in 794–799. By the ninth century, Saxony had become a still somewhat marginal part of the Frankish Empire. Christianization had taken hold and a rich group of monasteries was founded, including the famous abbey of Corvey in 822. Its aristocratic class became linked to the Frankish nobility. By the end of the ninth century, the Liudolfid family from Eastphalia had begun to dominate the country.

#### SAXON DYNASTY AND THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

In 919 the duke of Saxony, Henry I or Henry the Fowler (d. 936), became king of GERMANY. His son, OTTO I, was a great warrior, restoring and assuming the imperial title in 962. In 50 years Saxony had risen high in the Christian world. But the duties and success of the Ottonians distracted them from Saxony, and hence its northern section was entrusted as the duchy of Saxony to the Billung family. By the 11th century, Saxony was just another state in the mosaic of German principalities and HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Its duke became one of the electors. It was divided into small FIEFS in 1180 and its ducal title was given to Bernhard of Anhalt (d. 1212), the son of Albert the Bear (d. 1170). The name became attached to various other areas during the later Middle Ages. In 1423 Frederick I the Warlike (1369–1428) was granted Saxony by the emperor SIGISMUND of Luxembourg. It was partitioned again in 1485. By then its principal towns had become Dresden and Leipzig.

See also HROSWITHAS OF GANDERSHEIM; HUS, JOHN; OTTO III.

**Further reading:** Gerd Althoff "Saxony and the Elbe Slavs in the Tenth Century," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 267–292; Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979).

**Scanderberg** See SKANDERBEG.

**Scandinavia** See DENMARK; ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE; NORWAY; SWEDEN; VIKINGS.

**Schism, Great** (1054) This willful and conscious separation of the Western and Eastern Churches the mid-11th century was based on a mutual consensus, the outcome of a dispute between the pope and the Western clergy with the ecclesiastical establishment and patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE. The ordination of priests, the installation of bishops, and the validity of the sacraments were not initially questioned. The main controversy centered on recognition of the pope's ultimate authority.

Negotiations begun by legates from the West failed, and the sides excommunicated each other in 1054, though the validity of either EXCOMMUNICATION was not clear, even at the time. The schism lasted throughout the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE, only temporarily suspended to support mutual efforts against the OTTOMAN TURKS in the 15th century. The actual anathemas or condemnations were not lifted until 1965.

See also CHURCH, EASTERN ORTHODOX; FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF; HUMBERT OF SILVA CANDIDA, CARDINAL; PHOTIOS I THE GREAT.

**Further reading:** Francis Dvornik, *Photian and Byzantine Ecclesiastical Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974); J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and the XIIIth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

**Schism, Great** (1378–1417) This division occurred within the Western Church over the question of who was the rightful pope and lasted from 1378 to 1417. It began with the death of Pope Gregory XI (r. 1371–78) in 1378 and the dubious election of the arrogant and strange Italian pope, URBAN VI (r. 1378–89). Some of the cardinals withdrew from ROME and elected the tough warrior and cardinal Robert of Geneva, as Clement VII (r. 1378–94), and he promptly returned to AVIGNON in southern FRANCE. The popes had only returned from there, an era called the “Babylonian Captivity,” in Avignon, to Rome a few years before. The governments of Europe took sides backing a particular papal claimant and the division intensified and persisted as successors were elected to the various two lines of popes.

A general council met at PISA in 1409 to try to end the schism. It elected yet another pope (Alexander V, 1409–10), but the two other reigning popes refused to resign. CHRISTENDOM now had three popes and three sets of allegiances and appointments to offices. Alexander’s successor, the onetime mercenary soldier now pope John XXIII (r. 1411–15), convened the Council of CONSTANCE (1414–18). It ended the schism by electing Martin V (r. 1417–31), accepting the resignation of one pope, and deposing John XXIII and Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1417). This scandal weakened papal authority for decades and sparked the growth of the conciliar movement, while limiting discussion of obviously needed reform of the clergy.

See also AILLY, PIERRE D’; GERSON, JOHN; HUS, JOHN; WYCLIFFE, JOHN.

**Further reading:** Margaret Harvey, *Solutions to the Schism: A Study of Some English Attitudes 1378 to 1409* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1983); Howard Kaminsky, “The Great Schism,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2000), 674–696; J. Holland Smith, *The Great Schism, 1378* (London: Hamilton, 1970); Robert W. Swanson, *Universities, Academics and the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Walter Ullman, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1948).

**Schism, Photian** See PHOTIOS I, THE GREAT.

**Scholasticism and Scholastic method** Medieval Scholasticism was a form of rationalist thought, a methodology, and an intellectual approach that was not limited to one historical period. The word Scholasticism was coined as a pejorative way to describe the discourse followed in the university system. The Scholastic way of thinking is not only found in the Middle Ages; nor is it limited to theological speculation. In the Middle Ages it was applied in every discipline and many methodologies. It developed in the 12th century under the impetus of a variety of rationalism and developed further with the introduction of the works of ARISTOTLE in the 13th century.

At its core were readings and analysis of texts. For example a reading of the BIBLE was succeeded by a structured exposition of theological themes in the manner of a structured academic analytical manual. The most famous of these standard texts was the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD. Scholasticism and academic teaching started with texts, but proceeded to questions about internal consistency in texts and thought and comparisons involving conflicting ideas. In the 14th century, the same old texts generated wider and more practical questions. The literary genres of Scholastic studies were the lecture, commentaries, questions, and structured compilations collected into *summae*.

The *quaestio* or question was specific and one of the primary methods of Scholasticism. For a single question, arguments for as well as against were advanced and answered. Such confrontations, especially over the consistency of thought behind opinions elucidated the richness and pertinence of various points of view. This in turn improved with the study of logic and led to even more detailed analysis of texts. Thousands of commentaries on a few standard texts were produced.

Scholasticism can also be seen as an attempt to reconcile reason, revelation, FAITH, and authority. It could also be viewed as a search for a SCIENCE and unity of thought and even a way to integrate some of the ideas of the Muslims and the ancient pagan Greeks into Christian thought.

See also ABÉLARD, PETER; ALBERTUS MAGNUS; ARISTOTLE AND ARISTOTELIANISM; AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT; DUNS SCOTUS; JOHN, BLESSED; PARIS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS; PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; QUODLIBET; SENTENCES; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS; WILLIAM OF OCKHAM.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1971); Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House, 1955); George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); James H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); Josef Pieper, *Scholasticism: Personalities and Problems of Medieval Philosophy*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960); Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance & Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jacques Verger, “The Universities and Scholasticism,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 119–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 256–276.

**schools** See UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**science** Science in the Middle Ages in Europe and ISLAM involved the search for truth in many branches of knowledge. The roots of modern science were planted in the Middle Ages. THEOLOGY, regarded as the queen of sciences, had a considerable impact on the free exercise of the intellect. Moreover, irrational superstition, religious assumptions, and strong beliefs in MAGIC inhibited scientific investigation into natural phenomena. Real advances nonetheless occurred in mathematics, OPTICS, ALCHEMY or chemistry, natural history, and MEDICINE. The scientific culture and knowledge of the classical world, especially Aristotle’s natural philosophy, were also transmitted in the Middle Ages, often through Arabic texts and scholars. The development of UNIVERSITIES furthered scientific study and speculation and provided opportunities for advanced research.

Christianity accommodated secular learning, but within limits. Attitudes toward science could vary enormously in both Islam and Christianity in that both religions were obliged to reconcile it with revelation from divinely inspired texts. Various individuals and ideas were condemned at specific moments. However, both religions often cautiously accepted and justified the pursuit of scientific knowledge as possibly useful for religious understanding. Both perceived that positive technological advances could also be derived from scientific enterprise.

See also BACON, ROGER; AL-BIRUNI, ABU RAYHAN MUHAMMAD; FIBONACCI, LEONARDO; IBN AL-HAYTHAM, ABU ALI AL-HASAN IBN AL-HASAN, AL-BASRA; IBN SINA, ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN; ORESME, NICHOLAS; SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS; SYLVESTER II, POPE.

**Further reading:** A. C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1961); Edward Grant, ed., *A Source Book in Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); Claudia Kren, *Medieval Science and Technology: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1985); Y. Tzvi Langermann, “Science, Jewish,” *DMA*, 11.89–94; A. I. Sabra, “Science, Islamic,” *DMA* 11.81–89; Howard R. Turner, *Science in Medieval Islam: An Illustrated Introduction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); Ziauddin Sardar, *Explorations in Islamic Science* (London: Mansell, 1989).

**Scone, Stone of** The Stone of Scone, or Stone of Destiny, was taken to Scone by Kenneth MACALPIN, who took possession of the throne of the PICTS in 843. He placed a royal stone in a church built on the hill of Scone. For the next 500 years, each new king of SCOTLAND traveled there “to be raised on the stone.” The stone was an important part of medieval Scottish coronation rites until 1296, when it was either hidden to prevent it from falling into the hands of EDWARD I, or, according to legend, taken to WESTMINSTER ABBEY in LONDON to be controlled and used by the kings of ENGLAND. What was once in London was only recently returned to Scotland.

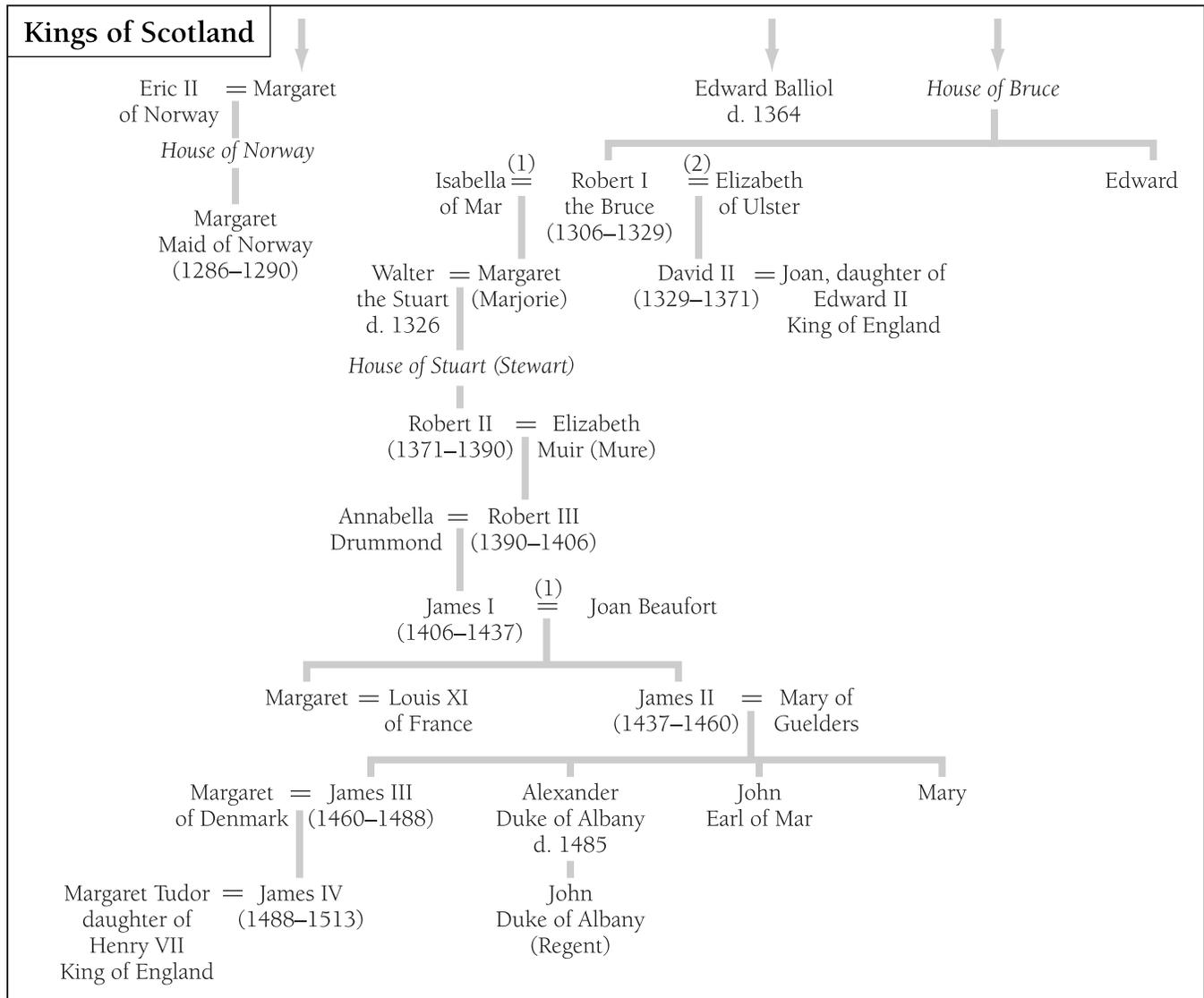
See also ROBERT I THE BRUCE.

**Further reading:** A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland, 1000–1306* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981).

**Scotland** Scotland became a kingdom in the northern part of the British Isles in the ninth century. In the fifth century, it had been inhabited by the PICTS, Scots, Britons, and Angles. These peoples eventually formed the Scottish kingdom. The Picts occupied the region north of the Forth River. From northern IRELAND, the Scots in the late fifth century took over the Argyll region. The somewhat Romanized Britons lost southern Scotland to the Angles in the early seventh century; but they did retain a kingdom of Strathclyde in the southwest. The Angles from across the North Sea began migrating to Scotland from the fifth century and created in the seventh century the kingdom of Northumbria between the Humber River and the Forth.

Irish monks settled in Scotland and introduced Christianity. The most famous of them was Saint COLUMBA, who traveled to Iona in 563 and converted the northern Scots. In the eighth century these four ethnic elements began to coalesce into a political organization but still retained in a tribal basis. Clans with chieftains remained the organization of the mountainous Highlands. The VIKING raids in the ninth century, mainly from NORWAY, forced these tribal units to defend themselves better. In 844 Kenneth MACALPIN, the king of the Scots, assumed leadership over the Picts, uniting the two groups into Scotland. In the 10th century, this kingdom





expanded southward into the Lothian region and EDINBURGH. Around 940 the old kingdom of Strathclyde was ceded to the future king, Malcolm I (r. 943–54).

#### ANGLO-SAXON INCURSION

In the second half of the 11th century Anglo-Saxon culture entered to the kingdom, brought by the Saxon wife of King Malcolm III (ca. 1031–93), Saint Margaret (ca. 1045–93). During the reign of DAVID I in the mid-12th century, Anglo-Norman families to Scotland were attracted by offers of estates and positions in government. The almost continuous generally unsuccessful wars with ENGLAND in the 12th century expedited an Anglicization process, such as when in 1167 the English king, HENRY II, forced his prisoner, WILLIAM I THE LION, the king of Scotland, to become his vassal.

In the 13th century the Hebrides were ceded by the Norwegians and became part of the kingdom under the

terms of the Treaty of Perth in 1266. King Alexander III (r. 1249–86) died in 1286 with no direct heir leading to a dynastic crisis. The ambitious EDWARD I started to try to absorb it into his realm. JOHN BALLIOL gained the support of Edward who arbitrated among the claimants. Balliol agreed to pay homage to Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, but instead the Scottish nobility compelled Balliol to declare war on England in 1295. Edward took control of much of Scotland and installed an English puppet government. Scottish resistance, however, continued under the leadership of William WALLACE. Edward eventually captured Wallace and had him executed in 1305, but only after suffering several defeats and the devastation of northern England.

#### SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

ROBERT I THE BRUCE led the resistance to English control after Wallace's execution. Allying himself with FRANCE,

he inflicted a defeat on the incompetent EDWARD II at the Battle of BANNOCKBURN in 1314. This victory secured Scottish independence for some time. In the 15th century the Orkney and Shetland Islands were ceded to Scotland and Saint Andrews University was created in 1401. A second Scottish university was founded by Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) at Glasgow in 1451, and a third at Aberdeen in 1495.

A new dynasty, the Stuarts, or Stewarts, was faced in the 15th century with the almost insurmountable problem of dealing with the local power of the feudal nobility and clan chieftains. The country's PARLIAMENT was modeled on that of England but was of small consequence most of the time. Frequent conflicts between the kings and the nobility weakened the realm in the second half of the 15th century. There was growing penetration by English cultural influences, but local culture survived and developed. The church generally maintained its independence from England, but rivalries between local episcopal sees did not contribute to national unity.

See also DAVID I; DAVID II THE BRUCE; MACBETH; PICTS.

**Further reading:** A. D. M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ian Borthwick Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1995); R. James Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Jenny Wormald, "Scotland: 1406–1513," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 514–531.

**scriptorium** In the early Middle Ages, monasteries maintained rooms, scriptoria, dedicated to writing and listening to texts. The church at this time and later had a great need for books, including biblical and patristic texts, liturgical books, and pedagogical texts for the CLERGY and the LAITY. Books had to be copied and libraries were needed so classical and patristic Christian literature were preserved and circulated at CATHEDRALS or in monasteries. Two great religious establishments in Italy, VIVARIUM and the Benedictine monastery MONTE CASSINO, laid the foundations for the preservation and compilation of books. Following the Rule of Saint BENEDICT, Benedictine monks kept alive most of what we have of the literature of the classical world and late Christian antiquity by borrowing, sharing, and copying texts among themselves.

Certain *scriptoria* became famous for the skill and style of their scribes, such as those at Iona, Durrow, LINDISFARNE, Luxeuill, Bobbio, Corbie, Jarrow, and FULDA. These were workshops for copying texts and producing edifying ILLUMINATION. The CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE encouraged this even more, since aspects of its program

were the standardization of texts, the reform of handwriting, and the encouragement of clerical and monastic learning. Cathedral schools, such as those at RHEIMS and CHARTRES in the 10th century joined in the copying, production, and dissemination of the texts. We knew little of the actual organization and working practices of these institutions. With the development of UNIVERSITIES, another system of text reproduction evolved in response to a greater demand. Some of these were clerical operations, but more often they were established by the laity and overseen by universities.

See also PALEOGRAPHY; PECIA; SALISBURY; SCRIPTS.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth P. McLachlan, *The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century* (New York: Garland, 1986); Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, *A Medieval Scriptorium: Sancta Maria Magdalena de Frankendal* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990); Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Vera Trost, *Scriptorium: Book Production in the Middle Ages*, trans. Christopher Reinish and Theodore Kwasman (Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg, 1986?); Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

**scripts** Medieval handwriting or script style was a direct heir of the style of Latin script used throughout the territory of the Roman Empire. By the end of the fifth century, Latin script had evolved into two families, a formal capital script that was clear, dignified, and deliberate, and a common or cursive script for much faster writing. From the third century, the capital script became uncial, an artificial and elegant display script used in luxury books and also for the initials, titles, and rubrics of medieval manuscripts. Common cursive script passed from a left-inclining oblique position to a vertical position with an abundance of ligatures. Varieties of this style were used by the VISIGOTHS and the ANGLO-SAXONS.

#### CAROLINGIAN SCRIPT

In the early Middle Ages, the great monasteries on the Continent founded by Irish missionary monks became flourishing centers of intellectual life and writing. Their script, had to be simpler, and more harmonious. This style resulted from the perfecting and harmonization of preexisting forms into a unified, clear, and readable alphabet that was soon favored and followed by CHARLEMAGNE and his court creating some partial graphic unity in the West once more. This Carolingian script had no joining strokes or other ligature save that of the letters *et*, *ct*, and *st*. It evolved slowly at first into round, detached forms and then, during the 11th century, into more oval forms written closer to each other. From the 12th century onward, it was embellished with fleeing strokes, serifs, or bends on the writing line. This era also saw the first

appearance of the script called Gothic which led once more to two distinct styles: a formal book script, and a more cursive hand used in CHARTERS and documents.

#### EVOLUTION OF GOTHIC SCRIPT

During the 12th century, because of the rise of schools and UNIVERSITIES, and the consequent increased demand for schoolbooks, the writing style for these books evolved toward the new Gothic script. It was not necessarily convenient for practical use but was more economical. Its graphic forms were simplified, rapidly drawn and huddled up. It used many abbreviations. It can be exemplified by the university or "Scholastic" scripts, including regional variations in BOLOGNA, PARIS, and OXFORD. These Gothic variations were more or less derived from notarial scripts and from actual and practical usage. From the 13th century, Latin script was written in three styles: book script, university script, and documentary script.

#### AWAY FROM GOTHIC SCRIPT

There was radical reaction against the Scholastic or "Gothic" hand by the early humanists. They promoted, initially for their private use, a clear chancery script. The humanists were the great discoverers of antiquities and "antique" manuscripts and promoted a style of writing done for clarity and legibility. It was derived from the script fostered by the Carolingian reform movement.

In the 14th century PETRARCH denounced Gothic script as artificial and too hard for easy reading. This criticism was seconded by Coluccio SALUTATI (1331–1406), the chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437). Another promoter was Poggio BRACCIOLINI (1380–1459) later chancellor of the Florentine Republic and one of the greatest discoverers of classical manuscripts. From about 1402 he had perfected a copy of Carolingian hand for his transcriptions of the manuscripts of Cicero's works. His writing was the foundational style for the humanist reform of writing. These forms of letters were soon noticed and used by the first printers and eventually became a standard type form, of which the modern roman type is a direct descendant.

See also PALEOGRAPHY: SCRIPTORIUM.

**Further reading:** Rutherford Aris, *Explicatio formarum litterarum—The Unfolding of Letterforms: From the First Century to the Fifteenth* (St. Paul: Calligraphy Connection, 1990); Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Michelle P. Brown and Patricia Lovett, *The Historical Source Book for Scribes* (London: The British Library, 1999); Stan Knight, *Historical Scripts: A Handbook for Calligraphers* (London: A. & C. Black, 1984); John Lancaster, *Writing Medieval Scripts* (London: Dryad Press, 1988).

**Scriptures** See BIBLE.

**Scrovegni Family** See GIOTTO DI BONDONE.

**Scutage (Latin, *scutum*; French, *écuage*; shield)** Scutage was a tax imposed on KNIGHTS instead of personal military service. In the Carolingian era, it was a fine paid by those who reneged on or could not fulfill their military duty. In the 12th century the tax was considered another source of fiscal revenue for the Crown. HENRY II of ENGLAND imposed scutage to pay his mercenary armies on the continent and to make the Crown less dependent on feudal service.

See also FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; FIEF; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; TAXATION, TAXES, AND TRIBUTE.

**Further reading:** James F. Baldwin, *The Scutage and Knight Service in England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1897); Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

**Scythia and Scythians** In ancient and medieval geography, Scythia was a vague region to the northeast of the known world, north of the BLACK SEA and stretching east into the steppe of Eurasia or Inner Asia, the homeland of nomadic horse people. Known to the classical Mediterranean world, the Scythians were a nomadic people who spoke an Iranian language. The last Scythian stronghold, in the CRIMEA, survived until about 275 C.E., when it was destroyed by the GOTHs.

In the literature of the Middle Ages, the name Scythians was applied to ethnically unrelated nomadic federations, such as the Hungarians and MONGOLS. The Scythians, though called "barbarians," were known to the medieval West as an ancient and prestigious people to whom some Europeans tried to establish genealogical links. The Byzantines used the name Scythians as a generic term for any barbarian peoples north of the empire, including Turks and the RUŚ. Scandinavian geographers claimed Scythia as the mythical homeland of the Scandinavians.

See also GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** C. Scott Littleton, *From Scythia to Camelot: A Radical Reassessment of the Legends of King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table, and the Holy Grail* (New York: Garland, 1994); William Montgomery McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia: A Study of the Scythians and the Huns and the Part They Played in World History, with Special Reference to the Chinese Sources* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939); Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Scythians*, 2d ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958); Renate Rolle, *The World of the Scythians*, trans. Gayna Walls (London: B. T. Batsford, 1989); Ellen D. Reeder, ed., *Scythian Gold: Treasures from Ancient Ukraine* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1999).

**seals and sigillography** The wax seal was commonly used from the ninth to the 15th century as a means of validating documents in northwestern Europe. Use of metal BULLS, bullae or seals, usually of lead but sometimes of GOLD, became confined to BYZANTIUM and the PAPACY as well as Italian MERCHANT COMMUNES for especially important and prestigious documents. Seals in wax were still emblems of the privileges of the ruler, as a sign of validation and a symbol of power, between the 10th and 12th centuries. Images in wax, which became individualized and recognizable, if not unique, validated a document as if it were signed by the participants. It was a testimony that they were there either actors in or witnesses to a document.

Some seals can tell us about the people to whom they belonged. They usually gave the name of the person, his or her dignity or status, as well as some justification for the authority to act. Seal images could reflect power and connection, even linking a person with an institution or suggesting some kind of divine approval. They were used privately to seal confidential correspondence and offer various kinds of guarantee, including the quality and quantity of merchandise or the authenticity of RELICS. Various types of material, including gold, silver, lead, wax, and clay, could be employed. Those in wax were fragile and those in metal always ran the risk of being melted down and used again in other ways.

See also ARCHIVES AND ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS; CHARTERS; HERALDRY AND HERALDS.

**Further reading:** Brigitte Bedos Rezak, "Seals and Sigillography, Western European," *DMA*, 11.123–131; Brigitte Bedos Rezak, *Form and Order in Medieval France: Studies in Social and Quantitative Sigillography* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993); Daniel M. Friedenber, *Medieval Jewish Seals from Europe* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987); P. D. A. Harvey and Andrew McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Ludvik Kalus, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Ludvik Kalus, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Nicolas Oikonomides, ed., *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987–1990).

**sea routes** See NAVIGATION.

**sects** See HERESY AND HERESIES; ISMAILIS; KHARIJITES; SHIA; SHITISM AND SHIITES.

**Seljuk Turks of Rum (Saljuqs, Saldjukids)** The Seljuks were TURKS of the Oghuz tribe who converted to ISLAM in the late 10th century. They then conquered IRAN from the GHAZNAWIDS in the first half of the 11th century.

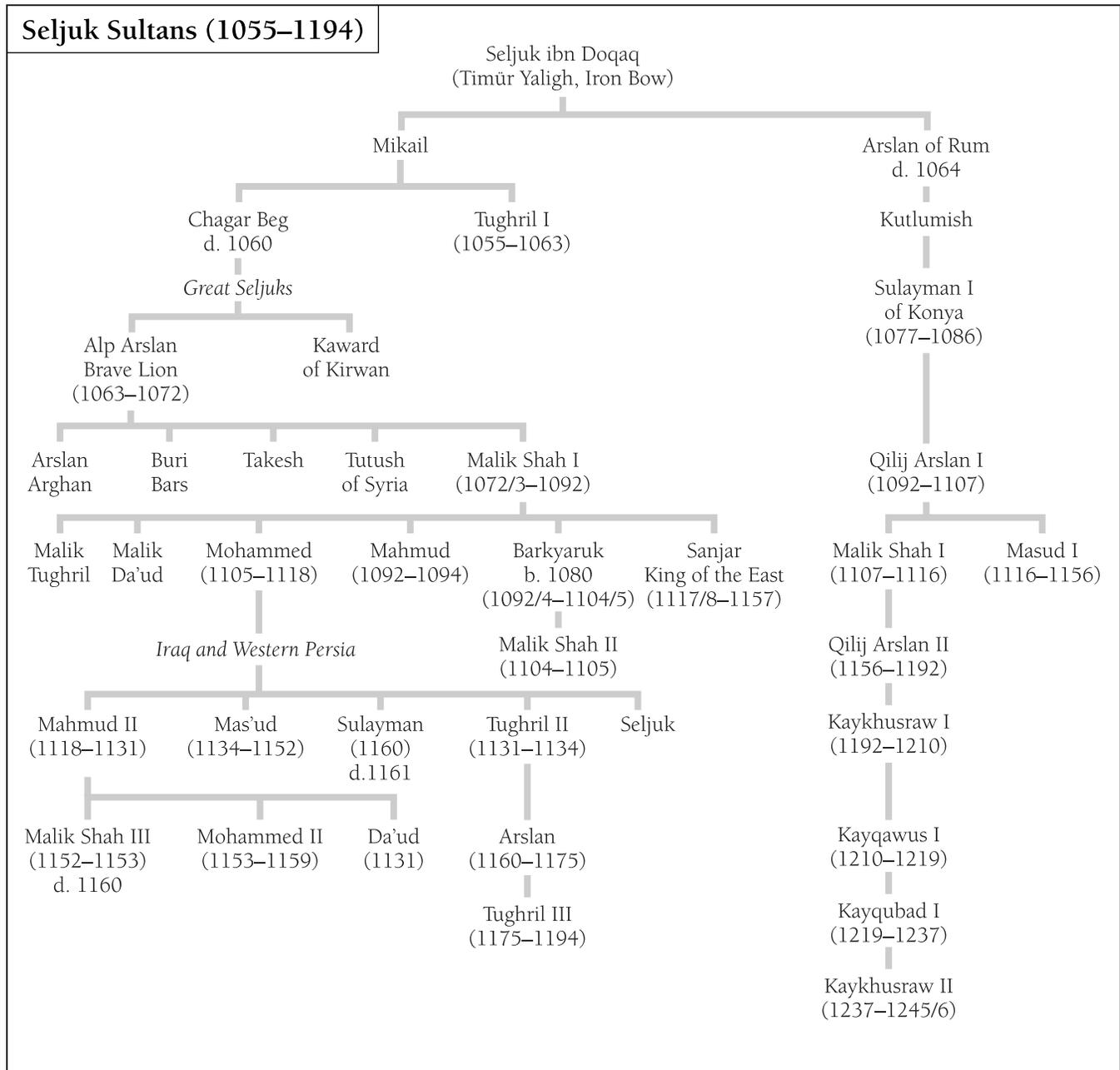
In 1055 TUGHRUL BEG entered BAGHDAD, where he was well received by the ABBASID puppet caliph then freed from the BUYIDS. In 1058 he acquired the title of sultan. His nephew, ALP ARSLAN, extended Seljuk territory toward ARMENIA and Georgia. In 1071 he defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1067–71) at the BATTLE OF MANZIKERT and opened the way to the Seljuks into ANATOLIA. This expansion was facilitated by Byzantine internal divisions and the discontent of Monophysite Christians within Anatolia. The Seljuks also undertook the conquest of SYRIA and PALESTINE between 1071 and 1086. The Seljuks now ruled autonomously, challenged in Anatolia only by another Turkish family, the Danishmendids. In Syria, Palestine, IRAQ, and Iran, the Seljuks promptly contended among themselves for power. These divisions partially explain Christians in the First CRUSADE established themselves in the East from 1098.

Within their loosely connected states, the Seljuks showed themselves defenders of the Sunni version of Islam. At Baghdad they restored the prestige of the Sunni CALIPH, and in Syria and Palestine they took possession of a great number of territories that were under the control of the SHIITE FATIMIDS of EGYPT. To promote Sunni religious practices and ideas, they favored the construction of schools for teaching Sunni LAW and religious science. Such a religious policy, however, did not lead to a persecution of non-Muslim communities, the DHIMMI.

In institutional matters, the Seljuks maintain administrative traditions system already in and introduced only a few Turkish customs. The local power of certain leaders in the army was strengthened by the development of a system of rewards permitting him to collect the taxes of his district for his own coffers. None of this promoted much unity among the various Seljuk states. In the 12th century, Syria and Palestine broke free of the Seljuks; in Iran and Iraq, they were eliminated in the last years of the century by another Turkish dynasty, the KHWARIZMSHAHS. An Anatolian branch survived and continued to oppose the passage of the crusaders across their territory. After losing a Battle at Kosedagh on June 26, 1243, they accepted MONGOL domination, which deprived them of autonomy. Seljuks disappeared as a ruling dynasty in 1307.

See also ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS.

**Further reading:** John Andrew Boyle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 5, *The Saljuk and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rüm, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt (1988; reprint, New York: Longman, 2001); Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture according to Local Muslim Sources*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor* (New York: Praeger, 1961); Alexes G. K. Savvides,



*Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols*, A.D. c. 1192–1237 (Thessaloniki: Kentpon Byzantinon Epeynon, 1981); Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

**sentences** The classical meaning of the Latin *sententia* derives from the verb *sentio*, “to feel about” or “to have a thought or judgment on.” From about 1120, sentences were made up of collections of theological texts, citations

of the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, and explanations of other theologians. This term eventually especially referred to the *Liber sententiarum* of PETER LOMBARD.

In 1155–57, Peter Lombard collected together the materials taught in the schools and separated theological thought and problems into four books divided into distinctions. The idea of ST. AUGUSTINE that all knowledge concerned either things or their signs provided him with a guiding framework. His *Book of Sentences* was superior to any previous and was moderate in its principles and ideas. It became a standard textbook of theology. From this starting point each master now had to write a commentary displaying his personal way of reading the *Book*

of *Sentences* then writing solutions to a common set of problems based on Lombard's work and unresolved doubts about answers presented by others.

See also PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** G. R. Evans, ed., *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Current Research* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

**Sephardim** They were Jewish communities in Muslim and Christian Spain who followed a particular religious culture within Judaism in terms of liturgy, legal traditions, and customs. The word was first widely used in the eighth century in AL-ANDALUS. The term was applied to communities outside Iberia, if they were linked somehow with the Sephardic practices or way of life. The Sephardi spread far outside Spain after the expulsions of 1492, especially into the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. They were known for their active participation in the culture in which they lived and for their cultivation of literature in Hebrew and the vernacular, philosophy, the natural sciences, the HALAKHAH, commentary and interpretation of the TALMUD, biblical exegesis, and Hebrew grammar. During the Middle Ages they were well known for their philosophical interest in the heritage of the ancient world.

See also ASHKENAZ AND ASHKENAZIM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; JUDAH BEN SAMUEL HALEVI; MAIMONIDES, MOSES; NACHMANIDES, MOSES.

**Further reading:** Yitzhak F. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols., trans. Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961–1966); Paloma Díaz Más, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain*, trans. George K. Zucker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Cecil Roth, *The World of the Sephardim* (Tel Aviv: WIZO, 1954).

**Sepulcher, Holy** See HOLY SEPULCHER.

**Serbia and Serbs** Serb tribes migrated down from the Carpathian Mountains into the Balkans. They settled from the ninth century in Raška and BOSNIA. They had contact with Croats in the northwest, the inhabitants of PANNONIA and eventually the Hungarians in the northeast, and the BULGARS and BYZANTINES in the south. They accepted Orthodox Christianity through the disciples of Saints CYRIL AND METHODIOS. From the ninth to the 11th century, CONSTANTINOPLE vainly sought to impose control over the Serbs, who gained real independence from the Byzantines during the 12th century. Stefan I the First Crowned (r. 1196–ca. 1228) declared himself king in 1217 and was recognized by the pope. His brother, SAVA, became the independent archbishop of Serbia in 1219. This Serbian kingdom attained its greatest power in the

reigns of Stephen Milutin (r. 1282–1321) and STEPHEN DUŠAN (r. 1331–55). The OTTOMAN TURKS destroyed the Serb army at the BATTLE OF KOSOVO in 1389 and took over the country for 500 years.

See also BAYAZID I; BULGARIA AND BULGARS; HUNGARY; HUNYADI, JOHN CORVINUS MATTHIAS; MURAD I; MURAD II.

**Further reading:** Alain Ducellier, "Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 779–795; John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Harold William V. Temperley, *History of Serbia* (1919; reprint, New York: H. Fertig, 1969); Georgios C. Soules, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dusan (1331–1355) and His Successors* (Athenai: Hetaireia ton Philon tou Laou, 1995).

**serfs and serfdom** The serfs were at the bottom rung of the agricultural laboring population or PEASANTRY, having little freedom from arbitrary demands, or at least heavy impositions of payments and work by their lords. Not all peasants were serfs. Some were their lords' men and women, practically their physical property. Not quite slaves, they had to be very subservient to the people who owned rights over them. They could not own land; all their property actually belonged to their lords. They could not move from place to place nor pass property to their descendants. This status was inheritable. They usually had to pay a fine to marry and often their lords' approval of a spouse was a further requirement. The church condoned their servitude but did not approve of overt cruelty.

The work involved in agrarian or farming/pastoral practices, the demographic conditions of rural populations, the availability of employment alternatives, and opportunities to run away all affected the real life of these oppressed peasants. They also suffered the stigma of negative stereotyping by their more fortunate contemporaries. By the end of the Middle Ages, genuine serfdom had mainly disappeared from Western Europe. That was not the case in Eastern Europe and in parts of the Islamic world until the 20th century. Even in Western Europe, there were attempts to reimpose arduous labor conditions during labor shortages. It is important to note also that serfdom was always limited to certain places and times.

See also AGRICULTURE; BAN; FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; MORTMAIN; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; VILLEIN AND VILLEINAGE.

**Further reading:** Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Atheneum, 1961); Paul Freedman, *The Origins of*

*Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Paul Freedman, *Images of the medieval Peasant* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999); Paul Hyams, *King, Lords, and Peasants in Medieval England: The Common Law of Villeinage in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); R. H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); R. H. Hilton, *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England*, 2d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1983).

**sermons and homilies** Technically a sermon is distinct from a homily. The homily was often on a biblical text, usually from the New Testament, perhaps a parable or miracle by Christ. The preached commentary that followed the text tried to resolve any difficulties in the message and to clarify its concrete moral and spiritual implications. In a sermon, the speaker did not comment on a scriptural text in detail. At the beginning he presented a single citation or quotation, generally biblical. Sermons were generally more diversified and often based in the Old Testament. Any real distinctions between a homily and a sermon were not so neat or clear. Homilies and sermons were preached on Sundays and feast days and were addressed to all of the faithful.

PREACHING sermons and homilies was the duty of bishops and became the duty of PRIESTS and friars by the 13th century. The MENDICANT ORDERS were also supposed to preach as one of their main duties on doctrines and ideas other than biblical material. Sermons were mainly preached in churches at certain services, but they could also be part of less formal occasions. They were supposed to reform the moral lives of their hearers, either lay or clerical.

See also ALAN OF LILLE; ARS PRAEDICANDI; JAMES OF VITRY.

**Further reading:** Nicole Bériou, ed., *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo, 1994); Jonathan Porter Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); David L. D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989); Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

**Seuse, Heinrich** See SUSO, HENRY.

**seven deadly or capital sins** The seven deadly sins for Christians (now and) in the Middle Ages (are) were envy, pride, anger, sloth (negligence or indifference),

avarice, gluttony, and lust. This list existed since the time of Pope GREGORY I, from around 600. They were usually used in opposition to the VIRTUES, which were to be practiced to prevent descent into the sinful state arising from succumbing to these deficiencies of character. The seven deadly sins were often featured in all kinds of art, since artists enjoyed portraying them in varied guises, from amusing to terrifying. They were useful also to preachers as didactic and graphic images.

See also PENITENTIALS; PREACHING; SIN.

**Further reading:** Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952); Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Arts: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

**seven liberal arts (*quadrivium, trivium*)** The teachers and educational theorists initially of antiquity and later of the Middle Ages understood the seven liberal arts to be the disciplines preparatory to the study of philosophy proper and the acquisition of wisdom. Philosophy was conceived as leading to wisdom. The liberal arts were to be pursued by free individuals, unlike the "mechanical" or manual arts, which were the province of slaves. The negative attitude toward the mechanical arts changed over the course of the Middle Ages, as culture and society began to value more highly the skilled crafts of artisans and the beneficial services of traders and merchants.

MARTIANUS Capella compiled one of the first lists of seven in his influential *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* in about 420. In that work he distinguished the arts of the *trivium*, or arts of the word, such as grammar, RHETORIC, LOGIC, or dialectic, from those of the *quadrivium*, or arts of the number, such as arithmetic, MUSIC, geometry, or astronomy. About the same time AUGUSTINE of Hippo in his *On Christian Doctrine* suggested what became an influential plan for a Christian education. After purging it of its dangerous pagan elements, classical literature could be safely be assimilated into Christian pedagogy and the disciplines useful for the fruitful study and explanation of Holy Scripture.

All of the seven liberal arts became the subjects of study in the faculty of arts within UNIVERSITIES, or what was essentially undergraduate higher education. Dialectic became especially important to Scholastic education after the 12th century. At the end of the Middle Ages, with the rise of humanism and a renewed interest in grammar, rhetoric, and the mathematical sciences, there was a renewed interest in the ideas and the teaching of the liberal arts.

See also PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY; SCHOLASTICISM AND SBD SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** David L. Wagner, ed. *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

**seven sacraments** For the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, the seven sacraments were, as they are today, baptism; confession, or penance; the Eucharist, or communion; confirmation; matrimony, or MARRIAGE; ordination to the priesthood, and the blessing at DEATH, or Extreme Unction. In the Middle Ages it was believed and taught by the church that Christ instituted baptism, the Eucharist, penance, and ordination, and his words could be interpreted as justifying the others. The Orthodox Church also accepted seven sacraments from 1267. They were believed to be actions or ceremonies that conveyed GRACE and provided access for Christians to Christ as their savior and salvation. They acted as signs composed of words and material elements for the saving actions of Christ, the ultimate minister of the sacraments. Their precise definitions were worked out in the 12th century by GRATIAN, HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, and PETER LOMBARD.

See also AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS; MASS; REDEMPTION; SIN.



A baptismal font from about 1400 in the Cathedral of Orvieto in central Italy (Courtesy Edward English)

**Further reading:** J. M. Gallagher, *Significando causant: A Study of Sacramental Efficacy* (Fribourg: University Press, 1965); Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. 2, The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Elizabeth F. Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (1917; reprinted Merrick, N.Y.: Richwood, 1976); Edward Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963); Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

**Seville, city and kingdom of (Ishbiliyya)** Medieval Seville was a city in southern SPAIN on the Guadalquivir River, and the principal city and capital of Muslim AL-ANDALUS. The Roman and BYZANTINE city was occupied first by VANDALS and then the VISIGOTHS until the Arab conquest in 711. Seville was the capital of a branch of the Abbasid dynasty from 1023 to 1091. It became famous for its beautiful MOSQUES, walls, markets, prosperous population, and GARDENS. It was also tolerant of its minority Mozarab Christians and JEWS. It fell in the RECONQUEST to King Ferdinand III (r. 1217–52) of LEÓN and CASTILE in 1248. Most of the Muslim population was deported. King ALFONSO X, Ferdinand's eldest son, resided there and was a strong patron of cultural activity, building, translation projects, and learning. After the mid-14th century, the economy of the city benefited especially from its rich TRADE in olive oil. In the 15th century, it became an area of great activity for the INQUISITION, especially in its persecution of the Jews.

See also ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS; IBN RUSHD, ABU L-WALID MUHAMMAD; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, SAINT; Umayyads OF CÓRDOBA.

**Further reading:** Richard A. Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Enrique Sordo, *Moorish Spain: Córdoba, Seville and Granada*, trans. Ian Michael (New York: Crown, 1963).

**sexuality and sexual attitudes** Sexuality is the set of meanings put on sexual activity by a culture. In Medieval Christianity sex was permitted primarily for purposes of procreation. Such activity used for pleasure was dubiously ethical although physicians recognized it as a healthy activity. Christians were allowed no carnal relations except within marriage. Married couples were to be abstinent during all periods when conception of a child was impossible or inopportune, such as during pregnancy, menstrual periods, the time of impurity after childbirth, and the years of nursing. Once a couple had produced successors, they were encouraged to be abstinent. Marriage was considered one of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS, but a state of CELIBACY was always considered a higher vocation. Sexuality within marriage was for those who were too weak to

avoid it. It was a consequence of original sin placed on all human beings after the fall of Adam and Eve. This extreme doctrine lasted throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance but was probably not well observed by the LAITY or the supposedly celibate CLERGY.

HOMOSEXUALITY and masturbation were prohibited as unnatural and not conducive to the conception of children. There was plenty of evidence that people had sex and many were not much troubled by feelings of guilt. There were numerous illegitimate births and many clerics maintained relationships with women and men. Periodic prosecutions were accompanied by unpleasant punishments during the later Middle Ages, as the state showed special concern about problems of succession caused by childbirth outside marriages.

Contraceptive practices were banned. Noble families were especially concerned that women of their kinship networks were kept chaste. PROSTITUTION was tolerated, and assaults by upper-class males on lower-class women were frequently overlooked. The Orthodox Church had essentially the same ideas about marriage and the exaltation of sexual renunciation but did permit priests to be married, though bishops were supposed to be celibate.

See also ASCETISM; CELIBACY; CONCUPISCENCE; CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION; COURTLY LOVE; FORNICATION; GREGORIAN REFORM; VIRGINITY; VIRTUES AND VICES; WIDOWS AND WIDOWHOOD; WOMEN, STATUS OF.

**Further reading:** James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Pierre J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990); Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Joyce E. Salisbury, ed., *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland, 1991).

**Sforza family** The Sforza family were originally from ROMAGNA and TUSCANY. They gained the duchy of MILAN in 1450, when the mercenary captain Francesco Sforza (1400–60) entered Milan on February 25, 1450, ending a chaotic republican interlude after the death of Filippo Maria VISCONTI in 1447. They were to maintain control of duchy until the end of the 15th century. Francesco died in 1466 and was succeeded by his son, the vicious and despotic Galeazzo Maria (r. 1466–76), who tried to solidify his princely power by acting as a barely veiled absolute ruler. This led to a rebellion of part of the Milanese aristocracy on December 26, 1476, when Galeazzo Maria was assassinated and succeeded by Gian Galeazzo II Maria (r. 1476–94). At he was under the

tutelage first of his mother, Bona of Savoy then from 1480 his uncle, Lodovico, called il Moro (r. 1494–99, 1500). It supposedly was Lodovico's appeal to the king of France, Charles VIII (r. 1483–98), that led to a French invasion to secure control of NAPLES. This led to the end of Milanese and Italian independence from outside forces.

The policy of the Sforza toward the church followed that of the Visconti family, as both sought to control the religious institutions in and around Milan. Francesco obtained a privilege from the pope in 1450 to present candidates for the benefices until then under the control of the papacy. This privilege ended at his death, but the Sforza dynasty maintained important influence over all ecclesiastical appointments within their state. Members of the family also built several important HOSPITALS and funded other charitable institutions as concrete symbols of their prestige and power. They were also ardent supporters of monastic and mendicant foundations sympathetic to their rule. Their patronage of artists, such as Leonardo Da Vinci (1452–1519), and the impressive building projects were also intended to confirm the value and worthiness of their rule in the eyes of God and to their usually reluctant subjects. Lodovico was deposed, reinstated, and deposed again in 1499 and 1500. He was the last independent Sforza duke and died in a French prison in 1508.

**Further reading:** Cecilia M. Ady, *A History of Milan under the Sforza*, ed. Edward Armstrong (London: Methuen, 1907); Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Evelyn S. Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

**Shana** See HADITH; LAW, CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL; QURAN; SUNNA.

**sheep** See AGRICULTURE; ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Shia, Shiism, and Shiites (party, sect)** From the Arabic, Shia means “partisans,” of ALI IBN ABU TALIB and his descendants by his wife, Fatima (605–633) the daughter of MUHAMMAD, who considered the true IMAMS, guides, or leaders of ISLAM after the death of the prophet. The most distinctive heterodox trait of Shiism was its concept of the personal and sacred function of the imam. Ali was supposed to be the first CALIPH, since he was the rightful imam, appointed by Muhammad himself. The election of ABU BAKR by almost a general consensus at first caliph was perceived by Shiism as a usurpation of the rights of Ali, who had been designated by Muhammad as his successor. The Shiites saw this as treason against the will of the Messenger of GOD. Those who eventually were

Sunni believed that this authority rested more widely on all of the companions of the Prophet. Ali also refused to follow the precedents set by Abu Bakr and UMAR I, when he was offered the caliphate at Umar's death. The "martyrdom" of the next imam, Husayn, in 680 marked the beginning of an independent Shia course.

All this provided evidence for the importance Shia places on the office of imam, who embodies divine spiritual authority and the temporal power to rule: The imam held the *wa laya* or guardianship; that is that as the imam, in his universal dimension as a perfect man, he is a manifestation of God. Shiism was always a theory of imamate, from which other disciplines such as THEOLOGY, LAW, MYSTICISM, ethics, and PHILOSOPHY were formed and derived. Shiism constituted a party of opposition and religion, the most important "variant" of Islam, as opposed to the majority tendency considered to represent a Muslim "orthodoxy," commonly called SUNNA or SUNNISM.

Shiism has included several branches. There were four periods of imamism. The DEATH of each imam gave rise to one or more schisms, which, in nearly every case, had only an ephemeral existence. The main branches of the Shia have been the majority Twelvers (Ithan Asharis), the ISMAILI, the Nizaris, the Mutazila (Seceders), the Zaydis, and the Alawis or Nusayris. There also evolved further differences with the Sunni over rituals, MARRIAGE, and inheritance.

See also ABBASIDS; ASSASSINS; FATIMIDS; AL-HUSAYN IBN ALI IBN ABI TALIB.

**Further reading:** Syed Husain M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shii Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shiism* (London: G. Ronald, 1985).

**ships and shipbuilding** There were great advances in the shipbuilding arts in the Middle Ages. Transport by water, across the seas and along the rivers, then was the simplest, most efficient, and often the safest means of communication and transport. The classical Roman legacy was transmitted intact to the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Their ships and weapons, such as GREEK FIRE, were important to the survival of CONSTANTINOPLE. The ARABS introduced their own traditions to Mediterranean waters from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. They also took over the shipbuilding yards and expertise of ALEXANDRIA and Carthage. The great successes of the VIKINGS in the ninth and 10th centuries were founded on their abilities to sail on the open sea and to move up rivers for raiding or trade. At nearly the same time, the cog evolved for moving bulky material.

Galleys were common for WARFARE in the Mediterranean and ships propelled by sails became more sophisticated in the Middle Ages, especially in the Atlantic. Sailing ships with or without oars were more efficient in the rougher waters of the Atlantic. Rigging, masts, sail

shapes, hull shapes, crew skills, and rudders all became more efficient as late medieval ships in the north reached 200 to 300 tons.

See also COMPASS; CRUSADES; GENOA; GOKSTAD SHIP; GREENLAND; HANSEATIC LEAGUE; HENRY "THE NAVIGATOR," PRINCE; NAVIGATION; PISA; PORTUGAL; TRADE AND COMMERCE; VENICE; WARFARE.

**Further reading:** Aly Mohammed Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Seventh to the Tenth Century A.D.* (Cairo: National Publication & Printing House, 1966); Basil Greenhill, *The Evolution of the Sailing Ship, 1250–1580* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995); George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, ed. John Carswell rev. and expanded ed. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995); Gillian Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships and Shipping* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994); Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934); Richard W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

**Sicilian Vespers** This was a popular rebellion or revolution that usurped control of the island of SICILY from the Angevins of NAPLES, essentially from the French control of CHARLES I OF ANJOU. It began at the hour of vespers on Easter Monday, March 30, 1282, at PALERMO. It started with an insult to a Sicilian woman; within a few hours thousands of French men, women, and children were killed. It began as an attempt to form the "commune of the island of Sicily" and quickly spread throughout the island. A parliament was called, and it proclaimed a republic. Some of the towns at the western end of the island placed themselves under papal rule, a decision that Martin IV (r. 1281–85), a Frenchman, refused to accept; instead, he excommunicated the rebels. The latter now turned to the Ghibellines and had to accept help from Peter III (r. 1239–85) of ARAGON, who was crowned king of Sicily in August 2, 1282. Peter promised to administer the island according to its own laws, treating it as separate country from Aragon. Its new leaders were the former HOHENSTAUFEN councilors of MANFRED, who had been defeated by Charles in 1266. Actual popular support for this was minimal until Charles provoked local resistance by his stern measures and then attacked the island to restore his authority. The conflict lasted for two decades and the Aragonese in the end triumphed. However, Sicily remained under foreign domination, albeit slightly less exploitative. Frederick III (r. 1272–1337) became its second Aragonese king in 1296.

**Further reading:** David Abulatia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200–1500* (London: Longman, 1997); Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Longman, 1998); Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian*

*Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958); Helene Wieruszowski, *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1971).

**Sicily** Medieval Sicily was a large island in the central Mediterranean, off the southern coast of ITALY. It was an important part of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE in the seventh century. During the revolt in 826, the Byzantine governor, who was rebelling against the emperor, asked the AGHLABIDS of North Africa for help. This paved the way for an army of volunteers, led by a Malikite scholar from AL-QAYRAWAN, to begin a slow and difficult conquest. He landed in 827 and finally took Palermo in 831; Syracuse fell in 878. Much of the Greek population fled and was replaced by Muslim settlers from North Africa; many inhabitants stayed and the population became genuinely mixed. There was considerable Arabization in terms of language and culture. In 909 Sicily fell under the control of the FATIMIDS and remained a frontier land, especially after a Byzantine counterattack failed in 965.

#### ARRIVAL OF THE NORMANS

The collapse of Muslim Sicily began with a religious crisis. In around 1030, religious differences intensified as questions about the legitimacy of the Fatimid imamate arose as the local Arab emirs fought among themselves. The Muslim Sicilians' appeal to the NORMANS of Calabria, ROGER I and ROBERT GUISCARD. This proved fatal to Muslim domination of the island. The Normans took Palermo in 1072 and Syracuse in 1086, establishing a competent administration on the island and carefully resettling Muslims in locations vulnerable to Norman forces. Roger I worked out an advantageous accord with Pope URBAN II that gave his dynasty effective control over the Sicilian church on the island. There was considerable religious toleration of Muslims, JEWS, and Greeks on the island, especially under ROGER II. A literary and geographical culture, elaborate court ceremonial, an impressive palace, and religious architecture borrowed from Byzantium and ISLAM made the island a cultural center that synthesized in many ways all the civilizations of the Mediterranean Sea. This balance was maintained until 1160, when WILLIAM I was forced by seditious activities to reduce the level of his tolerance toward the religions of those whom he employed in his administration. The HOHENSTAUFEN dynasty from the mainland took over in 1196, and with their rule much of the island's economy declined and was handed over to control by merchants from GENOA and PISA.

#### THE RETURN OF FEUDALISM

FREDERICK II was the heir to the Mediterranean ambitions of his grandfather, Roger II, but had to move the center of

his kingdom to APULIA, in southeastern Italy. He and his successors were unable to finish a program of planning and developing settlements on the island. The insurrection of the SICILIAN VESPERS in 1282 provoked by French or Angevin oppression led to an appeal to MANFRED'S son-in-law, Peter III of Aragon (r. 1276–85). This new regime tried to reconstitute a systematic FEUDALISM on the island. A huge fiscal, naval, and military effort allowed Frederick III to defeat the formidable coalition of Angevin NAPLES, Capetian FRANCE, the PAPACY, and even opposition within ARAGON. There followed nearly a century of periodic conflict, leading to the economic exhaustion of Naples as well as of the island, a long INTERDICT on Sicilian churches, and a stultifying refeudalization of the aristocracy over the towns. A later Catalan conquest of 1392–98 reestablished yet another feudal framework of exploitation. In 1412 the Aragonese Crown passed to the cadet branch of the Trastámara family of CASTILE attaching the island first to BARCELONA, then to Naples. From there it became part of the Mediterranean empire of ALFONSO V THE MAGNANIMOUS in the mid-15th century. New economic, demographic, and cultural changes occurred at the end of the 15th century with the resumption of the export of grain and the development of new products such as sugar and raw SILK. This enriched an urban patriciate but failed to benefit the rural feudal nobility. Sicily passed under the control of the Spanish Crown under FERDINAND II and ISABEL I in 1502. All of these governments after the Vespers were exploitative of Sicily and that led to political, social, and in the end economic decline.

*See also* PALERMO; SARDINIA.

**Further reading:** Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann, trans., *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by "Hugo Falcandus," 1154–1569* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); David Abulaffia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975); Clifford R. Backman, *The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, Religion, and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296–1337* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Stephan R. Epstein, *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Diwan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Hugh Kennedy, "Sicily and al-Andalus under Muslim Rule," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 646–669; Denis Mack Smith, *A History of Sicily: Medieval Sicily, 800–1713* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1968); Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

**sickness and disease** In a medieval Christian context in the East and the West, sickness was a consequence of original sin, but sometimes had the ambivalent status of a metaphor of punishment for SIN or even HERESY. Physical suffering, on the other hand, was compared with the redemptive suffering of Christ. MEDICINE involved palliative care for the body and the SOUL as victims were being prepared to meet their maker. LEPROSY was closely linked with carnal sin, and the horrifying and implacable Black Death of 1348 was sometimes cast as punishment for sin. Medicine had few treatments for disease beyond occasionally alleviating the symptoms, still often blaming much on an imbalance of humors. This imbalance meant a rupture of the equilibrium of the complexion, the mixture of the primary qualities of hot, cold, dry, and wet, proper to a part of the body or to the whole of it.

The causes of most diseases were not understood at all through most of the Middle Ages. When remedies were effective, success was more attributable to chance than to any understanding of causes. Ancient classical Greek ideas became better known by the 15th century, but they were only partially helpful. The effects of certain drugs were known and were employed by skillful physicians and local folk practitioners to ease pain. Midwives had considerable skill in assisting in childbirth, and physicians and surgeons intervened to perform cesarean deliveries. Skin and intestinal diseases were almost universal; fever caused by many kinds of infection was common, since personal hygiene was primitive. Smallpox, malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, measles, meningitis, and other infectious diseases regularly reached epidemic proportions. Cancer and diabetes doubtlessly were present but were masked by other problems. Mental illness and INSANITY were recognized and sometimes received protective care. Malnutrition and parasitic invasions lowered resistance to disease, when they did not themselves kill. The Arab-Islamic medical tradition understood better and earlier the ideas of classical medicine but was only marginally more successful in combating and treating disease.

See also CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION; HOSPITALS; IBN SINA, ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN; MAIMONIDES, MOSES; PARASITES; PSELLOS, MICHAEL; TROTA.

**Further reading:** Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974); Sheila Campbell, Bert Hall, and David Klausner, eds., *Health, Disease, and Healing in Medieval Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Luis García-Ballester, ed., *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. N. Hays, *The Burdens of Disease: Epidemics and Human Response in Western History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Donald R. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Vivian Nutton,

"Medicine in Medieval Western Europe, 1000–1500," in *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 B.C. to A.D. 1800*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 139–205, 500–502.

**sieges and fortifications** See CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS; WARFARE.

**Siena** Medieval Siena was a city in TUSCANY set on the intersection of three hills about 1,000 feet above sea level. In the Middle Ages, it was part of the kingdom of ITALY and part of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. It was on a major PILGRIMAGE route to ROME, the Via Francigena or Via Romea. In the 12th century it became a COMMUNE and tried to protect its independence from the emperor, the pope, and other nearby cities, such as its great rival FLORENCE. Siena soon constructed a *contado*, or rural jurisdiction, beyond the limits of its diocese. In this *contado* it imposed its own LAW and taxation and obtained the submission of the rural lords, towns, and peasant communities. By the 14th century, Siennese territory included southern Tuscany and the Maremma and coast near the Mediterranean Sea.

In the 13th century, Siena's trading activities and particularly papal banking prospered. Siennese companies were among the largest in Europe, and its family companies conducted business with ROME, the FAIRS of Champagne, PARIS, LONDON, and elsewhere. Despite its papal banking connections, it led the Ghibelline cities that opposed Guelf Florence and the PAPACY. With the aid of German mercenaries sent by MANFRED in 1260, it inflicted a major defeat on Florence in 1260 at the Battle of Montaperti but was unable to take any long-term advantage of its temporary dominance of Tuscany. The Tuscan GUELFs regrouped and forced a Guelf regime on the city which became the regime of the Nine, which lasted until 1355. Around 1300 all of the Siennese banking companies failed and were usually replaced by new Florentine firms. The Siennese families and MERCHANTS who had run the companies managed to preserve much of their wealth but retreated to business and politics within the Siennese state. Without the water resources of its rival Florence, Siena did not develop much of a lucrative cloth industry: Its economy instead became even more closely tied to its rich agricultural region.

#### FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER

In the early 14th century, the town's population reached about 50,000. During the second half of the 14th century, internal politics was characterized by almost constant conflict and included several barely suppressed magnate rebellions, especially after the Black Death killed as much as one-third of its population. The city was hugely burdened by mercenary bands demanding bribes in return for the safety of both the countryside and the city itself.



Siena, Piazza del Campo, town hall (Palazzo Pubblico) (Courtesy Library of Congress)

Siena remained independent, however, until the mid-16th century, when it was taken after a difficult and devastating siege by the Florentines and Spanish in 1555.

#### CULTURE

Siena also produced a fine artistic and architectural tradition as reflected in the artistic achievement of DUCCIO, Simone MARTINI, the LORENZETTI brothers, and SASSETTA. It was a great center of Italian civic and Gothic art. Its cathedral, begun in the 12th century, has maintained much of its 14th-century adornment. The 13th-century town hall and the paved piazza from the 14th century in front of it have long been among the most famous in Europe. Its rich religious culture also produced two of the most popular saints of the later Middle Ages, CATHERINE and BERNARDINO.

**Further reading:** William M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); William Caferro, *Mercenary Companies and the Decline of Siena* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Bruce Cole, *Siene Painting, from Its Origins to the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); Edward D. English, *Enterprise and Liability in Siene Banking, 1230–1350*

(Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1988); Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); Daniel Waley, *Siena and the Siene in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

**Siger of Brabant** (ca. 1235/40–1284) *philosopher who sparked conflict through his use of Aristotelian ideas*

Born in BRABANT between 1235 and 1240, Siger studied at the arts faculty of the University of PARIS just as the works of ARISTOTLE were becoming available. Not a cleric, he became a master there between 1260 and 1265. His first work set out a version of Aristotelian psychology that was inspired by IBN RUSHD (Averroës) and incompatible with Christian doctrine. It presented the SOUL as a separate substance, eternal as one intellect for the whole human race which completed the body but was not its substantial form. Siger's Averroism actually derived from the interpretations of Ibn Rushd by such theologians as Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279), BONAVENTURE, and Thomas AQUINAS. Despite this Siger was identified as the leader of a rational approach or of "Latin

Averroism.” However, with the criticism he received from Aquinas and from Bishop Stephen Tempier’s (r. 1268–79) first condemnation of 1270, Siger modified his ideas to resemble those of Aquinas. He continued to advocate the use of reason to compare and judge ideas, whatever their implications for Christian FAITH. While recognizing the superior certainty of revelation, he claimed for philosophy the right to proceed independently of both theologians and Aristotle. This view of the relationship between reason and faith aroused vehement opposition from many Parisian theologians.

By 1276 he seemed to have abandoned teaching but was cited by the inquisitor of France as a possible heretic. He was directly implicated in the second great condemnation promulgated on March 7, 1277, by Tempier. The rest of his life was obscure. He was perhaps imprisoned. Around February 1281, he was murdered at Orvieto by an insane secretary who was supposed to be caring for him. He was viewed with admiration by some of his contemporaries, such as Dante ALIGHIERI, for promoting the autonomy of philosophical knowledge.

**Further reading:** Saint Thomas Aquinas, Siger of Brabant, and Saint Bonaventure, *On the Eternity of the World = De aeternitate mundi*, trans. Cyril Vollert, Lottie H. Kendzierski, and Paul M. Byrne, 2d ed. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1984); Étienne Gilson, *Dante and Philosophy*, trans. David Moore (1949; New York: Harper & Row, 1963); Armand Maurer, *Medieval Philosophy*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982).

**sigillography** See SEALS AND SIGILLOGRAPHY.

### **Sigismund of Luxembourg** (1368–1437) *Holy Roman Emperor*

He was the second son of the emperor CHARLES IV and younger brother of Wenceslas (1361–1419). He was elected king of HUNGARY in 1387 after his marriage to Mary of Hungary; king of BOHEMIA in 1420, when his brother, the incompetent Wenceslas the Drunkard, king of the Romans, resigned in 1410; he was consecrated emperor at ROME on May 31, 1433. He could not maintain his position as prospective ruler of POLAND against the JAGIELLONIANS. He led the disastrous CRUSADE of NICOPOLIS in 1396 and barely escaped capture in the battle.

Once elected king of the Romans and then expected to succeed as Holy Roman Emperor, he was faced with serious problems and expectations, realizing that the empire needed reform, as did the church, with an end to the GREAT SCHISM (1378–1417). There was also the problem of the HERESY of John HUS in BOHEMIA. Sigismund, however, lacked the political and economic resources to intervene in any of these areas. He gamely called a council at CONSTANCE (1414–18), in which he helped to end the

schism caused by three popes’ claiming the office. This was also the council that deceived, with Sigismund’s help; condemned; and burned John Hus on July 6, 1415, enraging his followers, the Hussites, in Bohemia. The resulting long and vicious war lasted for decades. Sigismund’s reforms of the empire accomplished little in gaining control over the prince-electors, who wanted to perpetuate the usual weakness of the office. The council of BASEL failed to accomplish much reform near the end of his reign. Sigismund was perceived by many as having attempted much and accomplished little. He died in 1437.

See also HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; MORAVIA.

**Further reading:** Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen, 1934); Frederick G. Heymann, *George of Bohemia, King of Heretics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

**silk and silk roads** Far Eastern silk, used for the liturgy and in princely courts, was highly sought after in Europe from antiquity. It entered the Mediterranean from China, which gave its name to one of the routes that joined that country to the Near East, SYRIA, and IRAN through Ecbatana, Ctesiphon, Dura Europos, and ANTI- OCH or TYRE. In Persia, a transit thoroughfare for silk, silkworms were cultivated after the route was established. This was an industry kept secret until two Greek monks smuggled the procedures of sericulture clandestinely to the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. From the sixth century, Byzantine silk production prospered in Syria at Antioch, BEIRUT, and Tyre, and later at CONSTANTINOPLE itself after the loss of the Eastern provinces. It was also practiced in GREECE from the 11th century in the Peloponnese, including Corinth, Thebes, Patras, and the island of Andros.

The Byzantines enforced an imperial monopoly on the most precious silks, in particular those dyed with murex or imperial purple. The emperor used silk gifts in diplomatic transactions. In the West in the 11th century a silk industry developed in Byzantine or southern ITALY. Under the NORMANS it spread to SICILY, around Messina, PALERMO, and Cefalù. Silkworm rearing houses reached northern Italy as a result of the demands and needs of great and rich cities such as FLORENCE, VENICE, MILAN, and GENOA. In the 12th century, LUCCA became a great center of silk cloth weaving. In 1466 King LOUIS XI introduced the raising of silkworms into FRANCE but the project had little success. In SPAIN silkworm culture was imported into AL-ANDALUS by Syrian refugees in the eighth century.

Silk had long been used for liturgical vestments such as chasubles, veils, or altar frontals and at courts for prestigious garments. From the 13th century silk became a much more common material for the tailored clothes of both the court and business elites.

**Further reading:** Michel Balard, “Silk,” *EMA* 2.1,355; Irene M. Frank and David M. Brownstone, *The Silk-Road:*

*A History* (New York: Facts On File, 1986); Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); John H. Munro, "Silk," *DMA* 11.293–296; Anna Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar Press, 1995); Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving: A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997).

**silver and silversmiths** See METALSMITHS AND METAL WORK, METALLURGY.

**Simeon I (Symeon)** (r. 893–927) *prince, czar of the Bulgars*

Simeon was studying for a religious career in CONSTANTINOPLE, when he was recalled by his father, BORIS I, who had just blinded his eldest son and successor, Vladimir (r. 889–93), because he had given permission for, and actually restored, pagan practices. During Simeon's reign there was a series of victorious campaigns against Byzantium, which even reached the city of Constantinople in 913. His military successes in eastern Thrace against the Magyars and Petchenegs by 920 again took him to the Byzantine capital. He could not take the city and died suddenly in 927. In the meantime he had temporarily annexed SERBIA. Contemplating having himself crowned at Constantinople, Simeon, in imitation of the Eastern emperors, took the title of czar of the Bulgars and Romans. Deeply religious, he was a protector and patron of literature and the arts. His reign marked the cultural apex of medieval BULGARIA.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *the Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

**Simon IV de Montfort, the Elder** (ca. 1160–1218) *one of the leaders of the Albigensian Crusade*

Born about 1160, Simon de Montfort was an important lord of the Yvelines, on the margins of the French royal domain. He was called the earl of Leicester, although he had long been dispossessed of that English county. In 1202, he became a crusader with many other barons of FRANCE, but he refused to go to CONSTANTINOPLE and set out with his own band of soldiers to wage war in SYRIA.

In August 1209 he took the cross again against the ALBIGENSIAN heretics of southern France. He agreed to become the viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne in place of others who had already refused that honor. He clung tenuously to this power in the south with his companions and the bishop of TOULOUSE. In 1210 he was reinforced with new crusaders just in time to hold out longer. In 1211 he managed to capture several of the main strongholds of the HERETICS. In the late spring of 1211, he invaded the lands of the recently excommunicated Raymond VI of Toulouse (r. 1194–1222). In the

late summer of 1211, he won a battle at Castelnaudary. During the next year he reduced the strongholds of heretics. He then had to delay further warfare, short of total victory, because of the start of the preaching of the Fifth CRUSADE and an order from INNOCENT III. Despite this, he skillfully won on September 13, 1213, the Battle of Muret, at which King Peter II of Aragon (r. 1196–1214), an ally of Raymond VI, was killed. In 1214 he completed his conquest and was joined by the future king, Louis VIII (1187–1226). In 1215, he was made count of Toulouse at the Fourth Lateran Council, which had disinherited Raymond VI. He was recognized as count by King PHILIP II AUGUSTUS. His luck then changed. He could not prevent the retaking of Beaucaire by Count Raymond VII (r. 1222–49) or the revolt in the city of Toulouse that expelled his friend the bishop and allowed the return to the city of Raymond VII and his son. The rest of PROVENCE then rose against him. He was killed besieging Toulouse by a catapult, operated perhaps by women, or in a skirmish with the enemy on June 25, 1218.

**Further reading:** Joseph R. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades*, with a new epilogue by Carol Lansing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Michael D. Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

**Simon de Montfort, the Younger** (ca. 1200–1265) *one of the leaders of the Barons' Revolt against the English Crown*

French by birth, Simon went to ENGLAND in 1230 to press the claim of his grandfather, SIMON DE MONTFORT, THE ELDER, to the earldom of Leicester. He secured his inheritance between 1231 and 1239 and so impressed King HENRY III that he rose quickly in royal favor. In 1238 he married Eleanor (d. 1275), the king's sister. More masterful and tenacious of his rights than other royal favorites, he soon quarreled with the king. Over the next two decades their relations were stormy, especially after Simon's controversial period as a brutal governor of Gascony between 1248 and 1252. However, he was away in France on a diplomatic mission and actually little involved in the movement that forced Henry to submit to baronial control in the Provisions of Oxford in 1258. These went much further than MAGNA CARTA in limiting royal prerogatives, in effect reviving the council that ruled while Henry was a minor. After the disintegration of the baronial government, Simon became a focal point of opposition to the king. Early in 1264 he rejected the Mise of Amiens, an attempt by LOUIS IX of France to arbitrate the dispute. He took Henry III and his son, the future EDWARD I, prisoners at the Battle of LEWES on May 14, 1264. A new scheme of government was then drawn up later that year, the Mise of Lewes, and Simon became a leading member of a triumvirate empowered to control

the king. He eagerly sought reconciliation with Henry. He even assembled the Great PARLIAMENT of 1265, which included, for the first time, representatives of the shires and boroughs, all in the hope of securing his position and obtaining a lasting peace. The king refused to compromise on royal rule and power. Simon quarreled with his leading ally, Gilbert de Clare the Red, earl of Gloucester (d. 1295). Edward escaped from custody May 28. Simon was defeated and killed at the Battle of Evesham on August 4, 1265. His tomb soon became a place of pilgrimage.

**Further reading:** R. F. Treharne and I. J. Sanders, eds., *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258–1267* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); Margaret W. Labarge, *Simon de Montfort* (New York: Norton, 1963); J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); R. F. Treharne, *Simon de Montfort and Baronial Reform: Thirteenth-Century Essays*, ed. E. B. Fryde (London: Hambleton Press, 1986).

**Simone Martini** See MARTINI, SIMONE.

**simony** The idea of *simony* was taken from the New Testament (Acts 8:81–24). There the magician Simon Magus tried to buy priestly power. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE discussed a HERESY of the Simoniacs. The councils of Orléans in 533 and 549 and of Clermont in 535, deposed candidates who had bought their election. This practice was further denounced by GREGORY OF TOURS, POPE GREGORY I THE GREAT, and Pope GREGORY VII. In the 11th century, imperial interventions in the life of the church were denounced once again in 1049. Although simony doubtlessly was still practiced, this prohibition was maintained throughout the Middle Ages: One should not buy or sell an ecclesiastical benefice or its revenue.

See also BENEFICE; GREGORIAN REFORM; INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY OR DISPUTES; PATRONAGE.

**Further reading:** Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic, and Legal Study* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976); Raymond A. Ryder, *Simony, an Historical Synopsis and Commentary* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1931).

**sin** Sin from the time of Saint AUGUSTINE of Hippo was considered to be “that which is willfully, freely, and voluntarily done, said, or willed against the law of GOD.” It would have a legal, psychological, and theological dimension. One’s intent became more paramount from the 12th century onward. Sin was a disorder, a human act, and a sign of a disharmony between human reason and the will of God and humankind. It was done against the good, including one’s own good, a fault against God. One was supposed to know and seek only the best. All sin was

transgression of the LAW, but not all transgression against the law was sin. WILLIAM OF OCKHAM would say that sin was human will’s transgressing God’s will. Islamic ideas about sin were not much different. In Muslim legal practice, serious sins were associated with *hadd*, punishment under the legal system or *shariah*. A sinner was held accountable for his or her actions of omission and commission. Mortal sin was the most serious category of sin. It must be committed with full consent of the will and involve a grave matter. Venial sin disposed the SOUL to DEATH and was the greatest of all evils except mortal sin. But unlike mortal sin, it did not wholly deprive the soul of sanctifying GRACE and lead by itself to eternal damnation. Sincere repentance might mitigate some of the consequences of all kinds of sin. In ISLAM, polytheism, however, might not be forgiven, according to the QURAN.

See also PENITENTIALS; REDEMPTION; SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS; SEVEN SACRAMENTS; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** Étienne Gilson, *Moral Values and the Moral Life: The Ethical Theory of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Leo Richard Ward (1931; reprint, Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1961); Ralph M. McInerny, *Ethica Thomistica: The Moral Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997); Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).

**Sina, Ibn** See IBN SINA, ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN.

**Sinai** The Medieval Sinai was the mountainous and arid peninsula between the modern states of Israel and Egypt. Mount Sinai was in this region. It was sacred in Christian and Islamic traditions from its associations with Moses. There he met the burning bush that told him to return to EGYPT, where he received the commandments or the Law. The body of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (4th century), according to legend, was carried there by ANGELS where it was maintained by HERMITS and monks from at least the fourth century. A fortified monastery, Saint Catherine’s, was built there under the emperor JUSTINIAN in 530. Its sixth-century MOSAIC of the TRANSFIGURATION survives in the main church. This monastery has an important collection of rare ICONS from the period before ICONOCLASM. It also possessed an extremely important collection of similarly ancient manuscripts.

**Further reading:** C. Bailey, “Sīnā,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 9.625; James Bentley, *Secrets of Mount Sinai: The Story of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: Orbis, 1985); John Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980).

**skaldic poetry** See ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

**Skanderbeg (George Castriota, Iskander Bey)** (1404–1468) *Albanian national hero*

George Castriota, later called Skanderbeg, was born in 1404 in the clan of the Castriotes, from the high valleys of Drin and Mat near the Adriatic. In 1423 he was taken as hostage to the court of Sultan MURAD II. There he acquired an excellent education and the surname Skanderbeg, in Turkish Iskander Bey or Lord Alexander. As a JANISSARY he rose to become a general in the Turkish army. He won numerous battles but reverted to Christianity and returned to ALBANIA in 1443. There he organized the struggle against the OTTOMAN TURKS. He won numerous, as many as 13, victories against an enemy far superior in number and arms. With little help from the outside except minor assistance from the PAPACY, he held back the advance of the Turkish army in the Balkans between 1444 and 1468. He died undefeated at Lezhe January 17, 1468. With his death there ended any effective resistance to the Turks by the Albanians.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

**slave trade and slavery** Throughout the medieval world, serfdom had the humiliating and exploitative elements of ancient slavery, including the loss of personal freedom and real or bodily dependence on the lord. True slavery never totally disappeared. Some authors defended the universal right to personal freedom; however, slavery was fully recognized as a necessity in the early Middle Ages. Based by divine punishment from the curse of Cain, slavery depended on the violent appropriation of human beings, as in the classical world. ISLAM forbade the enslavement of Muslims and non-Muslims living under Muslim rule. The only legal slaves were to be non-Muslims or their children imprisoned or taken beyond the borders of Islam. Islam was regularly supplied with domestic slaves by Saharan dealers, and the first organized states of West AFRICA were heavily dependent on slavery. Some Islamic armies were made up of slaves.

In the BYZANTINE EMPIRE before the 10th century, large-scale slave labor was used in AGRICULTURE and in industry within the city of CONSTANTINOPLE. By the 11th century slave labor had ended in those activities, but slaves still passed through its markets to Western Europe, and particularly into the Islamic world. In the West Christians were not supposed to be enslaved, but pagans were fair game. By the later Middle Ages and the RENAISSANCE, slavery in Europe was limited to domestic servitude in ITALY, with some agricultural labor in Iberia and its new Atlantic and Mediterranean colonies. These slaves

were from the region around the BLACK SEA and the eastern Mediterranean and were then being supplemented by others captured by Portuguese expeditions along the West African coast in the 15th century. In the 16th century, the conquest of the Americas involved massive enslavement of the local populations and soon thereafter large transport of Africans. There was some opposition to slavery in the early 14th century from the followers of Ramón LULL; however, economic incentives proved stronger than moral qualms, so that the practice was not limited but instead ultimately spread.

See also JANISSARIES AND JANISSARY CORPS; MAMLUKS; SERFS AND SERFDOM; SLAVS; VILLEINS AND VILLEINAGE.

**Further reading:** David Ayalon, *Islam and the Abode of War: Military Slaves and Islamic Adversaries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); Robert Brunshvig, "Abd," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.24–34; Pierre Dockès, *Medieval Slavery and Liberation*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Steven A. Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001); Carl I. Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages: Slaves and their Families in Early Medieval Bavaria* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Iris Origo, "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Speculum* 30 (1955): 321–366; William D. Phillips Jr., *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985); Susan Stuard, "Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery," *Past and Present* 149 (1995): 3–28.

**Slavs** The word Slav might be derived from two roots. One referred to those who lived in swampy places, and the other was linked with a word for "glory" or those who had an "intelligible language." As a people they first appear in the sixth century as Sclaveni or Sclavi. By the central Middle Ages, the name had become linked with SLAVERY in places such as VENICE that traded in human beings for slave labor and could obtain people from the Slavic population in the Balkans and from around the BLACK SEA.

Slav society was united by a common Indo-European language and was organized into a tribal structure, under the leadership of military chiefs. Its economy was based on AGRICULTURE and ANIMAL HUSBANDRY. Early in the fifth century, bursting with large populations, the Slav tribes invaded the Byzantine Empire; by the end of the sixth century they had settled throughout the Balkan Peninsula and as far south as the Peloponnese. Other Slavs moved into what became MORAVIA and BOHEMIA. They eventually settled in the former ILLYRICUM on the Dalmatian coast, the valleys of the Elbe, Vistula, Bug, and the Oder Rivers; and finally in the valleys of the Dniepr and Volga

and along Lakes Peipus and Ladoga, displacing Balt and Finnish tribes. Between the sixth and the ninth centuries, three linguistic groups had evolved: the Western, Eastern, and Southern Slavs. In the ninth century, CYRIL AND METHODIUS were able to use in their missionary and liturgical activities the language spoken around THESSALONIKI. This became Slavonic, which was used for translating Scripture and the liturgy and written in GLAGOLITIC. The Slavs of the east and southeast used a script wrongly called CYRILLIC.

The various Slavic peoples eventually followed either the Roman Church or the Orthodox Church. This choice depended on who converted them and had fostered links with the local ruling families. From the ninth century, the history of the Slavs became tied to the individual national and regional groups they had established. The differences among many of these groups actually remained fairly fluid and only became clearly defined by nationalistic historians, folklorists, and philologists in the 19th century.

See also BARBARIANS AND BARBARIAN MIGRATIONS; BULGARIA; CROATIA; DALMATIA; POLAND; RUSSIA AND RUŚ; SERBIA; SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY.

**Further reading:** Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962); Marija Alseikaitė Gimbutas, *The Slavs* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971); Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); Zdeněk Váňa, *The World of the Ancient Slavs*, trans. Till Gottheiner (London: Orbis, 1983).

### **Snorri Sturluson** (1178/79–1241) *Norwegian and Icelandic author*

Snorri Sturluson was born in 1178 or 1179 either in Hvamm in ICELAND or in NORWAY. He lived in Iceland, a descendent of Egill Skallagrímsson, in the household of Jón Loptsson, one of the most influential chiefs in Iceland. From him Snorri learned much about Icelandic traditions and the wider world. In 1199 he married an heiress and gained considerable property and land. From 1206 he lived in Reykjaholt, where he did most of his writing. He became famous for his adaptations of the Norse sagas. His main achievement, the *HEIMSKRINGLA*, was a set of poetic biographies of legendary and genuine Norse chieftains and heroes. These histories were widely read in the 13th century. The *Prose Edda* was a handbook of poetics and a telling of some of the major Norse myths that preserved the world of pagan northern Europe. Known as the richest man in Iceland, Snorri served as a chief in the Icelandic high court from 1215 to 1218 and from 1222 to 1232. Involved in politics, he became Haakon IV's (1204–63) vassal. He eventually fell out of favor and was assassinated on Haakon's order on September 22, 1241.

**Further reading:** Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: Tales from Norse Mythology*, trans. Jean I.

Young (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (Austin: Published for the American-Scandinavian Foundation by the University of Texas Press, 1964); Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature* (New York: Johns Hopkins Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1957); Marlene Ciklamini, *Snorri Sturluson* (Boston: Twayne, 1978).

**social status and structure** The Middle Ages knew social stratification, but the social structure rested on a division into orders, not classes. These were believed to be willed by GOD and considered immutable by some. Legal status was important. People were either free or unfree. The free could bear arms, could pay taxes for protection, could appeal to the LAW, could move about, could marry, and could testify in a court of law. The unfree were slaves with no rights, though better treated than in ancient times, or SERFS liable to stringent obligations and limitations. Others, more fortunate, were born into aristocratic families and therefore were often judged superior from birth. They commanded because they were lords, whether armed or not. Some were warriors, ordained clerics, public and private officials, artisans, MERCHANTS, or peasants.

From the 12th century, wealth divided people into groups. For some in the Middle Ages, social order reflected a world order willed by God with a hierarchy resting on the functions of social groups, and natural inequality. This had been perceived by historians in an oversimplified scheme of those who pray, those who fight, and those who work, with the king overseeing all. In all the religions of the medieval world, the weak were to be protected and JUSTICE was to be observed in social and economic exchange.

See also CHARITY AND POVERTY; CHIVALRY; NOBILITY AND NOBLES; SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY; WIDOWS AND WIDOWHOOD.

**Further reading:** David Herlihy, *Medieval Culture and Society* (New York: Walker, 1968); Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Structure of Medieval Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971); S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (London: Macmillan Press, 1995); Tsugitaka Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtas, and Fallahun* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997); R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

**Sofia (Serdica, Sofya)** Medieval Sofia became the capital of modern-day BULGARIA. Sofia's predecessor, the classical city of Serdica, fell into decline during the early Middle Ages. It was sacked by the HUNS in 447 and rebuilt by JUSTINIAN I in the sixth century. Its name and ethnic character changed in the seventh century, when it

became the Slavic and Bulgarian town of Sofia. Captured by the BULGARS in 809, the town became subordinate to the new centers of the medieval Bulgarian Empire, such as TIRNOVO and OCHRIDA. The Byzantines retook control of the town in the 11th and 12th centuries. By 1385 the OTTOMAN TURKS, commanded by Sultan MURAD I, had conquered Sofia and it had become the Turkish capital of western Bulgaria.

**Further reading:** Svetlana Ivanova, "Sofya," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 9.702–706; Stoiko Kozhukharov, *Sofia*, trans. Donka Minkova (Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1967).

**Songhai (Songhay, Sonrai, Sonrhai)** From as early as the seventh century, Songhai was an empire in North AFRICA on the northern bend of the Niger River. It became part of the empire of MALI in the 13th century. In 1135 the Songhai people freed themselves from Mali and started to conquer the surrounding area where the capital was Gao. The Songhai people deployed a skillful and sophisticated army that included cavalry. They remained mostly pagan. Their empire was to reach its greatest extent and power in the early 16th century under the Muslim Muhammad I Askia (1493–1528). Its wealth was derived from the TRADE in salt and GOLD and probably the slave trade with the north.

**Further reading:** Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner, *A Glorious Age in Africa: The Story of Three Great African Empires* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990); Patricia and Fredrick McKissack, *The Royal Kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay: Life in Medieval Africa* (New York: H. Holt, 1994); Djibril Tamsir Niane, ed., *General History of Africa. IV, Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press for UNESCO, 1984); abridged ed., ed. Joseph Ki-Zerbo and Djibril Tamsir Niane (Berkeley: James Currey, 1997); Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Medieval Africa, 1250–1800*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**Song of Songs** One of the Wisdom Books of the BIBLE, the Song of Songs had only a spiritual interpretation in both Jewish and Christian exegesis. This dialogue of a lover and the beloved was understood in JUDAISM as between Israel and its GOD. Christian exegetes saw a dialogue between the church and Christ or between the converted SOUL and the divine Word. ORIGEN's commentaries had great influence during the Middle Ages. The Song of Songs was one of the books of the Bible most commented upon in the medieval period. It furnished a repertoire of images for religious poetry as well as secular love poetry in the VERNACULAR. In the vernacular it was a favorite text for mystics.

See also BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, SAINT; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN; RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

**Further reading:** Michael Casey, ed., *A thirst for God: Spiritual Desire in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1988); E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990).

**sorcery** See MAGIC AND FOLKLORE.

**soul (nafs)** The soul in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam can mean "the spirit," "the person," "the life breath," "the self," or "the mind of the individual." In medieval religious terms, *soul* usually meant "the spiritual part of the human being" and designated the principal and immortal aspect necessary for vital animation or life in any animate being, either beast or human. In the Middle Ages, the human soul had two main properties: a trinitarian image and immortality. There were medieval debates about the dual or singular nature of human beings, about the soul as a separate and separable substance from the body, and about the timing and source of animation, either through human action or directly from GOD. The soul carried the personal identity of the individual. There were also discussions about whether both the body and the soul would rise at the LAST JUDGMENT, or the soul only.

See also AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, SAINT; ETERNITY OF THE WORLD AND OF THE SOUL; IBN SINA, ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN; REDEMPTION.

**Further reading:** Muhammad Naquib Syed Al-Attas, *The Nature of Man and the Psychology of the Human Soul: A Brief Outline and a Framework for an Islamic Psychology and Epistemology* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1990); Piero Boitani and Anna Torti, eds., *The Body and the Soul in Medieval Literature: The J. A. W. Bennett Memorial Lectures, Tenth Series, Perugia, 1998* (Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1999); Philip David Bookstaber, *The Idea of Development of the Soul in Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Philadelphia: M. Jacobs, 1950); A. C. Pegis, *St. Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1934).

**Spain** Spain was divided into several provinces under the Roman Empire. After the VANDALS passed through, the VISIGOTHS took control of it in the fifth century. With the conversion to Catholicism of the Visigothic king, RECARDED I, in 589, the Iberian Peninsula became a mostly Christian kingdom. In the Middle Ages it lost its political significance and became only a geographical area. The Muslim conquest of 711–18 put the greater part of the peninsula under Muslim rule, AL-ANDALUS, with only a few weak and divided Christian enclaves or kingdoms in

the north. From then the history and culture of the peninsula followed several courses of development. Running through its history from about 1031 was the struggle between the Christians and the Muslims for control or the RECONQUEST. This reunification was not won by the Christians until 1492 with the conquest of GRANADA by the Catholic Monarchs, FERDINAND II and ISABEL I, who also finally united all the petty Christian kingdoms into one state, or Spain. Its amalgamation of Christianity, ISLAM, and JUDAISM had lasted in various forms throughout the Middle Ages. All these religious cultures developed impressive and mutually influenced forms of art, architecture, literature, learning, and thought.

See also ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS; AL-ÁNDALUS; ARAGON; ASTURIAS-LEÓN; BARCELONA; BASQUES; CASTILE, KINGDOM OF; CATALONIA; CÓRDOBA; LEÓN; NASRIDS; NAVARRE, KINGDOM OF; PORTUGAL; SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA; SEVILLE, CITY AND KINGDOM OF; TOLEDO; Umayyads of Córdoba; VALLADOLID; INDIVIDUAL NAMES OF KINGS, MONUMENTS, PEOPLE, AND CALIPHS.

**Further reading:** Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961–1966); Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1983); Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); Gabriel Jackson, *The Making of Medieval Spain* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972); Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975); John P. O'Neill, ed., *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993).

**spices and spice trade** The word *spice* had a much wider meaning in the Middle Ages than today encompassing condiments, drugs used in the medieval pharmacopoeia, perfumes, colorants, exotic fruits, sugar, honey, and even the ingredients and materials of craftsmanship, such as cotton, wax, PAPER, or pitch. Many spices were products commonly used in the medieval pharmacopoeia and were derived from the three natural kingdoms, animal, vegetable, and mineral. Others were industrial products for dyeing such as alum, yellow arsenic, or Brazil wood. The most familiar to us are pepper, cinnamon, ginger, and cloves, among others. They were the objects of a great long-distant TRADE system from China, India, the Indian Ocean, and Indonesia to the Mediterranean, through the commercial activities of Hindu, Arab, and then Western MERCHANTS. Many were also produced in IRAN, Central Asia, the Near East, EGYPT, AFRICA, and the coastal regions of the Mediterranean.

The spice trade was a lucrative part of the commercial renaissance of the 12th century centered in the

Mediterranean and dominated by GENOA, PISA, and VENICE. Ginger, SAFFRON, and sugar became commodities traded in the later Middle Ages. The search for spices was one of the motivations for the European expansion carried out by Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, Christopher COLUMBUS, and VASCO DA GAMA that began in the 15th century.

**Further reading:** K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, eds., *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents with Introductions and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

**Spiritual Franciscans (Spirituals)** They were a group of FRANCISCANS who advocated a life of absolute VOLUNTARY POVERTY. They were particularly strong in three different regions, the March of Ancona, TUSCANY, and southern FRANCE. They were particularly influenced by three friars: Angelo Clareno (d. 1337), UBERTINO DA CASALE, and Peter John OLIVI. They espoused several themes: the attachment to absolute poverty for the order itself, the inviolability of a rule and the *Testament* of FRANCIS, criticism of the worldliness of the church and of the MENDICANT ORDERS, and a vague belief in a special role to be played by certain friars in the days leading up to the LAST JUDGMENT. After the Second Council of Lyon, the Spirituals were persecuted and some were expelled from Europe. A papal decree in 1312 by CLEMENT V ordered them to obey their superiors. Michael of Cesena (ca. 1270–1342) tried to control them, but several left the order to form a splinter group, the FRATICELLI. Their ideas about poverty in the church were deemed highly dangerous by the ecclesiastical authorities, who perceived the necessity of wealth for the church so that it might carry out its mission in the world.

See also BONIFACE VIII, POPE; CELESTINE V, POPE AND THE CELESTINES; JOACHIM, ABBOT OF FIORE; JOHN XXII, POPE.

**Further reading:** David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Malcolm D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961); John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

**Split (Spalato)** Medieval Split was a city in DALMATIA, founded in 615 on the ruins of the ancient palace of DIOCLETIAN at Salona, which became a Byzantine stronghold in Dalmatia and on the Adriatic Sea. In the ninth century

Croatian princes established an independent principality there and it was annexed by TOMISLAV I to the kingdom of CROATIA. It was conquered by HUNGARY in 1133. It remained Hungarian until 1420, when it was annexed to VENICE. It had, however, fallen under Venetian colonial domination and been a colony long before that annexation.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

**spolia and right of spoil** The right of spoil in the Middle Ages was the ability or right of anyone who had or claimed to have a right over a church to claim the movable goods of the deceased cleric who had served that church. The goods assigned to churches were originally considered the property of the whole Christian community. So bishops were merely administrators and could not dispose of them. Soon the relatives of the patrons of churches began to claim rights of inheritance even on clerical property and of a church's revenues. Clerics were considered as employees of their bishop and even sought to seize episcopal property. Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT ruled that any acquisition of church goods by a clerical officeholder made after elevation to an episcopal see must be returned to the church, but any goods possessed beforehand could be freely bequeathed by testament.

The property of parishes began to be considered as part of the patrimony of the church. This idea deprived the cleric and his family of any possibility of keeping or disposing of them. At the same time kings and great lay owners of rights over a church simply appropriated property. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the church's effort at reform to escape from this loss of wealth resorted to transforming formally this kind of private property only into rights of patronage or appointment. The LAITY would renounce the right of spoil in exchange for compensatory rents, or influence of the choice of appointee. Nevertheless, kings, princes, patrons, popes, and clerics continued to seize the movable goods of benefice holders who had depended in some way on them. Some distinction was established at that time between personal movable goods and landed property tied to a supporting BENEFICE. The latter was to remain untouchable.

The landed property of a benefice holder himself, however, could be bequeathed by testament by the 19th century. Pope JOHN XXII, by the constitution *Ex debito* in 1316, retained the right of spoil over any benefice whose collation or appointment he had managed to reserve. This was understood to be liturgical objects, manuscripts, cash, vestments, provisions, rentals to be collected, and debts due. Pope CLEMENT VI, listening to the complaints of the CLERGY, excluded from the right of spoil books and

liturgical objects acquired by the deceased cleric. This included also implements, and ANIMALS for agriculture. At the same time Clement also charged papal collectors of spoils with paying the debts of the deceased, covering the expenses of funerals, satisfying the salaries of servants, and fulfilling the pious testamentary legacies of the deceased. This right generated the PAPACY for important profits in the 14th century. The Council of CONSTANCE obliged Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31) to limit the application of the papal right of spoil to the benefices of members of the papal Curia.

*See also* MORTMAIN; WILLS AND TESTAMENTS.

**Further reading:** Bernard Guillemain, "Spoil, Right of," *EMA* 2.1,377–1,378; Daniel Williman, *Records of the Papal Right, Spoil, 1316–1412* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1974); Daniel Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon, 1316–1415* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988).

**stained glass** In the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE, stained glass was a translucent material intended to fill in and decorate a window bay. It was made of pieces of glass, colored or plain, perhaps painted, and all set in a framework usually of lead. The origins of this art have remained little known. The earliest evidence of such window glass was in RAVENNA in the sixth century, Jarrow in the ninth century, and ROUEN in the midninth century. Any early history of extant stained glass must begin at Neuwiller from the late 11th century, Augsburg from about 1100, and Le Mans from about 1125. In the 12th century, stained glass windows began to become larger to allow more light into churches. They were usually brightly colored, however, the CISTERCIANS used only plain or clear glass. In the GOTHIC art and architecture of the 13th century, stained glass became walls of buildings yet full of light with many colors. Designs of programs became much more complex such as at SAINTE-CHAPELLE in PARIS, but still to demonstrate the good effects of the light of GOD on the soul. From the 14th century, stained glass became clearer, and more three-dimensional. The iconography of stained glass remained conservative throughout the Middle Ages, using illustrations from the BIBLE, the GOSPELS, and the lives of saints.

*See also* GOTHIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE; ROSE WINDOWS.

**Further reading:** Madeline H. Caviness, *Stained Glass before 1540: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983); Madeline Caviness, *Stained Glass Windows* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996); Louis Grodecki, *Gothic Stained Glass, 1200–1300* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

**states of the church** *See* ALBORNOZ, GIL, CARDINAL; DONATION OF CONSTANTINE; PAPACY; PAPAL STATES.

**statutes** Beside collections of ecclesiastical laws, in the Middle Ages this term referred to collections of laws made by urban and rural COMMUNES of north central ITALY. They approved them through the deliberation of their own assemblies, especially after the Peace of Constance in 1183, which gave them more independence from the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Italian communes joined together in these collections of customary and local LAW that originated in an earlier period; the compacts and oaths of the consuls or government officials on first entering their offices; and most of the laws recently approved by communal legislative organs or the consuls. The term *statutum* from the verb *statuere*, “to establish, fix, decide,” was chosen for its implication that these were the norms of the law for the commune.



Madonna and Child in stained glass (1300–10), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg Germany (*Scala / Art Resource*)

These were expanded into books of statutes. Over time they became more organized by type or intent of law. They had to be updated regularly as changes or additions were constantly made to the law by the government of the commune.

With the growth of knowledge and expertise in Roman law from the 12th century, jurists and university teachers became more involved in their drafting and compilation. The statutes also became more available to the citizenry, now written on paper instead of parchment. In the 14th century, some were translated from LATIN into the VERNACULAR to widen the circle of those able to read, understand, and discuss them. Outside Italy towns began to follow the Italian example, as did regional governments and states. Statutes remained primarily urban phenomena, however.

### ECCLESIASTICAL

In the 12th century, ecclesiastical meetings such as local synods or councils began to keep more careful track of their prescriptions on clerical conduct, the rules for the administration of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS, pastoral care, and parish or diocesan government. Older local decisions and legislation were updated and new material, often from the PAPACY or councils such as those of the Lateran, was gathered and made more accessible to regional clergy. Not very organized or systematic, these could even include admonitory tracts and treatises on particular problems of procedure, marriage regulations, testamentary or liturgical rules, and confessors' manuals. These collections were usually kept up to date throughout the rest of Middle Ages and well beyond 1500.

**Further reading:** C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941); C. R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964–1981); Daniel Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3d ed. (1969; London: Longman, 1988); Walter Ullman, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages: An Introduction to the Sources of Medieval Political Ideas* (Ithaca; N.Y. Cornell University Press, 1975).

**Staufen dynasty** See HOHENSTAUFEN.

### Stephen I of Hungary, Saint (Vajk) (ca. 975–1038) *king of Hungary*

Stephen was born in 975 at Esztergom in HUNGARY, the son of the ruler of the Magyars, Géza I (r. 970?-97). He adopted the Christian Faith and made it the official religion of the kingdom in 1000. He suppressed pagan uprisings and converted by force any refusing to give up PAGANISM. In the following year Pope SYLVESTER II, in acknowledgment of his conversion, sent him a royal crown, which was later named the “Crown of Saint Stephen.” It grew to symbolize Hungary’s independence

from the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Stephen also organized his realm, established an army, promoted agricultural development and settlement, and established the kingdom's legal institutions. He died on August 15, 1038, at Royal Alba in Hungary.

See also ÁRPÁDS DYNASTY.

**Further reading:** Pál Engle, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi and ed. Andrew Ayton (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001); György Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Attila Zsoldos, ed., *Saint Stephen and His Country: A Newborn Kingdom in Central Europe, Hungary* (Budapest: Lucidus, 2001).

**Stephen Dušan** (Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, Dušan the Mighty, Stephen Dushan) (1308–1355) *king and later czar of the Serbs and Greeks*

Stephen was born in 1308, the son of Stephen III Dečanski (r. 1321–31), in central SERBIA. He grew up in exile with his father in CONSTANTINOPLE between 1314 and 1320. After campaigning successfully against the Bosnians and BULGARS, he deposed his father with the support of aristocrats and assumed the Crown in 1331. He enlarged the Serbian state far into GREECE, ALBANIA, around DURAZZO, MACEDONIA, and Mount ATHOS. On April 16, 1346, he was crowned czar at Skopje by the patriarch of the Serbian Church with the participation of the archbishop of OCHRIDA and the patriarch of Trnovo. This led to a break from Constantinople and a condemnation of Stephen and the patriarch of Serbia in 1350. Dušan convened diets in 1349 and 1354 that drew up a code of laws. He founded the monastery of the Holy Archangels in 1348. He remained on good terms with the PAPACY but was never made the leader of a CRUSADE against the OTTOMAN TURKS in the Balkans. He died on December 20, 1355, near Prizen in Serbia.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); George C. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dusan (1331–1355) and his Successors* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection, 1984)

**Stephen Langton** (ca. 1155–1228) *teacher, preacher, scholar, archbishop of Canterbury*

Stephen Langton was born about 1155, the son of a Lincolnshire Knight. He was educated at PARIS as a pupil of Peter Cantor (d. 1197). From about 1180 he was a master of THEOLOGY at the University of Paris. His method of dividing the book of the BIBLE formed the basis for the present system. He also wrote significant theological studies, glosses, commentaries, and collections of SERMONS. At Paris he met Lothario di Segni, the later Pope INNOCENT III. Innocent later made him the cardinal-

priest of San Crisogono on June 22, 1206. He was archbishop of CANTERBURY from December 1206 (with consecration on June 17, 1207) until his death on July 9, 1228. He was a compromise papal choice for Canterbury because of a dispute over the election between King JOHN LACKLAND and the monks of Canterbury. John rejected Stephen, and ENGLAND then suffered an INTERDICT from 1207 onward. John was excommunicated from 1209 until he agreed to accept Stephen.

Stephen arrived in England at the moment when a baronial revolt that led to the MAGNA CARTA was beginning in 1213. Cooperating with the barons, he was present at Runnymede in June 1215, and his name was affixed to the Magna Carta. He associated himself with the rebels to limit John's arbitrary behavior. His continued support of the barons, even after the king had made his peace with Innocent III, earned him the pope's displeasure because of his lack of support for a papal ally. Innocent then suspended him. Both John and Innocent died in 1216. So Stephen was restored to his archbishopric in 1218 and became influential in the regency of the young HENRY III. Stephen attended the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome in 1215 and promulgated its important reforming decrees at a provincial council at OXFORD in 1222. He was also a supporter of his martyred predecessor, Thomas BECKET. Becket's martyrdom was depicted on Stephen's seal and he presided in 1220 at the translation of Becket's bones to a specially constructed chapel in Canterbury Cathedral. He died July 9, 1228.

**Further reading:** Frederick M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton, Being the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1927* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928); Phyllis Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968).

**Stilicho (Flavius)** (ca. 365–408) *barbarian general for the late Roman Empire*

Born half Vandal and half Roman, Stilicho was the military commander of the Western Roman Empire between 395 and 408. As regent for the young Honorius (r. 395–423), he defeated a Visigothic invasion of ITALY led by ALARIC in 401–2. He later destroyed other gangs of Gothic invaders, in 405 and 406. On December 31, 406, however, more tribes flooded in as the VANDALS, ALANS, and Suevi crossed the Rhine River. Stilicho's subsequent attempt to extend imperial control over ILLYRICUM, in 407 failed, and he was forced to pay Alaric, then an ally in the campaign, 5,000 pounds of GOLD. After he lost the favor of Honorius, in 408 a palace revolution led to his acceptance of defeat, imprisonment, and execution.

**Further reading:** Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364–425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

**stirrup** See CAVALRY.

**Studium Generale** See UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Sturluson, Snorri** See SNORRI STURLUSON.

**Sufism** (*Tasawwuf*) The exact meaning of Sufi or who is a Sufi is disputed. Sufism can designate Muslim MYSTICISM and ASCETICISM. Whether in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, or any other Asian or African language, it must be based on the QURAN. It can be seen as a reaction to the excessive worldliness at any one moment of the Islamic world. It is not a sectarian term and cannot be used in opposition to SUNNA or SHIA. Sufi orders, or *tariqahs*, are expressions of personal piety and social organization. The English term has been constructed from an Arabic word referring to one who wears a woolen robe. Muslim mysticism was not at all connected with Islam's tribal and Arabic origins. There were mystics in BAGHDAD in the late ninth century who collectively received the name of Sufis. This term had been applied individually to people whose elaborate mortifications caused shock. Their model was probably the practices of Christian eremitism. The execution of the Sufi al-Hallaj at Baghdad in 922 caused a migration of practitioners toward eastern IRAN. They were considered heterodox and persecuted for a time. They returned to have great influence on the CALIPHATE in the 11th century and in SYRIA, EGYPT, and AL-ANDALUS in the 12th century. With this the integration of Sufism into ISLAM became irreversible.

From the late 12th century, mystical CONFRATERNITIES were established and supported by networks of charitable institutions financed by public donations or official authority. These institutions had different names at different times and places such as *ribat*, *khanqah*, *zawiya*, *tarlagat*, or *tekkeh/takkiya*. This kind of organization has survived up to the present time.

Especially important in the later spread of Islam, Sufism gained prominence in all the Muslim territories from the 13th and 14th centuries. Outside this organized movement, Sufism has known great spiritual masters. The most notable of them was Ibn Arabi from AL-ANDALUS, who died at DAMASCUS in 1240. Some were great poets, such as JALAL AD-DIN RUMI, the founder of the Mevlevi order of whirling dervishes.

See also AL-GHAZALI; HAFIZ; OMAR KHAYYAM.

**Further reading:** "Tasawwuf," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4.681–685 (1929); J. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); A. M. Schimmel; Titus Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufism*, trans. D. M. Matheson (London: Thorsons, 1995); Leonard Lewisohn, ed., *Classical Persian Sufism: From Its Origins to Rumi* (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1993).

**Suger of Saint Denis, Abbot** (1081–1151) *adviser to the king of France, historian, talented abbot of Saint Denis*

Suger was born into a peasant family near PARIS and was given to the abbey of Saint Denis as an oblate at the age of about 10. He professed and took his vows at the age of 20. As a church archivist, he distinguished himself in 1107 by documenting the abbey's privileges before Pope PASCHAL II. He was later appointed the provost of Berneval-en-Caux in NORMANDY, and then in 1109 of Toury in Beauce. There he took part in King Louis VI the Fat's (1081–1137) war against the lord of Le Puiset in 1111 and 1112. Elected abbot of Saint Denis in March of 1122, he soon began to give aid and counsel to the king, traveling to RHEIMS during a military campaign against the emperor Henry V (r. 1106–25) in 1124 and in 1125 to Mainz for the election of the emperor Lothair III (r. 1125–37). He used that occasion to assert rights over abbeys in Lorraine. When he subsequently reformed the practices of the Abbey of Saint Denis in 1127, he received much praise from BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.

From then on, he tried to exploit the incomes of the properties of the abbey to allow him to rebuild the abbey church in the new GOTHIC style. He accompanied the young King Louis VII (r. 1137–80) to Bordeaux for his marriage with ELEANOR of Aquitaine in 1137. He soon retired to his abbey to write the *Deeds of Louis the Fat* and to oversee the rebuilding of the church in the early 1140s. He was asked to assist in the regency during Louis VII's absence on the Second CRUSADE in 1147. He quelled a revolt by nobles and earned the nickname "father of his country" during Louis's absence. On the king's return in 1149, his influence in the church of France continued; his opinion was considered in the appointment of all bishops. After reforming and adding to the finances of the abbey, he used the new funds to design and build the new abbey church, an early model of the Gothic style. He dreamed of going to the East himself to rectify the failed Second Crusade but fell ill and died on January 13, 1151, at Saint Denis at age 70.

**Further reading:** Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992); Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans., Erwin Panofsky, 2d ed. (1948; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979); Sumner McKnight Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: From Its Beginnings to the Death of Suger, 475–1151*, ed. Pamela Z. Blum (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St.-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: Longman, 1998); Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St.-Denis: Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy over Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990).

**suicide** Suicide was seemingly rare in the Middle Ages. Sources are reticent, but it is evident that suicides occurred among all social classes. The basic motives and natural methods were comparable to those of later centuries. The motives were physical and mental illness, chronic or sudden poverty, arrest, disgrace, heartbreak in love, and depression. The law in some Italian COMMUNES following Roman law considered suicide as an intrinsically innocent act. However, most legal systems condemned self-slaughter which was to be punished by the denial of church burial. Theologians corroborated general condemnations of suicide as a mortal sin with promises of hell and damnation. There is evidence that individual priests and religious orders sympathetically sought to soften the penalties and even prayed for the soul of suicides.

**Further reading:** Georges Minois, *History of Suicide: Voluntary Death in Western Culture*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1, *The Violent against Themselves*; Vol. 2, *The Curse on Self-Murder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2000).

**summa** The philosophical and theological genre *summa*, developed in the 12th century, was supposed to be an exposition of a totality that is, a compilation or a summary and systematic presentation of knowledge in a given field. *Summae* were written for advancement in every field of medieval scholarship and knowledge in universities, including MEDICINE, the liberal arts, LOGIC, PHILOSOPHY, RHETORIC, SERMONS, liturgy, biblical exegesis, penitential guidance, but especially in LAW and THEOLOGY. They were intended as an overall view of an author's original thought and as a verification of his learning in a subject.

See also SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD; UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1971); Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional History* (New York: Wiley, 1968); Lynn Thorndike, ed., *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

**sumptuary laws** See CLOTHING AND COSTUME.

**Sunna, Sunnis, Sunnites, and Sunnism** The term *Sunna* designates a “usage sanctioned by tradition” or the “well-marked way.” In ISLAM *sunna* designates the exemplary practice of the Prophet, or the facts, deeds, words, and silent approvals. Custom, normative precedent, conduct, and traditions are therefore based on the actions and example of MUHAMMAD and collected in the HADITH;

these actions and sayings complement the divinely revealed message of the QURAN. This orthodox knowledge, which became the *sunnah*, was passed down through generations. Sunnis stress the importance of this tradition, seeking consensus and in this process calling themselves *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Ijma* or “the People of Custom and Community.”

The *Sunna* movement arose out of the conflict of the midseventh century and was meant to be a middle way to help reconcile believers who had a variety of ideas. Sunni life was guided during the period up to 1500 by four schools of legal thought or *madhhabs* the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi, and Hanbali. It was further divided by historical setting, locale, and broader culture of different groups of Muslims. Sunni Muslims were united by a belief in the legitimacy of the first four CALIPHS and agreed also that other sects had introduced dubious innovations that departed from majority belief. They considered themselves to be the orthodox Muslims and rejected excessive rationalism and intellectualism.

See also SHIA, SHIISM, AND SHIITES.

**Further reading:** Binyamin Abrahamov, *Islamic Theology: Traditionalism and Rationalism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998); Mohamed Mohamed Yunis Ali, *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics: Sunni Legal Theorists' Models of Textual Communication* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000); Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: The Sunni “ulama” of Eleventh Century Baghdad* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Wael B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni Usul al-fiqh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); G. H. A. Juynboll, “Sunna,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 9.878–881; Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

**Suso, Henry** See HENRY SUSO.

**Sutton Hoo** Sutton Hoo was a sixth- to eighth-century Anglo-Saxon barrow grave field in Suffolk, claimed as a burial ground of the kings of East Anglia. Most of the finds were from the seventh century. It consisted of 15 to 20 circular burial visible mounds. It was best known for an extraordinary ship burial in which the impression of an 80-foot-long open boat was discovered in the sand beneath a mound. The various other burials contained rich and diverse grave goods, including a decorated helmet with face mask, a pattern welded sword, spears, a shield, gold jewelry with cloisonné garnets, glass, bits and a harness, a saddle, and fragments of a maple wood lyre. Some of these items were from the Continent and the Mediterranean. There were inhumations of three children, a woman, and a young man, some with coffins, some showing ritual trauma and evidence of cremation, along with a horse and other domestic animals. It was a

place of execution during the Middle Ages and was looted many times before the 19th century.

See also BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; GOKSTAD SHIP; OSEBERG FIND OR SHIP.

**Further reading:** Rupert Bruce-Mitford, ed., *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial: A Handbook*, 3d ed. (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications Limited, 1979); M. O. H. Carver, ed., *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992); Angela Care Evans, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, rev. ed. (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1994); Charles Green, *Sutton Hoo: The Excavation of a Royal Ship-Burial* (London: Merlin, 1988).

**Swabia (Alamannia, Schwaben)** Medieval Swabia, a duchy from the 10th century, took its name from the Suevi, a people who had once lived there. It became the Roman province of Rhaetia and was occupied by the Alamanni from the third century. The region had little geographical unity but included people who spoke Alemannic dialects and became modern-day SWITZERLAND, Alsace, southern Baden-Württemberg, and part of BAVARIA.

Swabia as a state was founded in the early 10th century when a comital family appointed by the Carolingians, made their nascent state independent. Burchard I (r. 917–926) was recognized as duke, and, with his victory at Winterthur in 919, ensured control of his western frontiers with BURGUNDY. He then became the founder of the duchy of Swabia. At his death in 926 without an heir, King Henry I the Fowler of Germany (ca. 876–936) gave the title and the duchy to a Frankish noble who became Hermann I (r. 926–949). The emperor OTTO I placed his own son, Luidolf (r. 949–954), in charge of the duchy. In the second half of the 10th century, the duchy enjoyed its most success and prosperity under Duke Bouchard III (r. 954–973). Its main centers were in that area north of Lake Constance near Zurich and the Breisgau.

In the 11th century, the emperor Henry IV (r. 1050–1106) gave the duchy to his son-in-law, FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, of the HOHENSTAUFEN family, who retained the title under their disappearance with the death of Conrad V (1252–68) or Conradin in 1268. RUDOLF of HABSBERG unsuccessfully tried to revive the duchy in the late 13th century. The title died out in 1290 and from then on Swabia was only a geographical region. The true heirs to this dukedom were the counts of Württemberg. In the early 14th century, an independent league of local towns dominated the area until the counts defeated it in battle in the late 14th century.

See also FREDERICK II, EMPEROR AND KING OF SICILY.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Toronto: University

of Toronto Press, 1997); Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, 2d ed., trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer (1984; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Boyd H. Hill, *Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972).

**Sweden** Medieval Sweden was a kingdom in eastern Scandinavia. At various times it was united with NORWAY and DENMARK. At the time of the great migrations from at least the fourth and fifth centuries, there were important population emigrations. It has been viewed contemporarily and traditionally as the area of origin for several Germanic peoples such as the Danes, the GOTHs, and the LOMBARDS.

In the very early Middle Ages, Sweden became a federation of provinces that recognized the nominal supremacy of a king designated by the Sviar or the inhabitants of Svealand. Shortly before the year 1000, the Yngling dynasty from Norway managed to unify the kingdom. Baptized early in the 11th century, Olaf Skötkonung (r. 995–1022) was the first Christian king of Sweden. Christianization was accomplished by English and German MISSIONS, and the region was put under the authority of the archbishop of Hamburg. A new episcopal see was created in about 1060 at Sigtuna near the old pagan sanctuary at Uppsala while other districts became dependent on Lund. The church in Sweden was generally to be free of much lay control.

#### POLITICAL CONFLICT AND A NEW CAPITAL

From the 1120s and for more than a century, Sweden was torn apart by internal struggles between two dynasties. During this period, five kings perished by violent deaths, that of Sverker I the Elder in 1155/56, Saint Erik IX Jedvardsson in 1160, Magnus Eriksson in 1161, Charles Sverkersson in 1167, and Sverker II the Younger in 1210. Canute Ericsson (r. 1173–95/96) sought the support of the towns of the HANSEATIC LEAGUE, especially LÜBECK, whose merchants were already installed at the major trading center at Visby. They developed commerce in local crafts and iron production. Erik X Canutesson (r. 1208–16) was the first Swedish king whose actual coronation was recorded in 1210. With the death of John I Sverkersson (r. 1216–22), the descendants of King Sverker I the Elder (r. 1131–55/56) died out in the male line. His successor Erik XI Ericsson (r. 1234–50) later left no direct heir at his death. A new dynasty, the Folkung, began when Waldemar (r. 1250–75) was elected as king in 1250 with Birger Jarl as regent until 1266. This monarchy was weak, exercised little if any judicial authority, and was dependent on supporting elements it could not control, such as the Thing, a sovereign assembly.

A new capital, however, was founded at Stockholm. In 1275, King Waldemar was forced off the throne by his

brother, Magnus I Barnlock (r. 1275–90). In about 1280, to strengthen his military resources, Magnus granted fiscal privileges to all those who performed mounted military service for him, attaching this new aristocracy to the Crown. Taxation measures were established to provide for territorial defense. After the death of Magnus I, a struggle broke out between King Birger Magnusson (r. 1290–1318) and his brothers, Dukes Erik and Waldemar. The conflict was promoted and made possible by the restless and ambitious nobility. A civil war ended with Birger's murder of his brothers in 1317. Duke Erik's son, Magnus II Ericsson (r. 1319–63/64), ascended the throne under a regency in 1319. This young Magnus II was already king of NORWAY through his mother's family. In 1332, he added to his realm the Danish provinces of Scania and Blekinge. In about 1350, he tried to enforce a common code of law throughout the whole of this large kingdom.

#### UNION WITH OTHER SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOMS

In the middle of the 14th century, the Black Death created a great drop in population. The king had to face opposition from the Norwegian nobility from 1343 and then from the Swedish nobility between 1356 and 1359. He soon lost possession of Scania, Blekinge, and GOTLAND by 1361. After these disasters, the Swedish aristocracy deposed Magnus II and placed Albert of Mecklenburg (r. 1364–89) on the throne, but he was never able to establish authority over this swollen country. Albert of Mecklenburg in 1389 had to appeal for help in governing to Queen MARGARET of Denmark, who had already become the ruler of Norway and Denmark.

Striving to carry out a permanent dynastic union of Scandinavia in 1397, she called an assembly of its nobility and bishops to Kalmar in order to establish a legal basis for this Union of Kalmar, with her nephew, Erik of Pomerania (r. 1396–1439), as heir to all three thrones. By the time of her death in 1412, Margaret, however, had failed to make this union permanent and each country retained its own laws with no central governing administration. Throughout the rest of the 15th century there were numerous temporary kingships and regencies.

Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, a noble from the Swedish mining districts of Dalecarlia, started a revolt that rapidly spread over the whole kingdom between 1434 and 1436. Erik of Pomerania was forced to recognize Engelbrekt as the regent of Sweden in 1435. Despite Engelbrekt's assassination in 1436, Erik of Pomerania never succeeded in restoring his authority over Sweden. At the death of his successor, Christopher of Bavaria (r. 1440/41–48), the Swedes refused to accept the king designated by the Danes, Christian I of Oldenburg (r. 1457–64, 1465–67). In 1448, they chose as ruler Charles Canutesson Bonde (1448–57, 1465, 1467–70). Nevertheless, Christian I was able to assume the Crown of Sweden in 1457. At his

death in 1470, he left the regency to his nephew, Sten Sture the Elder (regent 1470/71–97, 1501–03). In reality Sweden was being governed by an oligarchic regime dominated by a few powerful families, the Tott, Oxenstierna, and Vasa. Sten Sture the Elder had to recognize the sovereignty of King John of Denmark (r. 1497–1501).

See also ADAM OF BREMEN; VIKINGS.

**Further reading:** Ingvar Andersson, *A History of Sweden*, trans. Carolyn Hannay and Alan Blair, 2d ed. (New York: Praeger, 1970); Anna Götling, *Technology and Religion in Medieval Sweden* (Göteborg: Distribution, Department of History, University of Göteborg, 1993); Henrik Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden: Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1998); Birgit and Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Franklin Scott, *Sweden: The Nation's History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

**swine** See AGRICULTURE; ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION.

**Switzerland (Schwyz, Helvetia)** The name Switzerland derives from a community of free peasants and shepherds from the valley of Schwyz, the first canton of the Swiss Confederation, which was formed in 1291. The territories that converged in the late Middle Ages to form present-day Switzerland were situated between the Jura Mountains and the Alps. They extended from Lake Lemano to Lake Constance, as well as into northern LOMBARDY. They were initially peopled by Celts, Rhaetians, and Ligurians. Christianity arrived in the early fourth century. Between the early sixth century and the eighth century, all these territories passed under the control of the FRANKS when they conquered the kingdom of the BURGUNDIANS. They were subsequently divided among several rulers in the late Carolingian Empire and within the Carolingian kingdoms that followed.

They all belonged to the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE from 1032, when HENRY III (1017–56) became king of BURGUNDY. The episcopal towns and the main abbeys became the centers of small ecclesiastical principalities that maintained themselves up to the Reformation of the 16th century and later. The Confederation formed in 1291 of numerous alliances between communities in the Alpine region connected all these free communities, both rural and urban. It was rapidly reinforced by eight new members in 1353 struggling against the HABSBURGS, the main lords of the region. In the second half of the 14th century, this *confederation* designated the territory formed by members, no longer just an alliance. The existence of this region as a sovereign country was confirmed between 1315 and 1386 in victorious battles against the Hapsburgs.

The survival of Switzerland was therefore based on political alliances and military successes against lay and ecclesiastical lords. A national identity was formed in the 15th century based on revolts against unworthy and unacceptable authorities. Switzerland, invoking divine protection soon distanced itself from any ecclesiastical hierarchy, including the PAPACY. So the COUNCILS of CONSTANCE and BASEL were held there in the 15th century. Switzerland maintained a strong military force based on its famous pikemen in the 15th century to protect its independence from the French, the dukes of Burgundy, the Habsburgs, the house of SAVOY, and the duchy of MILAN.

See also WILLIAM TELL.

**Further reading:** Roger Sablonier, "The Swiss Confederation," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 645–670; Edgar Bonjour, H. S. Offler, and G. R. Potter, *A Short History of Switzerland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); Jonathan Steinberg, *Why Switzerland?* 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

**swords and daggers** See WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Sylvester II, Pope (Gerbert of Aurillac)** (ca. 945–1003) *scholar*

Gerbert, later Sylvester II, was born about 945 perhaps in Aurillac in the Auvergne or in Aquitaine. Of humble birth, he was educated at the BENEDICTINE monastery of Aurillac and sent to BARCELONA to study. After meeting the emperor OTTO I in ROME in 970, Gerbert spent much of the rest of his life within the orbit of the German empire. About 972 he went to RHEIMS to study and lectured there for many years. In 997 he left FRANCE for the court of OTTO III, whom he had met in Rome in 996. The emperor welcomed him as an old supporter of the imperial family and obtained his appointment as the archbishop of RAVENNA in 998. A year later Otto secured his elevation to the PAPACY. He was the first Frenchman to hold this office, taking the name Pope Sylvester II.

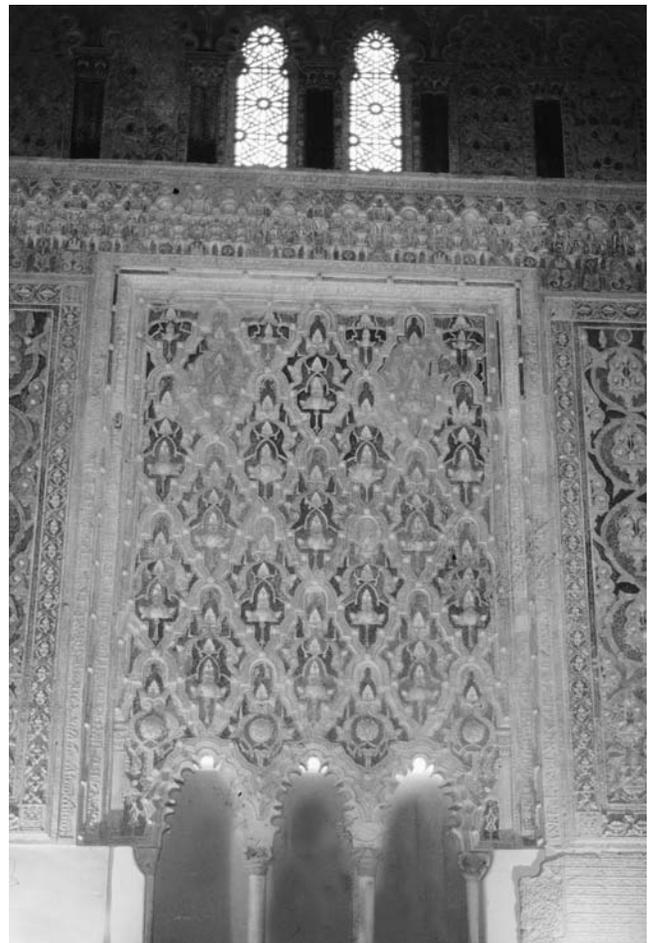
Sylvester II is usually credited with encouraging Otto's ambitious and universalistic visions of a restored Roman Empire with perhaps a major role for the papacy. Besides trying to encourage the spread of Christianity in Eastern Europe, he worked against SIMONY and promoted clerical CELIBACY. An accomplished scholar who devised influential teaching methods, he promoted and contributed to the study of astronomy, LOGIC, and dialectic; assisted with the introduction of Arabic numerals into mathematics; and collected ancient manuscripts. He had a reputation for dabbling in MAGIC. Leaving behind some 220 letters, he died in Rome on May 12, 1003, and was buried in Saint John Lateran.

See also HUGH CAPET, KING OF FRANCE; STEPHEN I OF HUNGARY, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Harriet Pratt Lattin, trans., *The Letters of Gerbert, with His Papal Privileges as Sylvester II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Death and Life in the Tenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967); Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953).

**Symeon of Bulgaria** See SIMEON I.

**synagogue (assembly house)** A concept inherited from the ancient world in Greek *synagogue* meant "a place of assembly" as did the Hebrew, *Beth-Knesset*. In Latin it referred to the *schola judeorum* or "school of the Jews" or "*synagoga*." This was identified with the community. In the Middle Ages the term, referred to Judaism as a whole, as opposed to the Christian Church, and was used as a widely diffused iconographical theme that intended to teach contempt for Israel.



Interior view of the Synagogue El Tránsito (Sefardi Museum) in Toledo, Spain (1366) (Vanni / Art Resource)

Within CHRISTENDOM lay and ecclesiastical administration usually tolerated the synagogue. Jews could use and repair synagogues but not embellish or enlarge them, nor build new ones. Jews obliged to build synagogues for public worship made them smaller or often installed them in private dwellings. The scope of activity at the synagogue included worship, education, community administration, a court of justice, and a meeting place for CONFRATERNITIES and community assemblies—it was the center of Jewish life.

There has survived little information on the origins of synagogues in Europe. They were mostly mentioned in descriptions of destruction or attack. Surviving medieval synagogues are rare. There are examples at CÓRDOBA, TOLEDO, Worms, PRAGUE, Sopron in HUNGARY, and ROUEN. Some had the external appearance of private houses. Synagogue architecture could be Moorish in SPAIN and Romanesque or Gothic in northern Europe. The interiors shared single or double naves, the *hekhal* or an ark that housed the Torah in the eastern wall, and in the center the *teba* or rostrum with a lectern for the reading of the Torah. There were benches along the sides for listeners and galleries for women. Their decoration was usually symbolic and geometrical, but sometimes figures were represented. There were frequently ritual baths.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; JEWS AND JUDAISM.

**Further reading:** Joseph Gutmann, *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology, and Architecture* (New York: Ktav, 1975); Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001); Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald. (New York: Ungar, 1970); Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964).

**Syria** Syria is the geographical area extending from the Mediterranean to the Tigris River. It is bordered to the north by the Taurus Mountains and Kurdistan and to the south by desert regions, the traditional grazing grounds of Arab nomads. It has rarely been politically unified but notably was between 660 and 1248 under the authority of the CALIPHATES of DAMASCUS and then BAGHDAD. Until the arrival of the Islamized ARABS between 634 and 636, it had been divided between, and fought over extensively by the Roman-Byzantine and Persian-Sassanid Empires. Its borders were always vague and disputed.

## ONE CONQUEST AFTER THE OTHER

The conquest of Damascus in 634 and the Battle of Yarmuk in 636 led to Arab rule over Syria. From the time of the emperor JUSTINIAN it was part of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH. Authority was disputed and diffused by the creation of national churches that had rejected formulations of the Christian confession promulgated as imperial laws after the COUNCILS of EPHEBUS in 431 and CHALCEDON in 451. These disagreements were anti-Byzantine reactions based on an attachment to the Aramaic language and culture as much as any doctrine. There developed a Malikite church, MONOPHYSITE versions of Christianity, the Jacobite Church, and various forms of NESTORIANISM.

The Umayyad dynasty, with its capital in Damascus, brought prosperity and prestige to Syria. Christians and Jews had the status of DHIMMI and were allowed to maintain their customs and law, although they had to pay a poll tax. The Abbasids moved their capital to Baghdad in 750 and the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century divided the region into smaller states based around Damascus, Homs, Hamah, and Aleppo. The Fatimids of Egypt took over the eastern and coastal part of Syria in the 10th century.

During the Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries, the region was the scene of much warfare and destruction, as the Christians and Muslims fought for control. That ended with the fall of Acre in 1291. During that era, however, trading links were developed between Syria and the Italian Merchant republics of Genoa and Pisa. Egyptian influence was strong and the Ayyubid dynasty of Saladin took control of the region in the late 12th century. The Mongols reached Syria in 1258. The capture of Baghdad by Tamerlane in 1401 finally ended prosperity. Syria began a long decline that lasted beyond its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire by Selim I the Grim (r. 1512–20) in 1516.

See also AYN JALUT, BATTLE OF; Baybars I, Sultan; Druzes; Jihad; Mamluks; Mosul; Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Zangi.

**Further reading:** Erica Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2001); Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Kamal S. Salibi, *Syria under Islam: Empire on Trial, 634–1097* (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1977); Maya Shatzmiller, ed., *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993); Suhayl Zakkar, *The Emirate of Aleppo, 1004–1094* (Beirut: Dar al-Amanah, 1971); Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Beirut: American Press, 1953).

# T

**al-Tabari, Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir** (839–923) *Persian historian, legal scholar, commentator on the Quran*

Born about 839 at Tabaristan in northern IRAN, al-Tabari traveled to the great centers of ISLAM. His exegesis or *Commentary* on the QURAN was among the most influential among those extant. In it he collected the philological, grammatical, legal, and theological material of earlier scholars using the orthodox SUNNI approach developed during the classical period and still used today. He inspired a school of LAW, the Jaririyya, named after him in which he sought a more exact system than the one employed until then. Besides writing a biographical dictionary, he authored a *History of the Prophets and Rulers* that ran from the creation of the world to his own time. In that he concentrated on the personal decisions of individual Muslims rather than only those of the CALIPHS or rulers. He included different perspectives and interpretations of events and motivations in Islamic and world history. As his *Commentary* was, his *History* was interpreted and compiled from traditional material. In it he gave a Muslim and universal representation of salvation history. He died in 923 at BAGHDAD.

See also IBN AL-ATHIR, IZZ AL-DIN; IBN KHALDUN, WALI AL-DIN ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN MUHAMMAD.

**Further reading:** al-Tabari, *The Abbasid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, trans. C. E. Bosworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), one of many volumes of translations of his history in the State University of New York series in Near Eastern Studies, Bibliotheca Persica, *The History of al-Tabari—Tarikh al-rusul wal-muluk*; Alfred J. Butler, *The Treaty of Misr in Tabari: An Essay in Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913); Joseph Dahmus, *Seven Medieval Historians* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982).

**Taborites** They were among the radical wings of the Czech reform movement in the years between 1419 and 1452. The first Taborites secretly met for forbidden Hussite rituals and prayers. That they celebrated at a place in southern BOHEMIA called by the biblical name of Mount Tábor, the site of Jesus' TRANSFIGURATION. One of its ideas, also discussed by John HUS, was the reception by the LAITY of communion under the form or species of both bread and wine or utraquism. The church permitted only the CLERGY to partake in both the bread and the wine. Its mission was largely nonviolent but based on far more radical ideas than those held by most other followers of Hus. There were persecutions of the Hussites' ideals after the death of King Wenceslas IV (r. 1378–1419) in August 1419 accompanied by a wave of eschatological visions about the end of the world, which they saw as imminent within a few months.

A second Tábor movement arose in March 1420, when the more radical Hussites while vainly awaiting Christ's arrival, founded a community of brothers and sisters on a biblical model and installed on a strategically important site. It, too, was given the name Tábor. These Taborites scorned reasoned THEOLOGY and dispensed with institutional churches and feast days. They sought the abolition of OATHS, courts of JUSTICE, and all worldly honors. Meanwhile, Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (r. 1410–37), the orthodox claimant to the throne of Bohemia from PRAGUE, launched a CRUSADE against the Hussites in July 1420. Led by Jan ŽIŽKA of Trocnov, the Taborite "soldiers of God," repelled the crusaders. But the Taborites soon succumbed to internal discord and expelled and even executed dissidents within their movement. After Žižka's death they split into two parties. Some joined the Catholic Bohemian nationalists after the Compactata of Prague in

1433 and others, the Adamites, led by Prokop Holy (d. 1434) retreated into exaggerated spiritualism and sexual excesses in an autonomous military republic in eastern Bohemia between 1425 and 1433. Initially successful, the Adamites took control of the greater part of Bohemia and MORAVIA but lost the Battle of Lipany in 1434 to the more moderate Hussites. After years of resistance, the Adamites finally gave up their religious independence and submitted to the regent of the kingdom, George of Podebrady (r. 1458–71), in September 1452.

See also BOHEMIAN BRETHERN; UTRAQUISTS AND UTRAQUIISM.

**Further reading:** Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (London: Seeker & Warburg, 1957); Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

**Talmud** After the Hebrew Bible, the Talmud was the most important book for Medieval Judaism. Compiled over centuries by many scholars, the Talmud, was a redaction of the Jewish oral law, intended to be a complete written law or the Hebrew BIBLE. It started with a largely legislative collection, the *Mishna* completed in the early third century, that included two redactions, the Jerusalem Talmud (*Yerushalmi*) completed in Palestine in the early fifth century and the Babylonian Talmud (*Bavli*) completed early in the sixth century. Only the Babylonian Talmud was known in the West until the 12th century. A series of treatises classified into six orders, it was the traditional object of numerous commentaries the most important of which were by RASHI (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac) and his school. Deemed essential to understanding of the Bible by Jews, the Talmud was little known to Christians before the mid-13th century except through the work of the converted Jew Petrus Alfonsi (1062–ca. 1130) and by PETER THE VENERABLE in his *Treatise against the Inveterate Obstinacy of the Jews*. During a disputation in 1240, Christian scholars discovered a Talmud, which was subsequently burned at PARIS in 1242 or 1244. As a book it was formally condemned by Pope INNOCENT IV in 1248. It was mined for polemical material and condemned by Christian authorities throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

See also ANTI-JUDAISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM; BIBLE; JEWS AND JUDAISM; PENTATEUCH; TAM, JACOB BEN MEIR.

**Further reading:** Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Hyam Maccoby, *The Philosophy of the Talmud* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002); Jacob Neusner, *The Emergence of Judaism: Jewish Religion in Response to the Critical Issues of the First Six Centuries* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2000); Jacob Neusner, *The Reader's Guide to the Talmud* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001); David Menahem Shohet, *The*

*Jewish Court in the Middle Ages: Studies in Jewish Jurisprudence according to the Talmud, Geonic, and Medieval German Responsa* (1931; reprint, New York: Hermon Press, 1974).

**Tam, Jacob ben Meir (Rabbenu Tam)** (1100–1171) *Jewish scholar*

Born about 1100, Jacob was educated at the school of RASHI, his grandfather, at Troyes. After his formative years, he settled in the small town of Ramerupt in Champagne, where he prepared and sold wine and was also active in moneylending. His business associations gave him close contact with county authorities, and he mingled as well with large portions of the population, developing his skills for bargaining and negotiating. Jacob had become a wealthy man by the time he left Ramerupt in 1146 to settle at Troyes, where he became a leader of the Jewish community and was able devote time to scholarly work. He wrote a series of commentaries on the TALMUD, mainly concerned with demonstrating the agreement among authorities. He became well known and was consulted by the greatest of his contemporary rabbis on concerning daily life of Jews within their own communities and their relations with their Christian neighbors. His *Responsa*, which became authoritative, were scholarly treatises offering answers based on earlier interpretations. From 1160 until his death, Jacob presided over gatherings of delegations from numerous Jewish communities, from Champagne but then from all of northern FRANCE. Jacob's decisions were considered binding and were recognized as valid by communities throughout northwestern Europe. With his almost unique standing, he issued decrees and insisted that other rabbis approve them by countersigning. At the same time he wrote Tosafist biblical commentaries and hymns. He died in 1171.

**Further reading:** Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1924); Israel Moses Ta-Shama and Nissan Netzer, "Tam, Jacob ben Meir," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 15:779–781; Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

**Tamerlane (Timur Lang, Timur Lank, Timur Leng)** (1336–1405) *Mongol conqueror*

Tamerlane was born at Kesh or Kish (Shahr-I Sabz) in 1336 in Transoxiana, south of SAMARKAND. He was a member of a family of Turkish princes attached to MONGOL khans but claiming descent from JENGHIZ Khan. He was handicapped by deformities on his right side, probably from an old wound. He set himself the task of reconstructing the empire of Jenghiz Khan and of becoming the greatest conqueror of all time. After years of war, in 1364–65 he freed Transoxiana from the rule of a Mongol khan, and he became the king of that province five years later. He maintained the fiction of Mongol power but

substituted the rule of the Turks for that of the Mongols. He was supported by local Muslim elites and Sufis and employed religious leaders of the Naqshbandi Tariqah, a Sufi order from BUKHARA, in his administration.

### CONQUEST AND PLUNDER

From 1370 he began the first of many expeditions, often ill coordinated and aborted but backed by a strong military force in a purposefully intimidating climate of terror. He captured Khwarizm and pushed farther east. In India he destroyed Delhi in 1398. He invaded and conquered AFGHANISTAN and IRAN with frightful massacres in 1387. He entered conflict with the khan of the Golden Horde and ravaged southern RUSSIA. He then entered IRAQ, pillaged BAGHDAD, and marched on to ravage ALEPPO and DAMASCUS. He forced the MAMLUKS to recognize his hegemony. In 1400 the princes of eastern ANATOLIA, worried about the progress of the OTTOMANS, called Timerlane to help them. He defeated the forces of Sultan BAYAZID in a decisive battle at Ankara on July 28, 1402. The sultan was taken prisoner and died the following year, murdered in a cage in prison. In 1403 he left Anatolia and was preparing to undertake a great expedition against China when he divided his empire among his sons. He died at Otrar in 1405. His empire soon fell apart; the Timurid dynasty survived only as the Moghuls of Delhi in India and local rulers in Khurasan and Transoxania.

### LEGACY

Tamerlane failed to establish a lasting state. His expeditions were only massively devastating raids rather than anything leading to lasting conquests. He was considered by CHRISTENDOM as an ally against the Ottoman Turks. He reduced Ottoman power and prolonged the survival of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE for another 50 years. His capital, Samarkand, was a great commercial center which he embellished with numerous MOSQUES and MADRASAS. His RELICS in Samarkand are still visited by pilgrims.

**Further reading:** Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Arabshah, *Tamerlane: or Timur, the Great Amir*, trans. J. H. Sanders (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1976); Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange (New York: Harper & Row, 1928); Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Thomas W. Lentz and Glen D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler, Gallery, 1989).

**Tancred of Hauteville** (1075/76–1112) *Norman crusader, prince of Antioch*

Tancred was the cousin or nephew of BOHEMOND of Taranto. His mother was Emma, the wife of Odo of Montferrat and the sister of ROBERT Guiscard. He was born in 1075/76, a younger son in the Hauteville family. He was

ambitious, violent, unscrupulous, landless, and poor. In the fall of 1096 he set out with Bohemond on the First CRUSADE. He fought well against mercenaries sent to the Balkan Peninsula by the Byzantine emperor ALEXIOS I to block the Norman advance. After crossing into ANATOLIA, Tancred was present at the conquest of the town of Nicaea in 1097. Along with Baldwin of Boulogne, he separated from the rest of the army and with the assistance of some Armenian Christians took possession of several cities in Cilicia in southeastern Anatolia. Unable to get along with Baldwin, Tancred rejoined the crusading army besieging ANTIOCH. After that city's fall in June 1098, Tancred joined the Crusading armies in the capture of JERUSALEM in 1099.

With GODFREY de Bouillon, Tancred took part in the founding of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, becoming the vassal prince of Galilee. After Bohemond had been captured by Muslims in 1100, Tancred gave the principality of Galilee to Baldwin of Boulogne, now King BALDWIN I of Jerusalem, who had recently been his rival for the Crown, and moved north to act as regent for the captive Bohemond for the rich principalities of Antioch and EDESSA. This arrangement became permanent when Bohemond had to return to Europe in 1111 for money and armed aid. Arriving in his new principality, Tancred embarked on a policy of expansion against the Muslims and Byzantines, as he tried to establish a defensible state in SYRIA and Cilicia and along the upper Euphrates River. In 1112 as he was about to attack Armenians in Cilicia, he died, perhaps of typhus, on December 12, 1112. He left his principalities to his nephew, Roger of Salerno (r. 1112–19).

*See also* LATIN STATES IN GREECE; NORMANS IN ITALY.



The siege and surrender of Tarsus to Tancred of Hauteville, from the *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon*, Ms. fr. 22495, fol. 32v (1337), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Giraudon / Art Resource*)

**Further reading:** Raimundus de Agiles, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968); Michael Foss, *People of the First Crusade* (New York: Arcade, 1997); John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Robert L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in Their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (1940; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1978).

**tapestry** This textile is created by sewing patterns with different colored threads of wool or needlework to create a desired iconographical representation, design, or motif across a cloth canvas stretched on a loom, a technique that resembles carpet making.

The art or craft of tapestry originated in the East, probably in central Asia. The oldest surviving example in Europe dates from the 11th century. Its real development began in the 14th century, when tapestry was seen not just as a fabric but as a way to preserve stories, as in mural painting. Tapestry was portable and was warmer than other media used for painting, especially when it could cover large, drafty wall surfaces in chambers in castles or churches.

The rooms of the wealthy in Europe soon became covered with tapestries made in FLANDERS and BRABANT, in such towns as Arras, Tournai, and Brussels. The tapestry market was brokered by MERCHANTS who took orders. Painters worked out models to be placed behind the loom as models or patterns for weavers. Several weavers and workshops were then needed to accomplish the labor needed for any single hanging. A single weaver could create square yard or meter in a year. The threads were of wool, silk for light colors, silver, and gold, all within a restricted range of natural colors. In the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, tapestry began merely to reproduce already known paintings; thus weavers lost their autonomy as designers and tapestry lost much of its individuality and originality.

**Further reading:** Anna G. Bennett, ed., *Five Centuries of Tapestry from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1992); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Medieval Tapestries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Adolfo Salvatore Cavallo (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1993); Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Tapestry Collection: Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. George Wingfield Digby and Wendy Hefford (London: H.M.S.O., 1980).

**Tatars (Tartars)** See MONGOLS AND MONGOL EMPIRE.

**Tauler, John** See JOHN TAULER.

**taverns** See INNS AND TAVERNS.

**taxation, taxes, and tribute** Medieval taxation, or sometimes tribute, were required payments in kind or coin to a public authority for protection or other services. It was not repayable. Taxation was fundamental to the development of the national state, the rise of parliamentary institutions, the consequent limiting of royal power, economic development, innovation in commercial and banking techniques, and demands for reform of the church. Taxes could be direct on wealth or indirect on consumption.

The history of taxation in the barbarian kingdoms of the early Middle Ages involved the disappearance many of the fiscal practices of the Roman Empire, by the time of CHARLEMAGNE, all that remained were tolls and taxes on goods transported by land and water. At the same time, the armed service required from freemen was giving way to or being traded for the payment of a replacement tax, such as SCUTAGE. The collapse of the central Carolingian government from the second half of the ninth century led to the weakened of the collection system of the tax structure and fiscal authority. Until the 13th century, feudal rights and seigniorial rents continued to make up the greater part of the revenues of the royal treasuries. The papacy tried to help or manipulate and motivate princes financially by organizing proposed Crusades in the 12th century and offering to tax the clergy. During the 13th century, as the revenues of princes became insufficient, states and bureaucracies were to seek new sources of income in various forms of direct and indirect taxes on property and commerce. New taxation systems of states were established, but they sometimes then had to be legitimized and eventually approved by the subjects of the Crown or state. PARLIAMENT and the representation of social estates became necessary involved and tended to set conditions and limits of taxation, either direct or indirect taxes. In cities, representative bodies became similarly involved. There were disagreements about sources of revenue, methods of evaluation, and means of collection. Their consent, although not always needed, was clearly crucial to tax collection.

#### BYZANTINE TAXATION

The Byzantine fiscal system rested on a land tax that was in turn based on an assessment, on a variety of customs taxes, and on municipal sales taxes. The most essential role was played by a cadastral land tax linked with defined pieces of property. This tax was calculated in cash but sometimes paid in kind. In the middle Byzantine period, these land taxes of peasants were calculated in terms of surface area of their holding according to a fiscal value established by periodic surveys. In about 1300, livestock began to be taxed.

### ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION

The church's first financial system rested on its landed property or patrimony, as well as gifts, alms, and legacies. All these forms continued throughout the Middle Ages. Bishops administered the goods and incomes of their churches. However, clerical families, lay donors or founders, and their descendants considered their church and its fabric and fiscal rights as a private property. This was an issue of lay control and was one of the principal concerns of the GREGORIAN REFORM. TITHES on incomes of all types were to be paid by the laity and were used mainly to support pastoral care, local churches, and parishes. Bishops and dioceses taxed these parishes and collected money in other ways such as the right of SPOIL on deceased clerics. Clerics began to charge for specific services. The popes, especially those residing at AVIGNON, sought every opportunity to tax the clergy, developed an elaborate fiscal bureaucracy, and needed strong links with Italian bankers to move their monies around. The costly Crusades demanded large taxes and elaborate machinery to collect funds, move the wealth around Europe, and send it to the eastern Mediterranean. The church as a result became more and more identified with this sort of fund-raising. The avarice of the church and its clergy became a topic of satire and a cause of demands for reform in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, but little was done to control even abuses.

### TAXATION IN ISLAM

Payment of taxes is considered a religious duty by Muslims. The most important tax was the *zakah*. It was based on wealth at a standard rate of 2.5 percent of what was considered to be surplus income. It was to be paid to the poor and needy. The *jizyah* or poll tax was paid by non-Muslim but protected members of an Islamic state, the DHIMMI, in exchange for protection and toleration. The land tax or *kharaj* was applied to Muslims and non-Muslims according to the amount of land they owned and its potential output.

**Further reading:** J. B. Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing, 1322–1356* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971); A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964); Walter Goffart, *Caput and Colonate: Towards a History of Late Roman Taxation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period, with Special Reference to Circumstances in Iraq* (Copenhagen: Branner & Korch, 1950); Sydney Knox Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England*, ed. Sidney Painter (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951).

**technology** There was little systematic or theoretical thought about work and technology in the Middle Ages,

although people were constantly and rationally finding technological assistance for what they had to do. There were numerous technological advances during the period. In the 12th century HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR was attentive to the reality of work and eager to associate a certain intellectual dignity with the production of objects. He included in his universal classification of knowledge the seven mechanical arts as complementary to the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS. The mechanical arts comprised the manufacture of woolen cloth, the production of armaments, and the practices of NAVIGATION, AGRICULTURE, HUNTING, MEDICINE, and the THEATER. Iconography, archaeological sources, manorial documents, accounts, commercial correspondence, and travel literature reflect considerable technological change and innovation, in mining, metal-working, water and wind MILLS, agriculture, cloth production, shipbuilding, methods of work, record keeping on accounting, and business technique and organization.

*See also* ALCHEMY; METALSMITHS AND METAL WORKING, METALLURGY; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING; TEXTILES.

**Further reading:** Grenville Astill and John Langdon, eds., *Medieval Farming and Technology: The Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997); Kelly DeVries, *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002); Ahmad Yusuf Hasan, *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Claudia Kren, *Medieval Science and Technology: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1985); Pamela O. Long, ed., *Science and Technology in Medieval Society* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1985).

**Templars (Knights of the Temple Pauperes commilitones Christi templi Solomonic)** They were a military and religious order founded to protect pilgrims and the Christian states founded on Palestine and the Lerant. After the capture of JERUSALEM in July 1099, some KNIGHTS decided to stay there to protect and serve the canons of the church of the HOLY SEPULCHER. A small group under Hugh de Payens (ca. 1070–1136) determined to live according to a religious rule, which was approved by the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch in 1120. This first military order, called the Order of the Chivalry of the Poor Knights or Soldiers of Christ, was better known by the name of their house, the Temple of Solomon. They were approved again in January 1128 at the Council of Troyes. Their rule was written by BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. The Templars' main mission then was the armed protection of pilgrims. A papal bull in 1139 made them responsible only to the PAPACY.

The Templars wore a white cloak or mantle with a red cross with a half-white, half-black banner. Their constitution provided for an elected grand master, provinces, districts, and individual preceptories, some



A 13th-century Templar chapel on one of their former estates near Vézelay in central France (Courtesy Edward English)

with distinctive round churches. The Templars took the vows of obedience, CHASTITY, and POVERTY. They were fanatically and singularly dedicated to war, especially against Muslims, and soon were engaged in battles for the defense of the LATIN STATES in the East, making up a veritable standing defense force. They were disciplined and efficient fighters and became essential to the survival of those states.

The number of fighting knights, never more than 300 or 400, was supplemented by light CAVALRY, archers, and foot soldiers. They built powerful fortresses at Baghras, Tortosa, Le Fève, and Safed which acquired importance in the 13th century when the Latins were limited to the defensive. They also fought in SPAIN in the RECONQUEST. Empowered by copious donations, they became rich and sent men, war material, provisions, and money to PALESTINE. Their wealth and privileges provoked jealousy, especially after the disastrous collapse of the crusading states with the fall of ACRE in 1291. Their link with the papacy positioned them between the popes and the kingdom of FRANCE under PHILIP IV THE FAIR, who accused the Templars of many crimes, including HERESY and WITCHCRAFT, and had them arrested in his realm in October of 1307. This ultimately led to the suppression of the order at the Council of Vienne in 1312 and the execution of the last master, JAMES of Molay, in 1314. Their property was confiscated by the Crown and parts of it were distributed to other orders, especially the HOSPITALLERS.

See also CHIVALRY; CLEMENT V, POPE; CRUSADES; HATTIN, BATTLE OF HORNS OF; MILITARY ORDERS.

**Further reading:** J. M. Upton-Ward, trans., *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press,

2001); Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Alan Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Peter Partner, *The Murdered Magicians: The Templars and Their Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

**testaments** See WILLS AND TESTAMENTS.

**Teutonic Knights, Order of (*Ordo domus sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum*)** The military order of the Teutonic Knights was similar to the other orders but less concerned with the Holy Land and the CRUSADES in the Levant. It originated at a hospital at Saint John of ACRE established by German crusaders. This hospice, reserved for German pilgrims, was founded by MERCHANTS from LÜBECK and Bremen and linked to the German army of the duke of SWABIA in 1191. With military intent of the TEMPLARS and the charitable ones of the HOSPITALLERS, the hospital of the Germans at Acre led to an order that was approved by Pope Celestine III (r. 1191–98) in 1196 and confirmed in 1198. Its members and support were almost exclusively from Germany.

#### GROWTH OF POWER

At the end of the 12th century, however, the Teutonic Knights had little opportunity to do much in the Holy Land. The orders of the Templars and Hospitallers had been established much longer and dominated its defense. The Germans built the CASTLE of Montfort, where the grand master had his residence until 1271, did participate in the last wars of the crusaders. The father of Saint ELIZABETH of Hungary called them to help defend central Europe. Between 1211 and 1225, they moved to TRANSYLVANIA to defend against the CUMANS. Elizabeth founded a hospital at Marburg and gave it to the knights, who made it their center in Europe. About 1225, they were asked for assistance against the pagan Prussians living along the Baltic Sea. The order's early years were dominated by the grand master Hermann of Salza (r. 1209–39). After Hermann alone supported the excommunicated emperor FREDERICK II during his successful crusade, in JERUSALEM, the order gained many advantages, rights, donations, and privileges. After Frederick's death, however, the order followed a policy independent of subsequent emperors.

The order initially followed the Rule of the Temple or Templars and that of the Hospitallers. By 1215 it had detailed internal regulations. Members were to be nobles without other obligations older than 14 years of age, without a wife, debts, or physical handicap. They wore a white cloak with a black cross. Their daily life consisted

of brief prayers, MASS, military duties, and, for monks, FASTING, personal poverty, and vows of obedience. The head of the order was an elected grand master, who was assisted by a grand commander and a general chapter. Any WARFARE was entrusted to a marshal. The grateful Frederick II in 1226 by the Golden Bull of Rimini had granted them seigniorial rights, including taxation of customs, a mint, a market, and the BAN to enforce peasant labor. This allowed the Teutonic Order, as did the bishoprics and abbeys of the empire, to form territorial states, as in East Prussia from the 13th century, and to become a regional political, economic, and religious power.

#### COLONIZATION AND DECLINE

From then on the knights' history was basically confined to PRUSSIA. They were instrumental in great planned colonization movements that settled perhaps 400,000 people in their newly carved out domain. In the course of their progress east, the Teutonic Knights were stopped in the penetration of Russia in 1242 or 1243 at Lake Pevipus by the troops of Prince Alexander NEVSKY. The grand master then established himself in Marienburg from 1309. After the knights took Pomerania, their progress eastward was halted by a crushing defeat at the Battle of Tannenberg or Grünwald in 1411 in a confrontation with Ladislas II Jagiello of LITHUANIA and POLAND. By 1466 their power was reduced to East Prussia as vassals to the king of Poland.

See also CHIVALRY; HANSEATIC LEAGUE; LIVONIA; LÜBECK; MILITARY ORDERS.

**Further reading:** William L. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, 2d ed. (1975; reprint, Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1994); William L. Urban, *The Prussian Crusade* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1980); Michael Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order: An Aristocratic Corporation in Crisis c. 1410–1466* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525* (1980; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1997); Alan Forey, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Helen Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

**textiles** Textiles in the Middle Ages were made from vegetable and animal materials. Flax was produced in the humid regions of northwestern Europe and was much prized for the production of high-quality linen cloth. Cotton was grown and was an object of commerce in Mediterranean regions. Hemp was used to make up household linen of mediocre quality and was commercially produced for ropes and sails. Wool from the 12th century was the object of long- and mid-distance commerce. English wool and Mediterranean merino were considered to be the best. Luxury fabrics. Flemish textiles

were initially produced in the LOW COUNTRIES and BRABANT, but NORMANDY, ENGLAND, the LANGUEDOC, Roussillon, CATALONIA, and ITALY were also centers of production of increasingly better-quality fabrics. Cloth manufacture and the weaving industry were major activities in many towns in the later Middle Ages, with some production done in the countryside.

Flourishing first in the Sassanian and Byzantine East, the rearing of silkworms and the preparation of SILK thread reached the West through the Muslim world, in SPAIN and SICILY. From there it spread to towns all over Europe, but especially in Spain, northern Italy, and AVIGNON, many of which became well known for its production.

See also CLOTHING AND COSTUME; FLORENCE; LUCCA; SILK AND SILK ROADS; TAPESTRY.

**Further reading:** Elisabeth Crowfoot, *Textiles and Clothing: c. 1150–c. 1450* (London: H.M.S.O., 1992); Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder, eds., *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); John H. A. Munro, *Textiles, Towns and Trade: Essays in the Economic History of Late-Medieval England and the Low Countries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994); Annemarie Stauffer, *Textiles of Late Antiquity* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995); Thelma K. Thomas, *Textiles from Medieval Egypt, A.D. 300–1300* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990).

**theater** Theater in the Middle Ages began with simple forms usually in LATIN sponsored by the church. This eventually led to a wide variety of VERNACULAR and secular productions in the later Middle Ages which included real characters. The plays were performed out of doors, not necessarily next to a church, and were sponsored by lay organizations such as CONFRATERNITIES and craft GUILDS. They often included popular and courtly entertainment such as dancing, games, festivals, and folk rituals, with performances of professional minstrels, dancers, jugglers, and acrobats, singly or in roving bands.

Most theatrical activity was not approved by the CLERGY since their control of the content was allegedly minimal, although many clerics actually participated in their production, particularly as writers. The medieval theater remained, however, heavily didactic. Even the more secular productions were full of the dramatic problems of the human condition and the relation of humankind to GOD. The tales depicted in medieval theater reinforced moral teachings rather than dealing with doctrinal problems or the discussion of the issues found in SERMONS and other forms of religious instruction. They were especially concerned with the consequences of SIN and the value to the individual of the VIRTUES.

See also DRAMA; FABLES AND FABLIAUX OR COMIC TALES; HROTSWITHA OF GANDERSHEIM; MORALITY PLAYS; MYSTERY AND MIRACLE PLAYS; YORK PLAYS.

**Further reading:** Richard Beadle, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jody Enders, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999); Shmuel Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); Eckehard Simon, ed., *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Charlotte Stern, *The Medieval Theater in Castile* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996); Ronald W. Vince, ed., *A Companion to the Medieval Theatre* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

**Theodora I** (495/500–548) *Byzantine empress, wife of Justinian I*

Theodora's life has been related to us primarily through the writings of PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA. In his *Secret History* he was particularly revealing about her notorious and scandalous life. She supposedly grew up amid the disreputable carnival atmosphere of the circus factions in CONSTANTINOPLE. She was said to have been an actress and a prostitute. Justinian persuaded his uncle, the emperor Justin I (ca. 450–527), to abrogate the laws that

prevented members of the senatorial class from marrying actresses in 525. It would appear that Justinian, who became emperor in 527, was devoted to her and that her influence was substantial. She particularly helped fortify his resolve in quelling the “Nika revolt” in 532.

Though despised by the aristocracy, Theodora became well known and loved for her charitable works, palace, intrigues, and ruthless political maneuvers. She and Justinian never produced children, although she had had children by other men before her marriage. In matters of ecclesiastical policy, she took a particularly independent line, remaining a convinced and supportive MONOPHYSITE in opposition to her husband. However, she did not in the end much influence Justinian's religious policies. She died of cancer in Constantinople on June 28, 548.

*See also* BELISARIUS; BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND BYZANTIUM; CONSTANTINOPLE; HAGIA SOPHIA.

**Further reading:** Procopius, *Secret History of Procopius*, trans. Richard Atwater (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963); Antony C. Bridge, *Theodora: Portrait in a Byzantine Landscape* (London: Cassell, 1978); Robert Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley: University of California



The court of Empress Theodora, Byzantine mosaic, sixth century, San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

Press, 1985); Charles Diehl, *Byzantine Emperresses*, trans. Harold Bell and Theresa de Kerpely (New York: Knopf, 1963); J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

**Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoth** (Theoderic, Theodoric the Amal, Dietrich of Bern in the *Nibelungenlied*) (ca. 454/455–526) *Ostrogothic king of northern Italy*  
The son of Theodemir of the ruling Ostrogothic Amal dynasty, Theodoric was born around 454 or 455 in PANNONIA. At the time his tribe, the OSTROGOTHS, were federates or allies of the Roman Empire, Theodoric was sent in 462 as a hostage to the imperial court at CONSTANTINOPLE, where he received a classical education. He returned home in 472 to defeat, and kill the king of the Sarmatians and then captured Singidunum or Belgrade claiming it for himself, even though he was in the service and pay of the Eastern Empire. In 484 his dying father named him leader of the Ostrogoths.

Theodoric eventually was made a patrician and military official for the Eastern Empire. He persuaded the emperor Zeno (r. 474–491) to allow him go to ITALY to free it from the domination of another barbarian general, ODOACER. Through diplomatic maneuvering and military successes, he had defeated Odoacer by 493. In the meantime other BARBARIAN tribes entered Italy and caused considerable damage. He worked out a deal with Odoacer, who had fled to RAVENNA, to divide power in Italy. But he soon accused Odoacer of plotting against him and supposedly executed him with his own hands in 493/494. As a result, he became king of the Germanic or Gothic barbarians in Italy and a representative of the Eastern Empire.

#### THEODORIC'S POWER EXPANDS

At Ravenna Theodoric assumed the title of lord and began to wear purple clothing confirming his imperial ambitions. He fought successful wars against the kings in the north such as CLOVIS, even annexing PROVENCE to Italy and linking himself with the VISIGOTHS in SPAIN and southern FRANCE. From then on his rule in Italy was generally moderate and peaceful; he never claimed to be an emperor but behaved as if he were. He employed Romans such as BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS. In about 500 he issued an important edict setting out civil and criminal law and legal procedures for both the GOTHS and the Romans but recognizing their traditional and national laws in other matters. Although he remained an ARIAN, he was initially impartial in his dealings with the church of Rome, helping to settle administrative questions but avoiding doctrinal matters to prevent offending the Eastern Church in Constantinople. This policy was effective for a while, but the Byzantines were not ready to abandon their meddling in the ecclesiastical affairs of the West. For a while his government was influential over SICILY, PROVENCE, BAVARIA, and southern AUSTRIA.

#### THE TROUBLED END OF HIS REIGN

In the later years of his life, Theodoric became suspicious, almost paranoid, about the loyalty of those around him. He also responded to the Byzantine emperor's opposition to Arians in the empire by imposing stricter constraints on the Catholics in Italy. He had Boethius executed for treason on little evidence, except his alleged involvement in a vague senatorial conspiracy. He became less moderate in his religious policies and intervened directly in ecclesiastical affairs to install his own candidate in office as pope. He died suddenly of dysentery on August 30, 526 and was buried in Ravenna. At the time he was planning stronger measures against the Catholics but urging reconciliation and recommending Athalaric (r. 526–534), the son of his daughter, Amalasantha (498–535), as his heir. However, the succession was disputed and the Byzantines intervened militarily. The long and destructive Gothic Wars resulted.

See also JUSTINIAN I, BYZANTINE EMPEROR; *NIBELUNGENLIED*.

**Further reading:** Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Thomas S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Thomas Hodgkin, *Theoderic the Goth: the Barbarian Champion of Civilization* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891); John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

**Theodosian Code** The Theodosian Code was a collection of imperial constitutions running from Constantine's proclamation of Christianity in 312 up until 437. Divided into 16 books, it was compiled in six to eight years by a commission established by the emperor Theodosios II (r. 401–450) in 429. Theodosios promulgated the code in CONSTANTINOPLE, shortly after he gave his daughter, Eudokia, in marriage to the Western emperor, Valentinian III (r. 425–455), on October 29, 437. He then proclaimed that after January 1, 438, no law from the era of Constantine and issued before the end of 437 could have legal force unless it was repeated in the new code, which superseded all earlier collections. A copy of the code was taken to ROME and officially received in December 438. It is from this copy that all surviving manuscripts, extracts in Latin, or quotations in Latin of the Theodosian Code have been derived. Though compiled in Constantinople, most of its contents involve western material.

The Theodosian Code was designed for practical use by magistrates in deciding court cases and as a supplement to existing law and the writings of the pre-Constantinian jurists. Because the compilers did not seek to impose internal consistency, contradictory rulings were allowed to stand. There was probably no central archival

source, and much therefore had to be assembled and discovered in dispersed regional and personal archives. Indexes were planned, and wording was only amended for the sake of textual clarity. Modern research has exposed an error rate as high as 35 percent in transcription; the dating necessary for the validity of the laws and applied to many entries is unreliable, and not all of the texts originally collected have survived except in other collections.

**Further reading:** Clyde Pharr, trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952); this translation, unreliable in tenor and meaning, it must be used with care; Jill Harries and Ian Wood, eds., *The Theodosian Code* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); John Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

**Theodulf of Orléans** (ca. 750–821) *bishop of Orléans, abbot of Fleury*

Originally a Visigoth from Spain, Theodulf moved to the court of CHARLEMAGNE in 788 and soon became highly respected for his theological and learning. He was a legate in FRANCE in 798 and took part in the council examining the false charges made against Pope LEO III (r. 795–816) in ROME in 800. A skilled poet, he was interested in educational and diocesan reforms. He wrote theological treatises on the HOLY SPIRIT and on Baptism. Charlemagne appointed him bishop of Orléans, where he founded what was to become a famous school. He also constructed and restored churches, was active in promoting pastoral care, and is now considered to be the author of the *LIBRI CAROLINI*, whose focus was the ICONOCLASM dispute then dividing East and West. Implicated in the revolt of Bernard of Italy in 817, Theodulf was deposed by LOUIS THE PIOUS and sent into exile. He died in 821.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

**Further reading:** Carl I. Hammer, *Charlemagne's Months and Their Bavarian Labours: The Politics of the Seasons in the Carolingian Empire* (Oxford: Archeopress, 1997); Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Lawrence Nees, *Early Medieval Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Luitpold Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977).

**theology, schools of** Theology is a Greek concept of study taken over by Christian thinkers to provide an intellectual framework for the correct knowledge and understanding of GOD. From at least the fourth century theology encompassed almost constant conflicts over many and varied issues. In the fourth century, many of

these concerned the question whether MARY was the mother of Christ, or God, and the relationship between the human and divine natures of Christ. By the 11th century, with the application of principles from grammar and dialectic to Christian doctrine, theological questions had evolved into discussions about the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, why humankind needed to be redeemed by Christ, the union of God with human nature, the reconciliation of faith and reason, the Trinity, the conflict between belief and understanding, and the exercise of free will.

The 13th century was marked by the profound and questioned influence of the newly translated writings of ARISTOTLE. This led to questions about causation, form, matter, essence, existence or being, potency, and act. All this was compounded by a new knowledge of other non-Christian writers such as IBN SINA (Avicenna), IBN RUSHD (Averroës), and MAIMONIDES. In the university environment of the 14th and 15th centuries, theology was shaped by the rival influences of AUGUSTINE of Hippo and Aristotle, as well as by the standard practice of commenting on the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD. There were debates about whether theology was a science or simply a consideration of the given truths of FAITH. Greater attention to logic and language provoked discussion about whether human beings could define God or his power in any way.

## ISLAM

In ISLAM dogma was sometimes the object of intense speculation and controversy in KALAM. In the Middle Ages, the fundamental opposition was between SUNNIS and Mutazilites on two points, the nature of God and the relations between God and human beings. They both assumed that their theologians could be rationalist and believed that most of the truths of faith could be established by reasoning, without recourse to revelation, which would merely confirm them. Both schools generally admitted one and the same world system, based on the theory of atomism and the distinction between substance and accident. They differed over the attributes of God; the nature of the QURAN—whether it was created or eternal; and ideas about God's JUSTICE, the GRACE of God, and rewards and punishments in the afterlife.

See also ABÉLARD, PETER; ALBERTUS MAGNUS; ANSELM OF LAON; AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT; ARIANISM; BASIL THE GREAT; BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, SAINT; BOETHIUS, ANICIUS MANLUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS; DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE; GILBERT OF POITIERS; GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, SAINT; GREGORY OF NYSSA, SAINT; HUGH OF SAINT VICTOR; JEWS AND JUDAISM; JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA; MONOPHYSITISM; MYSTICISM; NESTORIANISM; NOMINALISM; PALAMAS, GREGORY; REALISM; SCHOLASTICISM AND SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** David N. Bell, *Many Mansions: An Introduction to the Development and Diversity of Medieval*

*Theology West and East* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1996); Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, eds., *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body* (Rochester: York Medieval Press, 1997); George Englert McCracken, ed., *Early Medieval Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957); John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, 2d ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979); Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985).

**Theophano (Theophanu)** (942–991) *empress of the Holy Roman Empire, wife of Emperor Otto II*

While her parents are not really known, Theophano was perhaps the daughter of the emperor Romanos II (r. 959–63) and his wife, the scandalous and alleged poisoner Theophano (d. 969), perhaps the niece of the emperor John Tzimiskes (r. 969–76). The younger Theophano married Otto II (955–83) on Easter Sunday 972, according to an agreement between the emperors OTTO I and John Tzimiskes. This agreement implied recognition by the Byzantines of the Western emperor. She made of her husband's Saxon court an important cultural center, supporting theologians, scholars, and artists. Court ceremonies became distinctly more Byzantine and elaborate. She had three daughters before she had a son. After Otto II's death in 983, she assumed joint regency with her mother-in-law, ADELAIDE, for her son, the minor OTTO III. This lasted until her death in 991.

**Further reading:** Adlebert Davids, ed., *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610–1071* (New York: Random House, 1995).

**Thessaloniki (Thessalonike, Thessalonica, Salonika)** A port city at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, Thessaloniki was an important stop on the Via Egnatia, between DURAZZO on the Adriatic Sea and CONSTANTINOPLE. The barbarian attacks of the third century increased Thessaloniki's strategic importance. During DIOCLETIAN's reorganization of the empire it became the residence for the emperor Galerius (r. 293–305). There survive some remains of his palace, a triumphal arch, and a rotunda that was probably his intended tomb. Theodosios I (r. 379–395) made Thessaloniki his official capital for the prefecture of ILLYRICUM and a base for his wars with the VISIGOTHS. In the city he issued in 380 his decrees that established Orthodox Christianity as the Roman Empire's official state religion. Ten years later, after the populace of the town rioted against his Gothic mercenaries, Theodosios ordered the massacre of thousands in its HIPPODROME.

Thessaloniki enjoyed relative tranquility and prosperity for the next few centuries and became the second city of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. It had impressive churches

and strong walls, which, with the help of Saint Demetrius (d. 231/232), the city's patron saint, warded off barbarians on several occasions. During the eighth century the archbishopric of Thessaloniki, previously under the jurisdiction of Rome, was transferred to the see of Constantinople. By the ninth century, Thessaloniki was the capital of one of the new European imperial themes or the military and administrative provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Thessaloniki was captured and sacked in 904 by Muslim pirates led by Leo of TRIPOLI, but the city revived and remained the second city. It was temporarily taken by the Western crusaders but soon passed back into Greek hands in the early 13th century. It fell to the KOMNENOI despots of EPIRUS from 1224 to 1239. In 1239 the emperor John III Vatatzes (r. 1221–54) of Nicaea captured the town as part of his plan to retake Constantinople. From then on the city declined in wealth and prestige until the OTTOMAN TURKS captured it in the 15th century.

**Further reading:** Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *Eustathios of Thessaloniki: The Capture of Thessaloniki*, trans. John R. Melville Jones (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1988); Georgios G. Gounares, *The Walls of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1982); James Constantine Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector, 4th–7th Centuries C.E.* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999); Kalliopi Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki: From Its Erection up to the Turkish Conquest* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1988).

**Thierry of Chartres (Thierry the Breton)** (ca. 1100–1151) *theologian, teacher, philosopher*

Thierry was the brother of Bernard of Chartres (d. 1130), another famous intellectual of the school of CHARTRES. Thierry became one of the best known teachers of that school. He specialized in the teaching of the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS. After teaching in PARIS and surrounding area in the 1130s, he became chancellor at Chartres in 1142, a position he held until his death in 1151. One of his works, the *Heptateuchon*, became a standard textbook for the teaching of the seven liberal arts in the 12th century. He also wrote commentaries on Cicero, the book of Genesis, and BOETHIUS and a book on cosmology. He was influential in transmitting the ideas of PLATO into the West. He was at the Council of RHEIMS that condemned GILBERT OF POITIERS in 1148.

**Further reading:** Thierry of Chartres, *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*, ed. Karin Margareta Fredborg (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988); Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Vol. 1, Foundations (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Vol. 2,

*The Heroic Age*, with notes and additions by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

**Third Orders** See DOMINICAN ORDER; FRANCISCAN ORDER.

**Thomas à Becket** See BECKET, THOMAS.

**Thomas à Kempis (Thomas Hemerken)** (1379/80–1471) *canon near Cologne, writer*

Born Thomas Hemerken at Kempen in the Rhineland in 1379, he studied after 1392 at the school of Deventer, which was greatly influenced by the *DEVOTIO MODERNA*. In 1406 he entered and took his vows at the convent of Saint Agnietenberg near Zwolle. He became procurator, subprior twice, novice master, chronicler, and official scribe of the convent. He wrote ascetic works and traditionally composed the *Imitation of Christ*, for which he was at least one of the final reviewers. That famous work, which began to circulate in 1418, promoted an essentially christologically centered spirituality. He has also been considered one of the most representative figures of the movement of the *Devotio moderna*. He also wrote sermons, devotional tracts, and saints' lives. He died in the monastery of Saint Agnietenberg on August 8, 1471.

**Further reading:** Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Ronald Knox and Michael Oakley (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1960); Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the "Devotio Moderna,"* 2d ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965); J. E. G. de Montmorency, *Thomas à Kempis: His Age and Book* (1906; reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1970); R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

**Thomas Aquinas** See AQUINAS, THOMAS.

***Thousand and One Nights* (The Arabic entertainment, *Alf layla wa-layala*)** The *Thousand and One Nights* was a collection of Arabic popular narrative tales that encompasses adventure, war, trickery, love, animal fables, travel stories, folktales, and historical anecdotes. Animals speak and normal humans deal with demons. Scheherazade or Shahrazad, the daughter of a king's minister, was its storyteller who supposedly spontaneously tells tales to delay her execution. She tells them to King Shahryar, who loathed women because an earlier wife was unfaithful. He thus married and killed a new wife every day. In an effort to induce him to cease this evil practice, Scheherazade married him and told a story without an ending every night that must be finished the following night.

The *Thousand and One Nights*, then, was a narrative about storytelling with an important lesson. Storytelling

functioned here, and in the stories themselves, to prevent killing and even to obtain mercy and pardons. In some versions, it included stories about the seven voyages of Sindbad and the adventures of Ali Baba and Aladdin. It was only "discovered" by Western readers in the 18th and 19th centuries, but the tales were known in many and various ways in Europe earlier. Scheherazade eventually persuaded the king to abandon his cruel practice.

**Further reading:** *The Arabian Nights*, trans. Husain Haddawy (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990); Ferial Ghazoul, *The Arabian Nights: A Structural Analysis* (Cairo: Cairo Associated Institution for the Study and Presentation of Arab Cultural Values, 1980); Richard C. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh, eds., *The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Robert Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* (London: Allen Lane, 1994); Eva Sallis, *Sheherazade through the Looking Glass: The Metamorphosis of the Thousand and One Nights* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999).

**tidjara** See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**Timbuktu (Tombouctou, Timbuctoo)** A city in West AFRICA, Timbuktu is located on the Niger River in present-day MALI. It was always important because of its location on the trade routes between north and south, especially those for GOLD. It started out as a seasonal camp for nomadic Tuaregs, who used the area around it for grazing. Named after one of the slaves who worked there, it quickly became a trading center for SALT, gold, and TEXTILES. It became Muslim under the Mali Empire around 1240. The king of Mali, Mansa Musa (r. 1307–37), built the town's great MOSQUE on his return from his pilgrimage to MECCA. He also made it the center of Muslim culture in West Africa. The SONGHAI made it part of their empire in 1468 and the city continued to flourish. Muslim and Christian visitors remarked on its schools, palaces, mosques, markets, and sophisticated court life. Timbuktu remained prosperous until the late 16th century, when it fell to invaders from MOROCCO.

**Further reading:** Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd Allah Sadi, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sadi's Ta'rikh al-Sudan down to 1613, and Other Contemporary Documents*, trans. and ed. John O. Hunwick (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999); Brian Gardner, *The Quest for Timbuctoo* (London: Cassell, 1968); Elias N. Saad, *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

**time and its practical application** In the early Middle Ages time was considered an ordered reality that monks devised and to which they submitted their life to introduce order into daily regimens. These canonical

hours designated precise moments in days and nights to which were assigned particular devotions or activities. There were difficulties in using instruments measuring and keeping track of time. The *horologium* evaluated an interval, or clepsydra, of time; other instruments expressed a moment in a scale of time such as sundials, and from the late 13th century, mechanical clocks. The computation of time and the establishment of a commonly known calendar had taken place by the 1340s. These public CLOCKS rang or sounded to establish the time and particular hours within the town where they were installed. Work was more regimented and tied to a fairly obvious schedule as it was announced by bells and on publicly visible clocks. Time in Islam was also publicly proclaimed so Muslims could order and fulfill their prayer obligations.

See also CALENDARS AND THE RECKONING OF DATES; ESCHATOLOGY; LABOR; OFFICES, MONASTIC AND CANONICAL.

**Further reading:** Muhammad Taqi Amini, *Time Changes and Islamic Law*, trans. Ghulam Ahmed Khan (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1988); Pierre Duhem, *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time, Void, and the Plurality of Worlds*, ed. and trans. Roger Ariew (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Richard Lock, *Aspects of Time in Medieval Literature* (New York: Garland, 1985); Reginald Lane Poole, *Medieval reckonings of Time* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918); Pasquale Porro, ed., *The Medieval Concept of Time: Studies on the Scholastic Debate and Its Reception in Early Modern Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Tamar Rudavsky, *Time Matters: Time, Creation, and Cosmology in Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

**Timurids** The Timurids were a Mongol-Turkish dynasty founded in central Asia, India, and Persia by the descendants of TAMERLANE in the 15th century. Just before his death, Tamerlane divided his territories among his sons and grandsons. Constant disputes over parts of the empire led to their eventual fall. Among the Timurids, the most important group was the dynasty who ruled Persia between 1405 and 1517. However, their rule created civil war, POVERTY, and ruin. On the other hand, they promoted achievements in architecture, in Persian, Turkish literature, and in PAINTING and book production. They were the last Islamic dynasty of steppe origin.

See also IRAN; SAMARKAND.

**Further reading:** Khvurshah ibn Qubad al-Husayni, "From Timur to Akbar," in *Tarikh-i-Qutbi: Also Known as Tarikh-i-elchi-i-Nizam Shah of Khvurshah bin Qubad al-Husaini: A Work of the History of the Timurids*, ed. Mujahid Husain Zaidi (New Delhi: Jamia Millia Islamia, 1965); Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers in association with Undena Publications, 1987); Syed Jamaluddin, *The State*

*under Timur: A Study in Empire Building* (New Delhi: Har-Anand, 1995); W. M. Thackston, ed. and trans., *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989); John E. Woods, *The Timurid Dynasty* (Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1990).

**tithes** Based on a biblical injunction to give a tenth part of the harvest to a priestly tribe, tithes evolved into a medieval tax on agrarian produce, fruits, and profits to be paid to the church. The New Testament put greater emphasis on voluntary giving. From the fourth century, the church promoted the collection of tithes which were due to the local bishop and canonically divided among the bishop, the clergy, the fabric of the church, and poor relief. As church communal structures evolved and advanced, the rector of a parish supported himself by receiving a tenth part of the agricultural produce of his parishioners. In a wealthy parish this could prove to be a valuable form of endowment. For the care of souls, a vicar would take what came to be known as the lesser tithes, which included milk, calves, eggs, and young animals. The greater tithes were taken by the monastery as a corporate right of income. From the ninth to the 11th century, the ownership of tithes was purchased or usurped by lay lords and families. In certain cases the tithes were donated by their lay owners to abbeys. There was much resistance to paying the tithe at various times during the Middle Ages.

See also ANTICLERICALISM.

**Further reading:** Catherine E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical Roots of a Modern Problem* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1952); Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Piotr Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes, and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland, c. 1100–c. 1250* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993).

**Toledo** A city in central SPAIN on the Tago River, Toledo has been attested from the time of the Roman conquest. The VISIGOTHS chose Toledo as their capital from 520. After the conversion to Catholicism by the Visigothic king RECARDED I, important general COUNCILS of the Spanish church were held in Toledo in the sixth and seventh centuries. Its canons involved the bishops in secular as well as ecclesiastical affairs. The town was controlled by Muslims between 711 and 1085 with its governors dependent on caliphs in DAMASCUS, BAGHDAD, CÓRDOBA, and later in the kingdoms of the Taifas or local emirs. The population became more and more Islamized during this period.

The two centuries following the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI (r. 1065–1109), king of CASTILE and LEÓN, in 1085 began what has been called the Mozarabic stage

of the town's history. Up to about 1300 Arabic was the language of written expression in Toledo and probably oral communication as well. It was a center for translation of Arabic texts, often with the assistance of Jewish intermediates. There was also a strong Jewish presence in the city during this period, and it was a center of Sephardic culture.

Until the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 when the wars of the RECONQUEST moved on to GRANADA, Toledo was a frontier town where the Reconquests attempted by the ALMORAVIDS and ALMOHADS were stopped and from which military expeditions into the Muslim south were organized and launched. The town became more Christian and integrated with the north during the 13th century. In the 14th century, the city was hit by the PLAGUES of the midcentury and damaged by the wars of succession of Peter I the Cruel (r. 1350–69). These were followed by a monetary crisis in 1391 and bloody anti-Jewish pogroms at the end of the century. The INQUISITION against false converts to Christianity was very active in the city by the late 15th century. There was considerable economic prosperity in the 15th century, although Toledo lost its political and intellectual importance to VALLADOLID with its university and royal residence.

See also AL-ANDALUS; MOZARABS; SEPHARDIM.

**Further reading:** Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961–1966); Roger Highfield, ed., *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369–1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain* (London: Macmillan, 1972); Edward James, ed., *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: Longman, 1978); Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031–1157* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992).

**tombs** See BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; CEMETERIES; DEATH AND THE DEAD; GRAVEYARDS.

**Tomislav** (910–928) *founder of the kingdom of Croatia* Probably the son of the ruler Mutimir (r. 892–ca. 900/910), Tomislav has been assumed to have succeeded him by 910. Victorious after a period of anarchy and tribal warfare, Tomislav was recognized as the leader of the Croats. He unified the northern regions and DALMATIA, thus becoming the true founder of the kingdom of CROATIA. Tomislav maintained ties with the PAPACY and prevented a possible religious dispute by uniting his kingdom with ROME and the Catholic Church. In 920 in return he was recognized as king by Pope John X (r. 914–928) and perhaps crowned by the same pope by 925. Though without a permanent capital, he established a chancellery and conducted friendly diplomatic relations

with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE. He soundly defeated Bulgarian invasions in the 920s. He died in 928, although according to one source, he lived until 940.

See also SIMEON I.

**Further reading:** John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); Stanko Guldescu, *History of Medieval Croatia* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964); Tajana Sekelj Ivancan, *Catalogue of Medieval Sites in Continental Croatia* (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1995).

**tonsure** Tonsure was the cutting or shearing of hair on the head in a style that reduced it to a crown. Even with a scriptural basis, it was an aspect of a rite of initiation into the world of the clergy, signaling the advancing the recipient from the status of minor orders. Its practice was recorded in Gaul from the sixth century and was mentioned by GREGORY of Tours. In itself it did not constitute ordination to the priesthood but was a sign of a higher ecclesiastical status and was created in a style distinguishing the clergy from mere penitents who had been obliged to wear temporarily short hair. This signification was officially recognized from the ninth century in several canonical collections. Wearing the tonsure was the mark of clerics and was valuable because it helped them escape the administration of secular JUSTICE in case of a crime. If a cleric stopped cutting his hair in this manner, he could be punished by the authorities of the church by the removal of his ecclesiastical BENEFICES or incomes.

See also CLARENDON, CONSTITUTIONS OF; CLERGY AND CLERICAL ORDERS.

**Further reading:** Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

**Torah** See PENTATEUCH.

**Torquemada, Tomás de** (1420–1498) *Dominican Spanish inquisitor general*

Of Jewish descent, Tomás de Torquemada was born in 1420 at Torquemada or VALLADOLID in SPAIN, the nephew of a cardinal, Juan de Torquemada (1388–1468). He entered the DOMINICAN ORDER at Valladolid with his uncle's sponsorship and was trained in THEOLOGY. He was prior of the convent of the Holy Cross at Segovia when in about 1477 he became the confessor to Queen ISABEL I of CASTILE, then married to FERDINAND II of ARAGON. He enjoyed great influence in the religious policies of the two monarchs. He soon presented them with a memorandum on an allegedly serious problem caused by the numerous newly converted Jews, whom he accused of

practicing their old religion in secret, even when they had been baptized. He was involved in the creation of an INQUISITION in Spain in 1478 but did not personally become an inquisitor himself until 1483.

Eventually, with the support of the rulers, Torquemada, however, rapidly did take charge of the Inquisition. In 1485 he acquired the right to appoint its judges without referring them to a pope and from 1488 assumed the title of inquisitor-general. He also pursued the alleged practitioners of WITCHCRAFT and HERESY. To uncover these alleged crimes, he endorsed TORTURE. He made the Inquisition into an effective means for prosecuting and persecuting new converts by his personal interest in precise examinations and questioning techniques. He was probably behind the expulsion of the JEWS from Spain in 1492 soon after the conquest of GRANADA. Uncomfortable with the extent of his control of the Inquisition, the PAPACY added deputies in an attempt to limit his power. He retired to a convent in Avila and died there on September 16, 1498, still nominally in charge of the Inquisition. He was hated by many and acquired a justifiably sinister reputation for cruelty, although the documentation for this is unclear.

**Further reading:** Thomas Hope, *Torquemada, Scourge of the Jews: A Biography* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1939); John Edward Longhurst, *The Age of Torquemada* (Sandoval, N.M.: Coronado Press, 1962); Benito Perez Galdos, *Torquemada*, trans. M. López-Morillas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995); Rafael Sabatini, *Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition: A History*, 6th ed. (London: S. Paul, 1927).

**torture** The medieval rules for torture in criminal procedure had their origins in Roman law in the second century and are mentioned in the THEODOSIAN CODE of 438 and that of JUSTINIAN in 534. The “barbarian” tribes did not use it except on slaves. The Romans generally limited its use to slaves and noncitizens. During most of the earlier Middle Ages, the truth was sought by means of magical legal practices and rites such as the ORDEAL. In the 12th century the church began to question the magical properties of the ordeal and the resurgence of Roman legal procedures validated torture as a legal practice. The Italian towns were among the first to employ it in their criminal courts, although monarchs such as FREDERICK II soon allowed it. Torture was still not systematically employed and was limited to notorious crimes. However, the INQUISITION in 1233 saw its usefulness in eliciting truth, or at least what the inquisitor wanted to hear, so Pope INNOCENT IV gave it official approval in 1252. It became a way to force heretics to recognize their guilt and name their accomplices. However, mutilation, bloodshed, and death were forbidden in this process of examination.

At first administered in the absence of clerical inquisitors, torture was soon practiced in their presence and under their direction. Its use was not systematic and the manuals of inquisitors even began to doubt its effectiveness in eliciting truth from guilty parties. The influence of this ecclesiastical inquisitorial procedure on secular courts of JUSTICE and procedures was strong from the second half of the 13th century. From then torture was applied in royal courts throughout Europe, but much more rarely in ENGLAND.

**Further reading:** James Heath, *Torture and English Law: An Administrative and Legal History from the Plantagenets to the Stuarts* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982); Michael Kerrigan, *The Instruments of Torture: A History* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2001); John H. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Régime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal, the Torture*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia: H. C. Lea, 1878); Edward Peters, *Torture*, expanded ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

**Totila (Baduila)** (r. 541–552) *Ostrogothic king of Italy* From his election to the throne by Gothic nobles, Totila had to fight against the Byzantine generals BELISARIUS on his second expedition and Narses (ca. 478–568), sent by JUSTINIAN to conquer ITALY. Recruiting slaves and peasants as soldiers, he skillfully recovered central and southern Italy from the BYZANTINE EMPIRE in 540, capturing NAPLES in 541 and ROME in 546 and even employing a Gothic navy. His lenient treatment of prisoners of war captured in the Byzantine war attracted many of these soldiers to serve him when their own commanders failed to pay them. Belisarius returned to Italy and recaptured Rome for the Byzantines; but at his recall in 549, Totila retook the city. Failing in his offers of peace with Justinian and defeated in 552 in a battle at Sena Gallica, Totila was killed, perhaps by an arrow, in the Battle of Busta Gallorum or Teginae in June or July of 552. When his successor was also defeated by Narses, the Ostrogothic kingdom ended.

*See also* OSTROGOTHS; PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

**Further reading:** Thomas Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

**Toulouse** A city in southern FRANCE in LANGUEDOC, Toulouse was a capital of the Visigothic kingdom in SPAIN and Gaul from 419 to 507. CLOVIS captured it in 508, and it became part of the kingdom of the FRANKS. In the ninth century it became the capital of a large principality that included much of AQUITAINE and Languedoc. When the counts of Toulouse failed to take control of more of

Aquitaine, they turned their attention south, moving on BARCELONA to seize in an attempt to enlarge their power over all of PROVENCE.

Toulouse prospered in the 11th century through its position on the north-south TRADE and PILGRIMAGE routes. The pilgrimage church of Saint-Semin was started there in 1075. Recognizing its sympathy to heretics, SIMON DE MONTFORT, THE ELDER, captured it during the Albigensian Crusade. Numerous religious houses were founded there to combat the heretical beliefs common in the city. The Dominicans introduced the INQUISITION to the town in 1234. Rule by counts ended in 1249 and the brother of King LOUIS IX, Alphonse of Poitiers (d. 1270), inherited the town and changed its government to resemble more closely those of northern French towns, more readily influenced by the Crown. Toulouse then acquired an estates-general and a provincial parliament. At Alphonse's death, Toulouse passed to the direct control of the Crown of France.

See also PILGRIMAGE AND PILGRIMAGE SITES.

**Further reading:** Kathryn Horste, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse: The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); John H. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050–1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); John H. Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985); John H. Mundy, *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990); John H. Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997).

**tournament** From its appearance in the mid-11th century in western France, the tournament initially took the form of a confrontation or *melee* between two groups of 40 to 50 mounted combatants over a large area away from inhabited places. It resembled a battle and was a training ground for KNIGHTS, an outlet for aggression and warlike attitudes, and a way to make a fortune and a career. Its objective was to capture an adversary, hold him to ransom, and take his arms and horse or HORSES. The participants had to develop signs to allow recognition on the battlefield, which led to the heraldic devices of the later Middle Ages. Opposed to such violent activities, the church forbade Christian burial to those killed in tournament fighting. Nor did monarchs like these assemblies of soldiers outside their control, among whom sedition might be plotted and armed forces mustered and assembled.

In the 13th century, the tournament changed, becoming more domesticated. The battlefields became smaller arenas solely for spectacles, including jousts or duels, between two knights and thus even more the most prestigious forms of noble entertainment and sport. Tour-

naments remained dangerous but were more artificial, regulated for safety, and ritualized according to literary and artificial ideals of form and style. In most of them two knights charged one another while separated by a barrier, carrying blunted lances, seeking to unhorse one another. Crowds of men and women watched these jousts. The English king, EDWARD III, was particularly fond of this style of tournament, recognizing its prestige value for English arms. In the 15th century the element of display and pageantry was cultivated to fanciful extremes at the court of BURGUNDY.

See also CHIVALRY; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; WILLIAM THE MARSHALL.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Barber, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell, 1989); Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984).

**towns** See NAMES OF INDIVIDUAL CITIES AND TOWNS.

**trade and commerce** Trade and commerce in the Middle Ages revolved around the Baltic Sea in the north, the Mediterranean Sea in the south, and the overland routes from Asia and AFRICA. It could involve luxury items but also more common bulky material, often foodstuffs or manufactured goods. Increased population, better agricultural organization and productivity, improved techniques of capital formation, better and more efficient means of transport, and more innovative mercantile entrepreneurship led to a commercial revolution in the 13th century. The urban centers of the Low Countries, CHAMPAGNE in FRANCE, and ITALY were at the heart of this development, but it was not limited to them. The MONGOL conquests of the 13th century led to more stable conditions in the regions between Europe and Asia and produced an increase in trade. GOLD and later slaves promoted the trans-Saharan trade in Africa. Islamic merchants maintained commercial links in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and down the coast of Africa and across the Indian Ocean to India. The CRUSADES, though destructive, also promoted links between the eastern and western Mediterranean. Such expansion of trade led to the growth of cities and urban populations who consumed, distributed, and manufactured trade goods. WARFARE and disease in the 14th and 15th centuries certainly impaired international, local, and regional trade and commerce, though they continued everywhere.

See also BANKS AND BANKING; BRUGES; CAIRO; CONSTANTINOPLE; FAIRS AND MARKETS; FLORENCE; FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; GENOA; PISA; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING; SIENA; VENICE.

**Further reading:** Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, eds. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World:*

*Illustrative Documents with Introductions and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 500–1000*, 2d ed. (London: Duckworth, 1989); Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

**Transfiguration** The Transfiguration was one of the major symbolic episodes of Christ's public life. Jesus took three of his disciples, Peter, James, and John, up a mountain, perhaps Mount Tabor in Galilee, where he was transfigured into GOD or something like a divine being before them. Moses and Elijah on either side spoke with him about his oncoming Passion at JERUSALEM. God the father announced that Jesus was his Son and he should be heard. It became one of the 12 great feasts of the church, commemorated on August 6. It also became a common image in Christian art to show Christ's glory and acceptance of mission, the eclipse of the LAW of the Old Testament, and the promise of a second coming.

See also CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

**Further reading:** John Anthony McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986); Barbara E. Reid, *The Transfiguration: A Source- and Redaction-Critical Study of Luke 9:28–36* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993).

**Transylvania** Bounded within the Carpathian Mountains, medieval Transylvania was a region now forming part of modern-day HUNGARY and ROMANIA. It was initially populated by Romanians seeking refuge after the collapse of the Roman Empire from the numerous tribes who passed through the area, the Gepids, the AVARS, the BULGARS, the LOMBARDS, the HUNS, and the SLAVS. Doubtless some of these peoples remained behind or left evidence of their passing in the human population. From the 10th century the Hungarians entered the region and a Hungarian noble class headed by a duke was placed over a Hungarian and Romanian PEASANTRY. German and Jewish settlers entered the area in the 13th century, further diversifying the population.

Transylvania's rich deposits of SALT and precious metals drew people to the region. The population was converted to the Eastern or Byzantine form of Christianity, but Hungarian domination was linked with the Catholic or Western form of Christianity. Missions and the military orders were sent by the pope to further this conversion in the 13th century.

The MONGOLS passed through the country in 1240 and 1241, causing considerable devastation, but they withdrew in 1241 because of the death of their leader. For the rest of the century, Transylvania could not be effectively ruled by the Hungarians. A new dynasty from the Neapolitan branch of the Angevin family took over Hungary in 1308. Taking a renewed interest in Transylvania, they sought further reduction of the peasant population to burdensome SERFDOM. Threatened by the OTTOMANS, King Louis the Great of Anjou (r. 1342–82) tried to regain the loyalty to the Hungarian Crown of the Germans in Transylvania by granting trading privileges to the towns and ensuring them of a near-monopoly over commerce.

After the extinction of the Angevin dynasty, a new king, Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437), commenced the crusade against the Ottomans. The resulting and oppressive high taxation caused a revolt of the Transylvanian peasants between 1437 and 1438. A coalition of nobles put down the revolt, but the situation of serfs there continued to deteriorate. From 1440 a Transylvanian noble of Romanian origin, John HUNYADI, provided the greatest resistance to the Ottomans. The long reign of his son Matthias CORVINUS, was taken up with wars and high taxes. Transylvania suffered rebellions and growing discontent because of the insecurity of its frontiers. The policies of Matthias Corvinus and his successors weakened the kingdom and the dominance of its aristocracy, who grew more incapable of defending Hungary or Transylvania against the Ottomans for the rest of the 15th century.

See also VLAD III THE IMPALER.

**Further reading:** Serban Papacostea, *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire: The Romanians in the 13th Century*, trans. Liviu Bleoca (Cluj-Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1998); László Péter, ed., *Historians and the History of Transylvania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Ioan Aurel Pop, *The Ethno-Confessional Structure of Medieval Transylvania and Hungary* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1994); Ioan Aurel Pop, *Romanians and Hungarians from the 9th to the 14th Century: The Genesis of the Transylvanian Medieval State* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Fundatia Culturala Româna, 1996).

**Traversari, Ambrogio (Ambrose of Camaldoli)** (1386–1439) *Italian humanist, Camaldolese monk, translator* Ambrogio was born at Portico di Romanna in September of 1386. At the age of 14, he went to FLORENCE to become a Camaldolese monk in the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli. There he learned LATIN and GREEK and taught the sons of Cosimo de' MEDICI and other patrician children. He became a friend of Cosimo and a number of the other humanists in Florence at that time,

such as Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437). He interceded for Cosimo on the latter's imprisonment in 1433. He translated into Latin works of some of the Greek fathers, especially BASIL THE GREAT, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

From 1431 to 1434, Ambrogio led the reform of his own order as superior general. He was a papal legate at the Council of BASEL, where he made a speech against the ideas of CONCILIARISM on August 26, 1435. As an authority on Greek, he participated in a decree of union between the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Florence of July 5, 1439. He was one of the Florentine humanists who frequented the papal court at that time. He was a great patron of art at the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli and sponsored an important SCRIPTORIUM for the new humanist script. He was important in introducing Byzantine and early Christian ideas in humanist philosophical and theological thought. On October 21, 1439, Traversari died suddenly at Florence. He was buried in the hermitage church at Camaldoli near Florence.

See also EUGENIUS IV, POPE.

**Further reading:** Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966); Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977).

**treason** See IMPEACHMENT AND ATTAINDER.

**Trebizond Empire** Medieval Trebizond was a former classical Greek colony in northeastern ANATOLIA on the south shore of the Black Sea and later an outpost on the northeast frontiers of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. Important in the emperor JUSTINIAN'S Armenian and Georgian foreign and military policies, it had been well fortified and thus had escaped Arab conquest. It then became an outlet on a commercial route to and from the Muslim world, for Persia or IRAN. SELJUK expansion in the 11th century increased its isolation, but it remained a Byzantine outpost. In the 13th century MERCHANTS of GENOA and VENICE were very active in its markets. It suffered periods of vassalage to the Seljuks and MONGOLS in the 13th century but maintained considerable commercial success by trading in cloth, WINE, silver, and iron. After the town had refused to acknowledge the political expulsion of the KOMNENOI dynasty from Constantinople in 1185, two family members later retreated to Trebizond and in 1204 made it the capital of the empire of the Great Komnenoi or Trebizond. That empire lasted until 1461, when the OTTOMAN TURKS took and essentially destroyed the city.

See also BESSARION, JOHN CARDINAL.

**Further reading:** Anthony A. M. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London: Variorum, 1980); Raymond Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond for the Year 1336* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia, 1994); William Miller, *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* (New York: Macmillan, 1926).

**Tribonian** (d. ca. 542/545) *legal scholar*

Named quaestor by JUSTINIAN in 529, Tribonian acted as his legal adviser. He was one of eight members of a committee appointed to create a new collection of Roman LAW formulated since the reign of the second-century emperor Hadrian (r. 98–117). With 16 prominent lawyers from BEIRUT, Tribonian issued in 529 a revised version of the 529 compilation. He worked especially on the *Digest* in which he attempted to systematize the rulings of legal scholars based on 200 to 300 treatises of some 40 writers. He also produced a handbook for students, the *Institutes*. Justinian had to remove him from office because of his reputation for dubious legal chicanery, but the emperor soon restored Tribonian to office. He died between 542 and 545.

**Further reading:** Tony Honoré, *Tribonian* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978).

**Trinitarian doctrine** Trinitarian doctrine has been one of the central, but often disputed, mysteries and concepts of Christianity. The Trinity was not designated clearly in Scripture, but ultimately was defined in the first centuries after Christ by the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, especially BASIL THE GREAT and AUGUSTINE of HIPPO. They definitively linked Christianity with a Trinitarian monotheism. In their scheme, GOD was one being and one substance made up of three persons, the Father, the Son or Christ, and the HOLY SPIRIT. God was revealed to humankind in three distinct equal modes of existence, yet God remained one through all eternity. This doctrine, difficult and disputed throughout the period before 1500, remains a dogma of the Catholic Church.

See also ANSELM OF LAON; AQUINAS, THOMAS, SAINT; ARIANISM; BOETHIUS, ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS; CHRISTOLOGY AND CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY; FILIOQUE CLAUSE, DISPUTE OVER; PERSON.

**Further reading:** Matthew Alfs, *Concepts of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: A Classification and Description of the Trinitarian and Non-Trinitarian Theologies Existent within Christendom* (Minneapolis: Old Theology Book House, 1984); Michel R. Barnes and Daniel H. Williams, eds., *Arianism after Arius: Essays on the Development of the Fourth Century Trinitarian Conflicts* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993); Richard S. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland, 1975); Duncan Reid, *Energies of the Spirit: Trinitarian Models in Eastern Orthodox and Western Theology* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

**Tripoli (Tarabulus, Atrabulus, the western Tripoli)** A city in North AFRICA in present-day LIBYA, Tripoli should not be confused with the TRIPOLI in LEBANON. Founded by the Phoenicians, it became a Roman city in the province of Tripolitania. During the fifth and sixth centuries, the VANDALS and the BYZANTINES fought over it until BELISARIUS conquered it in 532. It was raided by local nomad tribes regularly throughout its history. In 643 it was captured by Muslim ARABS. The FATIMIDS ruled it, and remains of their building projects there, especially the Naqah MOSQUE, are extant. In 1150 ROGER II of SICILY captured the city and held it between 1146 and 1158; Norman and Sicilian rule there ended soon after his death.

**Further reading:** Edward Rae, *The Country of the Moors: A Journey from Tripoli in Barbary to the City of Kairwān* (London: Darf, 1985).

**Tripoli (Tarabulus, Atrabulus, the eastern Tripoli)** A city on the coast of LEBANON, this Tripoli should not be confused with TRIPOLI or western Tripoli in North Africa. The town was an important city and legal center of the BYZANTINE Empire until its conquest in 640 by the Arabs. Calip Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan I (r. 661–80) settled Muslims in the city and a rapid process of Islamization was carried out. At the beginning of the 11th century Tripoli fell under the FATIMIDS of EGYPT and was governed by an emir, sent by their government in CAIRO. It became a flourishing seaport. In 1104 the crusader RAYMOND IV OF SAINT-GILLES began a siege of the city, after building the nearby castle of Mont Pèlerin, where he died in 1105. The crusaders did not actually take the city until 1109, under Bertram (r. 1109–12), Raymond's son. It then became the capital of an autonomous county and was ruled by a collateral branch of the dynasty of Toulouse until 1187, when it passed to the princes of ANTIOCH. It was one of the three principal crusader states located between the Kingdom of JERUSALEM in the south and the principality of Antioch in the north. The constitution of the county was modeled on southern French traditions. The main cities of the state besides Tripoli were Margat, Tortosa, and Jebil. Within its boundaries was the famous crusader castle of KRAK des Chevaliers.

In the 13th century a commune was established in the city under the princes of Antioch. It was one of the last Christian strongholds to fall to the Muslims when the MAMLUKS destroyed it in 1289. They initiated an ambitious building and reconstruction program, but on a new more defensible site. This new planned city was established slightly inland from the location of the old town, which was still vulnerable to raids from Christian CYPRUS. A new principal mosque was built in 1294 incorporating a crusader tower. It became a prosperous county of the Mamluk Empire and maintained much of its commercial

importance in the trade with Christian Europe until its capture by the OTTOMANS in the 16th century.

*See also* CRUSADES; LATIN STATES IN GREECE.

**Further reading:** Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); Hayam Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Kenneth M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–1989).

**Tristan and Iseult (Tristram, Yseult)** This medieval story was a ROMANCE from a Celtic Ireland source, or one from “Viking Age” Ireland and Britain. It became one of the most popular love stories in Western Europe from the end of the 12th century. It is about the love between Tristan, a knight, and Iseult, the wife of King Mark of Cornwall. Their passion and fate were aroused and set in motion by a love potion that caused problems within the context of marital and knightly loyalty to a husband or lord. It was first written in French by Béroul in the 12th century and adapted into German by GOTTFRIED von Strassburg in the 13th. By the later 13th century there were Italian, English, and Old Norse versions. This tale of Tristan and Iseult formed a main part of the ARTHURIAN and chivalric tradition in the later Middle Ages.

*See also* COURTLY LOVE; MALORY, THOMAS.

**Further reading:** Béroul, *The Romance of Tristan*, trans. Alan S. Federick (London: Penguin Books, 1970); Sigmund Eisner, *The Tristan Legend: A Study in Sources* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1969); Joan M. Ferrante, *The Conflict of Love and Honor: The Medieval Tristan Legend in France, Germany and Italy* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973); Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, *Tristan and Isolt: A Study of the Sources of the Romance*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (1913; reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1963).

**Trivium** *See* SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS.

**trobairitz** *See* TROUBADOURS.

**Trota (Trotula)** The Trota was a highly influential treatise or compendium on women's MEDICINE. It may have been composed or compiled by a female professor, Trota, at the University of Salerno, a major medical center, in the 11th or 12th century. It consisted of three works probably by three different authors. It seemed to synthesize the local popular customs of the region around NAPLES with the ideas and practices entering Europe from the newly available texts on Arabic and Greek medicine. It was full of ideas about COSMETICS, human generation, gynecology, SEXUALITY, and the workings of the female body.

*See also* MEDICINE.

**Further reading:** Monica H. Green, ed. and trans., *The Trota: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); John F. Benton, "Trota, Women's Problems, and the Professionalization of Medicine in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 59 (1985): 30–53; Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sexual Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

**troubadours** (*trouvères*, *trobairitz*) From the beginning of the 12th century among aristocratic circles of southern France, a distinctive style of lyric poetry and songs in the Provençal or Occitan language was composed (or "invented") by the troubadours, a class of courtly poets. They were, mostly men but some women (the *trobairitz*), with an ideal of life based on courtesy, which to them meant "generosity, distinction of manners, and COURTLY LOVE." Some of their work was bawdy. They also wrote devotional poems about the Virgin MARY. The songs and poems of the troubadours were usually based on the veneration or ritual glorification of a particular woman. Among the first of these troubadours were William IX, duke of AQUITAINE (r. 1086–1127); JAUFRE RUEL, a KNIGHT BERTRAN DE BORN, a knight and later a monk; and even a few clerics. The troubadours composed both the words and the melody for love poetry and poems on political, literary, and religious questions, all following strict poetic rules. By 1150 CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, RICHARD I LIONHEART, the counts of Champagne, and a king of Navarre, among others, were attempting to compose in this genre.

The troubadours of northern France, now sometimes called minstrels, more reserved in their expressions of love, added satirical and narrative elements and anecdotal and personal material. By the 13th century, such poets were concentrated in the rich towns of the north and often tied to CONFRATERNITIES who even held regular competitions. Some 2,500 songs survive with 250 melodies from this genre.

**Further reading:** F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, eds., *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Magda Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Paddington Press, 1976); William E. Burgwinkle, *Love for Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus* (New York: Garland, 1997); Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001); Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, eds., *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Leslie Topsfield, "Troubadours

and Trouvères," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 161–185.

**Truce of God** See PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD.

**Tudor, house of** The Tudors were the dynasty who took the English throne in 1485 and held it into the 17th century. After 1471, the last surviving member of the Lancastrian lineage was Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509). She first married Edmund Tudor (ca. 1430–56), the earl of Richmond, who was the son of Catherine de Valois (1401–37), the widow of HENRY V, when Henry died, she subsequently secretly married a Welsh soldier charged to guard her, Owen Tudor (d. 1461), in about 1432. Owen was Edmund's father. The Tudor family had been Welsh soldiers, often working for the English Crown. This marriage was kept secret essentially up to Margaret's death in 1437, when Owen was imprisoned for a short period. In 1439 he received a pension from his half brother, King Henry VI (r. 1422–61, 1470–71), and died fighting for him in 1461. Owen's two sons, Edmund and Jasper (ca. 1431–95), were knighted by Henry, who also granted them titles. Edmund married Margaret Beaufort in 1455, died of an illness the following year, but left a son, Henry, who was born in 1457 and with his mother fled to BRITAIN after the failure of the Lancastrian restoration of 1471. There he waited for an opportunity to return to ENGLAND and even claim the throne. Henry fulfilled that opportunity when he defeated RICHARD III (YORK) at the Battle of BOSWORTH FIELD on August 22, 1485. Henry, now Henry VII (r. 1457–1509), took the Crown and married Elizabeth of York (1465–1503), the daughter of EDWARD IV, giving his descendants ties to both the house of Lancaster and the house of York, the contending families in the WARS OF THE ROSES. The Tudors occupied the throne of England until 1603.

See also EDWARD IV, KING OF ENGLAND; WALES.

**Further reading:** Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The First of the Tudors: A Study of Henry VII and His Reign* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Alexander Grant, *Henry VII: The Importance of His Reign in English History* (London: Methuen, 1985); S. J. Gunn and P. G. Lindley, eds., *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State, and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Roger Lockyer, *Henry VII*, 2d. ed. (London: Longman, 1983); Alison Plowden, *The House of Tudor* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976).

**Tughrul Beg (Tughril, Toghril)** (r. 1037–1063) *founder of the Seljuk Empire, sultan*

Tughrul first appeared in history when he imposed his authority on several Turkish tribes who had been auxiliary

troops and had recently converted to SUNNI ISLAM. In 1037 he began the conquest of Persia and the ABBASID caliphate. After defeating the GHAZNAWIDS, he captured Khorasan in 1040 and established his capital at Nishapur in eastern IRAN. In 1051 he conquered Isfahan and the western part of Iran and invaded IRAQ, where he defeated several Arab armies. In 1055 he took BAGHDAD. Tughrul now exercised military and political control but allowed a BUYID caliph to continue as an Islamic spiritual leader, albeit Shia, and the formal sovereign of the city. Tughrul emphasized Sunni orthodoxy. Tughrul's new status was eventually confirmed in 1058 proclaiming him the king of the East and West. His government was based on a Persian bureaucracy and a Turkish controlled military. It dominated the region for several decades but quickly was troubled by the formation of squabbling petty kingdoms. Tughrul himself died in 1063.

See also ALP ARSLAN; SELJUK TURKS OF RUM.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1967); John Andrew Boyle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 5, *The Saljuk and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); R. N. Frye, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 4, *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Mehmet Fuat Koprulu, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Their History and Culture According to Local Muslim Sources*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992).

**Tulunids** The Tulunids were a dynasty who ruled EGYPT and SYRIA between 868 and 905, founded by Ahmad ibn Tulun (r. 868–884), the governor of Egypt. Of Turkish origin and the son of a freed slave Ahmad served as a soldier the ABBASID CALIPH in BAGHDAD. In 868 he was appointed vice-governor for Egypt where he deposed the civil governor and seized power. Revolting against the caliphate, he moved to conquer parts of PALESTINE and Syria. He raised an excellent military force based on a slave army of Turks, Greeks, and Nubians. Though formally recognizing the caliph's sovereignty, he created an independent state in Egypt and in the coastal region of Palestine up to Syria. A successful ruler, he encouraged economic and fiscal reform, built markets, and repaired important harbors such as the one at ACRE. From this base he founded the short-lived dynasty of the Tulunids.

The Tulunids introduced local rule to Egypt and left important monuments behind, such as the MOSQUE of Ibn Tulun at AL-FUSTAT, near the future city of CAIRO. His son, Khumarawayh (r. 884–896), successful and hugely extravagant in his spending habits received recognition of his position from the caliph in return for a tribute of 300,000 dinars. They were replaced by direct Abbasid rule in 905.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 43–44; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (1932–1940; reprint, New York: Hacher Art Books, 1979); Oleg Grabar, *The Coinage of the Tulunids* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1957).

**Tunis (Tunus, Tunis)** A city in North AFRICA Tunis was founded by the ARABS near the site of Carthage and was dependent on the rulers of AL-QAYRAWAN from the eighth to the 12th century. It was an important harbor of the AGHLABIDS who built the Great Mosque, the Jami al-Zaituna, in the ninth century. In 1150 ROGER II, captured the city and the Norman Sicilian government dominated the town until the middle of the 13th century. In 1217–20 Tunis became the frequent scene of early missionary activities by the Franciscans. After his conquest of SICILY in the 1260s, CHARLES I OF ANJOU tried to restore Sicilian rule over Tunis. His brother, LOUIS IX of France, launched a CRUSADE against the city, but that project failed miserably at Louis's death there in 1270. The wars for control of southern ITALY and the western Mediterranean for the next several decades diverted Christian attention from Tunis. In the meantime the HAFSIDS had secured control of the city and much of the region. The MARINIDS dislodged them with grew difficulty in the mid-14th century.

**Further reading:** Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, eds., *Islam: Art and Architecture*, trans. George Ansell et al. (Cologne: Könemann, 2000); Graham Petrie, *Tunis, Kairouan & Carthage: Described and Illustrated with Forty-Eight Paintings* (London: Darf, 1985).

**Tunisia** See AGHLABIDS; ALMOHADS; ALMORAVIDS; FATIMIDS; HAFSIDS; AL-QAYRAWAN; TUNIS; ZIRIDS.

**Turks and Turkomans** The Turks and Turkomans were a group of peoples and tribes, recognizable from the fourth century, who spoke dialects of the Ural-Altai language called Turkic. Their probable original home was in the Altai Mountains in Central Asia, from which they spread all over Eurasia while practicing a shamanic religion. Between about 840 and 1240, they formed several kingdoms between Mongolia and eastern Turkistan, absorbing the culture and religion of their neighbors such as Buddhism from China or Manichaeism and NESTORIANISM from IRAN. By the ninth century many had converted to ISLAM and become a major source of military manpower, both slave and free, of the Muslim dynasties in IRAN and IRAQ. From the 11th century onward, they divided themselves into several independent dynasties and military aristocracies who dominated the Islamic world. Another group, the Uighurs, merged with the

MONGOLS in the 13th century. The Seljuks and the Ottomans eventually dominated the Middle East and absorbed the BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

See also ANATOLIA; AVARS; CUMANS; GHAZNAWIDS; HUNS; KHAZARS; MAMLUKS; OTTOMAN TURKS AND EMPIRE; SAMANIDS; SELJUK TURKS OF RUM; TAMERLANE; TUGHRUL BEG; TULUNIDS.

**Further reading:** Margaret Bainbridge, ed., *The Turkic Peoples of the World* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993); Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992); Peter B. Golden, *Nomads and Sedentary Societies in Medieval Eurasia* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1998); Vladimir Minorsky, *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978).

**Tuscany** Medieval Tuscany was a region in central ITALY bounded by the sea to the west and the Apennine Mountains to the north and east, with a much less defined border to the south. It was a major part of a pre-Roman Etruscan network of kingships. The LOMBARDS and Carolingians established territorial states there in the early Middle Ages. After the year 1000, Tuscany was divided into many small territorial lordships only nominally controlled by any emperor, lord, or monarch. By the 12th century numerous towns had sprung up and were assuming autonomy from the rural lords. By the end of that century, the towns were beginning to dominate the local nobility and were functioning independently of the Holy Roman Emperor. The cities then proceed to fight among themselves, and the large ones tried to assert their control over the smaller adjacent towns.

A rich agricultural region, Tuscany was famous in the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE for its wines, oils, and other agricultural products. From the 13th century, its merchants dominated European TRADE, commerce, and BANKING. Its history from 1200 to 1550 is best followed by studying its important cities, which established republican and signorial forms of government. The populations of these towns were among the highest in Europe, with FLORENCE at around 100,000 and SIENA at approximately 50,000. Devastated by PLAGUE, these figures, however, had fallen to half at best by the 15th century. By 1500 the city-state of Florence dominated the region and only Siena retained any semblance of autonomy. The region was also extremely important in the development of literature and of ROMANESQUE and GOTHIC art and architecture, producing such writers and artists as DANTE ALIGHIERI, BOCCACCIO, GIOTTO, DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA, SIMONE MARTINI, MASACCIO, and FRA ANGELICO. Its dialect of Italian later became a standard form for the Italian language in general.

See also COMMUNE; GUELFS AND Ghibellines; LUCCA; PISA; SAFFRON; WINE AND WINEMAKING.

**Further reading:** Thomas W. Blomquist and Maureen F. Mazzaoui, eds., *The "Other Tuscany": Essays in the History of Lucca, Pisa, and Siena during the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1994); Anthony McIntyre, *Medieval Tuscany and Umbria* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992).

**Tyler, Wat (Walter)** (d. 1381) one of the leaders of the Peasants' Revolt in England

Probably influenced by the priest John BALL, Wat Tyler left his work in Kent and participated in the organization of the English Peasants' Revolt in Kent and Essex Counties against the king, the nobility, and the church establishments. He seems to have become a captain of the rebels around June 7, 1381, perhaps because he had some military experience. In the spring and summer of 1381, he led the revolt successfully if temporarily, seizing CANTERBURY, and even LONDON. Violence of the rebels in the city turned the towns people against them, so London adopted at best a neutral attitude toward the rebellion. Tyler and the rebels made progressively more radical demands for more social equality, livable working conditions, and lower taxes. RICHARD II promised concessions, but at a meeting on June 15, 1381, Tyler, perhaps considering an assassination of the king, was killed whether by a prearranged plan or by chance. Richard promptly made more promises and the rebels, essentially leaderless, rashly disbanded. The king soon reneged on his promises and had many rebels hunted down and executed, despite their pardons.

See also JACQUÉRIE; PEASANT REBELLIONS.

**Further reading:** R. B. Dobson, ed., *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Rodney H. Hilton and T. H. Aston, eds., *The English of 1381* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Philip Lindsay and Reg Groves, *The Peasants' Revolt, 1381* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974); Charles Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (1906; reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

**Tyre** Medieval Tyre was a city in LEBANON with a history extending back thousands of years. Under the Byzantines in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, its harbor was among the most important industrial, trading, and shipping centers along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. It continued to play that role until the 14th century. Tyre was also a major religious center and linked to ANTIOCH. After the Arab conquest of 638, the Greek population mostly left and the city declined in economic terms. In 1123 it was conquered by the crusaders after a siege of five months with the help of naval support from VENICE. Consequently, Venice was granted one-third of the city and control of its harbor, which was second

only to that of ACRE in importance. In 1187, after the defeat at the Battle of the Horns of HATTIN and the collapse of the Latin Kingdom of JERUSALEM, Tyre became the only city of the kingdom that successfully resisted conquest by SALADIN. It was thus the most important base for the Third CRUSADE of RICHARD I LIONHEART and PHILIP II AUGUSTUS. In the 13th century a COMMUNE was established at Tyre, but it remained, dominated by Venice. It had a famous glass industry, but its reconquest by the

Muslims forced many of its Christian artisans to move to Venice, onto the nearby island of Murano. It was conquered by the MAMLUKS in 1291, was neglected, and then declined in the later Middle Ages. The OTTOMAN TURKS took over the city in 1516.

**Further reading:** Wallace Bruce Fleming, *The History of Tyre* (1915; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1966); Nina Jidejian, *Tyre through the Ages* (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq Publishers, 1969).

# U

**Ubertino da Casale** (ca. 1259–ca. 1329/30) *mystic, theologian*

Probably from near GENOA, Ubertino entered the FRANCISCAN ORDER in 1273 and was at the *studium* of Santa Croce at FLORENCE between 1285 and 1289 as a pupil of Peter John OLIVI. He then studied in PARIS between 1289 and 1298. Returning to ITALY, he joined circles around ANGELA OF FOLIGNO and began to preach widely in central Italy. Although protected for a while by important cardinals such as Giacomo Colonna (d. 1318), he was exiled to Alverna for criticism of the pope and the overly worldly concerns of the church in 1304. It was then that he wrote his famous work *The Tree of the Crucified life of Jesus* which dealt with the life of the Christ or the Word, from before the Incarnation, the infancy of Jesus, his public life, and his Passion, DEATH, Resurrection, and ascent into HEAVEN, including his meeting with his mother. His ideas were based on orthodox and traditional writings by BONAVENTURE, Thomas AQUINAS, and BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. However, the *Arbor vitae* also offers an apocalyptic reading of the history of the church, mimicking Olivi's writing on the APOCALYPSE. He followed Olivi's ideas about the seven ages of the world, the role of Saint FRANCIS, and an imminent age of peace. Ubertino identified the figure of the ANTICHRIST with Popes BONIFACE VIII and Benedict XI (r. 1303–04) and linked the church with the Babylon of the Apocalypse. With invective against the hierarchy of the church, he railed against the leadership of the Franciscan order, claiming the order had departed from its original vows of complete poverty espoused by its founder.

From 1309 to 1310 Ubertino lived at the papal court in AVIGNON, representing the spiritual faction of the Franciscans but failed to acquire recognition or sanction

for their ideas. He wrote several short treatises at this time about POVERTY, the reform of the order, and the correctness of Olivi's ideas. He then joined a Benedictine monastery. Pope JOHN XXII officially consulted him in his efforts to deal with the poverty question. Eventually he was persecuted for his ideas and had to flee Avignon in 1325. It is unclear where he spent his last years in hiding. Living a vagabond existence because he was wanted by the PAPACY, he last appeared preaching against Pope John XXII in Como in northern Italy in 1329. He had apparently died and possibly met a violent end by 1330.

*See also* CELESTINE V, POPE AND THE CELESTINE ORDER; POVERTY, VOLUNTARY; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Decima L. Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1932); Malcolm D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (London: S.P.C.K., 1961).

**Uccello, Paolo (Paolo di Dono)** (1397–1475) *Florentine painter*

Born about 1397, Paolo studied between 1407 and 1414 in the studio of Lorenzo GHIBERTI, working on the bronze doors for the baptistery at FLORENCE. He received training as a goldsmith at the same time. Between 1425 and 1430, he lived in VENICE, working perhaps on a MOSAIC in Saint Mark's cathedral, and became familiar with the styles of other artists such as GENTILE DA FABRIANO, Antonio PISANELLO, and Jacopo BELLINI. He began to

combine naturalism with particular attention to realism and detail. He soon turned to ideas and practices of perspective in painting. Back in Florence he painted the equestrian FRESKO of the mercenary captain John HAWKWOOD in the cathedral of Florence in 1436 and a series of frescoes on Noah and the flood in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella in the same city in the 1440s. These both demonstrated his innovative use of perspective and foreshortening. He was also employed at Urbino and PADUA about the same time.

Around 1456, fulfilling a commission from the MEDICI family, Uccello produced three panels depicting the *Battle of San Romano*, now in Florence, PARIS, and LONDON. The two small, almost surreal panels of a *Saint George and the Dragon* and the *Night Hunt* are among his last documented works from about 1460. In a tax document of 1469, he claimed to be poor and ill and to have a sick wife. He died probably in poverty and isolation in Florence in 1475.

**Further reading:** Franco Borsi, *Paolo Uccello*, trans. Elfreda Powell (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1994); John Pope-Hennessy, *Paolo Uccello: Complete Edition*, 2d ed. (1950; reprint, London: Phaidon, 1969); Jean Louis Schefer, *The Deluge, the Plague—Paolo Uccello*, trans. Tom Conley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

**ulama (ulema)** Among the SUNNI Muslims the *ulama* were (and are) men of knowledge trained in the religious sciences, who formed groups called *alim*. From the early years or the classical age of ISLAM, they were the formulators of the religion: the bearers of wisdom, leaders of the religious community, civil servants, and interpreters of Islam. This élite was required to have extensive knowledge of the QURAN and ability to apply it to Muslim society often as QADIS, muftis, IMAMS, and mullahs. The *ulama* were the teachers, preachers, authors, social critics, and promoters of the status quo. Some promoted Islamic change and revolution. They could not be considered CLERGY, though they did have considerable training and were all recognized for their religious knowledge and roles as the custodians of “orthodoxy.”

**Further reading:** Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: The Sunni “Ulama” of Eleventh Century Baghdad* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998).

**Ulphilas (Ulphilas, Wulfila Ulfila)** (ca. 311–ca. 382) *apostle of the Goths, translator of the Bible into Gothic* Ulphilas was born in ANATOLIA about 311, perhaps in Cappadocia or Romania, to a Christian family Captured by GOTHs, he was eventually sent to CONSTANTINOPLE,

where he became fluent in LATIN, Greek, and Gothic. After a Christian education, he was in about 338 made bishop of the still-heathen VISIGOTHs by the Arian bishop of Constantinople. Working initially in the area north of the Danube but forced back into a safer area controlled by the Byzantines, he slowly and with great difficulty succeeded in converting them to an Arian form of Christianity which at the time had not been clearly branded as HERESY. This Arianism then spread to many of the other Germanic tribes. To accomplish this conversion, Ulphilas and his collaborators devised a Gothic alphabet and translated much of the BIBLE into Gothic. Active in ecclesiastical affairs throughout his life, he died in Constantinople while attending a synod in about 382.

See also ARIANISM.

**Further reading:** C. A. Anderson Scott, *Ulphilas, Apostle of the Goths Together with an Account of the Gothic Churches and Their Decline* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1885); M. J. Hunter, “The Gothic Bible” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 2.338–362; James Woodrow Marchand, *The Sounds and Phonemes of Wulfila’s Gothic* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973); E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

**Umar I ibn al-Khattab, Caliph (Omar, Abu Hafsa ibn al-Khattab)** (ca. 586–644) *second Sunni caliph, companion of Muhammad*

A member of a patrician family, the clan of the Adi ibn Kab of the tribe of the QURAYSH in MECCA, Umar I was among the first to convert to ISLAM in 618. He fought in the Battles of BADR and Uhud. He was a strong supporter of ABU BAKR both before and after his reign as caliph. There has been some dispute about whether he was appointed CALIPH by the dying Abu Bakr. As the second caliph from 634 to 644, Umar I promoted Arab unity, oversaw major territorial expansion, and was a great military leader who earned the name “Commander of the Faithful.”

Enjoying universal support, Umar led the ARABS to the conquest of PALESTINE, SYRIA, EGYPT, and IRAQ. He transformed Arab conquerors into a separate military class who were to rule the newly conquered territories and could not engage in AGRICULTURE or commerce. They lived in tent cities. He permitted the conquered peoples to practice their own religious rather than insisting on conversion but required them to pay a poll tax for protection. He was instrumental in transmitting numerous HADITH. He instituted the method of selecting caliphs by means of a committee with election then accompanied by the clasping of hands and the exchange of OATHS of allegiance to the successor. He was assassinated for his tyranny in 644 in the MOSQUE at MEDINA by a Persian slave, Abu Luluah.

**Further reading:** Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Francesco Gabrieli, *Muhammad and the Conquests of Islam*, trans. Virginia Luling and Rosamund Linell (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); Donald R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests, A.D. 634–656* (London: Luzac, 1971); Wilferd Madelung, “Umar: Commander of the Faithful, Islamic Meritocracy, Consultation and Arab Empire,” in *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 57–77.

**Umayyads (Omayyads)** This initially aristocratic and merchant Arab dynasty dominated the lands of ISLAM from 660 to 750, with its capital at DAMASCUS in SYRIA. It was founded by Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan (r. 661–680), the son of a companion of MUHAMMAD who was the gifted governor of Syria at the time of the assassination of the third CALIPH, UTHMAN, in 656. It fell to Muawiya according to the prescriptions of the QURAN, to avenge his kinsman and oppose the fourth caliph, ALI IBN ABU TALIB. Ali was himself responsible for Uthman’s murder, though Muawiya thought he was. Moreover, Ali had refused to hand over its perpetrators. After the Battle of Siffin on the Euphrates River, Muawiya was acknowledged as caliph at JERUSALEM in place of Ali, who was assassinated at Kufa in IRAQ later in 661. Muawiya introduced dynastic succession into Islam, since he was the first to designate his son as heir and have him so acknowledged in his lifetime. He moved the capital to Damascus and made the caliphate more secular. The Umayyads successfully continued conquest and organized the newly established empire. Under the caliphs from the Maridid branch of the family. ABD AL-MALIK and AL-WALID, the empire reached its greatest extent, with conquests from the Iberian Peninsula to AFGHANISTAN and India, and its forces almost captured CONSTANTINOPLE in the 670s. Under the Umayyads, Arabic was declared the official language of the empire, and ARABS took over governments from Greeks and Persians.

By the reign of the caliph Umar II (r. 717–720), who also furthered the Islamization of the empire, the state had serious religious, social, and financial problems. By Hisham’s reign between 724 and 743, external expansion had halted, sometimes in defeat as at the Battle of POITIERS in 732. Opposition continued to grow and the perceived secularization of the empire was strongly opposed by some. Partisans of Ali’s descendants, the SHIITES, began to foment revolts. At MECCA an anticaliph, Ibn Zubayr, held the city for several years. In the mideighth century, the descendants of an uncle of the Prophet, the ABBASIDS, started insurrections in eastern IRAN at Khurasan that soon ended the Umayyad dynasty. The Abbasids defeated the last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II (r. 744–750), and his army at the Battle of the Great

Zab River in 750. Marwan was subsequently killed while trying to escape in EGYPT, and the other members of the family were massacred. One survivor, ABD AL-RAHMAN, fled to SPAIN, where in 756, he founded the Umayyad caliphate at CORDOBA, which flourished in the ninth and 10th centuries.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE, ISLAMIC; CORDOBA; ISLAM; SHIA, SHIISM, AND SHIITES.

**Further reading:** Gerald R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate A.D. 661–750*, 2d ed. (London: Routledge, 2000); Naji Hasan, *The Role of the Arab Tribes in the East during the Period of the Umayyads (40/660–132/749)* (Baghdad: Al-Jamea’s Press, 1978); Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London: Routledge, 2001); Jirji Zaydan, *Umayyads and Abbasids: Being the Fourth Part of Jurji Zaydan’s History of Islamic Civilization*, trans. D. S. Margoliouth (London: Darf, 1987).

**Umayyads of Córdoba** See ABD AL-RAHMAN; AL-ANDALUS; Umayyads.

**umma (ummah)** Derived from the Arabic word for “mother,” the word *umma* is borrowed from Hebrew or Aramaic. In the QURAN it means “people” or “community,” designating the people to whom GOD has sent a prophet to make them the objects of a divine plan of salvation. At the beginnings of ISLAM, each political and religious group conceived of itself as an *umma* or the community most faithful to the teachings of MUHAMMAD. The term was applied to all Muslims as the best of communities willed by God and established by Muhammad to live under Islamic law. Despite dissent, this identification of all Muslims with this community, the proclaiming of its essential unity, and the assertion of the theoretical equality of Muslims, regardless of their diverse cultural and geographical settings, have always been strong elements of Islam.

**Further reading:** Antony J. Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001); R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

**unction of the sick** See SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

**unicorn** The unicorn is a mythical beast, perhaps based on the rhinoceros. The story of the unicorn is often found in medieval BESTIARIES based on the *Physiologus* (The naturalist), a collection of stories composed in ALEXANDRIA between the second and fourth centuries. It is a fantastic animal resembling a small white goat, wild ass, or horse. It is extremely fierce, with a single horn in the middle of its head capable of killing elephants. With that horn it

kills any hunter who tries to go near it. However, if a virgin approaches it, the animal meekly walks to her lap, the girl nourishes it, and then hunters can capture it. The girl must be chaste if this kind of hunt is to work. The unicorn has symbolic values and moral interpretations that were important in medieval imagery and iconography. It symbolized Christ's Incarnation and self-chosen Passion as well as the value of the chastity of the Blessed Virgin MARY. Its horn was also used as a symbol for the purifying cross on which Christ died. The horn of a unicorn also acquired therapeutic and erotic value and was a much sought after prize with supposed examples on display in cathedral and palace treasuries. The horn could magically protect against PLAGUE, LEPROSY, and poisonings.

**Further reading:** Gottfried Büttner, *The Lady and the Unicorn: The Development of the Human Soul as Pictured in the Cluny Tapestries*, trans. Roland Everett (Stroud: Hawthorn Press, 1995); Adolph S. Cavallo, *The Unicorn Tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1998); Michael Green, *Unicornis: On the History and Truth of the Unicorn* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 1988); Paul A. Johnsgard, *Dragons and Unicorns: A Natural History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

**universals** Universals can be defined as "signs common to several things." The term can also mean "natures signified by a common word." For the Middle Ages this ambiguity challenged the status and function of the universal at the intersection of metaphysical and semantic questions: whether the universal was really common to several things or was merely said of several things. In the former view, philosophers or theologians studied the form or the common nature or the universal in things. In the latter, they made the universal a name, a concept, or a sign. So the question became, especially in the 12th century, whether general names, genera, and species were merely words or really things. The reality of common natures was accepted more in the 13th century. In the late 14th and the early 15th centuries, new ideas of realism were promoted by JOHN WYCLIFFE, WILLIAM OF OCKHAM, and JOHN BURIDAN. In general, in their eyes, the universal could not exist in things because everything that existed was singular. So the universal was a sign, a concept, or a word and the universal existed singularly, as a quality or an act created by the mind. It was only universal because it signified a plurality. This discussion dominated speculative thought throughout the 15th century.

See also ABÉLARD, PETER; ALBERTUS MAGNUS; DUNS SCOTUS, JOHN; GILBERT OF POITIERS; IBN SINA, ABU ALI AL-HUSAYN.

**Further reading:** Marilyn McCord Adams, *William Ockham*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987); John Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150–1350): An Introduction* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1987); James A. Summers, *St. Thomas and the*

*Universal* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of American Press, 1955); Martin M. Tweedale, *Scotus vs. Ockham: A Medieval Dispute over Universals*, 2 vols. (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1999).

**universities and schools** Before 1500 education in schools and universities was a religious domain in both Christianity and ISLAM. Medieval schools in CHRISTENDOM continued much of the legacy of classical education and were based on the study of the SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS; professional training was acquired through apprenticeships.

#### EDUCATION IN BYZANTIUM

In BYZANTIUM urban schools in the classical format continued, offering more advanced study in history, THEOLOGY, and LAW at imperial academies in CONSTANTINOPLE. The teachers were state employees. This system, primarily designed to educate bureaucrats and clerics, was destroyed when Western Europeans took over Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade. Some remnants of it survived in Nicaea and then were revived again in Constantinople in the later Middle Ages, when Orthodox theological ideas in particular were retained.

#### ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Islamic education from the beginning was based on studies of the commentaries on the QURAN and of philology or the linguistic rules of Arabic. By the eighth century Greek and Persian philosophical and scientific ideas were incorporated into the Muslim schools. This educational system reached its peak of influence and prestige at the beginning of the ninth century with the founding of the Academy of BAGHDAD by the CALIPH AL-MAMUN. This curriculum now included theology, jurisprudence, Aristotelian PHILOSOPHY, and the sciences, including mathematics, physics, astronomy, and ASTROLOGY. Other centers followed this model at AL-QAYRAWAN, CAIRO, and CÓRDOBA. In the second half of the 12th century, the regime of NUR AL-DIN closed the traditional philosophical and scientific schools and created the system of the MADRASA whose goal was to produce proponents of SUNNI Islam and train competent and loyal government officials. This system was based primarily on an authoritative and normative study by rote of Muslim law and religion. The MONGOL invasions of the 13th century completed the destruction of the older system, but the madrasa system was maintained.

#### EDUCATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

In Western Europe in the early Middle Ages, the classical educational system based on urban schools had collapsed by the seventh century. The church, however, maintained a monopoly on education by supporting monastic schools according to the system proposed by CASSIODORUS at the

beginning of the sixth century. They spread throughout western Christian Europe over the next two centuries. The Carolingian Reform movement, led by ALCUIN OF YORK in the ninth century, was a product of these schools. The educational reforms of CHARLEMAGNE required the establishment of a school in every bishopric and monastery of his empire. In them the CLERGY would be trained to the new standards. Many of these monastic schools continued to educate the clergy and the LAITY throughout the period up to 1500. There was even some provision to educate talented men of poor families, whose skills could be put to work for the church and the developing institutions of government. There were also schools at the courts of monarchs such as Charlemagne. From the 12th century these palace and monastic schools sent some of their lay and clerical students to the new higher education system of the universities. From that same era the newly developed towns began sponsoring schools that educated the laity, which soon expanded into business, literacy and arithmetic, and the notarial arts. All of this had to be done by memorization and at an oral level than later, since usually only teachers had books and students could only copy and learn what they were told.

#### JEWISH EDUCATION

Judaism had its own educational system in the Middle Ages. It was based on the great Talmudic academies that originated in Mesopotamia. They emphasized the study of the law and interpretation of Scriptures and the commentaries of earlier sages and scholars. From the 10th century, Spanish or Sephardic Jews influenced by Arab literature and thought concentrated more on philosophical, scientific, and linguistic studies. The Ashkenazi Jews of FRANCE and GERMANY emphasized legal and exegetic studies.

#### PROFESSIONALIZATION IN WESTERN EUROPE

From the 11th century a revival of learning in Europe led to growing professionalization of knowledge. New schools that developed at BOLOGNA and PARIS for the study of law and theology became the basis for the autonomous institutions called universities. They were to function initially as GUILDS of teachers or masters who granted degrees and admitted candidates to the professions. This wide autonomy was not to last very long, but the roles and powers of the masters endured within a more institutional framework. The Universities of CAMBRIDGE and OXFORD in ENGLAND originated in response to the same needs and with the same initial organization. The balance of power between the students and the teaching faculties could and did change, and the students became better organized and gained greater control of the finances or salaries of their teachers. The study of theology and philosophy played a considerable role in the early curricula along with the seven liberal arts, but subjects turned much more vocational as students progressed to a degree

through the system; not everyone attained a degree, however, since that was really only necessary for the profession of teaching.

Universities sprouted all over Europe in the period after 1200, with Paris as the model for the course of study based on lecturing and disputation and institutional organization. They played important roles in the intellectual, political, and social life of Europe and Christendom. The idea of a community of masters licensed to teach at the highest level, in other words, a university, is one that we owe entirely to the Middle Ages.

See also HUMANISM; LANFRANC OF BEC; NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIATE; SCHOLASTICISM AND THE SCHOLASTIC METHOD.

**Further reading:** Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Wilfred Madelung, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London: Variorum, 1985); Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973); Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989); Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936); Jacques Verger, "The Universities," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 82–101.

**Urban II, Blessed (Odo of Châtillon, Oddone, Eudes, Otto or Odo of Lagery)** (ca. 1039–1099) *French pope who launched the First Crusade*

Odo, later Urban was born about 1042 in Châtillon-sur-Marne in a noble family of Champagne. After studying with Saint BRUNO at RHEIMS, he entered the monastery of CLUNY between 1067 and 1070, soon serving as its grand prior between 1074 and 1079. He then became an ardent supporter of the GREGORIAN REFORM and was rewarded by promotion to the rank of cardinal-bishop of Ostia by Pope GREGORY VII.

At the death of Victor III (r. 1087), Gregory's successor, on September 6, 1087, ROME was under the control of an antipope. Six chaotic months elapsed before Odo was finally elected pope as Urban II. He was consecrated at Terracina, south of Rome, on March 12, 1088. Urban II was more moderate but still strongly reaffirmed the positions of Gregory VII on SIMONY, NICOLAITISM, and lay investiture. On the other hand, he was more conciliatory about questionable ordinations during the INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY. He did bring about legislation that forbade the clergy to take feudal OATHS binding them to any of the LAITY. Aided by various political changes of allegiance



Arrival of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in France, miniature from *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon* (1337), Ms. fr. 22495, fol. 15, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Giraudon / Art Resource*)

and the support of the NORMANS in ITALY, he was able to return to Rome in 1093.

The major event of Urban's reign was his call to CRUSADE launched at the Council of CLERMONT between November 18 and November 28 of 1095. Urban had earlier sponsored a Truce of God on CHRISTENDOM at the Council of Melfi in 1089, at Troia in 1093, and finally at Clermont. Violence could be legitimate when it was employed for the glory of GOD as in the RECONQUEST already under way in SPAIN and SICILY. Christendom was to unite with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE to free the Holy Land or PALESTINE from the Muslims. He succeeded beyond what he must have expected but died before the capture of JERUSALEM in 1099. In the meantime he had to deal with the marital problems of the king of France, Philip I (r. 1060–1108), and a dispute between the king of ENGLAND, WILLIAM II RUFUS, and the archbishop of CANTERBURY, ANSELM. He died at Rome on July 29, 1099, in the Palace of the Pierleone in Rome two weeks after the crusaders took Jerusalem. He was buried in Saint Peter's and was beatified in 1881.

See also PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD.

**Further reading:** Francis J. Gossman, *Pope Urban II and Canon Law* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1960); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Robert Somerville and Stephan Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

**Urban VI (Bartolomeo Prignano)** (1318–1389) *mentally disturbed and brutal pope*

Bartolomeo, later Urban VI, was descended from an influential Neapolitan family and was pontifical chancellor of Pope Gregory XI (r. 1371–78) and archbishop of BARI on his election in 1377. On the death in 1378 of Gregory XI,

who had moved the papacy back to Rome, the Roman populace was fearful that the election of a French pope would mean the transfer of the PAPACY back to the city of AVIGNON. Six cardinals remained in Avignon and did not even attend the conclave to elect a new pope. The Romans raised such a threatening riot that the CARDINALS meeting to elect the new pope were forced to elect an Italian rapidly. A mob had actually entered the meeting place to try to influence the election. On April 8, 1378, Bartolomeo was viewed as a competent administrator and seemed to be a well-known commodity to the cardinals who intimidated again by a crowd, elected him pope as Urban VI. He was the last noncardinal to be elected pope.

Urban's wild tirades and threats to appoint a majority of Italian cardinals soon scared the French cardinals, who withdrew to Anagni outside Rome during the summer of 1378. By August 9, 1378, they had called a new election and then designated Cardinal Robert of Geneva as Pope Clement VII (r. 1378–94). Robert was a tough and experienced soldier who had been involved in the slaughter of 4,000 rebels against papal rule in Cesena in 1377. Urban VI naturally persisted in considering himself as the sole legitimate pope. He quickly formed a new College of Cardinals, though he soon fell out even with them, condemning five of them to death a few years later. These dual questionable elections and events led to the Great SCHISM, which lasted until 1417.

Urban proved to be a very authoritarian and ineffective reformer of a now seriously divided church. Needing money and seeking to solidify his support in the tourist-based industry of Rome, he proclaimed a HOLY YEAR for 1390. To accomplish that, he had to change the interval between jubilee celebrations to 33 years, the length of Christ's life. He paid special attention during his reign to securing the throne of NAPLES for one of his nephews, Charles of Durazzo (1345–86), and very little indeed to settling the election question. Eventually he went to war with his own nephew. He seems to have actually led armies in the field. With the PAPAL STATES in chaos, he died, probably poisoned, on October 15, 1389.

See also CATHERINE OF SIENA, SAINT.

**Further reading:** Welbore St. Clair Baddeley, *Charles III of Naples and Urban VI: Also Cecco d'Ascoli, Poet, Astrologer, Physician, Two Historical Essays* (London: W. Heinemann, 1894); Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*, trans. Janet Love (1949; reprint, New York: T. Nelson 1963); Yves Renouard, *Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*, trans. Dennis Bethell (London: Faber, 1970).

**Ursula, Saint, and her companions, legend of** The legend of Ursula and her companions originated in a single Latin inscription from about 400 in the church of Saint Ursula in COLOGNE that recorded the BURIAL of some local virgin-martyrs. By the ninth century this became a tale of a princess and her companions who were martyred in the

persecutions of the emperors Maximian (r. 286–305) and DIOCLETIAN. There also occurred a misreading of a text specifying 11 virgin-martyrs which was probably corrupted into 11,000 virgins. In this form the story became part of the *GOLDEN LEGEND*, one of the most popular collections of stories about the saints of the Middle Ages.

According to the *Golden Legend*, Ursula was the daughter of a British Christian king, betrothed for political reasons to a pagan English prince, but obtained a delay of three years during which she and her betrothed went on a PILGRIMAGE. The couple sailed down the Rhine River and then on to ROME, where they were received by the pope and the prince was baptized. On their way home, they arrived at Cologne, where the pilgrims were all martyred by the HUNS. The Huns could have been in Cologne in the midfifth century, but a pope mentioned in the text is not recorded elsewhere.

### CULT

In 1155 a large number of bones from a forgotten cemetery were discovered at Cologne. These were interpreted as RELICS of the princess and her companions. A cult evolved in the Rhineland, the Low Countries, and VENICE. Ursula became a patron saint of educational institutions for girls. She and her martyrdom became the subject of numerous paintings in Northern Europe and the famous series created about 1490 by Vittore Carpaccio (ca. 1460–ca. 1525) in Venice. Her feast day, October 21, was suppressed in 1969.

**Further reading:** C. M. Kauffmann, *The Legend of Saint Ursula* (London: H.M.S.O., 1964).

**usury** Usury initially referred to the charging of any interest at all for any sort of loan. It did not have to be excessive. The prohibition of usury was based on Scripture, which forbade the exploitation of those in desperate need. Its prohibition was common to Christians, Muslims, and JEWS. The prohibition was linked then with the principles of JUSTICE and CHARITY. With the commercial and business development of the 12th century, the legitimacy of loan contracts began to be based on and determined by what was given and what was received in exchange. One could not licitly receive more. Usury could occur when nothing was actually produced, added, or transformed for example, in the process of investing in enterprises. One was not to charge for the use of money or of time, which actually belonged to GOD. Money was not fruitful or fungible and was thus incapable of producing anything. It was at best only a medium of exchange. One perhaps could collect it from enemies or maybe even foreigners, the sin then would be avarice, that is, an offense against justice, rather like theft.

Usurers were certainly endangering their salvation and REDEMPTION while risking graphic and unpleasant punishments in the afterlife unless they returned any

gains to those from whom they had collected them. Excommunicated and banned from Christian BURIAL usurers could lose their ill-gotten gains to confiscations by the state. The WILLS of the LAITY were scrutinized for repayments for usury in the later Middle Ages. Various commercial devices and legalistic and moral arguments were developed to handle covert charging of interest and to justify certain ways of collecting interest. However, the prohibition of usury remained a staple subject of sermons throughout this period. In time the definitions and penalties became more flexible. In the context of economic and moral realities, profit, even certain gain, from business activity was permitted or deemed marginally licit, especially if joint risk could be suggested. Nevertheless, one could be called to the attention of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities if perceived as too rapacious and exploitative of other people or of those in genuine need.

### THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, MUSLIMS, AND JEWS

In the BYZANTINE EMPIRE usury was handled in much the same way. JEWS were sometimes allowed to practice it,



Usurers suffer in hell, from Jean Gerson, *Le Trésor de Sapience*, Ms. 146 (15th century), Musée Condé, Chantilly, France (Giraudon / Art Resource)

disguising it in ways similar to those devised by Christians. Such actually rare activity, by then surfaced in the popular rationale of anti-Jewish riots and pogroms. For Muslims usury, or *riba*, was also defined as “the charging of interest on a loan,” which was forbidden in the QURAN in very clear terms. Its prohibition was only partially enforced and various devices or *hiyal* were employed to give it some kind of cover. The argument of equality of risk and profit of the partners to a transaction was used to justify investment and banking activities. For ISLAM MONEY also had no time value.

See also BANKS AND BANKING; ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; MERCHANTS.

**Further reading:** John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970); John T. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969); Benjamin Nelson, *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); John T. Noonan Jr., *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957); Abraham L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

**Uthman ibn Affan (Othman)** (r. 644–656) *companion of the Prophet, third caliph*

Uthman was a member of the Umayyad clan, a family who initially opposed MUHAMMAD. A wealthy MERCHANT, Uthman, among the first converts to ISLAM, married two daughters of Muhammad, Ruqayya (d. 624) and then Umm Kulthum (d. 630). He played a minor role in the growth of Islam while Muhammad was still alive and did not take part in the battles, being famously wary of bloodshed then and during his reign. Despite his lack of experience, he was elected caliph by a committee appointed by his predecessor, UMAR I, on his deathbed in 644. He was perhaps the only alternative to ALI IBN ABU TALIB.

Muslim historians have tended to view Uthman's 12-year reign as six years of good rule and six years of bad rule. Not much of an administrator, he had a religious vision and made the first efforts to standardize the sacred text of the QURAN and attempted to have all the variant collections destroyed. His name remained on that version of the text. He was accused of ruling ineptly, making illegal and arbitrary grants of lands, and practicing nepotism by appointing many relatives to high positions. Uthman was then faced with strong popular discontent that led to a military mutiny. He was assassinated in MEDINA in 656. The nomination of Ali as his successor led to the first civil war in Islam.

**Further reading:** “Wilfred Madelung, Uthmān: The Vicegerent of God and the Reign of Abd Shams,” in *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 78–140; W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1998).

**utraquists and utraquism** Utraquism in the Middle Ages was the belief that it was permissible and preferable to receive communion or the Eucharist in both kinds or under both species. In other words, the LAITY could, and should, receive at communion both the consecrated bread and the wine, or the body and the blood of Christ. This concept was one of the few common points among the different sects of Hussites in BOHEMIA and MORAVIA. It was the main difference that they had with the rest of the church under the leadership of the pope. The Catholic Church of the time allowed only the bread to be given to the lay communicant. Only the priest partook of both species a tradition called subunism.

The Councils of CONSTANCE in 1415 and BASEL in 1432 both condemned utraquism. To the Hussites, utraquism confirmed the equality of all Christians before GOD. It was also justifiable to them as a practice of the early church. The first distribution of communion in both kinds to Czech lay people took place in the autumn of 1414. Taking the chalice became one of the essential points of the Hussite program in the *Four Articles of Prague* of 1420.

The utraquists did not consider themselves to be in heresy from the Roman church, but only more perfect Catholics. A more moderate group was called the Calixtines, referring to the Latin word for the “chalice.” The success of utraquism became tied to the course of the Hussite wars in Bohemia. After the defeat of the most radical wing of the utraquists at the Battle of Lipany in 1435, a pact worked out in 1436 limited utraquist practice to Bohemia and Moravia. Pope PIUS II later cancelled this permission in 1462; but it was maintained by the Bohemian Diet until 1567. The idea lived on among the Moravian Brethren and resurfaced in various reform movements of the 16th century.

See also HUS, JOHN; SEVEN SACRAMENTS; TABORITES.

**Further reading:** Frantisek Michálek Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424–1437*, trans. John M. Klassen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Howard Kaminisky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Josef Macek, *The Hussite Movement in Bohemia* (New York: AMS Press, 1980); David V. Zdeněk, *Finding the Middle Way: the Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

# V

**Valdemar I the Great** See WALDEMAR I THE GREAT.

**Valdemar II the Conqueror** See WALDEMAR II THE CONQUEROR.

**Valencia** Medieval Valencia was the capital of the agriculturally rich Valencia region in eastern SPAIN on the Mediterranean. The VISIGOTHS conquered this Roman colony in 413. The Muslims captured it in 714 and made it the capital of a Muslim kingdom on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. It was attacked by the Christians in 1065 and taken by RODRIGO DÍAZ DE VIVAR, the Cid, in 1094 but was lost to the ALMORAVIDS in 1102. It fell permanently into the hands of the Aragonese in 1238 under JAMES I the Conqueror and became the center of a new Christian kingdom of Valencia. The city and region were incorporated into the state of CASTILE and ARAGON in 1479.

Muslims remained numerous in the city there, though their number slowly shrank over the centuries. They maintained links with other Muslims on the coast of North AFRICA and the kingdom of GRANADA. Jewish communities in the city and region were weakened by the riots of 1391 and the conversions of 1412–13. King FERDINAND II was more tolerant of both minorities, but as his kingdom became more integrated with that of ISABEL I OF CASTILE, conditions for these minorities deteriorated markedly and ended in expulsion on March 31, 1492. Assisted by the lingering presence of the commercial links of the expelled JEWS and Muslims, the economy of Valencia prospered in the period before 1500, especially in commerce, trade in foodstuffs, shipbuilding, and paper making.

The first printing press in Spain was established in Valencia in 1474. MERCHANTS dominated the local government and put heavy restrictions on the local craft GUILDS and artisans, generating considerable class and social tension. The tax burden increased greatly over the last years of the 15th century to pay for the conquest of Granada in 1492.

See also IRRIGATION.

**Further reading:** Robert Ignatius Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders, Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press 1973); Robert Ignatius Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); Robert Ignatius Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Thomas F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970); Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

**Valhalla (Valhöll, the Hall of the Slain, Carrion Hall)** The mythical Valhalla was the great hall of the high god Odin in Asgard, the citadel of gods, and the home to the souls of brave warriors killed in battle. Chosen by Odin and led to Valhalla by the VALKYRIES, they were welcomed by Bragi, the Norse god of poetry. Valhalla's roof was made of spears, and the interior of the hall itself

was covered with shields and coats of mail. There were 640 doors through which the warriors would pour out to do battle with one another every day. If they were killed, they were restored to life in order to spend the night feasting on the flesh of a boar and drinking mead with Odin, while still served by the valkyries. This daily everlasting battle was to end only at Ragnarok or "the Doom or Twilight of the Gods," when the human warriors would join the gods to do battle with giants, actually a cataclysmic battle between good and evil. In pagan times Valhalla may have originated as a symbol of a grave due a great warrior rather than a kind of Paradise. Nearby was the hall for the righteous, Gimli.

**Further reading:** H. R. Ellis Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964).

**Valkyrie (Walkyrie, Chooser of the Slain)** They were the mythical maiden warriors who lived with the high god Odin in VALHALLA. Odin decided the outcome of battles and who was to fall and who survive. The souls of the braves were chosen by him to join him in Valhalla. The valkyries hovered over these battles and carried the chosen warriors to Valhalla, giving them cups of mead on their arrival and thereafter. Odin could give valkyries as brides to warrior kings who had merited it and had worshiped him as their protector god. Present in many Scandinavian legends valkyries could appear as both fearsome supernatural beings and humans. Valkyries were sometimes called shield maidens or *skjaldmcer*, a term that was also used in legendary literature for human female warriors.

*See also* ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Theodore Murdock Anderson, *The Legend of Brynhild* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980); Helen Damico, *Beowulf's Wealhtheow and the Valkyrie Tradition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

**Valla, Lorenzo** (1407–1457) *humanist*

Born to a family of jurists at ROME in 1407, Lorenzo Villa was ordained a priest in 1431. Even when he was only 20 years old, his critical humanist studies were provocative. His first work, a comparison of Cicero and Quintilian, earned him the lasting enmity of Poggio BRACCIOLINI who prevented him from obtaining his long-desired papal curial post.

Lorenzo left Rome and became a professor of rhetoric at the University of Pavia but had to leave that town in March 1433 because he attacked the legal scholarship of BARTOLO of Sassoferrato. He then became a secretary to King ALFONSO V in NAPLES and later a scribe in the papal court. Both Alfonso and Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) later had to defend him against charges of HERESY. Despite these problems, from 1455 he

was supported by the revenues of numerous BENEFICES, including a canonry of Saint John Lateran in Rome.

#### LITERARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The INQUISITION had attacked Lorenzo's philosophical opinions and his view on the origin at the first council of NICAEA of the Apostle's Creed. His treatise on the eloquence of the Latin language was the first work to describe the history of Latin. This attention to philology led him to denounce the authenticity of the DONATION of Constantine in 1440 at the request of Alfonso V. He showed that the donation was a much later creation, probably done for the benefit of papal temporal power. He also corrected Saint Jerome's Latin translation of the New Testament in 1442, criticized SCHOLASTICISM and its methods, and completed philosophical and theological works on will, historical biography of Alfonso, and translations of the Greek authors Homer, Xenophon, Aesop, Thucydides, and Herodotus. He died in Rome on August 1, 1457.

*See also* BRUNI, LEONARDO; FILELFO, FRANCESCO; VULGATE.

**Further reading:** Lorenzo Valla, *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine*, trans. Christopher B. Coleman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in Association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1993); Maristella di Panizza Lorch, *A Defense of Life: Lorenzo Valla's Theory of Pleasure* (Munich: W. Fink Verlag, 1985); Charles Edward Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Charles Edward Trinkaus, *Adversity's Noblemen: The Italian Humanists on Happiness* (1940; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1965).

**Valladolid** This city in northwestern SPAIN, called Belad Ulid by the Muslims, was founded anew in the second half of the 11th century as part of the program of repopulating Christians into the Duero Valley. Set in a region rich in corn, wines, and pasture, it became a principal town of the royal domain and remained loyal to the Crown of CASTILE, becoming the royal residence. Laws imposed by the Crown in 1265 strengthened the alliance with the royal government and confirmed the power of a small patriciate, who then organized themselves into two groups of factions to share government jobs.

In the late 13th century, Valladolid obtained a larger administrative region and built a wall that enclosed 13 parishes and numerous convents. ALFONSO X created a university that received papal recognition in 1346. Between 1258 and 1506, there were 19 meetings of the Castilian CORTES and Valladolid (as the capital of the realm) usually served as a royal residence, a site for the royal courts of justice, and the location of the chancery. The Jewish community, once large, gradually declined as synagogues were destroyed in 1367 and later when Jews

were attacked by the sermons of Vincent FERRER. Their persecution by the INQUISITION continued even after many converted to Christianity. Valladolid remained an important administrative center until the Spanish capital was moved to MADRID in the 16th century.

See also RECONQUEST.

**Further reading:** Albert Frederick Calvert, *Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila, and Zaragoza: An Historical and Descriptive Account* (London: J. Lane, 1908).

**Vallombrosa** The Vallombrosan order of monks was established in the 11th century by John Gualbert (ca. 995–1073) as part of the GREGORIAN REFORM, under the influence of CLUNY, and as part of the reform of eremetical MONASTICISM. The Vallombrosans started out as a community of hermits who, grouping together from 1036, committed themselves to communal or coenobitic living. The congregation began with the donation of the mountainous territory of Vallombrosa in the Tuscan Apennines about 20 miles east of FLORENCE at an altitude of 3,000 feet. John Gualbert became prior in about 1040. Its rule and organization were approved by Pope URBAN II in 1090. Life at Vallombrosa was that of a community who alternated stays in the monastery and in individual hermitages. The Vallombrosans observed the Benedictine Rule but did no work outside the enclosure and remained extreme centralized under a single abbot who was elected for life. They employed lay brothers as workers, who also fielded outside affairs. The order spread into the rest of ITALY and into FRANCE. By the mid-13th century, the congregation had 79 abbeys, 29 priories, and nine monasteries of NUNS.

**Further reading:** George W. Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000–1320* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

**Valois dynasty** The Valois, named after the county of Valois near PARIS, were the reigning dynasty in FRANCE from 1328 to 1589, eventually divided into three lines in 1498. The first Valois, Philip VI (r. 1328–50), was the closest male relation of the last direct CAPETIAN, Charles IV (r. 1322–28). The English king, EDWARD III, was a more direct descendant, but through the female line; he was therefore excluded in succession by the Salic Law, which did not allow succession through the female line. This dynastic dispute became a main factor in the first phase of the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR. CHARLES V and CHARLES VII were successful Valois kings who presided over French recoveries during the Hundred Years' War. LOUIS XI in the second half of the 15th century contributed to the growth and consolidation of the French state.

Despite temporary reverses and setbacks, the Valois enlarged the royal domain by adding the great fiefs of BRITTANY and the Bourbonnais in the 16th century as well as principalities from the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE such a

Dauphiné and PROVENCE. Their meddling in Italian affairs led to the introduction of many of the ideas associated with the Italian RENAISSANCE to France. They were the patrons of important artists such as Jean FOUQUET and the LIMBOURG BROTHERS.

**Further reading:** Keith Cameron, ed., *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989); Kenneth Alan Fowler, *The Age of Plantagenet and Valois: The Struggle for Supremacy, 1328–1498* (New York: Putnam, 1967); P. S. Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968).

**Vandals** The Vandals were a notoriously ruthless Germanic tribe who founded a kingdom in northern AFRICA. They seem to have originated in Scandinavia, probably DENMARK, then moved to Silesia and modern eastern POLAND. Driven toward the Western Empire by the HUNS, they crossed through FRANCE and entered SPAIN between 406 and 409. There one branch, the Silingis, were attacked and almost totally wiped out in fighting with the VISIGOTHS between 415 and 418. The remnants of the Silingis united with another branch, the Hasdings.

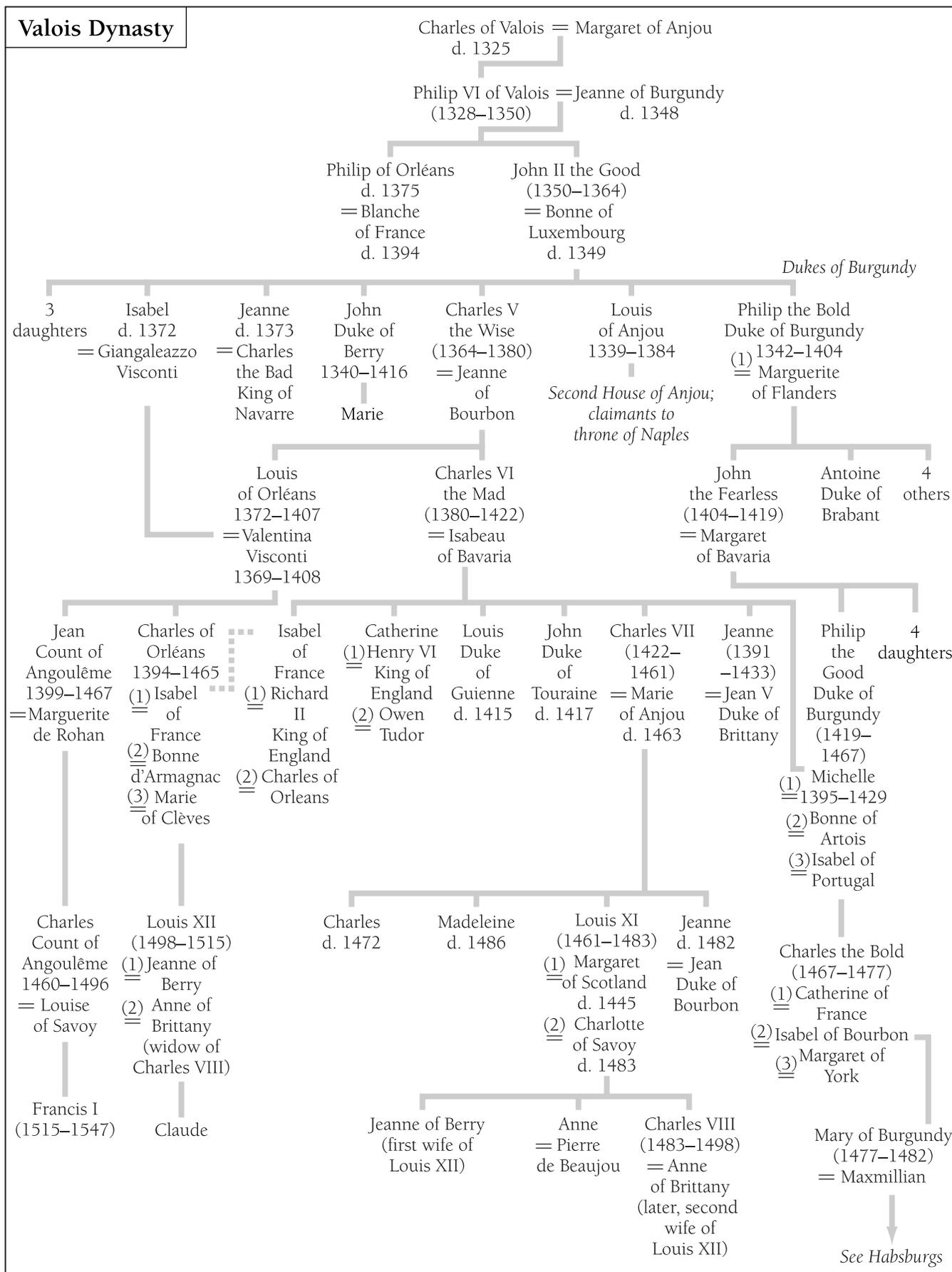
#### CONQUEST OF NORTH AFRICA

Their king GAISERIC led them, perhaps as many as 80,000, to North Africa in about 428. There they were reluctantly accepted by the local Romans as allies. In 439 Gaiseric overthrew the Roman regime and established a Vandal state with Carthage as its capital. This was recognized by the Romans in a treaty in 442. The Vandals expropriated land around Carthage but retained Roman institutions in the rest of the country. They did not, however, mix with the local Catholic population and preserved their zealous ARIAN beliefs.

Gaiseric constructed a strong centralized state and established an unquestioned succession for his son. The Vandals developed a powerful fleet and controlled much of the western Mediterranean Sea. From North Africa they conquered the BALEARIC ISLANDS, SARDINIA, CORSICA, and parts of SICILY. They even sacked ROME in 455, linking their name with wanton destruction.

#### FALL OF THE VANDALS

After Gaiseric's death in 477, the Vandals abandoned wars and piracy, which had been substantial sources of income. Fierce persecutions of Catholics followed in around 484. Their later kings were unable to control the Berber tribes, who grew more and more aggressive in their raiding. King Hilderic (r. 523–530) established peaceful relations with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE and increased toleration for Roman and Greek Christianity. His overthrow by Gelimer (r. 530–533/534) in 530 became the pretext for a Byzantine invasion of Africa in 533 by BELISARIUS who easily defeated the Vandal army and made most of the males



slaves or soldiers for the wars against the Persians thus ending the Vandal kingdom.

See also GOTHs; OSTROGOTHs.

**Further reading:** Averil Cameron, "Vandal and Byzantine Africa," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 14, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 552–569; F. M. Clover, *The Late Roman West and the Vandals* (London: Ashgate, 1993); Malcolm Todd, *The Early Germans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Malcolm Todd, *The Northern Barbarians, 100 BC–AD 300*, rev. ed. (New York: B. Blackwell, 1987); J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West, 400–1000*, rev. ed. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1996); Lucien Musset, *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, AD 400–600*, trans. Edward and Columba James (1969; reprint, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975).

**Van der Weyden, Rogier** See WEYDEN, ROGIER VAN DER.

**Van Eyck** See EYCK, HUBERT VAN, AND EYCK, JAN VAN.

### Varangians and Varangian Guard (the Sworn Men)

The Varangians were initially in Scandinavian sources designated as trusted MERCHANTS or trusted soldiers who were affiliated by an OATH to some kind of traveling group. The Varangians at first seem mainly to have been traders moving by boat who were forced by their dangerous business expeditions to arm themselves. They were soon defined and employed as mercenary soldiers, who became famous for their reliability and valor. At CONSTANTINOPLE they formed a particular, fierce, and elite regiment detailed to guard personally the emperor. For the BYZANTINE EMPIRE the Varangians were associated with Russians, but by the 11th century they also included NORMANS. At various times they were also enlisted to overthrow emperors.

Russian princes had also frequently employed Varangian mercenaries in their conflicts with each another or on distant expeditions. The name was also associated in general ways with the founders of the new Russian or Ruś kingdom.

See also KIEV AND KIEVAN RUŚ; NOVGOROD; RURIK; VIKINGS.

**Further reading:** Sigfús Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium: an Aspect of Byzantine Military History*, trans., rev., and rewritten by Benedikt S. Benedikz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

**Vasco da Gama** (ca. 1469–December 25, 1524) *Portuguese navigator*

Vasco da Gama was born in Sines in southwest PORTUGAL in about 1469. The king of Portugal, Manuel I

(r. 1495–1521), commissioned him to lead an expedition to follow the route found by Bartholomew DIAZ around AFRICA to India. A nobleman, he was an experienced soldier and trained navigator who proved to be a tough, arrogant, intelligent, and compassionate commander. He left LISBON on July 8, 1497, with four ships manned by 170 sailors and equipped with translators and trinkets for trade. Sailing far out into the Atlantic to take best advantage of the prevailing winds, he rounded the Cape on November 18, 1497, and sailed up the coast of eastern Africa. Hiring a pilot from a local sultan, he sailed across the Indian Ocean and made landfall near Calicut, or present-day Kozhikode in Kerala in India, on May 18, 1498. He spent three months there and, having lost his pilot, was barely able to cross back over the Indian Ocean, with little actually to show from his time in India. He reached Portugal in early September 1499 with only 54 of his original crew left. He had reached India, however.

In 1502 he returned to India to establish colonies en route and there. He managed to establish Portuguese dominance in the Indian Ocean by winning several battles and showing no mercy to those who opposed him. After returning to Portugal, he retired with much honor. Called out of retirement 20 years later, he was made viceroy of India. He died in Goa on December 25, 1524, soon after his return.

**Further reading:** Vasco da Gama, *A Journal of the First Voyage*, ed. E. G. Ravenstein (London: Hakluyt Society, 1898); G. R. Crone, *The Discovery of the East* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), especially "Vasco da Gama Reaches Calicut," 27–39; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**vassalage** See FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

**vaults** See GOTHIC.

**vellum** See PARCHMENT.

**Venerable Bede** See BEDE THE VENERABLE, SAINT.

**venial sin** See SIN.

**Venice** A city in northeastern ITALY, Venice was first established on some 118 small islands in the middle of a lagoon in the sixth century as a refuge from invaders. People from the coastal area between RAVENNA and Aquileia fled there to avoid dominance first by the HUNS and then by the OSTROGOTHs. These early settlements, living off fishing and the production of SALT, were much expanded during the Lombard invasions of the later sixth century as more people fled out to them. The Venetian



Venice, Italy, Saint Mark's Square (Courtesy Library of Congress)

villages maintained their links with the BYZANTINES in Ravenna, although by the eighth century this tie had become theoretical since the locals had begun electing their own leader, the doge, in 697.

#### GROWTH IN TRADE AND COMMERCE

Between the eighth and 11th centuries, the core of Venice was fixed around the islands around the Rialto which dominated the rest of the island settlements. Venetian MERCHANTS stole the RELICS or body of the evangelist Saint Mark from ALEXANDRIA in 828 and Mark became the patron saint of the town. His relics were kept in the chapel of the doge's fortress, which became the basilica of Saint Mark. The institutions of the government with the doge as the chief executive became more elaborate during these centuries. A merchant elite grew and elected the doge and

many members of the administration. Although this elite had some possessions on the mainland, their real wealth arose from the growing commerce and shipping industries of the town. They benefited greatly from their position as the trading link between East and West, especially in terms of slaves, wood, SPICES, SILKS, salt, and fish. They developed a strong fleet to protect their interests in the Adriatic Sea and eastern Mediterranean. They cooperated with the Byzantines in controlling the Adriatic and its coasts, battling SLAVS, Croats, and Dalmatians. At the same time the town remained autonomous from outside authority.

Early in the 12th century, with the success of the First CRUSADE, the Venetians acquired the ports and privileges in the Latin East essential for transport and trade there. Merchants developed extensive ties all over the eastern Mediterranean and devised new ways of organizing their

capital and their businesses. They at least equaled the economic success of their rivals in PISA and GENOA. In the Fourth Crusade, with the terrible sack of CONSTANTINOPLE in April 1204, which they manipulated to their advantage, they acquired a large section of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE in GREECE itself and around the whole Aegean Sea.

#### DOMINATING TRADE WITH THE EAST

Venice reached the height of its prosperity in the following centuries as its fleet and merchants dominated the TRADE with the East. The area around the island of the Rialto became the core of the city as of remains, with a population between 80,000 and 100,000 living along a complex system of canals. By the later Middle Ages, Venice had developed a complex electoral system that rotated political offices among its 200 elite or oligarchic families. This system produced a remarkably stable government and set of commercial policies, though this point has been overemphasized by historians. The state consistently participated in actual business and protected commerce. The Venetian church was notoriously independent of outside influences, including the PAPACY.

In the 15th century, the city turned to acquiring towns and land on the mainland or *terrafirma* of Italy. This trend led to endless wars with the city-states of the region such as PADUA and VERONA, and with the dukes of MILAN such as the VISCONTI and SFORZA. The Venetians intended to secure foodstuffs to feed the city and to protect their overland trade route to northern Europe. With the rise of the OTTOMAN TURKS in the 15th century, they had to protect their colonies in the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Turks deprived them of another market and set of trading concessions. They then made many arrangements with the Turks and preserved many of their colonies in Greece, CYPRUS, and CRETE almost until the 16th century.

#### WARFARE, NEW INDUSTRY, AND ART

From the 1450s to the 1490s, Italy benefited from a few decades of diminished WARFARE. This changed in the 1490s, as French invasions led to major wars after 1500 that required Venice to work hard to maintain its independence. At home the Venetians developed local industries such as glass, wool, cloth, tourism, PRINTING, and leather making in the years leading up to 1500. The great wealth of the city produced a distinctive art, sculpture, and architecture. In the simplest terms they were mixtures of BYZANTINE and even Islamic styles, combined with the developing ROMANESQUE and GOTHIC of the rest of Western Europe. Venetian PAINTING became famous for its use of light and color and its portrayal of space.

See also BARI; BELLINI FAMILY; BLACK SEA; DALMATIA; DANDOLO, ENRICO, DOGE OF VENICE; DUBROVNIK; FOSCARI, FRANCESCO; GLASSWARE; LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE; LATIN STATES IN GREECE; MARCO POLO; SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING.

**Further reading:** Patricia Fortini Brown, *Art and Life in Renaissance Venice* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1997); Richard G. Goy, *Venice, the City and Its Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 1997); Christopher Hibbert, *Venice: The Biography of a City* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); Garry Wills, *Venice: Lion City, The Religion of Empire* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001); Alvise Zorzi, *Venice: The Golden Age, 697–1797*, trans. Nicoletta Simborowski and Simon Mackenzie (New York: Abbeville, 1980).

**Verdun, Treaty of** The Treaty of Verdun was drawn up in 843 to settle a devastating dynastic civil war among the grandsons of CHARLEMAGNE. It was written in two languages, which resembled medieval French and German. It divided the empire into three kingdoms. CHARLES I THE BALD was granted the kingdom of the West FRANKS, NEUSTRIA, AQUITAINE, and the Spanish March. Its eastern frontier was along the Schilt, Saône, and Rhone Rivers. This region, primarily speaking languages related to Latin, became the historic kingdom of FRANCE. Louis the German (r. 840–855) was to rule the eastern Frankish kingdom, which consisted of the four duchies of FRANCONIA, SAXONY, BAVARIA, and SWABIA, the future kingdom of GERMANY. Lothair (r. 840–855) the eldest, inherited the imperial title and the territory known as the Middle Kingdom or Francia Media, a long, incoherent stretch of land running from the North Sea to south of Rome, which included Lorraine, BURGUNDY, SWITZERLAND, and most of ITALY. Although even for the ninth century it was somewhat contrived, the Treaty of Verdun established a precedent for future political patterns. It also produced a permanent fragmentation of Europe. It did not end the dynastic wars.

See also CAROLINGIAN FAMILY AND DYNASTY; FONTENAY, BATTLE OF; LOUIS I THE PIOUS.

**Further reading:** Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983).

**vernacular** For the period up to 1500 and beyond, the vernacular languages were the popular spoken languages of the Latin West. In Western Europe up to 1300, these languages were distinct from LATIN, subordinate to it for literature and learning, and were mostly confined to speech or rare documentary needs. Latin was the language of the élite culture of CHRISTENDOM and the church. The application of such a classification rests on an overly neat binary opposition involving dominant and dominated, standardized and disordered, grammatical and without grammar, and unity and plurality.

Among the other languages of the medieval world, there were a learned and religious language such as

Arabic or Greek and other regional languages with various histories spoken by the majority of the population. Many people always had to speak Latin, Greek, or Arabic in their daily life. Everywhere there were local dialects with some similarities to one another but often mutually incomprehensible. Urban dialects differed from rural ones, and other variations were attributable to social class and degree of literacy in any particular region.

In Anglo-Saxon ENGLAND and the Scandinavian countries, Germanic vernaculars early on produced rich literatures. In Western Europe after 1300, literature in languages other than Latin became more respected and acceptable. Latin, Greek, and Arabic retained their importance as languages of culture and religion. In Slavic and Germanic regions, languages evolved out of spoken forms for specialized use in religion, culture, and governmental administration. All became more standardized in vocabulary, syntax, and grammar.

See also ALIGHIERI, DANTE; ANGLO-SAXONS; ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE; LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson, and Nancy Bradley Warren, eds., *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Nicholas Brooks, ed., *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982); A. J. Minnis, ed., *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989); Colin C. Smith, "The Vernacular," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. David Abulafia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 71–83; Philippe Wolff, *Western Languages, A.D. 100–1500*, trans. Frances Partridge (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

**Verona** A city on the Adige River in northern ITALY, medieval Verona was at the crossroads of routes between the Po Valley, the Alps, and Eastern Europe. It was an important town under the Roman Empire and for the OSTROGOTHS. In the Lombard era between 569 and 774, the ARIANISM of the town was suppressed, and under the Carolingians the Benedictine monasteries of San Zeno and Santa Maria in Organo were established. Verona became a center of power for the German emperors and remained a supporter of imperial policies. By the end of the 11th century, the economy and population continued to benefit from the town's strategic commercial location and the growth of the textile industry. Its population grew to around 35,000 to 40,000 in the early 14th century.

A COMMUNE was formed in 1136. Though opposed to FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA it was supportive of FREDERICK II. By the 13th century, the city was dominated by tyrants such as Ezzelino III da Romano (1194–1259). A Ghi-

belline and antipapal policy prevailed under the lordship of the Della Scala and the Scaligeri between 1277 and 1387. After the fall of the Della Scala, who had built impressive monuments to themselves, Verona was dominated by the VISCONTI of MILAN between 1387 and 1404. It finally was taken over by the republic of VENICE in 1405.

**Further reading:** Rather of Verona, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, trans. and ed. Peter L. D. Reid (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991); Rolandino Potavino, *The Chronicles of the Trevisan March*, trans. Joseph R. Berrigan (Lawrence, Kan. Coronado, 1980); A. M. Allen, *A History of Verona*, ed. Edward Armstrong (London: Methuen, 1910); Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); Alethea Wiel, *The Story of Verona* (1902; reprint, Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1971).

**vespers** Vespers was an evening service at sundown performed by both the Eastern and Western Churches. It was one of the oldest and most important parts of the DIVINE OFFICE. The name was derived from the Latin word for the last hours of the day. It began as a Jewish and early Christian blessing of the lamps lighted as evening began. In earlier terms, it referred to the sacrifice of the burning of incense every evening in the temple. Christianity changed this evening sacrifice into a hymn of praise in memory of the Passion of Christ and the Last Supper. A distinctly Christian form of evening prayer evolved in the third century. In the Middle Ages it consisted of an introduction, five psalms, a short reading from Scripture, a hymn, the end of the Magnificat, prayers for various purposes, a homily, and concluding verses. By the sixth century, from the inception of the Benedictine Rule, vespers had acquired a customary and basic form, which was followed during the rest of the Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study of the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office* (London: Published for the Alcuin Club by SPCK, 1981); Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1986).

**Vespers, Sicilian** See SICILIAN VESPERS.

**vestments, liturgical** In the Middle Ages liturgical vestments were the distinctive dress worn by the CLERGY when performing the services of the church. This dress derived from the ordinary secular costume of the world of the late Roman Empire. Between the fourth and the ninth centuries, a specific priestly costume for sacred

functions evolved. At the same time, the LAITY abandoned long tunics and cloaks, but their use continued in the services of the church. By the 10th century, the principal liturgical vestments and their use had become established in the Western Church, and there were only minor changes in these costumes from the 13th century. Surplices, loose white garments with wide sleeves, were introduced as a substitute for albs or longer, tight-fitting gowns, for many occasions. The chasuble, similar to a cloak, were mainly reserved for the celebration of MASS. The tunic, similar to an overcoat, became the distinctive vestment of the subdeaconate, a lower clerical order on the way to the priesthood. During the same period, bishops, demonstrating an enhanced importance, began to wear additional and more prestigious vestments such as luxurious sandals, miters, and gloves. The vestments of the Eastern Church were similar to those of the Western, but a few differed: the dalmatic, worn over a tunic, was not used in the East, and the epigonation, a stiff lozenge-shaped vestment, was not worn in the West.

See also CLOTHING AND COSTUME.

**Further reading:** Robert Lesage, *Vestments and Church Furniture*, trans. Fergus Murphy (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1960); Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1984); Cyril Edward Pocknee, *Liturgical Vesture: Its Origins and Development* (London: Mowbray, 1960); Roger E. Reynolds, *Law and Liturgy in the Latin Church, Fifth–Twelfth Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994).

**Vézelay, Church of La Madeleine** Founded about 860 by the legendary Girard de Roussillon, this church had its beginnings as a Benedictine monastery in northern BURGUNDY. Girard had supposedly placed it under the direct protection of the pope in ROME. After the first monastery and church were devastated in a VIKING raid, it was moved to the top of Mount Scorpion and was transferred to the jurisdiction of CLUNY, which promoted its development as a PILGRIMAGE site devoted to Mary Magdalene in the mid-11th century.

As the starting point of one of the four routes to SAN-TIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, Vézelay earned great prosperity but also envy among the nearby bishop of Autun and the counts of Nevers. Actual battles were fought and an abbot was assassinated in 1106. Despite these problems, in 1146 BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX preached the Second CRUSADE there. The link to Cluny was abolished in 1159. RICHARD I LIONHEART and PHILIP II AUGUSTUS met there to set out for the Third CRUSADE. Thomas BECKET antagonized HENRY II by preaching against the king there shortly before his murder in 1170. King LOUIS IX stopped there several times to pray and mediate local conflicts. He was in attendance in 1267 for a solemn recognition of the RELICS of Mary Magdalene, long certified as authentic by a papal bull in 1058. These conflicts, however, did not

diminish the church's attraction for pilgrims during the later Middle Ages.

#### REMNANTS AND BUILDING HISTORY

Of the Benedictine monastery, there has remained only the abbey church, which was restored by Prosper Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc in the 19th century. There were fires in 1120 in the NAVE and in 1165 in the CRYPT. Its three aisles had to be rebuilt between 1120 and 1140, and high windows and groined vaults were also constructed. In the 12th century there were also built in the Gothic style a NARTHEX, a chapel to Saint Michael on the upper story, and the celebrated tympanum showing Christ judging souls. The crypt and nave were rebuilt between 1170 and 1220, and the heavy Romanesque buttresses were reinforced by flying buttresses. Its rich collection of sculptures of biblical subjects, lives of the saints, and odd pagan themes inside has not been much restored.

See also ROMANESQUE ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** Hugh of Poitiers, *The Vézelay Chronicle and Other Documents from MS. Auxerre 227 and Elsewhere*, trans. John Scott and John O. Ward (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992); Robert Branner, *BURGUNDIAN GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1985); Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Véronique Rouchon-Mouilleron, *Vézelay: The Great Romanesque Church*, trans. Laurel Hirsch (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999).

**vicar** During the Middle Ages vicars were the replacements for clerics who wished to be absent from their appointments. Vicars were provided with powers that were extensive but revocable at the will of the holder of the office of BENEFICE. For parishes this meant the PRIEST covering for the nonresident parish priest, with whom he had agreed to a contract for one or two years, subject to approval by the local bishop. The vicar collected all the revenues, took on the care of souls or sacramental responsibilities for the parish, lived on the site, and paid rent. Bishops also sometimes had vicars to cover their sacramental and administrative duties. The popes sent out vicars-general to look after their affairs in particular places, attend councils and synods, and oversee the local clergy.

These situations did not always produce good or even adequate pastoral care. There was considerable concern for abuses in reform legislation, but vicars were a valuable way of freeing the clergy for other duties while providing their substitutes and themselves with reliable incomes at the same time.

**Further reading:** F. Donald Logan, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2002); Joseph H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992).

vices See VIRTUES AND VICIES.

**Vienna** Vienna is the present capital of AUSTRIA. In the Middle Ages, it owed its late prosperity to the HABSBURGS, who made this town the center of their territorial and dynastic possessions around the Alps, BAVARIA, and BOHEMIA. It was always a center of transit and exchange between the West and the Byzantine East through the Balkans. During the Roman Empire it was called Vin-dobona and was a strategic town of the Danubian line of fortification. By 395 it was apparently destroyed and mostly abandoned.

The town disappeared from history, except for a possible visit by CHARLEMAGNE, until 881. By the ninth century there were apparently a church and a market there. In 1156 it was made the capital of the Eastern March; the church and future cathedral of Saint Stephen were documented from 1147. In 1221 the duke of Austria, Leopold VI the Glorious (r. 1198–1230), granted the town its first privileges and a right to hold a market. From the control of the Babenberg family, the town passed in 1251 to the domain of the king of Bohemia, Ottokar II (r. 1251–76). In 1278 the Habsburgs took over, Vienna then lost its status as a free imperial city because of opposition to their rule. The dynasty embarked on a policy determined

to make Vienna their political, intellectual, and monumental center, supporting Habsburg imperial and dynastic plans. They founded a university, the famous ducal college, in 1384.

From 1438 Vienna became a regular residence for the Holy Roman Emperor. In 1469 the town obtained from Pope Paul II (r. 1464–71) a bishopric, for its cathedral, the church of Saint Stephen. Surrounded by extensive walls, Vienna at its height had a population of 50,000 to 60,000 in the later Middle Ages with a strong Jewish presence.

**Further reading:** Gerhard Milchram, ed., *Museum Judenplatz for Medieval Jewish Life in Vienna*, trans. David Gogarty and Nick Somers (Vienna: Pichler Verlag, 2000); Michael H. Shank, *Unless You Believe, You Shall Not Understand: Logic, University, and Society in Late Medieval Vienna* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

**Vikings (Northmen)** The Vikings were Scandinavian sailors, warriors, pirates, raiders, and traders who conducted expeditions of TRADE and plunder all over Europe and even into the Mediterranean between the ninth and 11th centuries. They could be the bloodthirsty raiders of tradition, but they were also skillful traders, artisans, explorers, and settlers who produced a rich vernacular



literature. Their era is said to have begun on June 8, 793, with the sack of Lindisfarne Abbey in Northumbria in northern ENGLAND and to have ended in the mid-11th century with the conquest of England by their descendants the NORMANS. The motivations for this expansion could have been demographic pressure, climate, food needs, and political problems.

The Vikings initially raided near defenseless and wealthy places such as abbeys, nunneries, churches, and cathedrals. They were not always completely destructive and sometimes accomplished commercial exchanges that benefited the other parties. Entrepreneurial Vikings who habitually traveled from place to place were only too ready to turn to looting, however, especially in the ninth century. They moved freely through the Baltic Sea, through modern-day RUSSIA to the BLACK Sea and CONSTANTINOPLE; through the Atlantic to the British Isles, ICELAND, GREENLAND, and even North America; and down the eastern coast of the mainland of Europe and all the way into the Mediterranean.

The Vikings became known and feared almost everywhere along these coasts. On all these travels they mixed adventure, conquest, war, looting, and TRADE. Initially these expeditions were spontaneous, but with the recognition of the possible riches to be collected they became in the ninth century carefully planned military operations.

The Vikings were famous for their navigational abilities and accomplishments and their fast oared and sailing SHIPS and shipbuilding skills. They traded in amber, skins, FURS, precious woods, looted or purchased luxury items, and slaves. In the 10th century, they began to settle down and colonize areas, often expecting and receiving bribes to do so. From 1000 many became Christian by choice or by the force of kings or rulers. The monarchies of the Scandinavian countries were their descendants. The HANSEATIC LEAGUE eventually took over their trading routes and practices in the north.

See also ANGLO-SAXONS; CANUTE II THE GREAT; DENMARK; GOKSTAD SHIP; ICELAND AND ICELANDIC LITERATURE; IRELAND; NORMANDY AND THE NORMANS; NORWAY; OSEBERG FIND OR SHIP; ROLLO; RUSSIA AND RUŚ; SEVILLE, CITY AND KINGDOM OF; SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY; SWEDEN; VALHALLA; VARANGIANS AND VARANGIAN GUARD; VINLAND AND VINLAND SAGAS; WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR.

**Further reading:** Yvest Cohat, *The Vikings: Lords of the Sea*, trans. Ruth Daniel (1987; reprint, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992); Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, rev. ed. (1968; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); R. I. Page, *Chronicles of the Vikings: Records, Memorials, and Myths* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 2d ed., trans. Susan M. Margeson and Kirsten Williams (1987; London: Penguin Books, 1998); see "VIII. Vikings and Northern Europe" in the Bibliography.

**village communities and settlements** Early medieval villages were often small, mobile, and short lived in most of Europe, but less so in the lands of Byzantium in Anatolia and the Near East. From the 11th century such European villages were characterized more by the existence of a settled rural community having legal recognition and an organized agrarian territory with known boundaries. In them a number of functions were carried out such as activities in a religious center or church, funerary rituals and burials in a cemetery, courts for communal and manorial administrative regulation, facilities for the storage of foodstuffs and seeds, centers for artisan production for trade and local use, some defensive capabilities, and locations for economic markets for exchange and for peasant labor. Between 1000 and 1500 they became more elaborate, organized, and settled, in the spots that many have occupied to this day. They had various levels of independence from a lord or an institution, usually a religious one. Their social organization varied, and a village might contain people of several levels of economic and social status from rich peasants to mere serfs.

See also AGRICULTURE; FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; MANORS AND MANORIAL LORDSHIP; PEASANTRY; SERFS AND SERFDOM; VILLEIN AND VILLEINAGE.

**Further reading:** Warren O. Ault, *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England: A Study of Village By-Laws* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972); Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*, trans. Henry Cleere (London: B. T. Batsford, 1985); George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941); J. Ambrose Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organization* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1957).

**Villani, Giovanni** (ca. 1275–1348) and **Matteo** (d. 1363) *Florentine politicians, bankers, historians, chroniclers*

#### GIOVANNI

Giovanni was born the son of Villano de Stoldo in FLORENCE about 1275. He worked at BRUGES between 1302 and 1307 as agent of the Peruzzi Companies. He was an official of the mint in 1316; served as a prior in the city government in 1316–17, 1321–22, and 1328; was an officer of the walls in 1324, sat as a superintendent of gold and silver coinage in 1327–28; and participated in the committee of the COMMUNE for provisioning food in the famine years of 1329–30. He was the superintendent for the construction of baptistery doors between 1330 and 1331. Beyond that, he served in many other capacities during the period 1320–30, obviously extremely familiar with the government of the commune. Giovanni fell political and financial victim to the collapse of the Peruzzi companies in the 1340s, which forced him out of

government and even into a short stay in debtors' prison in February 1346. He died in the Black Death in the summer of 1348.

He claimed he began his *Chronicle* in 1300 after a visit to ROME for the HOLY YEAR and wrote it over an almost 50-year time span in chronological order and using the VERNACULAR. Over time he became more sophisticated as a historian, for instance, including the political and economic role of Florence throughout Europe to provide a context for his discussions of local politics and institutions. He knew his great near-contemporary and politician, the poet Dante ALIGHIERI, and was familiar with the work of BRUNETTO Latini.

### MATTEO

Matteo was a member, as was his brother, Giovanni, of the companies of the Peruzzi and Buonaccorsi and worked for them in NAPLES. His life was equally eventful, but he performed much less government service. He, too, was caught up in the failures of the great banking family companies in the 1340, and his wife, Lisa Buondelmonti, suffered a period of incarceration because of his flight from creditors. In 1362 he was prosecuted on suspicion of Ghibelline sympathies and plots and was forbidden to hold public office. He continued his brother's *Chronicle* from 1348 until his own death in 1363 in a more gloomy and pessimistic style. He also wrote more rhetorical introductions to his chapters, celebrating the virtues he emphasized in them. He died in the second great visitation of the PLAGUE in 1363. His son, Filippo (1325–ca. 1405), added a few more chapters to the *Chronicle* after his father's death.

See also CHRONICLES AND ANNALS; GIANO DELLA BELLA; GUELFs AND Ghibellines.

**Further reading:** Giovanni Villani, *Selections from the First Nine Books of the Croniche florentine of Giovanni Villani: Tr. for the Use of Students of Dante and Others*, ed. P. H. Wicksteed (Westminster: A. Constable, 1897); Louis Green, *Chronicle into History: An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-Century Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); Ferdinand Schevill, *History of Florence, from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1936).

**Villehardouin, Geoffroi de (Geoffroy)** (ca. 1150–ca. 1213) *a leader of the Fourth Crusade, historian*

Geoffroi was probably born near Bar-sur-Aube near Troyes in about 1150 and became a KNIGHT and an official of the count of Champagne. According to his own chronicles he played a prominent role in the organization of the Fourth Crusade and in the diplomatic maneuvering that followed the sack of CONSTANTINOPLE in 1204. Recognized for administrative and military talent, he became the marshal of the Balkan mainland or Romania. From there he led a

few expeditions into BULGARIA. His *Conquest of Constantinople* was a firsthand account by a participant in its decision-making process and the first medieval historical work in Europe written in the VERNACULAR. It is the main, but biased, source for the study of the Fourth Crusade. His attitudes in the history reflect those of French aristocracy of the period. He died about 1213 perhaps in GREECE; his relatives governed a state until the late 13th century.

See also LATIN STATES IN GREECE.

**Further reading:** M. R. B Shaw, trans., *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 29–160; Jeanette M. A. Beer, *Villehardouin: Epic Historian* (Geneva: Droz, 1968); Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, eds., *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

**villein and villeinage** This was a technical and legal tenure involving the personal status of certain “unfree” peasants, primarily in ENGLAND, who owed demeaning, onerous, and uncertain services to their lords as part of their tenure for land. The word existed in France, but French *vileins* were regarded as free in public law. In a complex system of rural property holdings, one might hold one piece of property on terms of villeinage and others for more free or certain terms of payments or services. So a peasant might be villein in some circumstances and not in others. The origins of English villeinage were in the Anglo-Saxon period in England. Then peasants had greater dependence on their lord for land, housing, and protection, accepting from him an uncertain or undefined amount of heavy labor services. This often meant that they worked on the lord's own land for several days a week technically at the will of the lord. In the 12th century, the king's justices determined that this liability to perform labor service at the discretion of the lord was one of the legal signs of status as villeins. Such a tenant who owed so much work per week for the lord on his demesne was a villein. Those who did not owe such services were considered free peasants and accorded more personal legal rights. By the 13th century villeinage was accepted as a hereditary condition of a personal character viewed much as slavery was, thus placing definite limitations on one's freedom. These limitations included the inability to leave one's village, certain undefined labor services, and fiscal liability for such payments of fees for MARRIAGE and even succession to the tenure involved. If one was born a villein, one and one's children would always be villeins. With the demographic collapse of the PLAGUES in the mid-14th century, conditions for their labor and the tenure of workable property had to be improved as supply and demand set better terms of rural work, thus softening villeins' obligations for labor on the estates or demesnes of lords.

See also MANORS AND THE MANORIAL SYSTEM; PEASANTRY; PEASANT REBELLIONS; SERFS AND SERFDOM.

**Further reading:** Rodney H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941); S. H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (London: Macmillan Press, 1995).

**Villon, François** (ca. 1431–after 1463) *Parisian lyric poet* François was born, perhaps, as François de Montcorbier or François des Loges at PARIS in 1431. In March of 1449 he received a bachelor's degree from the University of Paris and was made a master by that institution in 1452. While drinking with some friends in 1455, he fought with a member of the CLERGY, whom he stabbed to death. This led to a temporary banishment, but he received a pardon in January of 1456. He was implicated in a theft at the Collège of NAVARRE that forced him to leave Paris. He was condemned to hang in 1463 and finally banished from Paris.

François disappeared from the historical record after 1463. Despite all this reputation for dissolute friends, crime, and debauchery, he at the same time wrote memorable and personal poetry famous for its compassion for the suffering of humanity and regret for a wasted life. The *Testament* (1461–62) explored DEATH. Villon dealt with his failed love affairs, deception by women, his bungled existence, POVERTY decrepit old age, and dying. This all parodied a typical written testament or last will.

**Further reading:** François Villon, *Complete Works*, trans. Anthony Bonner (New York: D. McKay, 1960); John H. Fox, *The Poetry of Villon* (London: T. Nelson, 1962); Stephen G. Nichols, "François Villon" in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 535–570; Evelyn Birge Vitz, *The Crossroad of Intentions: A Study of Symbolic Expression in the Poetry of François Villon* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974).

**Vincent of Beauvais** (ca. 1190–1264) *French Dominican, writer*

Vincent was born about 1190 in Beauvais in FRANCE. As a Dominican friar from 1220, Vincent of Beauvais was the subprior of the convent of Beauvais founded in 1225 and a visitor at the nearby Cistercian abbey of Royaumont. There he became a close friend of its founder, the king and Saint, LOUIS IX. Under the patronage of the king and his court, he wrote a treatise on the education of noble children between 1247 and 1250, a letter of consolation on the death of the king's eldest son in 1260, and a treatise on the proper conduct of a prince between 1260 and 1262.

Vincent's most important work was the *Speculum maius* (the great mirror), an encyclopedic collection in three parts, *Naturale*, *Doctrinale*, and *Historiale*. He wrote it in the 1240s and 1250s while moving between Paris and Beauvais. A fourth section by another author on moral questions was added later in the century. In it Vincent tried to present in an organized manner the totality of knowledge up to the time of his contemporary Louis IX. He drew on all the written sources accessible to him from antiquity to the present. This work was intended to promote the study and understanding of dogmatic teachings, assist in the instruction of morals, and foster appropriate interpretations of the BIBLE. In other words it was to direct the reader toward REDEMPTION. Vincent incorporated much of the new study of Aristotelian and Jewish-Arabic natural PHILOSOPHY and the teaching of the Dominican and Franciscan masters such as ALBERTUS MAGNUS, Thomas AQUINAS, RAYMOND OF PEÑAFORT, and Alexander of Hales (1170–1245). It amounted to an intellectual tool and a collection and summary of mid-13th-century knowledge and thought a compendium of HAGIOGRAPHY, history, economics, ALCHEMY, and scientific knowledge in some 80 books. It survived in a large number of manuscripts and was translated into French and Flemish. Vincent died in Beauvais in 1264.

**Further reading:** W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits, and J. B. Voorbij, eds., *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great: Studies on the Speculum maius and Its Translations into Medieval Vernaculars* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1986); Astrik L. Gabriel, *The Educational Ideas of Vincent of Beauvais* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962); Joseph M. McCarthy, *Humanistic Emphasis in the Educational Thought of Vincent of Beauvais* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976); Rosemary Barton Tobin, *Vincent of Beauvais' "De eruditione filiorum nobelium": The Education of Women* (New York: P. Lang, 1984).

**vines and vineyards** In the ancient world viticulture had attained a high degree of production and quality. During the Middle Ages, WINE was drunk widely in Western Europe, especially in the south. In Christian worship in the MASS, wine was used and consumed by the celebrant to represent symbolically, and controversially, the actual substance of the blood of Christ. Since it was not easy to transport and very perishable, wherever the climate permitted the cultivation of the grape was extensive, from the 12th and 13th centuries, even in northern countries such as England and in mountainous regions. These marginal vineyards tended to be abandoned in the 14th century as the climate grew colder and population and demand fell.

Viticulture in the Middle Ages did not require large investments of time or financial resources. Peasants and town dwellers cultivated and drank their own production,

as in the present. Certain regions such as TUSCANY produced wine in bulk for sale outside the immediate region because of its reputed high quality. Other regions produced large amounts because their climate was adequate and they had easy access to transport by water.

The significance of the cultivation of grapes in the Middle Ages can also be confirmed by its prominent place in medieval art. The iconography of grapes and vines was employed in decorative motifs and was prominent in activities portrayed in calendars and landscapes. Such biblical episodes as the wedding feast at Cana and the drunkenness of Noah were often portrayed as symbolic of Christ's bounty and didactically represented the dangers of drunkenness.

#### ATTITUDES OF JUDAISM AND ISLAM

Wine also played a prominent role in Jewish ritual and religious usage, though some sects completely prohibited its consumption. Prominent Jewish sages were sometimes vintners, and wine produced by non-Jews was generally not to be consumed or to be used in the common rituals of CIRCUMCISION and MARRIAGE or the PASSOVER seder. Drinking wine or *khamr* made primarily from dates, raisins, barley, or honey was prohibited in the QURAN; but that prohibition was not always honored by all Muslims, especially the adherents of the Hanafi School of Islamic law.

See also AGRICULTURE; FOOD, DRINK AND NUTRITION.

**Further reading:** Edward Hyams, *Dionysus: A Social History of the Wine Vine* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965); Margery Kirkbride James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, ed. Elspeth M. Veale (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Patrick E. McGovern, Stuart J. Fleming and Solomon H. Katz, eds., *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1995); P. T. H. Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London: Routledge, 1991).

**Vinland and Vinland sagas** Two 13th-century Icelandic sagas describe in slightly different ways the discovery by sailors from ICELAND and GREENLAND the land called Vinland. Around 1000 Erik the Red's (d. ca. 1002) son, Leif Eriksson the Lucky (fl. early 11th century), sailed west, where he found land and disembarked for a short period. After Eriksson's landing, there were supposedly four colonizing expeditions to Vinland in vain attempts to stay for more than a short period. The settlers never seem to have reached any accommodation with the native peoples they encountered there, and the trip from Greenland was too difficult to justify any possible material gains.

The meaning of the name Vinland may refer to grapevines or natural grassland they found there. An actual Viking settlement, perhaps Vinland, was discovered

near L'Anse aux Meadows on the bleak northernmost tip of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, Canada, by the archaeologists Helge Ingstad and Anne Stine Ingstad. The site was excavated from 1961 to 1976 and buildings and artifacts dated securely from about 1000 were found. It seems to have been a typical Icelandic- or Greenlandic-style settlement for about 100 people. The settlement appears to have been used for 20 or 25 years as a base camp for exploration of the eastern North American coastline and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. No graves or livestock pens were found.

See also SAGAS.

**Further reading:** Magnus Magnusson and Herman Pálson, trans., *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America* (London: Penguin, 1965); Herman Pálson and Paul Edwards, trans., *The Book of Settlements [Landnámabók]* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1972); Anne Stine Ingstad, *The Norse Discovery of America*, trans. Elizabeth S. Seeberg, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

**virginity** The basic medieval concept and ideal of virginity were initially formed in liturgy of the early Christian religion and in the ideas of the early Christian fathers, especially ORIGEN and AUGUSTINE. Throughout the medieval period virginity was viewed as corporeal integrity for men and women but also was considered as embodying a spiritual condition that reflected a fundamental state of being. It could be institutionally organized and almost sacramentally consecrated. It could be, and was, blessed and acknowledged by a promise to God. It could be practiced by those married, theoretically also accepted by the spouse, and those not married and living in secular society.

From the 11th century and the GREGORIAN REFORM, virginity was considered the chief of the moral virtues and absolutely proper and necessary for a clerical state of life. However, it had to be practiced in a humble manner. It meant carnal integrity or the absence of carnal or sexual enjoyment, and the will to abstain forever from such pleasures. In virtue it now surpassed marital chastity and was another sign of the higher value of the clerical state. It was a common attribute in saints' lives and a major, if not essential, factor in canonization. In the secular world of the elite in Christendom, it was expected of a bride and reflected the honor of her family. The perpetual virginity of MARY, the Mother of God, was a major aspect of her state of life. She had an absolute purity of spiritual life and thus a total union with Christ, whom she had borne. In Islam and Judaism, virginity was expected for women at first marriage but was not much valued as a spiritual state for human beings. Both religions had severe laws to enforce this premarital condition, on women in particular.

See also CELIBACY; SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL ATTITUDES; SONG OF SONGS; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** Peter R. L. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); John Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea* (The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff, 1975); Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996); Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Susanna Elm, "Virgins of God": *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

**Virgin Mary, cult of** See MARY, CULT OF

**virtues and vices** A virtue in the Middle Ages was an excellence practiced habitually in a particular aspect of one's moral life that was at the same time evaluated and promoted by a set of religious and philosophical ideas. A vice was defined as exactly the opposite habitual practice. The definition, acquisition, and cultivation of virtue and the eschewing of vice were much considered by Greek and Roman philosophers and were fundamental aspects of the Christian and Hebrew Bibles, and the QURAN and HADITH.

#### MEDIEVAL CHRISTENDOM

ARISTOTELIANISM, when it entered Christendom in full force in the 13th century, strengthened these concepts as central elements in its systematic discourses on the right practice of human life. Aristotelian virtue or *habitus* was defined more explicitly as the fostered or cultivated capacity to act for good or for ill. Such a quality in humans grew or was enforced with each act. Any decision was to be based on good reason, while each accompanying movement of the will strengthened a person's habitual capacity to act in moral and virtuous ways. So in that way, human beings could become what they did, whether good or evil. AUGUSTINE had earlier added to this equation the gratuitous, gracious character of virtue as a gift from GOD. Thomas AQUINAS said that he considered virtue the capacity to act and to act well with a free will. In an attempt to make this a perpetual state, one had to practice a virtue continuously; otherwise, one would cease to act virtuously and relinquish REDEMPTION or Salvation.

The Scholastics classified virtue as the three theological virtues of FAITH, HOPE, and charity and the four moral virtues of prudence, JUSTICE, temperance, and fortitude. The struggle against vices and for the acquisition of virtues structured Christian ethics. The list of vices, that is, capital or deadly sins, might include gluttony, luxury or sexual indulgence, avarice, anger, sadness or sloth,

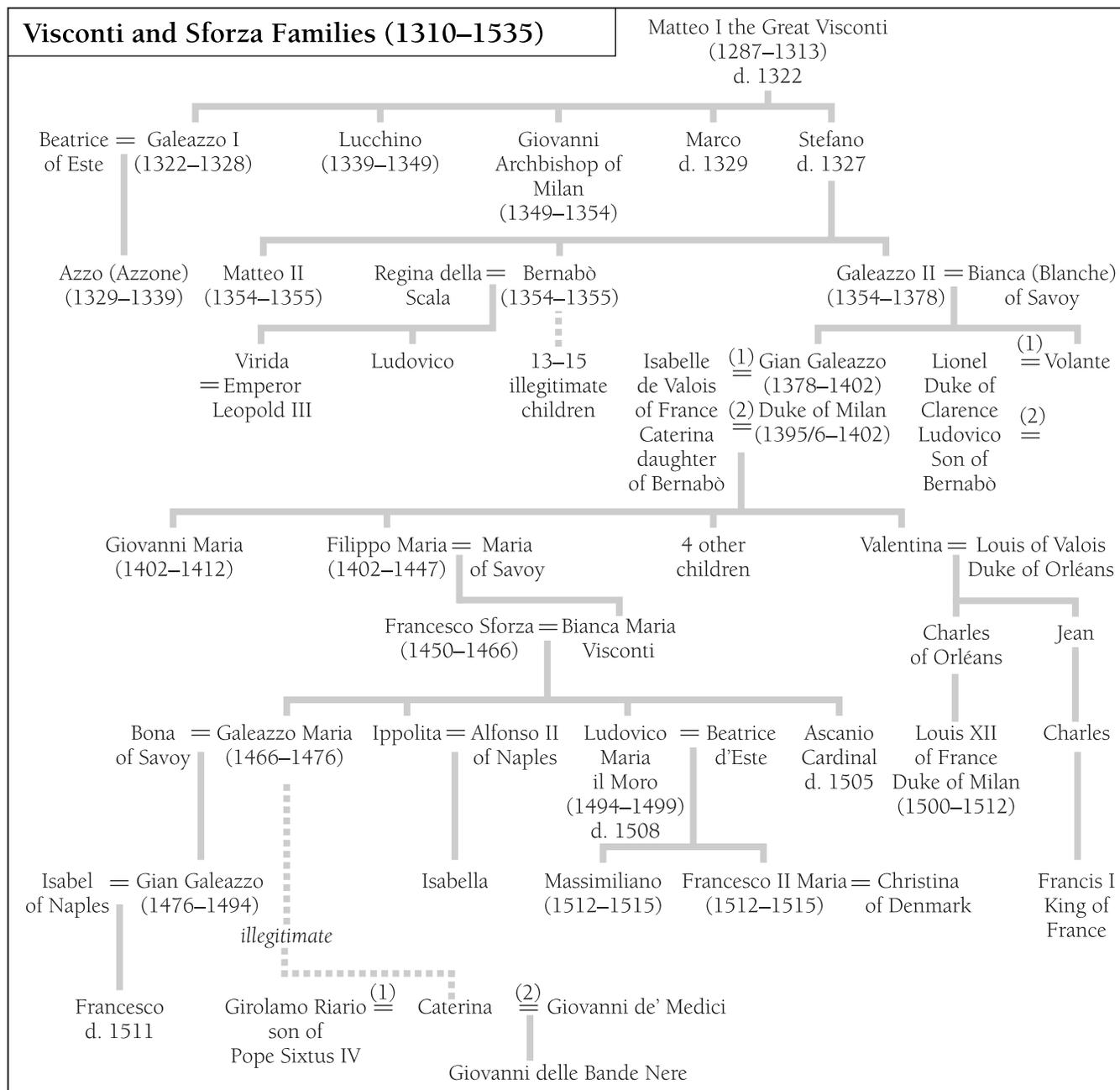
envy, and vainglory or pride. These vices all fed on one another and were interconnected. Vices and virtues were contrary to each other and in sermons and iconography were portrayed by using a literary and iconographic tradition derived from antiquity that personified the vices and virtues, making them fight against each other.

See also CARDINAL VIRTUES; PENITENTIALS; SERMONS AND HOMILIES; SEVEN DEADLY OR CAPITAL SINS.

**Further reading:** Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952); Colum Hourihane, ed., *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices and Mediaeval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964); Ruth Ellis Messenger, *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England, with Special Reference to the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Principal Virtues* (New York: AMS Press, 1967).

**Visconti family** The Visconti were a noble Lombard family, who can be traced back to the 10th century, but from the late 13th century held the lordship of MILAN and other cities, with the title of duke from 1395. They obtained the lordship of Milan in 1277 after the Ghibelline or proimperial archbishop, Ottone Visconti (d. 1295), was victorious over a Guelf faction led by the rival della Torre family. The regimes of Ottone (r. 1277–95) and his nephew, Matteo (r. 1287–1302 and 1317–22, d. 1322), were marked by conflicts with political rivals. In fact they were temporarily expelled from the city in 1302. Their power was recovered in 1311 by Matteo and expanded and consolidated under his successors, Galeazzo I (r. 1322–27), Azzone (r. 1328–39), Giovanni (1349–54), also the archbishop of Milan from 1342), Luchino (r. 1339–49), Matteo II (r. 1354–55), Galeazzo II (r. 1354–78), and Bernarbò (r. 1354–85).

During this period the Visconti had expanded their control over a large part of the Po Valley and LOMBARDY. They were careful to control the ecclesiastical wealth and institutions of the city even when they did not occupy the bishopric themselves. They also carried out impressive building projects to demonstrate the prestige and power of the family. Milan became one of the major states of the Italian Peninsula. In 1395 the emperor Wenceslas (r. 1378–1400) granted for a payment of 100,000 florins a ducal title to Gian Galeazzo (r. 1385–1402). This and marriages into the royal families of FRANCE and ENGLAND sanctioned the family's success by transforming it into a princely dynasty. But the premature death of Gian Galeazzo as he was about to attack FLORENCE itself marked the start of a decade of crises under the weak



government of the vicious Giovanni Maria (1402–12), who was eventually assassinated by conspirators. His brother and ruthless successor, Filippo Maria (1412–47), then undertook the reconstruction of the state, fighting almost constantly against Florence and VENICE. He died without legitimate heirs, ending the dynasty. A short-lived republic followed, and then Francesco Sforza (1401–66), who had married a Visconti, seized control of Milan and its subject territory.

See also GUELFs AND Ghibellines; SFORZA FAMILY.

**Further reading:** Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton, N.J.:

Princeton University Press, 1955); Edward Burman, *Italian Dynasties: The Great Families of Italy from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Wellingborough: Equation, 1989); E. R. Chamberlin, *The Count of Virtue: Gian-galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan* (New York: Scribner, 1965); Dorothy Muir, *A History of Milan under the Visconti* (London: Methuen, 1924).

**Visigoths (West Goths)** The Visigoths were a branch of the GOTHs who arrived as allies in AQUITAINE in Gaul in 412, invited there to attack the VANDALS. They had earlier defeated the Romans at the Battle of ADRIANOPLE

in 378 and had sacked ROME in 410 under the kingship of ALARIC I. After absorbing other tribal groups, they created a kingdom that extended under King Euric (r. 466–84), from the Loire and the Rhône into the Iberian Peninsula. They played an important role in stopping the advance of the HUNS into Gaul in 451. Alaric's successor, Alaric II (r. 484–507), was defeated at the Battle of Vouille in 507 by the king of the FRANKS, CLOVIS, and the kingdom was obliged to retreat into SPAIN, retaining north of the Pyrenees of only parts of southeastern FRANCE.

This Visigothic kingdom had a problematic existence because of a stable rule of uncontested succession, so no early dynasty managed to impose itself permanently. Kingship became and remained a objective in factional rivalries. King Leovigild (r. 568–86) tried to unify the peninsula, made his capital at TOLEDO, struck gold coins, and wore a royal crown. The ARIANISM of the Visigoths did not promote unity within their state. RECARED I converted to Catholicism at the Council of Toledo in May 589. This conversion gave the dynasty more legitimacy by a religious ceremony of consecration and gained the backing of the powerful local episcopacy. The final decades of the seventh century began a period of decline with economic and social troubles, including famines in 680–87 and plagues in 687–702. There was increasing fiscal pressure and after the conversion to Catholicism there were harsh policies against the Jews, who had once supported the kingdom. Aristocratic rivalries over succession grew more intense. All this made it easy for a quick Muslim conquest, which swept into the peninsula in April of 711. In a few years the Muslims controlled nearly the whole peninsula and the Visigothic people were absorbed into its population. Their kingdom, the only barbarian kingdom favorable to intellectual life, vanished but left a heritage in canon law, art, and culture.

See also ATTILA, KING OF THE HUNS; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE; JUSTINIAN I, BYZANTINE EMPEROR; SEVILLE, CITY AND KINGDOM OF; STILICHO; ULPILAS.

**Further reading:** P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966); E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969); Joyce E. Salisbury, *Iberian Popular Religion, 600 B.C. to 700 A.D.: Celts, Romans, and Visigoths* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1985); Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

**visions and dreams** Visions and dreams in the Middle Ages were considered to be real and even divinely inspired, but just as likely chimeras or foolish or malevolent fantasies. Dreams and visions were plentiful in the Hebrew Bible and less so in the Christian Bible. Yet

biblical Judaism was distrustful of deriving meaningful interpretations of reality or divinely inspired readings of God's intent from visions or dreams. The classical late antique world was somewhat more favorably disposed to their meaningfulness, partially because of the possible direct roles of the gods in the lives of humans and their places in religious culture such as at oracles, but Cicero considered interpreting them as meaningful to be mere superstition. Christianity was more skeptical, even suspicious they could be diabolical. Part of this distrust was based on their possible experience and interpretation as being outside the control of the clergy, contrary to reason, and possibly violative of the traditions and dogmas of the church. Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT distinguished five causes of dreams, which became the common modes of viewing them and their interpretation for the rest of the Middle Ages. Dreams could be caused by excessive eating, by the promptings of the devil, by mere reflection on or obsession with the concerns of daily life, by divine inspiration, or by a more specific obsession or preoccupation of the sleeper or visionary. These skeptical concepts overflowed into a distrust of the visions experienced or perceived by saints, mystics, or any Christians.

#### LITERARY VISIONS

With the passage of time visions in the Middle Ages were defined as a literary genre and as a form of perception and contact with another world. As literary modes of expression they resembled allegory. Individuals visited HELL, LIMBO, PARADISE, and PURGATORY in an ecstasy, dream, or journey to the other world. Visions could be deemed flashes of intuition and representations of a symbolic universe, echoing personal spiritual experiences. Remaining problematic in the eyes of the church, they could sometimes now be seen as morally valuable, promoting access to the contemplation of scenes from Christ's life and Passion or to episodes from the life of the Virgin MARY. They were tamed as these literary and explicitly imaginary devices or entertaining and didactic stories. Preachers in the later Middle Ages were not reluctant to use them as good yarns in sermons to set the stage for warnings about the consequences of an immoral life.

See also ALIGHIERI, DANTE; ANGELA OF FOLIGNO; BIRGITTA OF SWEDEN, SAINT; CATHERINE OF SIENA, SAINT; GERSON, JOHN; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN; PREACHING AND PREACHERS.

**Further reading:** Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); S. F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Isabel Moreira, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York: Garland, 1993); Forrest S. Smith, *Secular and Sacred Visionaries in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1986);

Kathryn L. Lynch, *The High Medieval Dream Vision: Poetry, Philosophy, and Literary Form* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988).

**viticulture** See VINES AND VINEYARDS.

**Vitry, Jacques** See JAMES OF VITRY.

**Vittorino da Feltre** (1378–1446) *teacher, educational theorist*

Born at Feltre near VENICE about 1378 Vittorino studied at the University of Padua with GUARINO DA VERONA and Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444), absorbing their ideas about the moral qualities of Greek and Roman literature in combination with polite customs. In 1423 he moved to Mantua at the invitation of the Gonzaga family to establish a school for the children of the family. Vittorino opened this school to the sons of the poor. He taught grammar and classical authors such as Cicero and Virgil to Lorenzo VALLA and the translator of Greek texts Antonio Beccaria (ca. 1400–74). He thought the rote study of RHETORIC and dialectic would produce eloquent and virtuous people. He also insisted his students practice physical activity and learn languages, mathematics, and PHILOSOPHY to give them a broad foundation for further study. He also made his students read a great deal of Christian devotional literature. He died in 1446, and with him his school.

See also UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS.

**Further reading:** Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (1921; reprint, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963); William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400–1600* (1906; reprint, New York: Teachers College Press, 1967).

**Vivarium** Vivarium was a monastery founded in about 555 by CASSIODORUS on his lands in Calabria. Its monastic buildings were probably located at San Martino de Copanello in the center of the Gulf of Squillace. This foundation was not regulated by any particular rule. Cassiodorus was not a cleric and entrusted its rule to abbots. Its main objectives were to copy, correct, and translate ancient texts as promoted by the manual of *Institutions* drawn up by Cassiodorus for the monks of Vivarium. He equipped the monastery with a large library and a SCRIPTORIUM. Although the number of manuscripts actually copied there that survive to this day is minimal, this monastery probably did preserve the manuscripts that were used for the later copying of many important works. Vivarium showed the way that monastic culture could

preserve classical culture for the study of Scripture and Christian literature throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE. After the sixth century, however, such activities there ceased and the monastery soon passed into ruin.

**Further reading:** Cassiodorus, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, trans. Leslie Webber Jones (1946; reprint, New York: W. W. Norton, 1969); L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

**Vlachs** This was the name usually given by the Byzantines and SLAVS to the Romanians. They have been the subject of heated nationalistic controversies. Romanian historians thought that they were descendants of the Roman colonists who had settled in the second century in ILLYRICUM. Some Hungarian historians said they were nomadic shepherds from south of the Danube River. Whatever their origin, the Vlachs played important roles in a number of transitory states from the 12th century. There was a Bulgarian and Vlach empire north of the Danube between 1185 and 1257. They were also part of Great Vlachs in the mountains of Thessaly from the second half of the 11th century to 1393 and of the principality of WALLACHIA between the southern Carpathians and MOLDAVIA in the 15th century.

See also HUNGARY; TRANSYLVANIA.

**Further reading:** André Du Nay, *The Origins of the Rumanians: The Early History of the Rumanian Language* (Toronto: Matthias Corvinus Publishing, 1996); John V. A. Fine Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Robert W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians: From Roman Times to the Completion of Unity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934); Tom J. Winniffrith, *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

**Vlad III the Impaler (Vlad Tepeș, Dracul [the Dragon])** (ca. 1431–76) *legendary ferocious prince of Wallachia*

Born about 1431 and educated in WALLACHIA, he inherited his nickname “Dracul” from his father, who had been a member the imperial Order of the Dragon. In 1448 he returned from exile to claim the throne after his father, Vlad II Dracul (r. 1443–47/8), the prince of Wallachia, had been overthrown and executed by John HUNYADI. The younger Vlad failed in this first attempt to take the throne, fled to MOLDAVIA, and had to wait until 1456 to become prince with the help of the king of HUNGARY, Ladislas V Posthumous (r. 1444/45–57), but he remained permanently caught between the ambitions of the Ottomans and the Hungarians to control Wallachia. He



Vlad Tepes, also known as Vlad the Impaler or Dracula  
(Courtesy Library of Congress)

spent the next six years periodically fighting the OTTOMAN Turks, and the Bulgarians and establishing his own rule by controlling his own people. He was brutal in his methods and became famous for his method of killing his enemies—impaling on a sharpened post. He was deposed in 1462 but returned to power again in 1476. Perhaps assassinated by false allies, he was likely killed in battle, the details of which have been much disputed by historians, in 1476 while trying to maintain Wallachian independence from foreign domination. The Turks took control of the region shortly after his death. In his famous 1897 novel, Bram Stoker based his character of Dracula on some of the legends of Vlad that had been circulated widely in the 15th and 16th centuries.

**Further reading:** Radu Florescu and Raymond T. McNally, *Dracula: A Biography of Vlad the Impaler, 1431–1476* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1973); Douglas Myles, *Prince Dracula: Son of the Devil* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988); Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Tepes, Prince of Wallachia*, trans. Cristina Krikorian (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1978); Kurt W. Treptow, ed., *Dracula: Essays on the Life and Times of Vlad Tepes* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1991).

### Vladimir I the Great, Saint (ca. 955/958–1015) grand prince of Kiev

Vladimir was born between 955 and 958 in KIEV in the modern Ukraine, the son of Sviatoslav (r. 962–971/972) of Kiev. His education was influenced by his Christian grandmother, Saint Olga (ca. 890–969), who had been baptized in 955. He was placed on the throne of NOVGOROD with help from his Scandinavian relatives in 970. From about 979/980 Vladimir took over all of Kievan Ruś, enlarging the borders of the state and strengthening its defenses against the attacks of the Pechenegs. Agreeing to a treaty in 987 with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, he helped the future emperor, BASIL II, win a civil war. As a reward he became Basil's brother-in-law after promising to make Christianity the state religion. On January 6, 988, he was baptized, and at the following



The baptism of Vladimir I, prince of Kiev, in Cherson in 988, from the *Radziwill Chronicle*, p. 62v. (late fifteenth century), Academy of Science, Saint Petersburg, Russia (*Erich Lessing / Art Resource*)

PENTECOST Sunday a few months later, he ordered the mass baptism of his subjects. During the same summer he married a Byzantine princess, Anne (963–1011). He ordered the building of many wooden churches at Kiev as well as a palace church of stone by 996. He moved in Kiev more clerics and church furnishings from Cherson on the BLACK SEA, which he conquered in 989 after it had revolted against Basil II. By 988 the metropolitanate of Ruś as well as four or five bishoprics had formed the 60th ecclesiastical province of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE. This process of Christianization was thorough and permanent, giving rise to his later canonization and his nickname as the “New Constantine.” He died on July 15, 1015, in Berestova near Kiev and was soon venerated as a saint in the teeth of the violence and chaos among his sons, all fighting to succeed him.

**Further reading:** Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1973); John Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (London: Longman, 1995); Yves Hamant, ed., *The Christianization of Ancient Russia: A Millennium, 988–1988* (Paris: UNESCO, 1992); Andrzej Poppe, *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982); Vladimir Volkoff, *Vladimir the Russian Viking* (London: Honeyglan, 1984).

**Voyage of Saint Brendan** See BRENDAN, SAINT.

**Vulgate** The Vulgate is the medieval and modern name of the Latin translation of the BIBLE commonly used in the Middle Ages in Western Europe and officially recognized as the only authentic version by the Council of Trent in 1546. In the fifth century JEROME was dissatisfied with earlier translations based on the Greek Septuagint version. So commissioned he translated much of the Old Testament from the Hebrew and revised the texts of the New Testament. From the sixth century and overcoming the considerable opposition of those accustomed to the traditional texts, this translation, except Jerome’s version of the Psalms, was the most commonly used and accepted. As the texts were transmitted by manuscripts over centuries, the texts became corrupted over time and various revisions were attempted by scholars such as ALCUIN. It was first printed by GUTENBERG in 1456. However, the Vulgate remained the accepted Latin text until it was reedited in the mid-16th century after the Protestant Reformation. From then on its text was better preserved since it could be printed and thus more carefully maintained as the standard Catholic version for study and the liturgy.

**Further reading:** Hans H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: Being an Inquiry into the Text of Some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933); G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Vol. 2, *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3d ed. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983).

# W

**Wace (Robert or William?)** (ca. 1100–ca. 1175) *Anglo-Norman author*

Born in Jersey in the Channel Islands to a noble family in about 1100. Wace was educated for an ecclesiastical career and studied at Caen and PARIS. After he returned to Caen in about 1130, he was employed by King HENRY I. He eventually became a canon in about 1160 when he was patronized by King HENRY II, for Bayeux in 1169. He died about 1175.

He wrote devotional lives of the saints Margaret and Nicholas and two metrical chronicles in Norman French. The *Roman de Brut* was completed in 1155 and dedicated to ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE, the mother of Henry II. It was an imaginative translation of the Latin *History of the Kings of Britain* by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, which traced the history of Britain from its founding by the legendary Brutus the Trojan, including many aspects of the Arthurian legends. His *Roman du Rou* was a chronicle of the dukes of NORMANDY from the time of ROLLO to that of Wace's contemporary, Robert II Curthose (d. 1124). It was written in 1160–62 but never finished. It had been dedicated to Henry II, but Henry withdrew his patronage before Wace could complete it.

See also ANGLO-NORMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE; ARTHUR, KING, AND ARTHURIAN LITERATURE; BRUT; ROUND TABLE.

**Further reading:** Wace, *Arthurian Chronicles*, trans. Eugene Mason. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Wace, *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the English: Text and Translation*, trans. Judith Weiss (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999); Margaret Evah Houck, *Sources of the Roman de Brut of Wace* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941); J. H.

Philpot, *Maistre Wace: A Pioneer in Two Literatures* (London: Methuen, 1925).

**Walahfrid Strabo** (ca. 808–849) *German Benedictine abbot, poet, theologian*

Born in SWABIA, Walahfrid (Strabo means “squinter”) was raised at the monastery of Reichenau and then at FULDA, where he was a pupil of HRABANUS MAURUS. He became abbot of Reichenau after having been a teacher of CHARLES I THE BALD, with whom he retained a tenuous relationship. He had to flee Reichenau for supporting an opponent of Charles in 839, only to return in 842. He died while on mission for Charles on August 8, 849. He composed poetic works, biblical commentaries, homilies, and saints' lives. He was also known for his poetry which dealt with several subjects, including a polemic against the erection of a statue of the Ostrogothic king THEODORIC at AACHEN and a treatise on the medicinal plants and flowers of Reichenau's monastic GARDEN. Besides his revision of the biography of CHARLEMAGNE by EINHARD, his most important work was a commentary on the Scriptures, which remained a standard text for the rest of the Middle Ages.

See also CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE.

**Further reading:** Walahfrid Strabo, *The Life of St. Gall*, trans. Maud Joynt (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927); Walahfrid Strabo, *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini: Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. David A. Traill (Bern: H. Lang, 1974); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), 121–160; M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900*

(Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1931); Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (New York: Longman, 1992).

**Waldemar I the Great (Valdemar)** (1131–1182) *warrior, king of Denmark*

Heir to an ancient royal line in DENMARK, Waldemar was the son of the duke of Schleswig, Canute III Lavard (d. 1131). Born about 1131, perhaps on January 14, 1131, he became a contender to the throne on the death of King Erik the Lamb in 1156/7. By 1157 he had defeated his rivals and become the undisputed ruler and quickly consolidated his rule. In 1169 he captured an island stronghold of the Wendish pirates destroyed their idols, and forcibly Christianized them. Waldemar acknowledged the suzerainty of Emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA in 1162, since he was dependent on Frederick's help against his aggressive German neighbors such as HENRY THE LION. After Henry's death in 1180, Waldemar and Frederick met in 1182 and arranged a double marriage between their children significantly improving the links of Denmark with the German emperor. Shortly before his death, one of his officials suppressed a serious uprising of some provinces opposing his heavy taxation. Waldemar died about May 9–12, 1182.

**Further reading:** John H. S. Birch, *Denmark in History* (London: J. Murray, 1938); Niels Skyum-Nielsen and Niels Lund, *Danish Medieval History: New Currents* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1981).

**Waldemar II the Conqueror (Valdemar)** (1170–1241) *king of Denmark*

Born May 9, 1170, he was the second son of WALDEMAR I and became the duke of Schleswig in 1188. He succeeded his brother, Canute IV (VI) (r. 1182–1202), in 1202 after having already captured the county of Holstein. In exchange for Waldemar's support of his holding the imperial title, the emperor Otto IV (d. 1218) acknowledged his rule over German lands north of the Elbe River, including important trading cities such as LÜBECK. In return, Waldemar then temporarily recognized Otto as the German emperor, only to switch his allegiance to FREDERICK II later. Waldemar also gained the support of Pope INNOCENT III, after he led a Crusade against the pagan Estonians and the Pomeranians in 1206 and 1210. However, at the height of his power and the greatest extent of his realm in 1223, he and his sons were kidnapped by a guest, a certain Count Henry of Schwerin. He was released only after paying a crippling heavy ransom and surrendering Northalbingia and most of his Wendish conquests in 1225, when his vassals and the Danish nobility had refused to go to his aid. He was later defeated by Henry at the Battle of Bornhöved in 1227 but was able to keep control of most of LIVONIA or Estonia by the Compact of Stensby made with the Knights of the

Sword in 1238. Among the domestic reforms carried out toward the end of his reign was the great codification of Danish laws called the Jutland Code in 1241. He died on March 28, 1241, in Vordingborg in Denmark.

**Further reading:** J. H. S. Birch, *Denmark in History* (London: J. Murray, 1938); Palle Lauring, *A History of Denmark*, trans. David Hohnen, 5th ed. (Copenhagen: Høst & Søn, 1981); William L. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, 2d (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1994).

**Waldensians (Waldenses, Poor of Lyon)** The Waldensians comprised a diverse sect that developed out of the followers of Peter Waldo (d. 1217) and were initially called the Poor of LYON but themselves never used the name Waldensians. Over the centuries this term referred to diverse religious sects with many different and changing ideas that fluidly diverged in many aspects from mainstream medieval Catholicism—especially among later groups called by this name in GERMANY and ITALY. The term was convenient for inquisitors who were trying to label and correct dissenters.

Peter Waldo, traditionally credited with the original initiative for the Waldensian movement was a rich merchant of Lyon, who converted to a religious life in the early 1170s. He gave away his wealth for Christ and at the same time became a preacher of the GOSPELS, gathering around himself LAITY and clerics. He wanted to remain there and reform the church but was expelled from the city. Not a dualist, unlike many contemporary dissidents he seems to have tried to preach the gospel outside the authority of the church and was critical of the worldliness of the CLERGY. Not all of his followers were so eager to remain orthodox. The movement was critical of the SEVEN SACRAMENTS, of the holiness and necessity of the priesthood, of the destiny of souls after death, and of the cult of the saints and RELICS.

By 1200 the Waldensian movement already encompassed a diversity of orientations about the meaning of POVERTY to the church and to good Christians. They were condemned and banned at the Third Lateran Council of 1181–85 and Pope INNOCENT III launched a CRUSADE against them in 1209. They meanwhile developed a clerical organization and grew and survived persecutions in isolated areas, such as in the Alps and BOHEMIA, where they later ultimately merged with the followers of John HUS. They were deemed among the most dangerous of heretical groups because they lived piously and believed in much of the orthodox and loudly attacked creed the institutional church, its rituals, and its clergy.

*See also* ALEXANDER III, POPE.

**Further reading:** Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Euan Cameron,

*Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Walter L. Wakefield and Austin Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (1969; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 200–242, 278–289, 346–351.

**Wales (Cymru)** Medieval Wales was a mountainous country in the western peninsula of Britain. Strongly Celtic, it had its foundation as a distinct political, linguistic, and cultural unit with the building by the English king Offa of Mercia (r. 757–796) of an earthwork wall, called Offa's Dike, that divided Wales from Anglo-Saxon England. Wales grew to consist of a number of petty kingdoms, each ruled by its own ruling dynasty. The principal ones were at Gwynedd in the north, at Powys in the center, at Dyfed in the southwest, and at Morgannwg or Glamorgan in the southeast. There were temporary unifications of these kingdoms under individual rulers such as Rhodri Mawr the Great of Gwynedd (r. 844–878) or Hywel Dda the Good of Dyfed (r. 942–950). At their deaths these kingdoms went their separate ways, a trend that continued even during the VIKING invasions. At last Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (r. 1039–63), who attained power in Gwynedd in 1039, aggressively managed to extend his rule over most of Wales. The English responded to this by invading, as they were to do many times in the future. Resisting these invasions led by HAROLD with some success, Gruffydd ap Llywelyn was eventually killed by his own men, and the Welsh princes temporarily became the clients of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

#### NORMAN EXPANSION AND EQUILIBRIUM

After the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, there was an effort to establish stability on the borders of the two regions. This led to the founding of the earldoms on the border with Wales of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford by WILLIAM I THE CONQUEROR. Nonetheless, ambitious Norman adventurers independently moved to carve lordships or kingdoms out of Wales for themselves. By these intrusions they made themselves local rulers and soon received royal recognition as Marcher lords or as Anglo-Norman lords ruling in parts of Wales by right of conquest, but they were not actually part of the Norman kingdom. These Anglo-Norman magnate families exercised control of most of eastern Wales with the western part left under the control of native but usually peaceful rulers. By the mid-12th century, balance, peace, and equilibrium was the usual situation along the border and with the English, as cultural interaction and intermarriage took place. This was an era rich in poetic accomplishment and reform of the Welsh church and law.

#### CONFLICT AND WARFARE WITH ENGLAND

In the late 12th century, under LLEWELYN Fawr ab Iorwerth, this tense but generally peaceful coexistence

changed as he tried to establish a principality encompassing all of Wales. He accomplished this by 1200 during the reign of King JOHN with the help of the French king, PHILIP II Augustus. He even married the illegitimate daughter of the hard-pressed King John. Forced to compromise with Llywelyn's participation in the barons' rebellion and in the temporary reconciliation of MAGNA CARTA, John recognized Llewelyn's rights and control, in exchange for which Llewelyn paid homage to the English Crown on behalf of himself and all the Welsh lords.

John's successor, Henry III, was not willing to accept a permanent united Wales on his western border and the relationship was much more confrontational until the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267, when Wales was recognized as essentially a sovereign principality. LLEWELLYN AP GRUFFYDD, by then the prince of Wales, tried to put his principality on a sounder military, financial, and administrative footing. This project was halted, however, when the new king of England, EDWARD I, decided on the conquest of Wales. Llewelyn was forced to seek terms in the Treaty of Aberconwy of 1277, which left him with only his ancestral lands at Gwynedd. After a period of tense peace, war began again; the prince was killed on December 11, 1282, and his brother was captured and executed a few months later, marking the end of Welsh independence.

#### INTEGRATION INTO THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

The Statute of Wales of 1284 established a new administrative regime for the principality now tied to the English Crown. The title of prince of Wales was granted in 1301 to the king's eldest surviving son, in this case the future EDWARD II. There were scattered revolts throughout the 14th century, but in general terms accommodation with England yielded prosperity for the first half of the century. This was also the era of the great poetic accomplishments of DAFYDD AP GWILYM. Wales was affected by the plagues and the social, economic, and severe population declines of the mid-14th century. There was a growing discontent among the Welsh lords and a definite rise in ethnic tension between them and the mostly urban English colonists. In 1400, the Welsh, led by OWAIN GLYN DWR, a descendant of the Powys and Deheubarth dynasties, revolted. The rising lasted 10 years, but the resources and determination of the English Crown were strong and it was suppressed. The leaders of the native ruling community nonetheless continued to exercise considerable power and control because of their loyalty to the English Crown. The victors of the WARS OF THE ROSES, the Lancastrian House of TUDOR had strong roots in Wales, which superficially mitigated many of the tensions between the two peoples, as the king of England, Henry VII Tudor (r. 1485–1509), was seen by many to be Welsh. In 1536, Wales officially became part of the English kingdom.

See also GERALD OF WALES; HENRY V, KING OF ENGLAND; MABINOGLI.

**Further reading:** Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin Books, 1978); Antony D. Carr, "Wales," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 334–344; Antony D. Carr, "Wales," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 532–546; R. Ian Jack, *Medieval Wales* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972); David Walker, *Medieval Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, rev. ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976).

**al-Walid, Abd al-Malik** (r. 705–715) *Umayyad caliph*  
Ruling from 705, al-Walid became known for his religious fervor, cultural patronage, and building activities. Although it had hitherto been shared by Christians and Muslims, he confiscated and razed the Basilica of Saint John the Baptist in his capital, Damascus, against the wishes of the local Christians. He turned it into the present magnificent Grand Mosque between 706 and 715. He intended it to be the most sumptuous mosque yet built and summoned workers and craftsmen, both Christian and Muslim, from all over the world to build and decorate it. Heavily damaged in a fire in 1893 and having suffered considerable rebuilding, it had long been a model for the architecture of such buildings and remained one of the most important mosques in Islam. He also built schools, HOSPITALS, and orphanages in the city. Under his rule the administration of the caliphate was taken out of the hands of the Syrian Christians, who were replaced by Muslim officials, further Islamizing the caliphate. He started the construction of the new great mosques in MEDINA and MECCA. Under his rule the Arab empire, continuously expanded through conquest approaching its greatest extent, reaching from Transoxiana to Spain. He died in 715.

See also ISLAMIC CONQUESTS AND EARLY EMPIRE; Umayyads.

**Further reading:** al-Tabari, *The Zenith of the Marwanid House: The Last Years of Abd al-Malik and the Caliphate of al-Walid*, trans. Martin Hinds (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Sulayman Bashir, *Arabs and Others in Early Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997); G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate A.D. 661–750* (Kent: Croom Helm, 1986).

**Wallace, William, Sir** (ca. 1270–1305) *a leader of Scots resistance*

Of noble descent, William was born in about 1270 in Ellerslie or Elderslie near Paisley in Ayrshire in SCOTLAND, the son of Sir Malcolm Wallace. He killed an

Englishman who insulted him and was declared an outlaw in May 1297. He started a guerrilla war and was joined by patriotic nobles and began to enlarge the scope of his operations and ambitions. After being elected guardian of the kingdom in 1297 for the imprisoned JOHN BALLIOL, he destroyed an English army at Stirling Bridge near Abbey Craig in September 1297 and drove the English out of Scotland. In 1298 a new invading army led by King EDWARD I himself met and defeated Wallace's forces at the Battle of Falkirk on July 22, 1298. He then resigned his office of guardian to ROBERT I THE BRUCE and John Comyn the Younger (d. 1306). After the submission of the Scottish nobles in about 1303, he unsuccessfully sought help from Pope Boniface VIII and PHILIP IV of France. Wallace returned to Scotland and continued to conduct a guerrilla war but was captured by treachery and taken to LONDON. He was tried as a traitor, although he had never taken an oath of allegiance to England, and executed on August 23/24, 1305. The quarters of his body were publicly exhibited at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth.

**Further reading:** G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000–1306* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981); Andrew Fisher, *William Wallace* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1986); Graeme Morton, *William Wallace: Man and Myth* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001); Alan Young and Michael J. Stead, *In the Footsteps of William Wallace* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002).

**Wallachia** Medieval Wallachia was a region between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube and is now part of modern-day Romania. There had once been an earlier region called Wallachia in the Bulgarian province of Thessaly. Both seem to have been inhabited by people called VLACHS. In the 10th century, the majority of the population of Wallachia was Romanian and Christian but used Slavonic as the language of its liturgy and culture. After the fall of the first Bulgar state to the Byzantine Empire in the 10th and 11th centuries, Byzantine control was reestablished over the whole lower Danube as far as its mouth and the shores of the BLACK SEA. The Turkish Petchenegs and CUMANS raided and then moved into the eastern plains of Wallachia in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Cumans were slowly destroyed by the combined efforts of the Hungarians, the Latin Empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the MONGOLS.

Around 1300 several small principalities appeared in western and central Wallachia. By the early 14th century the principality of Arges in the center of the country united Wallachia under a Romanian dynasty, the Basarab. From then on the country would be called Land of the Romanians, but other sources continued to refer to it as Wallachia. Wallachian princes paid tribute to HUNGARY but tried to distance themselves from it by obtaining from Constantinople the title of autocrats and the creation of their

own orthodox archbishopric at Arges in 1359. The king of Hungary, Louis I of Anjou (r. 1342–82), however, was able to impose Catholic bishops on Arges and Severin in 1370. The OTTOMAN TURKS conquered BULGARIA and SERBIA in the early 15th century and obliged the Wallachian prince, Mircea the Old (1386–1418), to pay them tribute. Wallachia was then caught between the Hungarians and the Ottomans. An attempt by VLAD III THE IMPALER to oppose Sultan MEHMED II in 1462 failed. Wallachia and MOLDAVIA, however, did manage to avoid complete conquest, complete integration, and Islamization by the Turks. Together they eventually became the modern state of Romania.

See also EPIROS AND THE DESPOTATE OF

**Further reading:** Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium* (Portland: Center for Romanian Studies, 2000).

**wall painting** See PAINTING.

**Walsingham, Thomas** (ca. 1355–ca. 1422) *English chronicler, monk*

He was a scribe, historian, and monk in the monastery of Saint Albans, with a term as prior of its subordinate house at Wymondham. After writing a list of benefactors for the abbey in 1380, between then and 1394 he wrote his *Major Chronicle* (*Chronica majora*), actually a continuation from 1259 of MATTHEW Paris's *Great Chronicle*, and *The Deeds of the Abbots*, a history of the abbots of Saint Albans. At Wymondham he wrote a condensed version of the *Major Chronicle*. After returning to Saint Albans, he completed his greatest and most famous work, the *Saint Albans Chronicle*. His work has been of fundamental importance for the study of Anglo-Norman and ecclesiastical history up to 1419 and particularly important for the reigns of his contemporaries, Kings RICHARD II, and Henry IV (r. 1399–1413), and HENRY V. He had a strong distaste for John WYCLIFFE, whom he denounced in no uncertain terms. He died at Saint Albans in about 1422.

**Further reading:** Thomas Walsingham, *The Saint Albans Chronicle, 1406–1420: Edited from Bodley Ms. 462*, ed. V. H. Galbraith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937); Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England. II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982); Ernest Fraser Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, 1399–1485* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

**Walter of Châtillon** (fl. 1135–ca. 1190) *French poet*

Born in Lille in about 1135, Walter of Châtillon studied at PARIS and then at RHEIMS. He taught at the school of Châtillon and later studied LAW at BOLOGNA. He was employed by King HENRY II of ENGLAND. Returning to FRANCE, he was appointed secretary to the archbishop of Rheims and later a canon of Amiens. He is the author of a Latin poem written in 1184 on Alexander the Great. His

moralistic and satirical lyrical works were enjoyed by the LAITY for their attacks on the higher CLERGY. He also wrote an anti-Jewish tract and another on the Trinity. His *Alexandreis* (1171–81), the epic about Alexander the Great, was a very popular book about the East and world geography. His Alexander was a moralistic model for crusaders, such as PHILIP II AUGUSTUS. He died in about 1190.

**Further reading:** Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, trans. David Townsend (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Walter Trask (1948; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953); Dennis Kratz, *Mocking Epic: Waltharius, Alexandreis, and the Problems of Christian Heroism* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1980).

**Walter of Henley** (d. 1250) *English friar*

Walter wrote a treatise called *Housebondrie*, a manual of estate management. It included detailed descriptions of the agrarian practices of his age. The work was used as an agricultural handbook in the later Middle Ages and was considered by many the best of its kind in the 13th and 14th centuries. It had abundant information on successful agricultural practices, fertilizing techniques, prices, comparative productivity of domestic animals, and information on farming equipment and tools. Among his interesting ideas was his belief that agricultural land must yield three times what was sown to be worth the effort. He died about 1250.

**Further reading:** Dorothea Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

**Walter Sansavoir of Poissy the Penniless** (d. 1096) *French knight, a leader of the People's Crusade*

Born near PARIS Walter Sansavoir, along with four other members of his family, embarked on CRUSADE initially as a collaborator with PETER THE HERMIT. Unwilling to wait for the arrival of most of the crusading army, Walter, his uncle, and his three brothers set out on May 1, 1095, from COLOGNE with a few thousand compatriots, mostly peasants. Entering HUNGARY on May 21, 1095, and passing into Byzantine territory at Belgrade, his followers pillaged the countryside to survive. In doing so some of his men were killed, burned alive in a church. Pushing on to a Byzantine provincial capital, the crusaders were well received and fed. They were then sent under Greek escort to CONSTANTINOPLE, where they arrived on August 1. They were joined in a week or so by a group led by Peter the Hermit. After crossing the Bosphorus on August 6 and 7 with an army of 25,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. Walter, though advocating more caution, was killed along with most of the rest of his army on October 21, 1096, in a Turkish ambush or the Battle of Civetot.

**Further reading:** Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

**Walther von der Vogelweide** (ca. 1170–ca. 1230)

*German lyric, poet, knight*

Born about 1170, probably in lower AUSTRIA or the Tyrol Walter began his poetic career at the court of VIENNA, where he met and was taught by Reinmar van Hagen the Elder (d. ca. 1205), famous poet-musician. Walther became a roving minstrel, whose verse was loaded with sarcastic political comments. Leopold VI the Glorious (1176–1230) and Frederick I the Catholic (1194–98) patronized him for a while, but the hostility of a later archduke obliged him to travel to the other German courts. At Mainz he composed a magnificent poem for the coronation of Philip of SWABIA (1178–1208). In 1204 he was a guest of the landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia (d. 1217) where he met WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH. In the struggle between the candidate of Brunswick to the imperial throne, Otto IV (d. 1218), and Pope INNOCENT III, Walther supported the imperial party. In doing so he opposed the temporal power of popes and was critical of the institutional church. Along the same political lines, when the emperor FREDERICK II set out on Crusade in the 1220s, Walther composed songs in support of the venture and was granted a fief in the diocese of Würzburg in about 1224. Although he sang about German politics, imperial ideas, and knightly values, he wrote and sang best about COURTLY LOVE. He produced religious lyric and moral-didactic poetry and composed HYMNS to the Virgin MARY and the Trinity. He died near Würzburg in BAVARIA in about 1230.

**Further reading:** Walther von der Vogelweide, *Selected Poems*, ed. Margaret Fitzgerald Richey, 3d ed. by Hugh Sacker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965); Franz Bäuml, ed., *From Symbol to Mimesis: The Generation of Walther von der Vogelweide* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1984); George F. Jones, *Walther von der Vogelweide* (New York: Twayne, 1968); Kenneth J. Northcott, “Walther von der Vogelweide” in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 287–308.

**Wandering Jew, legend of** The 13th-century Christian legend of the Wandering Jew was about a character who was doomed to live until the end of time. He had taunted or struck Jesus when he was on his way to the Crucifixion, though he had converted to Christianity and was living piously. The story was based on the New Testament (John 18:20–22) and on parallel narratives the Wandering Jew was identified as perhaps the high priest’s

guard or Pontius Pilate’s doorkeeper, who was condemned to live and wander perpetually. The story first appeared in 1228 in a Cistercian chronicle, in which some pilgrims and a bishop in ARMENIA encountered a Jew who was present at the Passion. The English monastic historians Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) and MATTHEW PARIS told it. There was little attention to this story until the 17th century. There continued to be sightings this person in the 19th century, until the last one in Salt Lake City supposedly in 1868.

**Further reading:** G. K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1965); G. Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes, eds., *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

**waqf** (*awqaf*, *hubs*, *habuus*) In Muslim legal terminology *waqf* was the prohibition of a third party’s claiming property rights over any object, such state lands from the time of a conquest or to a later pious or family foundation. The object in question must be lasting and tangibly productive. The owner had limited access to the proceeds of the principle but no access to the principle, whatever it might be. The *waqf* or foundation had always to be irrevocable, pleasing to GOD, and conducive to the spread of ISLAM. Such objectives had to be specified in the document establishing it and explicitly used for religious foundations such as MOSQUES, HOSPITALS, schools, libraries, town walls, and public fountains. They could involve family foundations involving children, grandchildren, or other relatives and be a means to prevent the fragmentation of estates. They were controlled by a paid administrator and were subject to review by a QADI.

See also MORTMAIN.

**Further reading:** Claude Gilliot, “Waqf,” *EMA*, 2.1,536; R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

**warfare** Warfare was important to the economic, social, and political history of the period from 300 to 1500. Its organization, practice, and methods underwent many changes on land and sea. There were many technical innovations in WEAPONS and fortifications. In late antiquity and the Middle Ages, many peoples moved around the medieval world as invading armies or hordes trying to invade and settle in the Roman Empire, Byzantium, and Islam. These states in turn made massive efforts to control them militarily or incorporate them into its system of government. This conflict tempered by assimilation continued in the early Middle Ages and lasted through the incursions by the VIKINGS into Carolingian Europe in the 10th century. Internal and external warfare and violence remained common throughout the Middle Ages.

The CRUSADES were military invasions of the Islamic world from about 1100. The period 1350 to 1450 was characterized by many wars between national states and city-states all trying to control more territory. The church tried to control these violent tendencies but more often tried to exploit them for its own ends. Lay society turned to the ideas of CHIVALRY to pacify or domesticate the drive toward military aggression. ISLAM initially expanded through the use of force and maintained the idea of JIHAD throughout its history. The MONGOLS destroyed much of Islamic civilization but did open links between Islam and Europe and central Asia and the Far East. By 1500 European society was structured around militarism and eager for internal and external conquest. It was, moreover, now armed with impressive and effective gunpowder weapons and the naval and land technologies to deploy them.

See also CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS; CAVALRY; CONDOTTIERI, COMPANIES, AND MERCENARIES; FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM; FIREARMS; HUNDRED YEARS' WAR; JUST WAR; KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD; MAMLUKS; NOBILITY AND NOBLES; PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD; RECONQUEST; TOURNAMENTS; WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY.

**Further reading:** John Beeler, *Warfare in Feudal Europe, 730–1200* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971); Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (1980; reprint, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984); Kelly DeVries, *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002); Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval War: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London: Routledge, 2001); J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages: From the Eighth Century to 1340*, trans. Sumner Willard and R. W. Southern, 2d ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997).

**Wars of the Roses** The Wars of the Roses was the name given to the English civil, factional, and dynastic wars between 1455 and 1485. The Roses referred to the badges worn by the two sides. The Lancastrians wore red roses and the Yorkists wore white. This took place in the context of a declining prosperity for the landed classes, who had become tied to a few major families in a system called bastard FEUDALISM. The richest families contested for control over the weak King Henry VI (r. 1422–61, 1470–71) and then for the throne itself. Succession to that throne had been questionable since the end of the reign and deposition of RICHARD II. Besides reflecting the general lawlessness of society, these wars reflected the problem of exercising a central authority in the 15th century, when local ambitious magnate families had ready access to military resources and the Crown had financial difficulties.

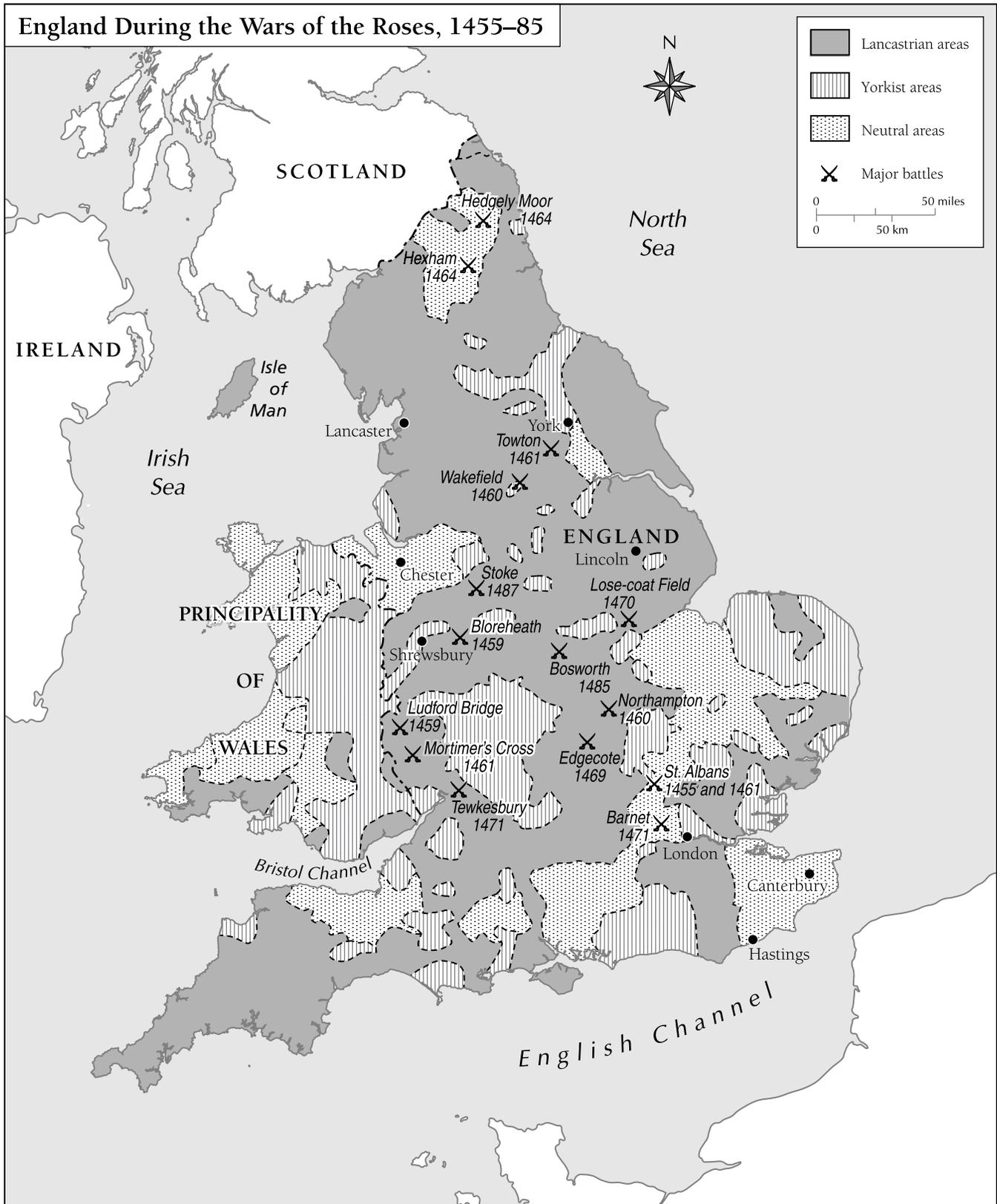
The Wars of the Roses began in the 1450s when Richard, the duke of York (d. 1460), with the backing of Richard Neville, the duke of Warwick (1428–71), the Kingmaker, tried to control the royal government and person of Henry VI. They failed and had to flee abroad in 1459. The Lancastrian line and its forces regrouped and won two major victories, in 1460 at Sandal, where York lost his life, and in 1461 at Saint Albans. However, the Lancastrians and Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou (1430–82), failed to gain the support of LONDON. They were forced to retreat to the north. The duke of York's son, the future EDWARD IV, won a victory over another Lancastrian army at Mortimer's Cross on February 2, 1461, and marched on London to proclaim and install himself as king again with the backing of the duke of Warwick. At Towton on March 29, 1461, Edward IV's forces won a major victory in the largest battle of the war. Edward ruled during the 1460s but had a falling out with Warwick, who, with French help, put Henry back on the throne in 1470. Edward then left the country but returned in 1471 and defeated the Lancastrians and his former supporters again at the Battles of Barnet on April 14, 1471, and decisively at Tewkesbury on May 4, 1471. Warwick was killed; the captured Henry VI soon died in the Tower of London under mysterious circumstances; and Queen Margaret was imprisoned and then exiled. With Henry dead, the Lancastrian line was no longer a factor in the closing years of the conflict in the 1480s.

Edward was secure on the throne. After his death in 1483, he was succeeded by his son, Edward V (1470–83). Edward IV's brother, the future RICHARD III, acted as regent but soon usurped the throne for himself. Edward V and his brother might have been murdered in the Tower of London to secure Richard's kingship. In 1485 Henry TUDOR, a distant Lancastrian, profited from the problems and discontents of Richard III's reign and invaded England. He defeated Richard at the BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD in 1485 and took the throne for himself, ending the Wars of the Roses.

See also LOUIS XI, KING OF FRANCE.

**Further reading:** Edward Powell, "Lancastrian England," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 457–476; Rosemary Horrox, "Yorkist and Early Tudor England," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 477–495; John A. Wagner, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Roses* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2001); J. R. Lander, *The Wars of the Roses* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Charles Derek Ross, *The Wars of the Roses: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

**water** See IRRIGATION; MILLS, WIND AND WATER.



**water mills** See MILLS, WIND AND WATER.

**weapons and weaponry** The weapons available to soldiers in the period from 300 to 1500 varied according to

individuals' ability to purchase them themselves or to obtain them from a central authority. There were different styles for fighting as CAVALRY and for using HORSES over the course of the Middle Ages. In some eras one fought mounted with lances and in others dismounted with

swords or other hand weapons. Mounted combat also reflected higher social status and the possession of sufficient wealth to maintain a horse and groom. The weapons of the infantry evolved to enable them to fight the mounted noble, who could, and frequently did, hold a distinct advantage. Armor, always expensive, developed in response to the type of weapon it was supposed to protect against.

#### ARCHERY AND FIREARMS

By 1100, archery became much more of a threat to everyone with the development of the crossbow. The crossbow was not quick to reload or cheap to produce but was not difficult to learn to use by the inexperienced. Less than noble archers were now able to kill mounted nobles at safe ranges. After 1300 the English longbow, or a very large self-bow, was even more deadly and far easier to launch quickly against an enemy. Crude firearms began to be used in the 14th century, and they, too, were effective within a fairly short range. Backed up by the older system of chain mail, armor plate grew thicker and expensive but only marginally more effective against all these threats.

#### SWORDS AND LANCES

Swords of one form or another were used throughout the period by all combatants. They could be expensive, and high-quality versions were difficult to produce. The quality swords available to foot soldiers therefore varied. They were double-edged in the central Middle Ages to be effective in slashing attacks. In the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, swords acquired sharp points for stabbing into the small vulnerable areas left exposed by even the best armor. Swords were used in and evolved in HUNTING. They began to have magical or mystical qualities in literature and legend. Lances were used in cavalry charges but usually had to be abandoned in the *melées* of actual combat. Halberds with axe-shaped heads and bill hooks for pulling people off horses were prominent in the battles of the later period. The Swiss became famous and deadly effective in the use of massed pike men from the 14th century. The pike could be 18 feet long and when deployed by close-order blocks of infantry was decisive in combat until the 16th century.

#### CANNONRY

Cannons were used in combination with various instruments using torsion energy or the power of a sprung seesaw, the trebuchet. All were able to hurl stones or objects a few hundred yards. As cannons using gunpowder became more reliable, powerful, and accurate in the mid-15th century, they forced a complete change in fortifications. The defenses of towns could be battered down and overcome in days rather than months. On the battlefield itself, cannons and firearms were slower to affect tactics and decisively influence the outcome of battles between mobile forces.

See also CASTLES AND FORTIFICATION; FIREARMS; GREEK FIRE; HORSES; WARFARE.

**Further reading:** Bért S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (Woodbridge: St. Martin's Press, 1985); Anne Curry and Michael Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years' War* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1994); Anne Curry and Michael Hughes, eds., *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years' War* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1994); Arthur Norris Kennard, *Gunfounding and Gunfounders: A Directory of Cannon Founders from Earliest Times to 1850* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1986); J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

**wedding** See MARRIAGE.

**Wenceslas, Saint (Wenzel, Václav)** (r. 921/922–929/935) *Czech prince, duke of Bohemia*

Wenceslas was the son of Vratislav I, a Premyslid prince (r. 915–921), and his pagan mother Drahomíra of the Stodorans. The principality of the Premyslids was then situated around what became the city of PRAGUE; it was preeminent and the most successful among the lordships of BOHEMIA because of its effectiveness in collecting taxes. In the late ninth century under rule of Bofhvoj I (r. 850–894) and under the influence of his grandmother Saint Ludmilla, Wenceslas was baptized by Saint Methodios, the archbishop of Great Moravia, and later he strongly supported MISSIONS and the efforts of missionaries to convert his people. He became duke in 921 or 922.

#### REIGN AND MURDER

After the invasions of the Hungarians in the early ninth century, the German Holy Roman Empire was reestablished under Henry I the Fowler (ca. 876–936) who considered Bohemia a fief of BAVARIA or part of his own domain. After invading Bohemia, he made Wenceslas pay an annual tribute in 929. Throughout his reign, Wenceslas had concentrated on consolidating his lordship over many surrounding principalities in order to make Bohemia a unified Premyslid state able to oppose the Germans. This political plan of refusal to submit to German domination was also the attitude of Wenceslas's younger brother and successor, Boleslav I the Cruel (r. 929/935–967/972). They quarreled over strategy to attain this end. Within the context of this fraternal animosity and lingering pagan sentiments of the Bohemian nobles, Wenceslas was murdered near his brother's castle on his way to church, traditionally on September 28 sometime between 929 and 935, a political martyr not a religious one. Wenceslas was quickly perceived to be a victim of fratricide and a martyr and gained a reputation as a just prince and a saint. Even his brother, Boleslav, who had been implicated in the assassination, skillfully exploited this for himself and his dynasty and exploited the murder to obtain from the pope a bishopric

of PRAGUE. Wenceslas became a very popular saint, considered the perpetual prince of Bohemia.

**Further reading:** Marvin Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 59–110, 143–244; Frantisek Dvorník, *The Life of Saint Wenceslas* (Prague: State Printing Office, 1929); Karel Stloukal, *Saint Wenceslas in the History and the Traditions of the Czechoslovak People* (Prague: National Democrat Political Club, 1929).

**Wends** Wends were initially a German collective designation used from the sixth century for SLAVS. It continued to have that meaning for those Slavs living in the German part of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. It was also applied to the peoples the Germans encountered in their armed colonization and missionary efforts along the Baltic Sea. As late as the 15th century the term was still applied to towns situated in that region, such as LÜBECK, Hamburg, Luneburg, Rostock, Wismar, and Stralsund. The name had its specific origins in a tribal confederation that migrated into the region between the Oder and the Elbe-Saale Rivers, during the second half of the sixth century and the early seventh century. These Wendish tribes actually had little in common. They originated in various regions; had different religious, cultural, and economic traditions, and spoke different dialects. They evolved from the ninth century into numerous other Slav and Baltic peoples. They were converted to Christianity with considerable difficulty in several waves and Crusades from the 10th to the 13th century.

See also TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, ORDER OF; WALDEMAR I THE GREAT.

**Further reading:** A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

**wergild (wergeld)** *Wergild* was literally the “price of a man” or “man payment.” It was an initially optional composition paid by the offender to the victim or to the family of the victim under the direction of public or tribal authorities. It was designed to replace, or at least offer an alternative to, the right of private vengeance, at that time a generally accepted recourse for damaged parties. It could furthermore be seen as an effort by nascent public authorities to assert their power over subjects. The traditional right of vengeance was related to the principle of family solidarity and joint liability, since the actions of one member of a group could produce consequences for the whole group. While offering protection to members, it could also cause severe problems to everyone in a group because of the irresponsible actions of one member. At the same time the early medieval state offered little as a source of justice.

Law codes minutely fixed tariffs according to the social quality, age, or gender of the offended person and the gravity of the offense committed. Initially established

for the handling of serious offenses, it expanded in scope to include all kinds of damages. Even compensation for a broken tooth was covered, still tied to the eminence or social status of the victim. Such compositions were at first optional. The MEROVINGIAN kings were among the first to try to enforce this procedure to replace private vengeance, with such procedure related to their authority. They even began enforcing the death penalty when it was deemed appropriate. The CAROLINGIANS continued the practice. By the 11th century, private vengeance had usually been eliminated as an acceptable judicial alternative. The concept of the payment of wergild for satisfying public or private justice, based at first on a subjective scale of remedies, was on its way to becoming more objective and impersonal in theory and practice, taking into consideration the personal qualities of the parties involved in applying or arbitrating justice in legal disputes.

**Further reading:** B. S. Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan in the Middle Ages and After: A Study in the Sociology of the Teutonic Races* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913); Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2 vols., trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961 [1939]); Alexander Callander Murray, *Germanic Kingship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1983), 135–155.

**Wessex** Wessex was a kingdom in Anglo-Saxon Britain. Its origins were in the convergence of two groups of West Saxons. Their migration west was opposed by the Britons of Devon in a series of battles from the early sixth century to the Battle of Durham in 577. In that battle the Saxons gained possession of the old Roman cities of Cirencester, Gloucester, and Bath. The Saxons then controlled the coast and cutting off the Britons of Cornwall from those of WALES. After pausing in the early seventh century, Wessex resumed expansion from about 650. This group of Saxons accepted Christianity in 635, but it was not universally accepted for another 50 years. It took more than 40 years to defeat the inhabitants of Somerset and Devon, who were driven to cross the channel to BRITANNY.

By 700, most of Devonshire and all of Somerset and Dorset were under the control of the kings of Wessex. In the ninth century Wessex began to expand again, engulfing eastward the modern countries of Sussex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex. The Wessex king, ALFRED THE GREAT, defeated a great Danish invasion in 878. By 886, with the extinction of the line of the Mercian kings, Alfred's authority was recognized in all parts of ENGLAND not under Danish rule, which he had limited to the DANELAW. Alfred had become the king of an Anglo-Saxon England, and the history of Wessex become the history of England and its ruling dynasties.

**Further reading:** J. H. Bethey, *Wessex from A.D. 1000* (London: Longman, 1986); D. N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge: Boydell

Press, 1992); David Alban Hinton, *Alfred's Kingdom: Wessex and the South 800–1500* (London: Dent, 1977); Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995).

**Westminster Abbey** Westminster Abbey was originally founded in the seventh century but reendowed by Saint DUNSTAN in about 960. Originally a Benedictine monastery, it was expanded and endowed much more richly by King EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in the 11th century. It became the royal monastery and continued to be enriched by many English kings before 1500. Among the richest English monasteries of the Middle Ages, it possessed properties all over ENGLAND.

The present church was built by the master MASONS Henry of Reys, John of Gloucester, and Robert of Beverley for King HENRY III between 1245 and 1260. It employed a GOTHIC style much influenced by contemporary cathedrals in northern FRANCE. The NAVE was finally completed in the 15th century. The spectacular late Gothic chapel of King Henry VII (r. 1485–1509), was added in the early 16th century.

Westminster Abbey has been the scene of nearly every coronation of an English monarch since WILLIAM I the Conqueror in 1066. From 1272 to 1760 it was also the accustomed royal burial place. There were numerous royal tombs around the shrine of Edward the Confessor, which still contains the saint's body. There were also examples of fine sculpture and a beautiful 13th-century flooring before the high altar. The surviving monastic buildings include a CLOISTER, built over the 13th and 14th centuries, an 11th-century vaulted undercroft, a hall and chamber built in the 1370s, and an octagonal chapter house built between 1250 and 1257. There also survive several manuscripts from the monastic library and a large archive of the administration of the medieval monastery. Westminster Abbey was frequently the center of financial and legal operations of the royal government during the Middle Ages and an important center for English learning in the 12th century.

**Further reading:** H. M. Colvin, ed., *Building Accounts of King Henry III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995); Edward Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The Official History of Westminster Abbey* (New York: John Day, 1966); Barbara F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and Its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); Emma Mason, *Westminster Abbey and Its People, c. 1050–1216* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1996).

**Weyden, Rogier van der (Roger de la Pasture)** (ca. 1399–1464) *Flemish painter*

Rogier was born to a well-off artisan family and probably was a pupil between 1427 and 1432 of the master painter Robert Campin (ca. 1378–1444) in Tournai, where he



Choir at Westminster Abbey, 1893 etching (Courtesy Library of Congress)

had been born about 1399. After meeting Jan van EYCK in 1427, he moved permanently to Brussels around 1435; married a local woman, Elizabeth Goffaert, in 1426; and became the official city painter with a comfortable income. He traveled to Italy and was probably there for the HOLY YEAR of 1450 while working for the ESTE and MEDICI families. He never held a royal appointment but worked for several members of the Burgundian court, for whom he produced dramatic and severe portraits. In 1446, he painted his most celebrated painting, the Last Judgment, still in the city of Beaune in Burgundy. He died on June 18, 1464.

See also MEMLING, HANS.

**Further reading:** Loren Campbell, *Van der Weyden* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); Dirk de Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999).

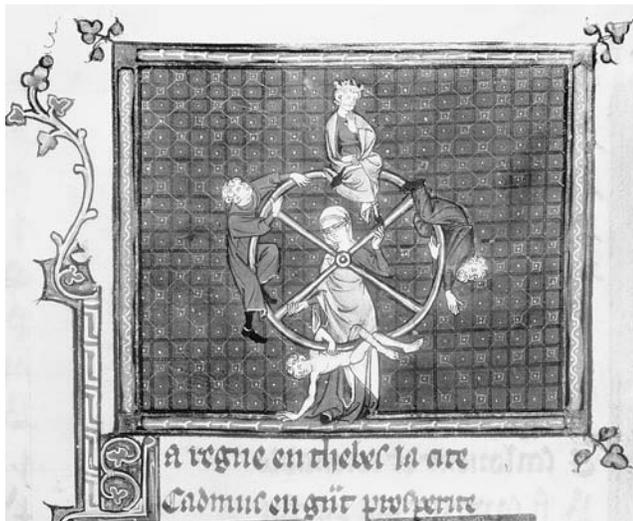
**wheat** See GRAIN CROPS.

**wheel of fortune** The wheel of fortune in medieval art was an expression of the variability of luck or fortune. One could be great or well off today, but in dire circumstances tomorrow. Everything about life would change. It was used in literature and linked to variations in fortune in literary figures and as an iconographic device. In art it usually involved a wheel turning with people either going up or going down, climbing or descending. Sometimes these wheels were wheels of avarice with gluttonous animals lurking in the spokes. Such iconography was portrayed in ROSE WINDOWS, since their shape naturally led to ideas about wheels. Another visualization of this wheel involved a woman who was turning a wheel device with human representations riding up and down.

Fortune had been a formidable and protective goddess in classical culture. This goddess was somewhat Christianized and introduced into medieval literature in *The Consolation of Philosophy* by BOETHIUS. As Fortuna she could regulate only the distribution of property and wealth and had no hold over the free will, body, and soul of Christians. Under the watchful eye of God, she was blind or arbitrary or an instrument for the punishment of sins. Such a concept did not suggest much of a belief in any real chance for lasting social and economic promotion. In the ideology held by some in the Middle Ages, one should stay in one's place and concentrate on gaining salvation.

See also ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND JUSTICE; SOCIAL STATUS AND STRUCTURE; VIRTUES AND VICES.

**Further reading:** John B. Friedman and Jessica M. Wegmann, *Medieval Iconography: A Research Guide* (New York: Garland, 1998); Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, ed. Harry Bober, trans. Marthiel Mathews (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).



The Wheel of Fortune, illumination by Chrétien Legouais in *Ovid Moralise*, Ms. 1044, fol. 74 (14th century), Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen, France (*Giraudon / Art Resource*)

**Whitby, Abbey and Monastery and Synod of** Situated on a headland in East Yorkshire, Whitby was a double monastery known to BEDE. It was founded in about 657 on estates donated by King Oswiu (d. 670). Its first abbess, Hilda (d. 680), made Whitby into training ground for clergy and the burial place of the kings of Northumbria. It was the site of the important synod of 664. At this meeting the English church decided to conform to the Roman way, sponsored by Saint WILFRID, rather than the Irish method of calculating the movable feasts of EASTER, style of TONSURE, and the rituals used at baptism, among other issues. In the eighth century the monastery was a center of learning. The illiterate poet and saint CAEDMON produced his vernacular religious poems there. In the ninth century the monastery was abandoned, but it was reestablished in a nearby site in the late 11th century by monks from Evesham, though it never attained the cultural and religious importance it had around 700.

**Further reading:** Alfred William Clapham, *Whitby Abbey, Yorkshire* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1952); Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

**widows and widowhood** As a result of the demographic conditions of the Middle Ages many women survived their husbands. Women were usually considerably younger than their husbands, and the high mortality rate of childbirth did not equalize the survival rate. The regulation of widows was the object of particular attention in medieval LAW, religious regulation, and society. The DEATH of a husband produced anxiety about the posthumous disposition of his resources, wife, and children. Males, their female close relatives, and families wanted to know and control resources, keep control of surviving children, and oversee the management of property open to inheritance. These objectives often led to concern about whether widows should remarry.

There were also questions in the later Middle Ages about the disposition of dowries and the continuation and prosperity of lineages. The church promoted CELIBACY and discouraged remarriage, unless one was incapable of chastity. It was probably best to enter a nunnery, especially if there were no children. Widows who lived alone were suspicious characters, at best only too open to temptation and passing or squandering of wealth outside their late husband's family. In theory widows could control their resources, but the realities of surviving in medieval society and economic matters encouraged remarriage, even if it meant the loss of control of one's children, dowry, or personal property. All of this depended, of course, on the social and economic condition of the couple involved. Peasants and artisans had more immediate concerns and had to act accordingly to manage immediate and serious survival issues. Jewish and Islamic law protected the rights of widows to financial support and housing after

the death of the husband. The social status and capabilities of female widows varied over the course of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

See also MARRIAGE.

**Further reading:** Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994); Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner, eds., *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman, 1999); Louise Mirrer, ed., *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Sue Sheridan Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow in Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

**Widukind** (d. 807) *leader of Saxon resistance*

Widukind was a member of the noble Saxon family of Angaria in Westphalia. He was first mentioned in 777 at the time of the first uprising of the Saxons. After its failure, he had to take refuge with the Danes but resumed the revolt and won a clear victory at the Süntelgebirge in 782. However, a major Carolingian offensive and severe defeats soon forced him to submit. He accepted baptism with CHARLEMAGNE as his godfather at Attigny in 785 and took no part in later rebellions. His descendants, the Immedings, formed an influential clan in ninth- and 10th-century SAXONY. His life became the basis of numerous medieval legends and Saxon nationalistic tales that were often political in character and antagonistic to the Carolingian tradition. He died in 807.

**Further reading:** Donald Bullough, *The Age of Charlemagne* (London: Elek Books, 1965); Friedrich Heer, *Charlemagne and His World* (New York: Macmillan, 1975); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983).

**Wilfrid, Saint** (634–709) *abbot, bishop of York, ecclesiastical politician*

Wilfrid was born into a noble family in Northumbria and educated at the monastery of LINDISFARNE. In the 650s he spent time at LYON and ROME, where he learned the ritual practices of the Roman church. Later as the abbot of Ripon, he played a major role in introducing and promoting Roman Catholic ideas and practices into northern ENGLAND in 664, replacing the Irish or Celtic traditions especially at the Synod of WHITBY in 663 and 644. As bishop of YORK in 669, he sent the first English appeal to Rome, in a dispute with the archbishop of CANTERBURY. The papal decision in his favor generated the disfavor of secular authorities and he had to take refuge in Sussex in the south. From there he tried to Christianize the local heathen SAXONS. He was recalled to the north in 686 to direct the see of Hexham. An ardent missionary, he never managed to get along with the secular authorities, thereby undoing much of his work. He died at Oundle, probably on April 24, 709.

See also MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES, CHRISTIAN.

**Further reading:** Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); D. P. Kirby, ed., *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press, 1974); Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946); Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3d ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

**William I the Bad** (1120–1166) *Norman king of Sicily*  
William was the younger son of Roger II of SICILY, born about 1120, and after the deaths of three older brothers, he was crowned as coruler in 1151 and ruled under the factional aegis of the hated Maio of Bari (d. 1160). William had to be allied to the Muslim PALACE eunuchs and was detested by the Norman nobility, who tried to ally themselves with FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA and the BYZANTINES. William gained papal approval for his rule on June 18, 1156, at the Concordat of Benevento. Though he defeated a Byzantine invasion in 1155, he lost the Crown's African possessions in 1160 to the ALMOHADS. Maio's assassination on November 10, 1160, unleashed a crisis. The king was arrested. His son and heir, Roger, was murdered, and Muslims were massacred at PALERMO and all over Sicily. William regained control and punished the rebellious counts of the Italian mainland and the towns of Sicily that had supported the massacres. Until his death William stayed in his palace and entrusted the exercise of power to others. Their harsh regime earned William his nickname "the Bad," which, however, was only applied to him from the 14th century. He was a patron of cultural activities and drew Muslim scholars to his court. He died suddenly on May 7, 1166.

See also AL-IDRISI.

**Further reading:** Ugo Falcando, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by "Hugo Falcandus," 1154–69*, trans. Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Julius Norwich, *The Kingdom in the Sun, 1130–1194* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

**William I the Conqueror** (ca. 1028–1087) *duke of Normandy, king of England*

William was born about 1028 in Falaise in NORMANDY as the illegitimate son of Duke Robert I (r. 1027–35) and Herleva or Arlette, the daughter of an undertaker. In 1035, at the age of seven or eight, he survived a disputed succession and succeeded his father, eventually fully establishing his authority as duke by defeating rebels at Val-ès-Dunes in 1047 and at Arques in 1053. He later defeated his overlord, King Henry I (r. 1031–60) of FRANCE, in the Battles of Mortemer in 1054 and Varaville in 1057, despite Henry's help in the succession crisis. In 1063 he added Maine and other regions to the duchy of Normandy. In

1050 or 1051 he had married Matilda (d. 1083), the daughter of Count Baldwin V of FLANDERS (d. 1167). They had five daughters and four sons, including Robert Curthose (d. 1134), the later duke of Normandy, and the English monarchs WILLIAM II RUFUS and HENRY I.

With his duchy secure, William turned his attention to ENGLAND at the death of EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in 1066. Duke William disputed the coronation HAROLD II GODWINSON as the new king since he claimed that in 1051 King Edward had promised the throne of England to him. Harold had admitted this during a strange visit to Normandy in 1064. William invaded England; won the Battle of HASTINGS, where Harold was killed, and was crowned king in WESTMINSTER ABBEY on Christmas Day 1066.

After years of warfare, William finally crushed the resistance of the Anglo-Saxon nobility in 1075. To control the resources necessary to rule his new highly centralized kingdom, he had an inventory of property carried out, the *DOMESDAY BOOK* of the 1080s. To intimidate the ANGLO-SAXONS, he had harshly suppressed any rebellions that broke out and built impressive CASTLES all over England. With the help of ANSELM, the archbishop of CANTERBURY, he reformed the church in England, making it more amenable to royal control and replacing the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy with Normans. Injured in a riding accident, William died at Rouen on September 9, 1087. His eldest son, Robert, succeeded him in Normandy, while William II Rufus became king of England.

See also BAYEUX TAPESTRY; ODO; LANFRANC OF BEC.

**Further reading:** Wido, Bishop of Amiens, *The Carmen de Hastinae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London: Longman, 1982); David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (London: G. Philip, 1989); David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).

### **William I the Lion** (1143–1214) *king of Scotland*

Born in 1143, William became king in 1165 on the death of his elder brother, Malcolm IV (r. 1153–65). To an attempt remain independent of ENGLAND, he entered into an alliance with Louis VII (ca. 1120–80) of FRANCE in 1168 and interfered in a filial revolt against HENRY II of England in 1173. He was taken prisoner near Alnwick in 1174, but he gained his release by consenting to the Treaty of Falaise in which he accepted English sovereignty over SCOTLAND and the Scottish church. In 1198 the needy RICHARD I LIONHEART surrendered his claims over Scotland in exchange for a payment of 10,000 marks. After the accession of King JOHN, the English sought control of Scotland, and war almost occurred in 1199 and again in 1209. However, both times peace was preserved by negotiations and the acceptance of a limited English suzerainty. In 1188 a papal bull secured from Celestine III (r. 1191–98) freed the Scottish church from

the claims of an English archbishop. William had to assert his authority over the independent chieftains of outlying regions of his kingdom frequently. He died on December 4, 1214, at Stirling in Scotland.

**Further reading:** A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1975); D. D. R. Owen, *William the Lion, 1143–1214: Kingship and Culture* (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell, 1997).

### **William II Rufus** (ca. 1057–1100) *duke of Normandy, Norman king of England*

William was born about 1057 as a younger son of WILLIAM I the Conqueror and Matilda of Flanders (d. 1083). He was called Rufus because of his ruddy complexion. In 1087 at the death of William I, the eldest son, Robert Curthose (d. 1134), succeeded to the duchy of NORMANDY and then seized the kingdom of ENGLAND. In 1096, Robert pawned the duchy to William for 10,000 marks in order to join the First Crusade. William's reign was marred by his conflict with ANSELM of Bec of Canterbury, whom he had rashly, when Anselm was on his presumed deathbed, appointed the archbishop of CANTERBURY in 1093 and quickly sought to depose in 1095. He was a competent and successful soldier in SCOTLAND in defense of his domains in France, but was viewed in England as a grim and brutal monarch and was frequently assailed by baronial rebellions. William was, however, a generally effective ruler, whose unsavory reputation was probably inflated in the sources because of his taxation of clerical property; the history of his reign was written by disgruntled clerics. He was killed, struck by an arrow, while hunting in New Forest on August 2, 1100, with the issues of control of Normandy and Anselm's tenure at Canterbury still unresolved. There were strong rumors that this was a murder arranged by William's younger brother and successor, HENRY I. William was unceremoniously buried under a tower at Winchester without the benefit of a Christian burial. The tower's later collapse was taken as a sign of God's disapproval of the clerical taxation policies of William.

See also ODO, BISHOP OF BAYEAUX.

**Further reading:** Eadmer, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia novorum in Anglia*, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet, with a foreword by R. W. Southern (London: Cresset Press, 1964); Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); E. A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882); Duncan William Grinnell-Milne, *The Killing of William Rufus: An Investigation in the New Forest* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968).

### **William II the Good** (1154–1189) *the last Norman king of Sicily*

Born the son of WILLIAM I of SICILY, William II ascended the throne in 1166 at about age 12, under the regency of his mother, Margaret of NAVARRE. His chief minister, a

eunuch, was hated and threatened by the nobility and deserted to the service of the ALMOHADS. Marguerite continued to govern with Stephen of Perche as chancellor and archbishop of PALERMO. Stephen was, however, expelled in 1168 with his French entourage. Governing power then was exercised by his household, bishops, eunuchs, and the grand chancellor, Matthew of Ajello (d. 1193), of the Norman aristocracy.

William himself took control in 1171. Perceiving that the threat of intervention by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA has lessened, William made a German alliance by marrying his aunt, CONSTANCE OF HAUTEVILLE, to the future HENRY VI (1165–97). He married Joan (1165–99), the daughter of HENRY II of ENGLAND. With the help of his strong fleet, he tried to invade AFRICA but was defeated near ALEXANDRIA in 1174. He also sought a way to carry out an expedition against the BYZANTINE EMPIRE and ISLAM. He had some success, capturing Thessaloniki, and invaded only to be defeated near CONSTANTINOPLE in 1185. While planning his participation in the Third CRUSADE, he suddenly died childless on November 18, 1189, at Palermo. This opened the way to a HOHENSTAUFEN monarchy over Sicily and southern ITALY.

See also MONREALE.

**Further reading:** Ugo Falcando, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily* by “Hugo Falcandus,” 1154–69, trans. Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John Julius Norwich, *The Kingdom in the Sun, 1130–1194* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

**William IX (Guilhem)** (1071–1127) *duke of Aquitaine, literary patron, soldier, poet*

William IX was born on October 22, 1071, the son of William VIII (r. 1058–86). Spending most of his life in WARFARE, he twice attempted to annex the city of TOULOUSE, in 1098 and in 1119. As the duke of AQUITAINE, he managed to take that city but was never able to maintain authority there. He took part in an unsuccessful CRUSADE to the Holy Land in 1101 and 1102. He also participated in a Crusade in SPAIN in 1120–23. He had a love affair with the wife of the viscount of Châtelleraut, leading to a papal EXCOMMUNICATION. All the while William continued to write, recite, and sing his boisterous, humorous, and sometimes coarse love poems. William was known as “the first troubadour” and assembled poets and troubadours at his court at Poitiers, making it a center of secular culture and concepts of CHIVALRY. He died on February 10, 1127.

See also COURTLY LOVE.

**Further reading:** William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*, ed. and trans. Gerald A. Bond (New York: Garland, 1982); Frede Jensen, *Provençal Philology and the Poetry of Guillaume of Poitiers* (Odense: Odense Univer-

sity Press, 1983); Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

**William of Auvergne** (ca. 1180/90–1249) *French theologian, philosopher, bishop of Paris*

William was born at Aurillac near Auvergne between 1180 and 1190. He studied at PARIS, became a teacher, gained an appointment as a canon from about 1223, and became a master of THEOLOGY by 1225. As part of the group who opposed an election to the bishopric of Paris in 1227, he went to ROME. Pope GREGORY IX annulled the election and instead chose William as the bishop of Paris on April 10, 1228. However, he always remained more interested in scholarly work than ecclesiastical administration.

As bishop he presided over a university strike between 1229 and 1231, a conflict with the Crown in 1238, and the condemnation of the TALMUD in 1244. Various popes and King LOUIS IX employed him on several diplomatic missions. Besides trying to refute heretical movements, he tried to reform monasteries and favored the new mendicant orders. Along with his administrative duties, William wrote extensive scriptural commentaries, philosophical and theological works, SERMONS, and treatises on spirituality and pastoral care. William also attempted to limit the impact of the new ARISTOTELIANISM and especially the material added by Arabic commentators in the effort to assimilate ancient PHILOSOPHY into Christianity. He died in Paris on March 30, 1249.

See also WILLIAM OF AUXERRE.

**Further reading:** William of Auvergne, *The Immortality of the Soul*, trans. Roland J. Teske and Francis C. Wade (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1991); William of Auvergne, *The Trinity or First Principles*, trans. Roland J. Teske and Francis C. Wade (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1989); Steven P. Marrone, *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983); E. A. Moody, *Platonism and Aristotelianism in the Psychology of William of Auvergne* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 1–109.

**William of Auxerre** (ca. 1150–1231) *French Scholastic philosopher, theologian*

William was born about 1150 in Auxerre, and became the archdeacon of Beauvais. He eventually taught at PARIS and made two journeys to ROME, where he was involved in a conflict in 1229 about the teaching of ARISTOTELIANISM, which had been forbidden by a council of Paris in 1210. He issued a bull (*Parens scientiarum*) that has been called a foundational document for the University of Paris. He was again part of a three-person commission appointed by GREGORY IX on April 23, 1231, to examine and clarify the position of the thought of Aristotle in university teaching. He was also to prepare a new edition of the scientific

and metaphysical works of Aristotle. His *Golden Summa*, which followed the form of PETER LOMBARD's *Sentences*, was one of the first to incorporate into and reconcile a limited Aristotelianism with Christian theology. He died in Rome on November 3, 1231.

See also WILLIAM OF AUVERGNE.

**Further reading:** Walter H. Principe, *The Theology of the Hypostatic Union in the Early Thirteenth Century*. Vol. 1, *William of Auxerre's Theology of the Hypostatic Union* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1963).

**William of Malmesbury** (ca. 1085–ca. 1142) *English Benedictine monk, historian*

William was born in Wiltshire about 1085, the son of a Norman and Saxon family. After receiving some primary education, he entered as an adolescent at the Benedictine monastery of Malmesbury, where he remained for the rest of his life. William became precentor of that abbey in about 1137 and was much involved with its library. In 1139 he represented the monastery at the Council of Winchester but always refused election as abbot. William died about 1142.

William of Malmesbury was among the best historians of his time. Between 1119 and 1125, he compiled a version of the history of the popes. After this he was commissioned by Queen Matilda (1102–67) to write a *History of the Deeds of the Kings of England*. He spent the next 15 years writing these histories. Just before his death he wrote the unfinished *New History* about the events of the civil war in ENGLAND between Matilda and Stephen (ca. 1097–1154). He did research in LIBRARIES and paid attention to documents. He also composed lives of local saints, a treatise on the MIRACLES of the Virgin MARY, a history of GLASTONBURY Abbey, and biblical commentaries. He wrote in a fine Latin style but included some dubious but interesting stories and anecdotes.

**Further reading:** William of Malmesbury, *The Historian Novella*, trans. K. R. Potter (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1955); William of Malmesbury, *Chronicles of the Kings of England: From the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen*, trans. J. A. Giles (London: Bell and Dalch, 1866); John Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation, and Study of William of Malmesbury's De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1981); R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1987).

**William of Moerbeke** (ca. 1215–ca. 1286) *Flemish Dominican friar, translator*

William was born in Moerbeke near GHENT in FLANDERS in about 1215. He probably studied at PARIS and COLOGNE with ALBERTUS MAGNUS and THOMAS AQUINAS, who probably asked him to produce translations into LATIN of the works of ARISTOTLE, which he began about 1260. He was a chaplain, apostolic penitentiary, and confessor to Popes

Clement IV (1265–68) and Gregory X (1271–76). Well known for his knowledge of Greek, he was present at the Second Council of LYON in 1274 and was appointed the bishop of Corinth in Greece on April 9, 1278. He died at Corinth or at the papal court sometimes before October 26, 1286. He translated works of Aristotle, Proclus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Ptolemy, Galen, and Archimedes, among other ancient Greek authors. His translations were important in the introduction of this body of PHILOSOPHY and science into the West.

See also NEOPLATONISM AND PLATONISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

**Further reading:** Aristotle, *De anima*, in the *Version of William of Moerbeke*; and *The Commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Kenelm Foster and Silvester Humphries (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951).

**William of Ockham** (William of Occam, Doctor *Invincibilis*) (ca. 1285–1347) *Franciscan, nominalist philosopher*

William of Ockham was born in Ockham in Surrey in ENGLAND about 1285. He became a FRANCISCAN friar and a student of THEOLOGY at the University of OXFORD. He was ordained subdeacon of Southwark in 1306. While at Oxford as a young student and teacher, he lectured on PETER Lombard's *Sentence* between 1317 and 1319. In 1320 he moved a Franciscan convent at LONDON or Reading to study and write to be accepted as a master. He lost the position as a regent master to others, probably because the chancellor of the University of Oxford, John Lutterell (d. 1335), strongly opposed his appointment. A little later, in 1323, Lutterell collected 56 extracts from Ockham's lectures and sent them to the pope hoping for condemnation. A papal commission in 1324 brought Ockham to AVIGNON on charges of HERESY. He spent the next four years there, and eventually 51 of his ideas were said to be open to censure but never formally condemned.

William then left Avignon with Michael of Cesena (ca. 1280–1342), the head of the FRANCISCAN ORDER who was linked with ideas about POVERTY of the CLERGY also condemned by Pope JOHN XXII. They fled to PISA and then Munich, where the excommunicated Emperor Louis of BAVARIA (r. 1314–47) gave them protection. Ockham then took part in the controversy about poverty and wrote polemics against the pretensions to temporal power of JOHN XXII and later popes. After the death of Louis of Bavaria in 1347, Ockham, perhaps on his deathbed, tried to achieve reconciliation with the pope by renouncing all but his early work. However, he died soon afterward in a Franciscan convent in Munich on April 10, 1347/48.

#### WORK AND IDEAS

From his large and varied body of work, William of Ockham was important for his ideas on metaphysical, theological, and political questions. The first of these was the principle of Ockham's razor, which stressed that the

simplest explanation for any problem was the best explanation. He did not see the need to reconcile God's power with human reason; this meant that much of the work attempting that by the scholastics was fruitless. As a nominalist, he believed that abstract terms were merely names that did not exist in reality. Contrary to much of Scholastic thought and Thomas AQUINAS in particular, Ockham believed that only revelation and personal experience led to GOD. Reason was of little use. He also questioned the concept of transubstantiation in the Eucharist, believing that the matter of the bread and wine was not changed into the body and blood of Christ. William argued against papal supremacy and the assumption that secular governments could tax ecclesiastical property. All these ideas and questions were of great importance in the intellectual world of the later Middle Ages and RENAISSANCE.

See also LOGIC; MARSILIUS OF PADUA; NOMINALISM; REALISM; SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS.

**Further reading:** William of Ockham, *A Letter to the Friars Minor and Writings*, ed. Arthur Stephen McGrade and John Kilcullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); William of Ockham, *Ockham: Philosophical Writings*, ed. and trans. Philotheus Boehner (London: Nelson, 1957); Marilyn McCord Adams, *William Ockham*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987); Katherine H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham: Optics, Epistemology, and the Foundations of Semantics, 1250–1345* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

**William of Rubruck (Rubruquis, Willem van Ruysbroeck)** (ca. 1215–ca. 1270/95) *Franciscan, traveler*

William was probably born between 1210 and 1215 in Rubruck near Cassel in FLANDERS. In addition to his native fluency in Flemish, he was fluent in French and had a passable knowledge of LATIN. He apparently did not have had much education but proved himself an excellent observer. In 1253 he was sent by King LOUIS IX to seek out the Mongol khan and explore the possibilities for converting the MONGOLS to Christianity. He traveled through CONSTANTINOPLE and left ACRE in April of 1253. Encountering the Mongols first near the Volga River, he proceeded to Karakorum, their capital, to see the khan Möngke. He stayed there until May 1254. He began the journey back by passing the Caspian Sea, then south through ARMENIA into southern ANATOLIA; he arrived at CYPRUS to track down Louis IX, whom he was not able to see until 1257.

William was disappointed because he failed to convert many Mongols and was not optimistic about the future chances for their conversion. Perceiving that Mongol westward expansion was not imminent, he concentrated in his description of his travel on Buddhism, geography, shamanic religions, and culture. The extent of influence of his original report of his travels was not clear. He died sometime after 1270.

See also CUMANS; JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI; MARCO POLO.

**Further reading:** Willem van Ruysbroeck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. Peter Jackson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990); Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966).

**William of Tyre** (ca. 1130–1185/90) *archbishop, historian of the crusaders*

William was probably the son of a noble French or Italian family and was born about 1130 in SYRIA or PALESTINE. He studied in Europe at PARIS between 1145 and 1161 and at BOLOGNA between 1161 and 1165. He returned home to be appointed as archdeacon of TYRE in 1167 with the condition that he write a history of the current king of Jerusalem, Amalric I (r. 1162–73/74). In 1170 he became a tutor to the young future king, BALDWIN IV. After the Baldwin's accession in 1173/74, William was made chancellor of the Kingdom of JERUSALEM on 1174 and then archbishop of Tyre in 1175. William traveled to CONSTANTINOPLE and Europe on several occasions to seek military help for the kingdom, now under attack by a revived and better organized onslaught by the local Muslim rulers, and to attend the Third Lateran Council in 1178/79. He was employed by Pope ALEXANDER III as a papal representative. At the council he managed to gain marginally greater control over the MILITARY ORDERS for the local authorities. He was known for his abilities in Greek, Latin, and Arabic.

## HISTORIES

In the 1170s William had turned more to writing and had become the chief authority for the history of the eastern Mediterranean and the Latin kingdom between 614 and 1184, especially from 1147. His *General History of the Crusades and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* was written between 1169 and 1173. Later translated into French and widely circulated, it consisted of 23 volumes and was carefully based on earlier sources, documents, and William's personal experiences in the politics and government of the church and the kingdom. He also wrote an account of the Third Lateran Council of 1179 and a *History of the Eastern Kings*, which survived only in fragments. He failed in his attempt to be made the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1183 and retired to Rome, where he finished his histories and died between 1185 and 1190.

See also FULCHER OF CHARTRES; LATIN STATES IN GREECE.

**Further reading:** William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943); P. W. Edbury, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Margaret Ruth Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

**William of Wyckham** (Wykeham) (1324–1404) *bishop of Winchester; royal official*

From a poor family, he was educated at Winchester and became the secretary to the constable of Winchester Castle in about 1349. There he drew the attention of King EDWARD III and in 1356 became one of the king's clerks and a surveyor of the works at Windsor Castle and elsewhere. In the following years he accumulated numerous benefices and was keeper of several royal castles and manors, which he rebuilt. Further recognized for his abilities, William was made keeper of the privy seal in 1364, bishop of Winchester in 1366, and royal chancellor in 1367. Making an enemy of JOHN OF GAUNT, he was forced out of office for incompetence and lost many of his benefices and was a useful scapegoat for the losses in a bad period for the English in the HUNDRED YEARS' WAR with France in 1371. He was cleared and pardoned of the charges and restored to office at the accession of RICHARD II in 1377, serving again as a moderating influence as chancellor between 1389 and 1391. He founded and richly endowed New College at OXFORD and Saint Mary's Grammar School at Winchester, including scholarships for poor boys. He died in 1404.

**Further reading:** G. H. Moberley, *Life of William Wyckham, Sometime Bishop of Winchester* (Winchester: Warren, 1887); Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973).

**William Tell** *legendary hero*

According to the legend for which there have not been found any corroborating documents, as a leader, though a peasant, of the canton of Uri, William refused to obey an order issued by Gessler, a tyrannical Austrian official. The locals were supposed to make a payment of homage to a symbolic cap hung in the town square of Altdorf. As punishment for his refusal to pay, Gessler forced William to endanger the life of his son by shooting an arrow at an apple placed on the boy's head. William succeeded but was arrested anyway for insulting Gessler. He escaped while he and his guards were crossing Lake Lucerne. Later in an ambush at a narrow pass, William killed Gessler and became a leader of the Swiss military struggle against AUSTRIA. William was first mentioned in legends in the 1470s and his story emerged as fully developed in the 16th century.

*See also* HABSBURG DYNASTY; SWITZERLAND.

**Further reading:** Walter Dettwiler, *William Tell, Portrait of a Legend* (Zurich: Swiss National Museum, 1991).

**William the Marshal** (1146–1219) *soldier, first earl of Pembroke and Striguil*

Born in 1146, William was the landless younger son of John FitzGilbert the Marshal (d. 1165). A frequent and rich winner of tournaments, he was made a tutor in CHIVALRY to Henry II's eldest son, Henry the Young King (1155–83). In 1189 William married Isabel, daughter and

heiress of Richard de Clare (d. 1176), the earl of Pembroke and lord of Striguil. In this manner he inherited the rich and huge estates of the Clare family and the lordship of Leinster in IRELAND. He was soon able to buy half the lands of the earls of Giffard. He then became known as one of the foremost KNIGHTS of his time and one of the most powerful barons in ENGLAND.

Loyal to RICHARD I LIONHEART, until that king's death, William helped JOHN LACKLAND succeed to the throne. John rewarded him with recognition of his title earl of Pembroke. In 1205 he probably swore allegiance to PHILIP II AUGUSTUS of FRANCE for his estates in NORMANDY. To escape John's wrath though he might have given permission for that oath, William went to Ireland between 1207 and 1213. Remaining loyal to the Crown, he helped govern England in John's absence on the Continent in 1214. As John's chief adviser, he was prominent in his support for the prerogatives of the Crown in the negotiations that led to the issue of the MAGNA CARTA in June 1215 and supported John in the ensuing civil war. At John's death in October 1216, William became executor of his will and regent for the young HENRY III. William's efforts were instrumental in defeating a French invasion and in gaining peace for England by 1217. After turning over the regency to the pope and perhaps taking the habit of a Templar, he died peacefully after an illness of a few months on May 14, 1219.

**Further reading:** David Crouch, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147–1219* (New York: Longman, 1990); George S. Duby, *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry*, trans. Richard Howard (1984; reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1985); Sidney Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933).

**wills and testaments** In the Middle Ages wills and testaments were revocable acts in which persons enjoying legal capacity declared their last wishes about the disposition of their property after their death. Men and women could compose and have wills written if they were considered to be of sound mind and body, had the money to pay the scribe or notary, and met all the other legal requirements. It could be done orally or more formally with witnesses. There were many different procedures in Europe according to the many varieties of legal systems.

#### LEGAL CONTEXT

Of classical Roman origin, the testament reappeared in the 12th century with the revival of Roman LAW and elaboration of the notarial system. The document had to be written by a proper authority and had to follow certain forms and contain appropriate clauses in order to be valid. It was a popular device for controlling one's religious and secular bequests and inheritable property. In Roman law it had been used primarily to name an heir. Germanic traditions and later written laws in the early Middle Ages gave people

less freedom to dispose of their material life, mostly by stipulating that most donations could only be made in life. At death certain limiting procedures were defined to protect and clarify male succession.

The church saw the will and last testament as an opportunity to offer the faithful a way of ensuring their salvation and remitting guilt for past sins. It supported the use of wills, and by the 13th century friars and other clerics were notorious for attending the deathbed of the sick and dying to promote pious bequests to the institutions of the church.

In civic law and familial terms the will was a device to try to enforce one's posthumous desires about primarily movable property in the context of the web of regulation established by customary law, Roman law, and interpretations of these in the context of many legal regimes and systems.

### ISLAM

In ISLAM there was diversity in concept and procedure according to various schools of law and between the SUNNI and SHIA systems. The QURAN provided the legal doctrines behind the rules for treatment of heirs and

donations after death. Muslim women had clear rights of inheritance, but they were more limited under Sunni Islam. A WAQF or foundation was often used for estate control and pious objectives.

See also NOTARIES AND THE NOTARIAL SYSTEM.

**Further reading:** Dorothy Whitelock, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150–1250* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Michael M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England, from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1963).

**windmills** See MILLS, WIND AND WATER.

**wine and winemaking** In the Middle Ages as now wine was the fermented juice made primarily from grapes. In the early Middle Ages its cultivation and production expanded from the regions around the Mediterranean into northern Europe. Often it even supplanted other beverages such as barley beer, and its use rivaled



Gathering grapes and pressing them for wine, the harvest in the month of October (15th century), Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent, Italy (*Scala / Art Resource*)

the consumption of hop beer except in Germanic regions. Christianization and the spread of monasticism promoted the growing of grapes and the drinking and appreciation of the consumption of wine, since it was necessary for the MASS and highly symbolic in the Eucharist.

The consumption of wine was determined by economic class and availability. Wine was preferred and appreciated as an alternative to unhealthy water. Its alcoholic content was often lower than that of modern wine, and it was drunk in fairly large amounts on a daily basis. It was also used in cooking as vinegar and as a medicinal remedy. It was an important trading commodity but bulky and fragile to ship and move about. Some regions such as TUSCANY, PORTUGAL, Gascony, and the upper Rhineland specialized in its production in the later Middle Ages. The quality and variety of medieval wines were diversified and depended on local usages and production. There can be little doubt, however, that wine was drunk regularly by those able to afford it and was seen as a major aspect of social conviviality. In Judaism wine was treated much as in Christianity, but drunkenness was strongly condemned. In ISLAM the QURAN forbade the drinking of wine as part of its strict prohibition of alcohol.

See also FOOD, DRINK, AND NUTRITION; EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSIES; UTRAQUISTS AND UTRAQUISM; VINES AND VINEYARDS.

**Further reading:** Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, eds., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, trans. Clarissa Botsford, Arthur Goldhammer, et al. (1996; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), especially 165–346; I. W. Raymond, *The Teaching of the Early Church on the Use of Wine and Strong Drink* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927); Desmond Stewart, *Monks and Wine* (New York: Crown, 1979).

**witchcraft** During the Middle Ages witchcraft was considered an inappropriate form of MAGIC and condemned as a pagan practice and a superstitious SIN prompted by the DEVIL. It was seen to be used for evil ends and was condemned and prosecuted as a sin throughout the period 300 to 1500. The concern that authorities showed for its repression varied over time but had reached a fevered pitch by 1500, leading to the great and deadly witch hunts of the 16th and 17th centuries. By then it was deemed an alternative system of practice and belief to Christianity. There is little evidence that it was a continuation and survival of an ancient system of belief, however.

The sources for any belief in it and its actual practice are not very clear, since they were compiled by those in charge of its suppression, who believed they knew what they were looking for among its alleged practitioners. Over the course of centuries, all kinds of magical practices gradually became associated with it. Most of the time witchcraft was not of much concern,

and witches were considered a marginal group of heretics. If it was perceived as bargaining with the devil to benefit one's life or do evil in the real world, however, it was taken seriously. There were many executions for witchcraft before the 15th century but rare systematic hunts or persecutions.

By the 1480s a complete system had been worked out for what had been perceived about its beliefs and practices and methods to detect them during legal examinations. The *Hammer of Witches*, written by two Dominican inquisitors, became the authoritative source. This book laid the groundwork for the stereotypes deployed in the great persecutions, especially of women, of the following centuries.

See also INQUISITION; MAGIC AND FOLKLORE; SABBATH AND WITCHES' SABBATH.

**Further reading:** Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Charles Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700: A Documentary History*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Edward Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972).

**Wittelsbach family** The Wittelsbach family was the Bavarian noble dynasty who produced the dukes of BAVARIA from 1180 and of the Rhenish palatine from 1214 until 1918. They were probably a branch of the family of the Liutpoldings and split into two branches during the reign of the emperor Louis IV the Bavarian (r. 1314–47). They had been made dukes by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. They skillfully held the duchy by building CASTLES, refusing to restore defeated rival families to their estates, and establishing new towns. They also took advantage of the problems of the HOHENSTAUFEN family to protect and extend their authority. Although they tried to become more than a regional power, they were always overshadowed by the HABSBURGS.

**Further reading:** Peter Oluf Krückmann, *The Wittelsbach Palaces: From Landshut and Höchststadt to Munich* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2001).

**Wolfram von Eschenbach** (ca. 1170–ca. 1220) *German courtly poet*

A native of BAVARIA or FRANCONIA, Wolfram was born about 1170 to a family of the minor nobility. He was a member of the court of Herman I the landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1217), in which he knew WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE. He wrote eight lyric poems, parts of two religious epics, and *Parzival*. Wolfram adapted CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES's *Conte du Graal* to the German language and achieved a unity of the romance of PERCEVAL and that of GAWAIN. It was a powerful allegory about a quest

for spiritual growth. He tolerantly joined Arthurian and Oriental concepts of CHIVALRY, urging toleration between the Christian and Muslim worlds. Wolfram wrote about aristocratic and chivalrous ideals and chaste MARRIAGE and fulfillment of duty. *Parzival* was a religious poem about Perceval and was quite different from most courtly romance. He died about 1220.

See also GRAIL, LEGEND OF, AND GRAIL ROMANCES.

**Further reading:** Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, trans. A. T. Hatto (London: Penguin Books, 1980); Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Willehalm* trans. Mario E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (London: Penguin Books, 1984); Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Titivel; and the Songs*, ed. Marion E. Gibbs and Sidney M. Johnson (New York: Garland, 1988); D. H. Green, "Wolfram von Eschenbach," in *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Vol. 1, *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*, ed. William T. H. Jackson and George Stade (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 263–286; James F. Poag, *Wolfram von Eschenbach* (New York: Twayne, 1972); Hermann J. Weigand, ed., *Wolfram's Parzival: Five Essays with an Introduction* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969).

**women, status of** The status of women during the period 300 to 1500 varied according to class and many other factors, some permanent and some transitory. The Christian church in the East and the West had an ambivalent but generally misogynist attitude, but it did accept women as having different, perhaps imperfect, natures; souls like those of men; and capacity for REDEMPTION. Their role in producing other Christians was appreciated, but their SEXUALITY was deemed always dangerous to the celibate clergy, if not to males in general. Their legal status varied according to class and constantly evolving laws and legal systems. Their freedom of action or agency also varied over time and space. They were generally and in various degrees under the authority of a male relative or husband. In terms of succession, they were usually in line after males. Both ecclesiastical and civil law granted women certain rights and often did try to protect them from male exploitation and abuse. Some women did exercise power and authority over property at the dynastic, estate, and, more commonly, household levels. The status and rights of Jewish women paralleled those of Christian women; CELIBACY after MARRIAGE or as a vocation was not an ideal option. Marriage and reproduction were expected. They were learned from the study of TORAH and segregated in SYNAGOGUES.

#### MARRIAGE AND RELIGIOUS PURSUITS

In theory marriage was a contract in which women had certain rights and obligations. Monogamy in marriage was the rule and divorce impossible, though separations were available to some. Women's obligations included obedience and acquiescence to their husband's procreative access to their body. Their rights included some idea

of support even after the death of the husband. Although at the upper level of society women were viewed almost as commodities valued for their prospective fertility, dowries, and inheritances or family connections with other males, the reality of married life could work out to be more equitable than one might expect. For the unmarried LAITY, celibacy was the only acceptable way of life. In Christianity NUNS had an honorable religious status as celibates dedicated to GOD but were never considered to be eligible for the priesthood or real clerical status. The access to learning and scholarship of all women was limited, but numerous religious and lay women did produce written and artistic material. Women could attain sainthood but did so far less often than males. Women had clear cultural impact as patrons of authors and artists.

All these contradictory capabilities and disabilities, attitudes, and practices did not remain the same throughout the Middle Ages. Working-class women spent their life, as did the men of that class, continuously striving to eke out a living at rural agricultural tasks or endless toil in artisan trades such as brewing or cloth making. Such economic status could lead to more equitable relationships as the partners needed one another for survival.

#### WOMEN IN ISLAM

In ISLAM the QURAN granted women a legal personality, confirmed rights in their marriage, and made divorce possible under certain circumstances. Early Islam forbade female infanticide and recognized women's full personhood. They had the same religious obligations as Muslims as men. Both sexes were completely equal before God, but the differences in their nature required different roles in society. Other disadvantages compared to male prerogatives were more clear; for example, men were allowed to marry someone of another religion, who was not required to convert to Islam. Males were favored in inheritance. Their testimony in court had more weight. Men could have up to four wives.

See also BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS; CHIVALRY; CONCUISCENCE; COURTLY LOVE; FAMILY AND KINSHIP; HERESY AND HERESIES; IRENE; MARY, CULT OF; MYSTICISM, CHRISTIAN; THEODORA I; TROUBADOURS; WIDOWS AND WIDOWHOOD; WILLS AND TESTAMENTS.

**Further reading:** "X: Women in the Medieval World" in the Bibliography; Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life Styles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, A.D. 527–1204* (London: Routledge, 1999); Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Denise Spellberg, *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past: The Legacy of A'isha bint Abi Bakr* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Merry E. Weisner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

**women's religious orders** See NUNS AND NUNNERIES.

**wool** See ANIMALS AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

**works of mercy** The works of mercy were demonstrations of love for neighbors and were done as a consequence of love for GOD. The theologians of the Scholastic period in the 13th century defined seven corporeal and seven spiritual works of mercy. They were based on traditional Orthodox and Western concepts of practicing and cultivating the VIRTUES. The seven corporeal works of mercy were to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick, to visit prisoners, to harbor strangers, and to bury the dead. They were all based on the words of Christ in the GOSPELS. The seven spiritual works of mercy were to convert the sinner, to teach the ignorant, to counsel the doubtful, to comfort the sorrowing, to bear wrongs patiently, to forgive injuries, and to pray for the living and the dead. To help another in these ways was to see Christ in that person and act as Christ himself would act. Christians were to practice the works of mercy at every opportunity. They were much demonstrated as practiced by the saints in hagiographical literature and in didactic art. Their practice would assist in gaining salvation; and those who were helped would later intercede for the practitioner.

Over the course of the period 300 to 1500, the church established institutions to carry out these works. To help these activities was to help the recipients of the largesse or kindness.

See also BURIAL RULES AND PRACTICES; CHARITY AND POVERTY; DEATH AND THE DEAD; HAGIOGRAPHY; HOSPITALS; PREACHING AND PREACHERS; SERMONS AND HOMILIES; WILLS AND TESTAMENTS.

**Further reading:** Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); Fritz Eichenberg, *Works of Mercy*, ed. Robert Ellsberg (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1992).

**Wulfila** See ULPHILAS.

**Wulfstan of Worcester, Saint** (ca. 1008–1095) *Anglo-Saxon monk, bishop*

Born about 1008 to a family closely connected with the church of Worcester, Wulfstan became a priest before 1038, then a monk in the cathedral priory there and successively novice master, precentor, sacrist, and prior of that house. He was elected bishop of Worcester in 1062 and was in that office until his death on January 20, 1095. In the meantime he became famous for his private PRAYER, HOMILIES, PREACHING, and labors opposing the slave trade. After the Norman Conquest of ENGLAND in 1066, he submitted to WILLIAM I, though he had sup-

ported HAROLD, and played a leading role in maintaining and transmitting English monastic values as the spiritual leader of the surviving English church. He aided in the compilation of the *DOMESDAY BOOK*. Trying to preserve writing in Old English, he maintained a *SCRIPTORIUM* that was an important means for the preservation and transmission of texts in Old English. He also sponsored the writing of the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* and the compilation of *Hemming's Chartulary* to protect the documents containing the history of the property of the cathedral of Worcester. He was canonized by Pope INNOCENT III on April 21, 1203.

**Further reading:** J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, eds., *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999); Emma Mason, *Saint Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 1008–1095* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1990).

**Wycliffe, John (Wyclif)** (ca. 1329–1384) *academic philosopher and reformer*

John Wycliffe was born about 1329 in Wiclif-on-Tees in Yorkshire. Between 1356 and 1381 he lived mainly in OXFORD, supporting himself as a nonresident holder of several ecclesiastical BENEFICES. He became a fellow of Meron College and then regent or master of Balliol College but resigned to be vicar of Fillingham. In the 1360s his university reputation was based on his work in LOGIC and PHILOSOPHY; he was well noted for his opposition as a realist to the NOMINALISM of the followers of WILLIAM OF OCKHAM. From 1371 he lectured on THEOLOGY. During the 1370s he played a role as a polemicist against ecclesiastical privileges and as a preacher to the LAITY.

Already involved in JOHN of Gaunt's anticlerical movement, from 1379, Wycliffe began to express more radical views on the Eucharist and from 1380 to attack the friars, calling them mere marginal sects within Christianity. About the Eucharist he thought that after consecration of the bread and wine the accidents of shape and color but also their substance remained as they were seen. He thus denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was a product of his philosophical REALISM and belief in the indestructibility of substance. He also used historical arguments based on his reading of Scripture and the father of the church. Furthermore, he did not see the need for the almost magical intervention of priests with GOD. He was readily condemned by the Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370–78) in 1377. A university commission in Oxford in 1380 declared his views on the Eucharist heretical. In 1382 a mendicant commission at Blackfriars, "the Earthquake Council," in LONDON condemned 24 heresies in his writings. He was even associated in the mind of some with the breakdown of public order in the Peasants' Revolt in 1381.

In 1381 Wycliffe had retired from Oxford to Lutterworth, still under the protection of John of Gaunt. JOHN HUS and his followers in BOHEMIA assimilated many of Wycliffe's ideas, which became part of their program of

reform. These had a later life in England and were associated with the LOLLARDS and their heretical notions and the suspicious movement to translate the BIBLE into English. Wycliffe was linked, too, with the questioning of unworthy ecclesiastical authority and the practices of images, PILGRIMAGES, INDULGENCES, and prayers for the dead. He spent the last years of his life attacking his enemies. He was left alone and died peacefully at Lutterworth in Leicestershire on December 31, 1384. The Council of CONSTANCE (1414–18) ordered his writing burned and his remains removed from consecrated ground.

*See also* ANTICLERICALISM; SIMONY; WALDENSIANS.

**Further reading:** John Wycliffe, *On Simony*, trans. Terrence A. McVeigh (New York: Fordham University

Press, 1992); John Wycliffe, *Select English Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869–1871); Anne Hudson, ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983–1996); Jeremy Catto, “Wycliff and Wyclifism at Oxford, 1356–1430,” in *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 175–261; Joseph H. Dahmus, *The Prosecution of John Wyclif* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952); Anthony Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (New York: Macmillan, 1953); John Robon, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools: The Relation of the “Summa de ente” to Scholastic Debates at Oxford in the Later Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

# Y

**Yaroslav the Wise** (980–1054) *grand prince of Kievan Rus'*

The son of VLADIMIR I THE GREAT, Yaroslav had to deal with a long struggle with his brother, Sviatoslav I the Damned (r. 1015–19), and his elder brother, Mstislav (d. 1035), before finally becoming the great prince of KIEV in 1019. Lame since childhood, he was nevertheless a good soldier. It was not until 1035 or 1036 with the childless death of Mstislav, that he won real control of all of his father's dominions and assumed the title *kagan*. This began a prosperous period for Kievan Rus'.

Despite an unsuccessful war with the BYZANTINE EMPIRE between 1043 and 1046, trading and religious connections between the two states grew. Christianity solidified its position and KIEV was recognized by the patriarch of Constantinople as the seat of a metropolitan. Yaroslav made Kiev his capital, where he started a building program which culminated in the CATHEDRAL of Saint Sophia in 1037. He established schools in Kiev and NOVGOROD. Laws were clarified and codified in the *Ruskasis Pravada*. Religious texts were translated into Slavic. Yaroslav extended and consolidated the frontiers of Kievan Rus', especially in the Baltic region and maintained and solidified peaceful relations with the West through dynastic marriages. After Yaroslav's death in 1054, authority was again distributed among various members of his family. This fragmentation began a decline in fortunes of Kievan Rus'.

**Further reading:** Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1973); Boris D. Grekov, *Kiev Rus'*, trans. Y. Sdobnikov, ed. Dennis Ogden (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959); Boris A. Rybakov, *Early*

*Centuries of Russian History*, trans. John Weir (Moscow: Progress, 1965).

**Yazid I bin Muawiya** (r. 680–683) *second Umayyad caliph*

Yazid was an experienced soldier and the son of Muawiya (r. 661–680). After succeeding his father despite opposition, he was the Umayyad caliph who sent forces against AL-HUSAYN and his followers at Karbala in IRAQ in 680, resulting in their massacres and martyrdom. Through this act he began to personify evil for the SHIA. He also had to put down a rebellion in MECCA, which his troops pillaged and burned at the moment of his death. He was an able general, though unsuccessful in besieging the city of CONSTANTINOPLE. A good administrator, he reformed the caliphate's financial system and improved AGRICULTURE. He died in 683 and was succeeded by a minor.

*See also* ALI IBN ABU TALIB; SCHIA, SHIISM, AND SHIITES.

**Further reading:** Syed Husain M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1998).

**year 1000** The year 1000 was associated with apocalyptic expectations linked with the end of the millennium or 1,000 years after the Incarnation and birth of Christ. The perception of this fear seems mostly to have been a creation of later historians. Although the overwhelming majority of people then were not very conscious of what year it was, there was some concern and anticipation among more learned contemporaries such as ABBO OF FLEURY and Raoul Glaber (d. 1047). The anticipation of this ominous date of the supposed end of the world did

lead to more sophisticated efforts to calculate the year and when Christ was born and died. This was an attempt to clarify the CALENDAR. Some also thought that the real date for the end of the world might actually be 1033 or 1,000 years after the Crucifixion. There was a genuine impulse to reform many aspects of society and the church about this time. For example, this was the era of the beginning of the PEACE AND TRUCE OF GOD movement to reduce violence in society, especially against the property of the church. The practice of PILGRIMAGE became much more popular. Around 1000 emperor OTTO III had linked a secular and religious crisis with his program of imperial reform and renewal. Perhaps the year 1000 might be better linked with religious, social, and political revival than with supposed terror of Christians who expected the imminent end of the world.

See also ANTICHRIST; APOCALYPSE AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; SYLVESTER II, POPE.

**Further reading:** Henri Focillon, *The Year 1000*, trans. Fred D. Wieck (New York: F. Ungar, 1969); Michael Frassetto, ed., *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); John Man, *Atlas of the Year 1000* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

**Yiddish (Yidish-daytsh, Judeo-German)** Yiddish was the VERNACULAR language written in the Hebrew alphabet of the ASHKENAZI JEWS and called *taytsh*, *ivritaytsh*. It was close to German but consciously different from the Christian ways of speaking. Scholars date the origin of Yiddish to the ninth and 10th centuries, when Jews from northern FRANCE and ITALY settled in Lorraine and central Germany at Mainz, Worms, and Speyer. Yiddish gradually developed out of interaction among elements of Romance speech, Hebrew, Aramaean, and dialects of Middle High German. It became better defined after the crises of the massacres and migrations around the beginning of the First CRUSADE in 1096. Slavic elements were added in the 16th century as some Jews moved into Eastern Europe. This vernacular was used in parallel with Hebrew in official documents, PRAYERS, translations of literary texts, complex Talmudic arguments, medical treatises, and glosses on biblical texts in the later Middle Ages.

**Further reading:** Solomon Liptzin, *A History of Yiddish Literature* (Middle Village, N.Y.: Jonathan David, 1985); Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*, trans. Shlomo Noble (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

**Yolanda of Brienne (Isabel, Isabella II)** (ca. 1212–1228) *heiress to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, wife of Emperor Frederick II*

Given the name Isabella, but more usually known as Yolanda, she was heiress to the Kingdom of JERUSALEM

through her mother, Maria of Montferrat (d. 1212). Her father, John of Brienne (ca. 1148–1237), acted as regent during her minority. In August 1225 she was married by proxy to the widower emperor FREDERICK II. Promoted by Pope Honorius III (r. 1216–27), this match offered the prospect of a revived Kingdom of Jerusalem to Frederick so that he would much more quickly to go on CRUSADE. After being crowned queen of Jerusalem and married in ACRE, the 12- or 13-year-old Yolanda or Isabella traveled to Brindisi, where the marriage was solemnized on November 9, 1225. It was perceived as confirming Frederick's pledge to undertake a crusade.

Frederick immediately offended and dispossessed her father and guardian, John of Brienne, by assuming the rights and title of king consort. Frederick may or may not have neglected her for her older cousin, but in April 1228 Yolanda bore a son, Conrad (1228–54). She died a few days later on May 1, leaving her infant as the enfant king of Jerusalem. Frederick was probably unfairly blamed for her death. Their son as Conrad IV of HOHENSTAUFEN became the king of GERMANY and of Jerusalem at his birth but never visited PALESTINE to be crowned as king of Jerusalem; nor was his son, Conradin (1252–68), ever crowned. With Conradin's death fighting CHARLES I OF ANJOU in 1268, the line of descent through Yolanda ended.

**Further reading:** David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1988); Georgina Masson, *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: A Life* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957).

**York (Eboracum, Eoforwic, Jórviik)** The medieval city of York had been founded by the Romans in about 71 C.E. and became the principal Roman military center in northern Britain and the capital of the Roman province of Britannia Inferior. In the fifth and sixth centuries, after disappearing from the historical record, York or Eoforwic emerged as the most important town in northern ENGLAND. King Edwin of Northumbria's (d. 632) conversion to Christianity took place in the city in 627, and the first cathedral or Minister of York was built soon afterward. In 735 York became the seat of one of the only two archbishoprics in medieval England, supposedly second only to CANTERBURY.

At the end of the eighth century, the prosperity and intellectual accomplishments of York were shattered by Viking invasions. From 866 York or Jórviik was the capital of Danish and Norwegian kings. Viking York remained a dynamic commercial center throughout this period of prolonged political turbulence. After the Norman Conquest in 1066, York rebelled, was damaged, and then controlled by two new Norman CASTLES. It became the center of the largest county in the country. By the early 13th century, the citizenry of York had succeeded in establishing considerable self-government

with a mayor from 1213. It had also become an active manufacturing town with a prominent Jewish community. The JEWS, however, became the victims of a murderous pogrom in 1190 and were finally expelled in 1290.

During the wars between SCOTLAND and EDWARD I and in the 14th century, York again became a major military stronghold. The Scots never succeeded in capturing York itself. By the late 14th century, conditions had settled and York was prosperous again. Despite the ravages of PLAGUES of the mid-14th century, York was probably the largest provincial town, with perhaps 15,000 inhabitants in England. In the 15th century, the town was dominated by GUILDS of MERCHANTS who paid for the impressive buildings still standing today, such as a Guildhall from about 1449 to 1459, a Tailors' Hall from about 1405, and some 40 rebuilt or refurbished parish churches. By 1450 York had become famous for its walls and cathedral with its STAINED GLASS, and the annual performances of its Corpus Christi MYSTERY plays. By the end of the 15th century, however, the local merchants were lamenting the city's economic decline.

**Further reading:** R. Barry Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190* (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1974); P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); S. R. Jones, ed., *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 1997); Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley, and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

**York dynasty** See EDWARD IV; RICHARD III; WARS OF THE ROSES.

**York Plays** The York Plays were a cycle of plays of unknown authorship that were enacted at YORK from the late 14th century to the third quarter of the 16th century. They were a cycle of 48 or 50 plays or pageants that contained more than 300 speaking parts and more than 14,000 lines of Middle English stanzaic verse. The cycle dramatically covered all of sacred history from the fall of the Angels, through creation, the temptation of Adam and Eve by the DEVIL, the expulsion from Eden, the flood, the story of Moses, the Incarnation, the life of Christ, his temptations by the devil, his trial and Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the LAST JUDGMENT. They were performed by the craft GUILDS of the city on the movable summer feast day of Corpus Christi. They were all performed on one day on pageant wagons.

See also DRAMA; MYSTERY PLAYS.

**Further reading:** Richard Beadle and Pamela M. King, eds., *York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Richard Beadle, "The York Cycle," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Richard Beadle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85–108; Richard J. Collier, *Poetry and Drama in the York Corpus Christi Play* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1978); Clifford Davidson, *From Creation to Doom: The York Cycle of Mystery Plays* (New York: AMS Press, 1984).

**youth, concept of** Any concept of "youth" in the Middle Ages and Renaissance was not actually a clearly defined age group of all members of society but a temporary limited social status one characteristically passed through while growing up as a noble. The idea of youth meant little to the majority of society, whose members were locked into labor or service as soon as they were able to perform it. In the development of the young, primarily male, noble it was a status beyond that of childhood or adolescent yet with limited rights and certainly not the privileges of a fully free and independent adult.

The term was primarily applied to a grown man who had been educated and become a knight. However, but not yet in control of his property or recognized as the head of a family or lineage. He was dependent on his father, who was the holder of patrimony and had authority over him and the rest of the family and household. It did not end at a particular age. The younger sons or cadets in this status might have little hope or prospect of ever succeeding their father or attaining economic independence. Males, excluded from much autonomy by this nebulous and perhaps irresponsible state, were thus often drawn to violence, the abduction of women, and predatory behavior as they sought to make their way in the world. TOURNAMENTS provided other opportunities for advancement, as in the case of WILLIAM THE MARSHAL. The younger sons of monarchs often participated in rebellions against their father as RICHARD I Lionheart did against HENRY II. Historians are only recently beginning to study what being a youth meant to women and other classes and groups in the societies of the Medieval world, if it meant anything at all.

See also AGING; CHILDHOOD; CHIVALRY; FAMILY AND KINSHIP.

**Further reading:** Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150–1650* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002); Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds., *A History of Young People*, Vol. 1, *Ancient and Medieval Rites of Passage*, trans. Camille Nash (1994; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Shulamith Shahar,

**760 Ysengrimus**

*Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990); Hasan A. Shuraydi, *The Medieval Muslim Attitude toward Youth* (thesis, Yale University, 1970); Kaykavus ibn Iskandar ibn Qabus, Unsur al-Maali, *A Mirror for Princes: "The Qabus nama,"* trans. Reuben Levy (London: Cresset Press, 1951); Fiona Harris Stoertz, *Adolescence in Medieval Culture: The High Medieval*

*Transformation* (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1999).

**Ysengrimus** See BEAST EPICS OR FABLES.

**Yuan dynasty** See MONGOLS AND MONGOL EMPIRE.

# Z

**Zabarella, Francesco (Zabarellis)** (1360–1417) *Italian jurist, canonist*

Francesco was born at PADUA about 1360 and studied canon law there and then at BOLOGNA, where he obtained a licentiate in 1383. He taught at Bologna, FLORENCE, and Padua. The antipope, John XXIII (r. 1410–15), appointed him the archbishop of Florence in 1410 and the next year appointed him a cardinal-deacon. John sent him to the emperor SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBOURG to promote the calling of a council, which finally opened at CONSTANCE in 1414. Francesco was a supporter of a moderate CONCILIARISM and promoted the restoration of peace and reform of the church. His treatise on ending the Great SCHISM, an important conciliarist document, was critical of papal power and thus later condemned by the PAPACY. Though Francesco had been charged by John XXIII to preside over the council as his legate, he became one of the important sponsors of that pope's deposition. He died at Constance on September 26, 1417.

**Further reading:** Walter Ullman, *The Origins of the Great Schism: A Study in Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical History* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1948); Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).

**Zagwa** See ABYSSINIA.

**Zirids (Banū Ziri)** The Zirids were a Berber dynasty who ruled in North AFRICA and al-MAGHRIB between 972 and 1125. The founder of the dynasty, Yusuf Buluggin I

ibn Ziri (r. 972–84), was a governor in Ifriqiyya for the FATIMID caliphs in EGYPT. He moved to take over all of the al-Maghrib. When this region proved too extensive to control, it was divided around 990 between the two branches of the family, the Zirids and the Hammadids, who received the western part of north Africa. The Zirids made their capital at AL-QAYRAWAN. In 1041 they renounced their allegiance to the Fatimids, who promptly incited Bedouin tribes against them, and these nearly destroyed the territory of the Zirids. The Zirids, now confined to the coast, built up a fleet. The NORMANS under ROGER II eventually extracted tribute from them. The last Zirid ruler, al-Hasan (1121–48), lost their remaining territory to the ALMOHADS in 1148.

**Further reading:** Clifford Edward Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967); Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London: Orbis, 1980).

**Žižka, Jan** (ca. 1360–October 11, 1424) *military leader*  
Born into a noble family about 1360 in Trocnov in BOHEMIA, Jan became a mercenary and fought for POLAND. He was later to lose an eye in the Bohemian civil wars during the reign of King Wenceslas IV (1361–1419), at whose court he had grown up. He became a zealous follower of John HUS and led those who threw the city councilors of PRAGUE out of the windows of the town hall in 1419.

Žižka then joined the TABORITES and helped them organize a fanatical army. In 1420 he defeated the German army of the emperor and German king of BOHEMIA, SIGISMUND (r. 1419–37), at Vitkov. He continued to fight the subsequent invasion forces of 1421 and 1422. While

fighting against the Bohemian partisans of Sigismund and the Catholics, he lost his other eye in battle. Despite internal conflicts among the Taborites, he continued to lead them against the more conservative but heretical forces of Prague in 1423. In the summer of that year, Žižka undertook an unsuccessful invasion of HUNGARY. After beating the more conservative Hussite nobles and the forces of Prague again in 1424, he died of the PLAGUE on October 11, 1424, while preparing an attack on MORAVIA. His military tactic of using CAVALRY, infantry, and cannons together was innovative for the time and produced dramatic victories.

**Further reading:** Frantisek Michálek Bartos, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424–1437* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); F. G. Heymann, *John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

**Zoroastrianism (Mazdaism)** Late antique and medieval Zoroastrianism was the system of religious doctrines ascribed to Zoroaster or Zarathustra. It was a dominant religion in IRAN where under the SASSANIAN dynasty between 226 and 651 it was the official state religion. After the conversion of Iran to ISLAM, many Zoroastrians moved to India, where they were called Parsis (Persians).

Of Zoroaster (ca. 658–ca. 551 B.C.E. or perhaps 1,000 years earlier) the person, little or nothing with much certainty has been found. He probably was active in north-eastern Iran, western Afghanistan, and the Turkmen Republic of the former Soviet Union in the early sixth century B.C.E. The *Gathas*, hymns ascribed to him, have always been among the most sacred writings or Scriptures (*Avesta*) of the Zoroastrians.

## BELIEFS

Essentially monotheistic, Zoroastrianism was probably less dualistic in its cosmology at its beginning than it would later become. According to that later rigid doctrinal system, the world was made by one “Wise Lord,” or Ahura Mazda, the creator and the source of light and darkness, who had the help of a spirit and six immortals. This lord was not all-powerful and was opposed by an uncreated “Evil Spirit” or Ahriman who was in turn assisted by other evil spirits. The created world was then an arena of combat between good and evil represented in these two beings. Human beings created to help Ahura Mazda in his struggle with evil did have free will but at the same time had the absolute duty to choose the good. In fact all human effort was to be directed toward attaining salvation. At death each individual soul was judged according to his or her words and deeds. Those who failed this judgment were cast into a HELL or a LIMBO to be purified of the consequences of their transgressions. There was to be a return of a savior who would arrive for a final battle between good and evil at the end of the world. Later there was even an idea of resurrection of the dead. Much of this was based on earlier Iranian religious beliefs. Fire was regarded as a life force for the whole of creation and was at the center of Zoroastrian initiations and rituals in temples. This religion influenced Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in ways that have remained unclear. There are still some Zoroastrians in present-day IRAQ and Iran.

*See also* DUALISM; ESCHATOLOGY; MANICHAISM AND MANI.

**Further reading:** Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989–1991); Jamsheed Choksy, *Conflict and Cooperation: Zoroastrian Subalterns and Muslim Elites in Medieval Iranian Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Robert C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (New York: Putnam, 1961).

# APPENDIX I

## MONARCHS AND RULERS OF THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

### WESTERN EUROPE

Name	Period	Status
<b>Denmark</b>		
<i>Gorm or Jelling Dynasty</i>		
Gorm the Old, king of Jutland	ca. 936–958	
Harald Bluetooth (Harald Gormsson)	958–986/987	
Svein Forkbeard (Svein Haraldsson)	986/987–1014	
Harald II	1014–1018	
Canute the Great	1018–1035	
Harthcanute (Harde Knud)	1035–1042	
Magnus I the Good, king of Norway	1042–1046/7	
<i>Estrith (Esttid) Dynasty</i>		
Svein Estrithson	1042–1074	
Harald III Hén	1074–1080	
Canute II (IV)	1080–1086	
Olaf I Hunger	1086–1095	
Eric I the Evergood	1095–1103	
Niels	1104–1134	
Eric II the Memorable	1134–1137	
Eric III the Lamb	1137/38–1146	
Canute III (V) Lavard, Bread Giver	1146–1157	
Waldemar I the Great	1157–1182	
Canute IV (VI)	1182–1202	
Waldemar II the Conqueror or Victorious	1202–1241	
Waldemar the Younger	1215–1231	co-regent
Eric IV Plovpenning or Plough penny	1241–1250	co-regent, 1232
Abel	1250–1252	
Christopher I	1252–1259	
Eric V Klipping	1259–1286	
Eric VI Menved	1286–1319	
Christopher II	1320–1326, 1330–1332	deposed, restored
Waldemar III	1326–1330	
Eric	1330–1332	
Interregnum	1332–1340	
<i>Holstein Counts (Norway, Pomerania)</i>		
Waldemar IV Atterdag	1340–1375	
Olaf II, son of Margaret and Haakon	1375/76–1387	
Margaret I of Norway	1387–1412	
Eric VII of Pomerania	1412–1439	deposed, d. 1459

Name	Period	Status
	<i>Palatinate</i>	
Christopher III of Bavaria	1440–1448	
	<i>Oldenburg Dynasty</i>	
Christian I Oldenburg	1448–1481	
John I	1481–1513	
	<b>England</b>	
	<i>Wessex</i>	
Cerdic or Cedric	519–534	
Cynric	534–560	
Ceawlin	560–592	deposed, d. 593
Ceol	592–597	
Ceolwulf	597–611	
Cynegils	611–642	
Cenwealh	642–672	
Æscwine	673–676	
Centwine	676–685/686	
Cædwalla	685/686–688	abdicated, d. 689
Ine	688–726	abdicated
Æthelheard	726–740	
Cuthred	740–756	
Sigeberht	756–757	
Cynewulf	757–786	
Berhtric	786–802	
Egbert	802–839	
Æthelwold (Æthelwulf)	839–858	
Æthelbald	858–860	
Æthelbert	860–866	
Æthelred I	866–871	
Alfred the Great	871–899	
	<i>Northumbria</i>	
Æthelfrith	592/593–616	
Edwin	616–633	
Oswald, Saint	633/634–641	
Oswy (Oswiu)	640/641–670	
Ecgrith	670–685	
Aldfrith	685–705	
Eadwulf I	705–706	joint
Osred I	705–716	
Cenred	716–718	
Osrc	718–729	
Ceolwulf	729–737	abdicated, d. 760
	<i>Saxons</i>	
Edward the Elder	899–924	
Æthelstan the Glorious	924–939/940	
Edmund I the Magnificent	939/940–946	
Eadred	946–955	
Edwig the Fair	955–959	Wessex only, 957–959
Edgar the Peaceable	957–975	Mercia and Northumbria, 957–959
Edward the Martyr, Saint	975–978	
Æthelred II the Unready (Unræd)	978–1016	
Swein Forkbeard	1013–1014	
Edmund II Ironside	1016	
	<i>House of Denmark</i>	
Canute the Great	1016–1035	
Harold I Harefoot	1035–1040	regent 1035–1037
Hardacanute	1040–1042	

Name	Period	Status
	<i>House of Wessex</i>	
Edward the Confessor, Saint	1042–1066	
Harold II Godwinson	1066	
	<i>Norman Dynasty</i>	
William I the Conqueror	1066–1087	
William II Rufus	1087–1100	
Henry I Beauclerc	1100–1135	
	<i>House of Blois</i>	
Stephen of Blois	1135–1154	
	<i>Angevin (Plantagenet) Dynasty</i>	
Henry II Fitzempress or Plantagenet	1154–1189	
Henry	1170–1183	co-regent, d. 1183
Richard I Lionheart	1189–1199	
John Lackland	1199–1216	
	<i>Plantagenet Dynasty</i>	
Henry III	1216–1272	
Edward I Longshanks	1272–1307	
Edward II	1307–1327	deposed, d. 1327
Edward III	1327–1377	
Richard II	1377–1399	deposed, d. 1400
	<i>Lancastrian Dynasty</i>	
Henry IV	1399–1413	
Henry V	1413–1422	
Henry VI	1422–1471	deposed, restored, deposed
	<i>Yorkist Dynasty</i>	
Edward IV	1461–1483	
Edward V	1483	deposed, d.? 1483
Richard III	1483–1485	
	<i>Tudor Dynasty</i>	
Henry VII	1485–1509	
	<b>France</b>	
	<i>Merovingian Dynasty (some are only regional)</i>	
Merovech	d. 458	
Childeric I	458–481/482	
Clovis	481/482–511	
Clothair I	511–558, 558–561	
Thierry I, king of Austrasia	511–543	
Clodomir I, king of Orléans	511–524	
Childebert I, king of Paris	511–558	
Charibert, king of Paris	561–567	
Guntram, king of Burgundy and Orléans	561–592	
Sigebert I, king of Austrasia	561–575	
Chilperic I, king of Soissons and Orléans	561–584	
Childebert II, king of Austrasia	575	
king of Burgundy and Orléans	593–596	
Thierry II (Theuderic), king of Burgundy	596–613	
Théodebert II, king of Austrasia	595–612	
Clothar II	584–629	sole king 613–629
Charibert, duke of Burgundy	628–631/632	
Dagobert I, sole king	629–639	
Clovis II, king of Neustria and Burgundy	637/638–656	king of France 656/7
Sigebert II, king of Austrasia, Saint	634–659	
Dagobert II, king of Austrasia, Saint	674–679	
Childeric II, king of Austrasia	656–670	king of France 670–673

Name	Period	Status
Clotaire III, king of Neustria and Burgundy	656–670	
Thierry III (Theuderic), king of Neustria and Burgundy	673	king of France 679–691
Clovis III	675–676	
Clovis IV	691–695	
Childebert III	694/695–711	
Dagobert III	711–715	
Chilperic III	715–720	
Thierry IV (Theuderic), king of Neustria and Burgundy	720/721–737	
Interregnum	737–742	
Childeric III	742–751/752	deposed
<i>Pepinid Dynasty</i>		
Pépin I of Landen	d. 640	mayor of the Palace
Pépin II of Héristal	d. 714	mayor of the Palace
Charles Martel	ca. 714–741	
Pépin III the Short	751–768	
<i>Carolingian Dynasty (some are only regional, some outside present-day France, and some disputed)</i>		
Charlemagne	768–814	
Carloman	768–771	joint
Louis I the Pious	814–840	
Charles, king of Neustria and Aquitaine	d. 811	
Pépin, king of Italy	d. 810	
Bernard, son of Pépin, king of Italy	810–818	
Charles I the Bald	843–877	
Lothair, emperor	840–855	
Pépin, king of Aquitaine	d. 838	
Louis the German, king of Germany	840–876	
Louis II the Stammerer	877–879	
Louis III	879–882	
Carloman	879–884	
Charles III the Simple	893–923	deposed
Charles II the Fat, emperor of Germany	876	king of France 884–887
Louis IV of Outremer	936–954	
Lothair	954–986	
Louis V the Sluggard	986–987	
<i>Capetian Dynasty</i>		
Hugh Capet	987–996	
Robert II the Pious	996–1031	
Henry I	1031–1060	
Philip I	1060–1108	
Louis VI the Fat	1108/09–1137	
Louis VII the Young	1137–1180	
Philip II Augustus	1180–1223	
Louis VIII the Lion	1223–1226	
Louis IX, Saint	1226–1270	
Philip III the Bold	1270–1285	
Philip IV the Fair	1285–1314	
Louis X the Quarrelsome	1314–1316	
Philip V the Tall	1316–1322	
Charles IV the Fair	1322–1328	
<i>Valois Dynasty</i>		
Philip VI of Valois	1328–1350	
John II the Good	1350–1364	
Charles V the Wise	1364–1380	
Charles VI the Well-Beloved (or the Mad)	1380–1422	
Charles VII the Victorious	1422–1461	
Louis XI	1461–1483	
Charles VIII	1483–1498	
Louis XII	1498–1515	

Name	Period	Status
<b>Germanic Kingdoms</b>		
<i>Vandals</i>		
Gaiseric	ca. 427/429–477	
Huneric	477–484	
Gunthamund	484–496	
Thrasamund	496–523	
Hilderic	523–530	deposed
Gelimir	530–533/534	
<i>Ostrogoths</i>		
Theodoric	493–526	
Athalric	526–534	
Theodahat	534–536	
Witigis	536–540	
Hildibad	540–541	
Eraric	541	
Totila (Baduila)	541–552	
Teia	552–553	
<i>Visigoths</i>		
Alaric I	395–410	
Athaulf I	410–415	
Sigeric	415	
Wallia	415–418	
Theodoric I	418–451	
Thorismund	451–453	
Theodoric II	453–466	
Euric	466–483	
Alaric II	483–506/507	
Theodoric and Amalric	506–522	
Amalric	511–531	
Theudis	531–548	
Theudigisel	548–549	
Agila I	549–554	
Athanagild	554–567	
Leova I (Liuva)	567–572	Septimania
Leovigild	568/570–586	Spain, sole ruler
Recared I	586–601	
Leova II (Liuva)	601–603	
Witteric	603–610	
Gundimar	610–612	
Sisibut	612–620/621	
Recared II	620–621	
Swinthila	620–631	deposed
Sisinand	631–636	
Chintila	636–639/640	
Tulga	640–641/642	deposed
Chindaswinth	641/642–652/653	
Recceswinth	652–672	
Wamba	672–680	deposed
Erwig	680–687	
Egica	687–701/702	
Witiza	701/702–710	
Roderic	710–711	
Agila II	711–714	
<i>Lombard Kings of Italy</i>		
<i>House of Alboin</i>		
Alboin	568/569–572	
Cleph	572–573/574	

Name	Period	Status
Autheri	583/584–590	
Agilulf	590–615/616	
Adaloald	615–625/626	
Arioald	625/626–636	
Rothari	636–652	not of the House of Alboin
Aribert I	653–661/662	
Rodoald	652–653	not of the House of Alboin
Godebert	661–662	
Grimoald	662–671/672	
Perctarit	672–688	
Cunipert	688–700	
Liutbert	700–701	
Aribert II	701–711	
Ansprand	712	
Liutprand	712–743	
Hildebrand	743–744	
Ratchis	744–749, 756–757	deposed, restored
Aistulf	749–756	
Desiderius	756–774	

### Holy Roman Empire after the Carolingians

#### *Saxon Dynasty*

Henry I the Fowler	919–936	
Otto I the Great	936–973	
Otto II	973–983	
Otto III	983–1002	
Henry II	1002–1024	

#### *Salian or Franconian Dynasty*

Conrad II the Salian	1024–1039	
Henry III the Salian	1039–1056	
Henry IV	1056–1105/06	deposed
Henry V	1105/06–1125	
Lothair III of Supplinburg, duke of Saxony	1125–1137	

#### *Hohenstaufen Dynasty*

Conrad III	1138–1152	
Frederick I Barbarossa	1152–1190	
Henry VI	1190–1196/97	
Philip of Swabia	1197–1208	
Otto IV of Brunswick	antiking 1198	deposed 1215
Frederick II	1215–1250	
Conrad IV	1250–1254	
William, count of Holland	antiking 1247–1256	
Conradin	1252–1268	
Interregnum	1254–1273	
Rudolf I of Habsburg	1273–1291	
Adolph of Nassau	1292–1298	deposed
Albert I of Austria	1298–1308	
Henry VII of Luxembourg	1308–1313	
Louis IV of Bavaria	1314–1346	
Charles IV	1346–1378	
Wenceslas	1378–1400	
Rupert of the Palatine	1400–1410	
Sigismund	1410–1437	

#### *Habsburg Dynasty*

Albert II	1438–1439	
Frederick III	1440–1493	
Maximilian I	1493–1519	

Name	Period	Status
<b>Iberian Peninsula</b>		
<i>Aragon (broken succession and rule by other dynasties)</i>		
Aznar I Galindo	ca. 809–839	
Galindo I Aznarez	ca. 844–867	
Aznar II Galindo	867–893	
Galindo II Aznarez	893–922	
Sancho II Garcés	970–994	
García II Sánchez	994–1000	
Sancho III Garcés el Mayor	1000–1035	
Ramiro I	1035–1063	
Sancho I Ramírez	1063–1094	co-regent 1062, king of Navarre 1076
Peter I	1094–1104	co-regent 1085
Alfonso I the Battler	1104–1134	
Ramiro II the Monk	1134–1137	
Petronilla	1137–1164	abdicated, d. 1173
Alfonso II the Chaste	1162–1196	
Peter II the Catholic	1196–1213	
James I the Conqueror	1213–1276	
Peter III the Great	1276–1285	
Alfonso III the Liberal	1285–1291	
James II the Just	1291–1327	
Alfonso IV the Benign	1327–1336	
Peter IV the Ceremonious	1336–1387	
John I the Hunter	1387–1395	
Martin I the Humane	1395–1410	
Ferdinand I Trastámara	1412–1416	
Alfonso V the Magnanimous	1416–1458	
John II	1458–1479	
Ferdinand II the Catholic	1479–1516	
Union with Castile	1479–1504 and from 1516	
<i>Asturias-León-Castile</i>		
Pelayo	718–737	
Fáfila	737–739	
Alfonso I the Catholic	739–757	
Fruela I	757–768	
Aurelio	768–774	
Silo	774–783	
Mauregato	783–788	
Vermudo I	788–791	abdicated
Alfonso II the Chaste	791–842	
Ramiro I	842–850	
Ordoño I	850–866	
Alfonso III the Great	866–910	deposed
<i>Kings of León</i>		
García	910–914	
Ordoño II	914–924	
Fruela II	924–925	
Alfonso IV the Monk	925–930	abdicated, d. 933
Ramiro II	930–951	
Ordoño III	951–956	
Sancho I the Fat	956–966	
Ramiro III	966–984/985	
Vermudo II the Gouty	984–999	
Alfonso V	999–1028	
Vermudo III	1028–1037	
<i>House of Navarre</i>		
Ferdinand I of Castile and León	1035–1065	
Castile: Sancho II the Strong	1065–1072	

Name	Period	Status
León: Alfonso VI	1065–1109	Castile 1072–1109
Galicia: García	1065–1072	
Urraca and Raymond of Burgundy	1109–1126	
<i>House of Burgundy</i>		
Alfonso VII	1126–1157	
Castile: Sancho III the Desired	1157–1158	
León: Ferdinand II	1157–1188	
Castile: Alfonso VIII	1158–1214	
León: Alfonso IX	1188–1230	
Henry I	1214–1217	
Ferdinand III	1217–1252	León 1230–1252
Inigo Arista	ca. 810–851	
García Iniquez	851–870	
Fortun Garcés	870–905	
Sancho I Garcés	905–925/926	
Jimeno	925–931	
García I Sánchez	931–970	
Sancho II Garcés	970–994	
García II Sánchez the Tremulous	994–1000	
Sancho III Garcés the Great	1000–1035	
García III Sancés of Nájera	1035–1054	
Sancho IV Garcés of Peñalén	1054–1076	
García IV Ramírez the Restorer	1134–1150	
Sancho VI the Wise	1150–1194	
Sancho VII the Strong	1194–1234	
<i>House of Champagne</i>		
Thibault I the Posthumous	1234–1253	
Thibault II	1253–1270	
Henry I the Fat	1270–1274	
<i>House of France</i>		
Joan I	1274–1305	
Louis X the Stubborn (Capetian)	1314–1316	union with France
Philip V	1316–1322	
Alfonso X	1252–1284	
Sancho IV	1284–1295	
Ferdinand IV	1295–1312	
Alfonso XI	1312–1350	
Peter I the Cruel	1350–1369	
<i>House of Trastámara</i>		
Henry II	1369–1379	
John I	1379–1390	
Henry III the Sickly	1390–1406	
John II	1406–1454	
Henry IV the Impotent	1454–1474	
Isabel I	1474–1504	and Ferdinand V 1474–1516
<i>Catalonia and County of Barcelona</i>		
Ramón Berenguer I the Elder	1035–1076	
Ramón Berenguer II the Towhead	1076–1082	
Berenguer Ramón II the Fratricide	1076–1097	
Ramón Berenguer III the Great	1097–1131	
Ramón Berenguer IV, Saint	1131–1162	
Alfonso	1162–1196, 1164	union with Aragon
<i>Navarre</i>		
Charles X (IV)	1322–1328	
Joan II	1328–1349	
Charles II the Bad	1349–1387	

Name	Period	Status
Charles III the Noble	1387–1425	
	<i>House of Aragon</i>	
John II	1425–1479	king of Aragon 1458
Blanche	1425–1441	
Madeleine (Eleanor)	1479	
Francisco (Francis Fébus, Phoebus)	1479–1483	
	<i>Portugal</i>	
Henry of Burgundy	1093–1112	
Afonso I Henriques	1112–1185	count, then king in 1139
Sancho I	1185–1211	
Afonso II the Fat	1211–1223	
Sancho II	1223–1248	
Afonso III	1248–1279	
Denis I the Farmer (Deniz)	1279–1325	
Afonso IV	1325–1357	
Peter I the Justicer	1357–1367	
Ferdinand I	1367–1383	
	<i>House of Avis</i>	
John (João) I of Avis	1385–1433	
Duarte	1433–1438	
Afonso V	1438–1481	
John (João) II the Perfect Prince	1481–1495	
Manuel I the Fortunate	1495–1521	
<b>Latin Kings of Jerusalem</b>		
Godfrey of Bouillon, defender of the Holy Sepulcher	1099–1100	
Baldwin I	1100–1118	
Baldwin II of Bourg	1118–1131	
Fulk of Anjou	1131–1143	
Melisande, queen-regent	1143–1152	deposed, d. 1161
Baldwin III	1143–1162/63	
Amalric I	1162/63–1173/74	
Baldwin IV the Leper	1173/74–1185	
Baldwin V	1185–1186	
Sybil	1186–1190	
Guy de Lusignan	1186–1192	deposed, d. 1194
<b>Norway</b>		
	<i>Yngling Dynasty</i>	
Hafldan the Black	d. a. 880	
Harald I Fairhair	860/880–930/940	
Eric I Bloodaxe	930–934	deposed, d. 954
Haakon I the Good	933/934–959/961	
Harald II Graycloak	954/961–968	
Haakon II of Lade the Great	968–995	
Olaf I Trygvason	994/995–999/1000	
Earls Eric and Sven	1000–1015/16	
Olaf II Haraldsson, Saint	1015/16–1030	
Canute II the Great and Sven Alfivason	1028–1035	
Magnus I the Good	1035–1046/47	
Harald III Hardraade the Pitiless	1047–1066	
Magnus II	1066–1069	
Olaf III Kyrri the Peaceful or Gentle	1066–1093	
Magnus III Barelegs	1093–1103	
Olaf IV	1103–1115/16	
Eystein I	1103–1122/23	
Sigurd I the Crusader	1103–1130	

Name	Period	Status
Magnus IV the Blind	1130–1135	deposed, d. 1139
Harald IV Gilchrist (Gille)	1130–1136	
Sigurd II the Mouth	1136–1139	
Inge I the Hunchback	1136–1161	
Eystein II	1142–1157	
Haakon II the Broadshouldered	1157–1162	
Magnus V Erlingsson	1161/62–1184	
Sverre Sigurdsson	1177–1202	
Haakon III	1202–1204	
Guttorm	1204	
Inge II Bardson	1204–1217	
Haakon IV the Old	1217–1263	
Haakon the Younger	1240–1257	co-regent 1240–1257, joint from 1257
Magnus VI the Lawmender	1263–1280	
Eric II the Priesthater	1280–1299	
Haakon V Longlegs	1299–1319	
<i>Folkung Dynasty or House of Sweden</i>		
Magnus VII Eriksson	1319–1355	(Magnus II Eriksson of Sweden, d. 1374) co-regent from 1343
Haakon VI	1355–1380	
Olaf IV	1380–1387	
Margaret of Denmark	1387/8–1405	
Erik of Pomerania	1389–1442	
Christopher of Bavaria	1442–1448	
Charles VIII Canutesson and Christian of Oldenburg, rival	1448–1457, 1464–1465, 1467–1470	deposed, restored, deposed restored
Christian I	1457–1481	
Interregnum	1481–1483	
John II	1483–1513	
<b>Scotland</b>		
<i>Alpin, Dunkeld, Moray, and Canmore Dynasties</i>		
<i>House of Alpin</i>		
Kenneth I MacAlpin	843–858	
Donald I	858–862	
Constantine I	862–876/877	
Aed	876/877–878	
Eochaid and Giric	878–889	
Donald II	889–900	
Constantine II	900–943	
Malcolm I	943–954	
Indulf	954–962	
Dubh (Duf)	962–966	
Culén	966–971	
Kenneth II	971–995	
Constantine III	995–997	
Kenneth III and Giric (son)	997–1005	
<i>House of Dunkeld</i>		
Malcolm II	1005–1034	
Duncan I	1034–1040	
<i>House of Moray</i>		
Macbeth	1040–1057/58	
Lulach	1057/58	
<i>House of Dunkeld</i>		
Malcolm III Canmore	1058–1093	
Donald III Bán	1093–1097	
Duncan II	1094	

Name	Period	Status
Edgar	1097–1107	
Alexander I	1107–1124	
David I, Saint	1124–1153	
Malcolm IV the Maiden	1153–1165	
William I the Lion	1165–1214	
Alexander II	1214–1249	
Alexander III	1249–1286	
<i>House of Norway</i>		
Margaret of Norway	1286–1290	
<i>Balliol, Bruce, and Stuart (Stewart) Dynasties</i>		
John Balliol (Toom Tabard)	1291/92–1296	
Robert I the Bruce	1306–1329	
David II	1329–1371	
Robert II	1371–1390	
Robert III	1390–1406	
James I	1406–1437	
James II	1437–1460	
James III	1460–1488	
James IV	1488–1513	
<b>Rulers of Sicily (dukes, counts, kings) Title and possession were disputed but claimed by two dynasties after 1282</b>		
Roger I the Great Count	1061–1101	
Simon, Count	1101–1105	
Roger II the Great	1105–1154, king from 1130	
William I the Bad	1154–1166	
William II the Good	1166–1189	
Tancred of Lecce	1189–1194	
William III	1194	deposed, d. 1198?
Henry VI	1194–1197/98	
Frederick II (I)	1197/98–1250	
Conrad IV	1250–1254	
Interregnum	1254–1258	
Manfred	1258–1266	
<i>House of Anjou and Kings of Naples</i>		
Charles I of Anjou	1266–1285	lost Sicily from 1282
Charles II the Lame	1289–1309	
Robert the Wise	1309–1343	
Joan I	1343–1381	deposed, d. 1382
Louis of Taranto	1352–1362	
Charles III of Durazzo	1382–1386	
Louis of Anjou	1383–1384	
Ladislas III of Durazzo	1390–1414	
Louis (Ladislas) II of Anjou	1384/86–1414/17	
Joan II	1414–1435	
Jacques de la Marche	1415–1419	
Louis III of Anjou	1417–1434	
René of Anjou (the Good)	1434–1442/43	deposed, d. 1480
Alfonso I the Magnanimous of Aragon	1443–1458	
Ferdinand I	1458–1494	
Ferdinand II	1495–1496	
Frederick	1496–1501	deposed, d. 1504
<i>House of Aragon from 1282</i>		
Peter I the Great	1282–1285	
James the Just	1285–1295	abdicated, d. 1327
Frederick II	1296–1337	
Peter II	1337–1342	
Louis	1342–1355	

Name	Period	Status
Frederick III the Simple	1355–1377	
Mary	1377–1401	and Martin I the Younger 1390–1409
Martin II the Humane	1409–1410	
<b>Sweden</b>		
<i>Early Rulers</i>		
Eric	ca. 800	
Anund and Björn	ca. 825	
Olaf	ca. 850	
Ring	ca. 930	
Eric and Edmund	ca. 935	
Emund Ericsson	ca. 970	
<i>Yngling House</i>		
Eric the Victorious	980–995	
Olaf Skötkonung	995–1022	
Anund Jacob	1022–1056	
Edmund the Old	1056–1060	
<i>Stenkil House</i>		
Stenkil Ragnvaldsson	ca. 1060–1066	
Halsten and Inge the Elder	ca. 1080–1110/11, ca. 1111–1112	deposed, restored
Philip	1110–1118	
Inge II the Younger	1118–1130	
<i>Sverker and Eric Dynasties</i>		
Sverker I the Elder	1131–1155/56	
Eric IX, Saint	ca. 1155/56–1160	
Magnus Henriksson	1160–1161	
Charles VII Sverkersson	1161–1167	
Kol Jonsson	1167–1173	
Canute Eriksson	1167–1196	
Sverker II Charlesson	1196–1208	deposed, d. 1210
Eric X Canutesson	1208–1216	
John I Sverkersson	1216–1222	
Eric XI Ericsson	1222–1229, 1234–1250	deposed, restored
Canute II the Tall	1229–1234	
<i>Folkung Dynasty</i>		
Birger Jarl	1250–1266	regent
Waldemar	1250–1275	deposed, d. 1302
Magnus I Barnlock	1275–1290	
Birger	1290–1318, regent 1298	deposed, 1321
Magnus II Eriksson	regent, 1319–1332, 1319–1363	also king of Norway, deposed, d. 1374
Eric XII Magnusson	1357–1359	co-regent from 1344
Hagon Magnusson	1362–1365	deposed
<i>House of Mecklenburg</i>		
Albert of Mecklenburg	1364–1389	
Margaret of Denmark	regent, 1389–1412	
Eric XIII of Pomerania	regent, 1396–1400, 1396–1439	
Engelbrekt	regent, 1435–1436	
Charles Canutesson	1436–1440	regent
Christopher of Bavaria	1440–1448	
Charles VIII Canutesson	1448–1457, 1465, 1467–1470	deposed, restored, deposed
Christian I of Oldenburg	1457–1464, 1465–1467	deposed, restored, deposed
Sten Sture the Elder	1470–1497, 1501–1503	regent
John II	1497–1501	king of Denmark 1483–1513 deposed

## CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Name	Period	Status
<b>Patriarchs of Constantinople, 582–1464</b>		
John IV Mesteues the Faster	582–595	
Kyriacus	595–606	
Thomas I	607–610	
Sergios I	610–638	
Pyrrhos	638–641	
Paul II	641–653	
Pyrrhos (second tenure)	654	
Peter	654–666	
Thomas II	667–669	
John V	669–675	
Constantine I	675–677	
Theodore I	677–679	
George I	679–686	
Theodore I (second tenure)	686–687	
Paul III	688–694	
Kallinicos I	694–706	
Kyros	706–712	
John VI	712–715	
Germanos I	715–730	
Anastasios	730–754	
Constantine II	754–766	
Niketas I	766–780	
Paul IV	780–784	
Tarasios	784–806	
Nikephoros I	806–815	
Theodotos Kassiteras	815–821	
Anthony I Kassimatas	821–ca. 837	
John VII Grammatikos	ca. 837–843	
Methodios I	843–847	
Ignatios	847–858	
Photios	858–867	
Ignatios (second tenure)	867–877	
Photios (second tenure)	877–886	
Stephen I	886–893	
Anthony II Kauleas	893–901	
Nicholas I Mysticos	901–907	
Euthymios I	907–912	
Nicholas I Mysticos (second tenure)	912–925	
Stephen II	925–927	
Tryphon	927–931	
Theophylaktos	933–956	
Polyeuktos	956–970	
Basil I Skamandrenos	970–974	
Anthony III Stoudites	974–979	
Nicholas II Chrysoberges	979–991/992	
Vacancy	992–996	
Sisinnios II	996–998	
Sergios II	1001–1019	
Eustathios	1019–1025	
Alexios of Stoudites	1025–1043	
Michael I Kerularios	1043–1058	
Constantine III Leichoudes	1059–1063	
John VIII Xiphilinos	1064–1075	
Kosmas I	1075–1081	
Eustratios Garidas	1081–1084	
Nicholas III Grammatikos	1084–1111	

Name	Period	Status
John IX Agepetos	1111–1134	
Leo Styppeiotes	1134–1143	
Michael II Kourkouas	1143–1146	
Kosmas II Attikos	1146–1147	
Nicholas IV Mouzalon	1147–1151	
Theodotos II	1151–1153	
Neophytos I	1153/54	
Constantine IV Chliarenos	1154–1157	
Luke Chrysoberges	1157–1169/70	
Michael III	1170–1178	
Chariton Eugeniotēs	1178–1179	
Theodosios Boradiotes	1179–1183	
Basil II Kamateros	1183–1186	
Niketas II Mountanes	1186–1189	
Dositheus of Jerusalem	February 1189	
Leontios Theotokites	1189	
Dositheus of Jerusalem (second tenure)	1189–1191	
George II Xiphilinos	1191–1198	
John X Kamateros	1198–1206	
Michael IV Autorianos	1208–1214	
Theodore II Eirenikos	1214–1216	
Maximos II	1216	
Manuel I Sarantenos	1217–1222	
Germanos II	1222–1240	
Methodios II	1240	
Manuel II	1243/44–1255	
Arsenios Autorianos	1255–1259	
Nikephorus II	1260–1261	
Arsenios Autorianos (second tenure)	1261–1265	
Germanos III	1265–1266/67	
Joseph I	1266–1275	
John XI Bekkos	1275–1282	
Joseph I (second tenure)	1282–1283	
Gregory II of Cyprus	1283–1289	
Athanasios I	1289–1293	
John XII Kosmas	1294–1303	
Athanasios I (second tenure)	1303–1309	
Niphon I	1310–1314	
John XIII Glykys	1315–1319	
Gerasimos I	1320–1321	
Isaias	1323–1332	
John XIV Kalecas	1334–1347	
Isidore I Boucheiras	1347–1350	
Kallistos I	1350–1353	
Philotheos Kokkinos	1353–1354	
Kallistos I (second tenure)	1355–1363	
Philotheos Kokkinos (second tenure)	1364–1376	
Makarios	1376–1379	
Neilos Kerameus	1379–1388	
Anthony IV	1389–1390	
Makarios (second tenure)	1390–1391	
Antony IV (second tenure)	1391–1397	
Kallistos II Xanthopoulos	1397	
Matthew I	1397–1402, 1403–1410	
Euthymios II	1410–1416	
Joseph II	1416–1439	
Metrophanes II	1440–1443	
Gregory III Mammās	1443–1450?	
Athanasios II	1450	
Gennadios II Scholarios	1454–1456, 1463, 1464–1465	

Name	Period	Status
<b>Popes, 440–1503</b>		
Leo I the Great, Saint	440–461	
Hilary, Saint	461–468	
Simplicius, Saint	468–483	
Felix III (II), Saint	483–492	
Gelasius I, Saint	492–496	
Anastasius II	496–498	
Symmachus, Saint	498–514	
Hormisdas, Saint	514–523	
John I, Saint	523–526	
Felix IV (III), Saint	526–530	
Boniface II	530–532	
John II	533–535	
Agapitus I, Saint	535–536	
Silverius, Saint	536–537	
Vigilius	537–555	
Pelagius I	556–561	
John III	561–574	
Benedict I	575–579	
Pelagius II	579–590	
Gregory I the Great, Saint	590–604	
Sabinian	604–606	
Boniface III	607	
Boniface IV, Saint	608–615	
Deusdedit (Adeodatus), Saint	615–618	
Boniface V	619–625	
Honorius I	625–638	
Severinus	640	
John IV	640–642	
Theodore I	642–649	
Martin I, Saint	649–655	
Eugenius (Eugene) I, Saint	654–657	
Vitalian, Saint	657–672	
Adeodatus II	672–676	
Donus	676–678	
Agatho, Saint	678–681	
Leo II, Saint	682–683	
Benedict II, Saint	684–685	
John V	685–686	
Conon	686–687	
Sergius I, Saint	687–701	
John VI	701–705	
John VII	705–707	
Sisinnius	708	
Constantine	708–715	
Gregory II, Saint	715–731	
George III, Saint	731–741	
Zacharias (Zachary), Saint	741–752	
Stephen II (III)	752–757	
Paul I, Saint	757–767	
Stephen III (IV)	768–772	
Hadrian (Adrian) I	772–795	
Leo III, Saint	795–816	
Stephen IV (V)	816–817	
Paschal I, Saint	817–824	
Eugenius (Eugene) II	824–827	
Valentine	827	
Gregory IV	827–844	
Sergius II	844–847	
Leo IV, Saint	847–855	
Benedict III	855–858	
Nicholas I the Great, Saint	858–867	

Name	Period	Status
Hadrian (Adrian) II	867–872	
John VIII	872–882	
Marinus I	882–884	
Adrian (Hadrian) III	884–885	
Stephen V (VI)	885–891	
Formosus	891–896	
Boniface VI	896	
Stephen VI (VII)	896–897	
Romanus	897	
Theodore II	897	
John IX	898–900	
Benedict IV	900–903	
Leo V	903	
Sergius III	904–911	
Anastasius III	911–913	
Lando (Landus)	913–914	
John X	914–928	
Leo VI	928	
Stephen VII (VIII)	928–931	
John XI	931–935/936	
Leo VII	936–939	
Stephen VIII (IX)	939–942	
Marinus II	942–946	
Agapitus II	946–955	
John XII	955–964	
Leo VIII	963–965	
Benedict V	964	
John XIII	965–972	
Benedict VI	973–974	
Benedict VII	974–983	
John XIV	983–984	
John XV	985–996	
Gregory V	996–999	
Sylvester II	999–1003	
John XVII	1003	
John XVIII	1003/04–1009	
Sergius IV	1009–1012	
Benedict VIII	1012–1024	
John XIX	1024–1032	
Benedict IX	1032–1044	
Sylvester III	1045	
Benedict IX	second reign, 1045	
Gregory VI	1045–1046	
Clement II	1046–1047	
Benedict IX	third reign, 1047–1048	
Damasus II	1048	
Leo IX, Saint	1049–1054	
Victor II	1055–1057	
Stephen IX (X)	1057–1058	
Nicholas II	1058–1061	
Alexander II	1061–1073	
Gregory VII, Saint	1073–1085	
Victor III, Blessed	1087	
Urban II, Blessed	1088–1099	
Paschal II	1099–1118	
Gelasius II	1118–1119	
Calixtus (Callistus) II	1119–1124	
Honorius II	1124–1130	
Innocent II	1130–1143	
Celestine II	1143–1144	
Lucius II	1144–1145	
Eugenius (Eugene) III, Blessed	1145–1153	

Name	Period	Status
Anastasius IV	1153–1154	
Hadrian (Adrian) IV	1154–1159	
Alexander III	1159–1181	
Lucius III	1181–1185	
Urban III	1185–1187	
Gregory VIII	1187	
Clement III	1187–1191	
Celestine III	1191–1198	
Innocent III	1198–1216	
Honorius III	1216–1227	
Gregory IX	1227–1241	
Celestine IV	1241	
Innocent IV	1243–1254	
Alexander IV	1254–1261	
Urban IV	1261–1264	
Clement IV	1265–1268	
Gregory X, Blessed	1271–1276	
Innocent V, Blessed	1276	
Hadrian (Hadrian) V	1276	
John XXI	1276–1277	
Nicholas III	1277–1280	
Martin IV	1281–1285	
Honorius IV	1285–1287	
Nicholas IV	1288–1292	
Celestine V, Saint	1293–1294	
Boniface VIII	1294–1303	
Benedict XI, Blessed	1303–1304	
Clement V	1305–1314	
John XXII	1316–1334	
Benedict XII	1335–1342	
Clement VI	1342–1352	
Innocent VI	1352–1362	
Urban V, Blessed	1362–1370	
Gregory XI	1371–1378	
Urban VI	1378–1389	
Boniface IX	1389–1404	
Innocent VII	1404–1406	
Gregory XII	1406–1415	
Martin V	1417–1431	
Eugenius (Eugene) IV	1431–1447	
Nicholas V	1447–1455	
Callixtus (Calistus) III	1455–1458	
Pius II	1458–1464	
Paul II	1464–1471	
Sixtus IV	1471–1484	
Innocent VIII	1484–1492	
Alexander VI	1492–1503	

### EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Name	Period	Status
<b>Bohemia</b>		
<i>Dukes</i>		
Bohvoj I	ca. 850–894	
Spitigniev I	ca. 895–ca. 905/915	
Vratislav I	ca. 905/915–921	
Wenceslas (Václav), Saint	921–929/935	
Boleslav I the Cruel	929/935–967/972	

Name	Period	Status
Boleslav II the Pious	967/973–999	
Boleslav III the Red	999–1003	deposed
Vladivoj	1002–1003	deposed
Jaromír	1003, 1004–1112, 1033–1034	deposed, restored, deposed, restored, deposed, d. 1035
Boleslav (I) the Brave, duke of Poland	1003–1004	deposed
Oldřich (Udalrich)	1012–1033, 1034	deposed, d. 1034
Bretislav I	1034–1055	
Spitigniev II	1055–1061	
Vratislav II	1061–1092, crowned king 1085	
Conrad I Otto	1092	
Bretislav II	1092–1100	
Bohvoj II	1100–1107, 1117–1121	deposed, d. 1124
Svatopluk	1107–1109	
Vladislav I	1109–1117, 1121–1125	abdicated
Sobieslav I Oldřich	1125–1140	
Vladislav II	1140–1172, king 1158	abdicated, d. 1174
Frederick	1172–1173, 1178	deposed, restored
Sobieslav II	1173–1178	
Conrad II Otto	1189–1191	
Wenceslas II	1191–1192	deposed
Premysl Ottokar I	1192–1193, 1197, king 1198–1230	deposed, restored, crowned 1198
Henry Bretislav, bishop of Prague	1193–1197	
Vladislav III Henry	1197	abdicated, d. 1222
<i>Kings</i>		
Premysl Ottokar I	1198–1230	crowned 1198
Wenceslas I (Vaclav)	1230–1253	
Premysl Ottokar II the Great	1253–1278	
Wenceslas II (Vaclav)	1278–1305	
Wenceslas III	1305–1306	
Rudolf of Habsburg	1306–1307	
Henry of Carinthia	1307–1310	deposed, d. 1335
<i>House of Luxembourg</i>		
John the Blind of Luxembourg	1310–1346	
Charles I (IV)	1346–1378, emperor 1355	
Wenceslas IV	1378–1419, king of the Romans 1378–1400	
Sigismund	1419–1437, emperor 1433	
Albert II of Habsburg	1437–1439	
Interregnum	1439–1453	
Ladislav Posthumous	1453–1457	
George of Podebrady	1458–1471	
Ladislav II (Vladislav)	1471–1516	
<b>Bulgaria</b>		
<i>First Bulgarian Empire</i>		
Asparuch (Asparukh)	680–701	
Tervel	700/701–718	
Kormisos	721–738	
Sevar	724–739	
Vinech	736–760/762	
Teletz	762–764	
Sabin	764–766	deposed
Umar (Omar)	767	deposed
Toktu	766–772	
Pagan	772	
Telerig	ca. 772–777	deposed
Kardam	777–ca. 803	
Krum	803–814	
Omurtag	814–831	
Malamir	831–836	

Name	Period	Status
Presiam (possibly Malomir)	836–852	
Boris I (Michael)	852–889	abdicated, d. 907
Vladimir	889–893	deposed
Symeon I	893–927	
Peter	927–969	abdicated, d. 969
Boris II	969–971/972	deposed, d. 976
<i>Macedonian Empire</i>		
Samuel	980–1014	crowned 997
Gabriel Radomir	1014–1015	
John (Ivan) Vladislav	1015–1018	
<i>Second Bulgarian Empire</i>		
Peter II	1185–1187, 1196–1197	deposed, restored
Asen I	1187–1196	
Kalojan (Kaloyan)	1197–1207	
Boril	1207–1218	deposed
John (Ivan) Asen II	1218–1241	
Koloman I Asen	1241–1246	
Michael II Asen	1246–1256	
Koloman II	1256–1257	
Constantine Tich	1257–1277	
Ivaljo	1278–1279	deposed, d. 1280
John (Ivan) Asen III	1279–1280	deposed
<i>House of Terter</i>		
George I Terter	1280–1292	deposed
Smiletz (Smilets)	1292–1298	
Interregnum	ca. 1298–1300	
Caka	1300	deposed
Theodore Svetoslav	1300–1322	
George II Terter	1322–1323	
<i>House of Sisman</i>		
Michael III Sisman	1323–1330	
John (Ivan) Stephen	1330–1331	
John (Ivan) Alexander	1331–1371	
John (Ivan) Sisman	1371–1393	
John (Ivan) Stracimir	1365–1396	

## Byzantine and Roman Empires

### *Late Roman Empire*

#### *Dynasty of Constantine*

Constantine I the Great	324–337	
Constantius	337–361	
Constantine II	337–340	
Constans I	337–350	
Constantine II	337–361	
Magnentius	350–353	
Julian the Apostate	361–363	
Jovian	363–364	

#### *Dynasty of Valentinian*

Valentinian I	364–375	
Valens	364–378	
Gratian	375–383	co-regent 376
Valentinian II	375–392	

*The Roman Empire splits into the Eastern and the Western Empires under Theodosios I the Great*

#### *Western Empire*

Honorius	395–423	
Constantius III	421	

Name	Period	Status
John	423–425	
Valentinian III	425–455	
Petronius Maximus	455	
Avitus	455–456	
Majorian	457–461	
Libius Severus	461–465	
Anthemius	467–472	
Olybrius	472	
Glycerius	473–474	deposed
Julius Nepos	474–475	
Romanus (Romulus) Augustus	475–476	deposed
<i>Eastern Empire</i>		
<i>Dynasty of Theodosios</i>		
Theodosios (Theodosius) I the Great	379–395	
Arkadios	395–408	co-regent 383
Theodosius II	408–450	co-regent 402
Marcian	450–457	
<i>Dynasty of Leo</i>		
Leo I the Thracian	457–474	
Leo II	473/474	co-regent 473
Zeno the Isaurian	474–475, 476–491	deposed, restored
Basiliskos	475–476	
Anastasios I	491–518	
<i>Dynasty of Justin</i>		
Justin I	518–527	
Justinian I the Great	527–565	co-regent 527
Justin II	565–578	
Tiberios I (II) Constantine	578–582	co-regent 578
Maurice	582–602	co-regent 582
Phokas	602–610	
<i>Dynasty of Herakleios</i>		
Herakleios (Heraclios)	610–641	
Herakleios Constantine III	641	co-regent 613
Heraklonas	641	co-regent 638, deposed
Constans II Pogonatos	641–668	co-regent 641
Constantine IV	668–685	co-regent 776, deposed
Justinian II	685–695, 705–711	deposed, restored
Leontios	695–698	deposed, d. 706?
Tiberios II (III)	698–705	deposed, d. 706
Philippikos	711–713	deposed
Anastasios II	713–715	deposed d. 719
Theodosius III	715–717	deposed
<i>Isaurian or Syrian Dynasty</i>		
Leo III the Syrian	717–741	
Constantine V Kopronymos	741–775	co-regent 720, deposed
Artavasdus	741–743	deposed
Leo IV the Khazar	775–780	co-regent 751
Constantine VI	780–797	co-regent, deposed
Irene	797–802	co-regent 780–790, 793–797, deposed, d. 803
Nikephoros I	802–811	
Staurakios	811	co-regent 803, deposed, d. 812
Michael I Rangabè	811–813	deposed, d. 844
Leo V the Armenian	813–820	
<i>Amorian Dynasty</i>		
Michael II the Amorian	820–829	
Theophilos	829–842	co-regent 821
Michael III the Drunkard	842–867	co-regent 840

Name	Period	Status
<i>Macedonian Dynasty</i>		
Basil I the Macedonian	867–886	co-regent 866
Leo VI the Wise	886–912	co-regent 870
Alexander	912–913	co-regent 879
Regency for Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus	913–920	
Romanos I Lekapenos	920–944	deposed, d. 948
Christopher Lekapenos		921–931
Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos	944–945	
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus	913–959	
Romanos II	959–963	
Nikephoros II Phokas	963–969	
John I Tzimiskes	969–976	
Basil II the Bulgar Slayer	976–1025	
Constantine VIII	1025–1028	co-regent 962
Romanos III Argyros	1028–1034	
Michael IV the Paphlagonian	1034–1041	
Michael V Kalaphates (The Caulker)	1041–1042	deposed
Zoë and Theodora	1042	co-regent 1028–1050
Constantine IX Monomachos	1042–1055	
Theodora	1055–1056	
Michael VI Stratiokos	1056–1057	deposed
Isaac I Komnenos	1057–1059	abdicated, d. 1060
<i>Doukas Dynasty</i>		
Constantine X Doukas	1059–1067	
Eudocia	1067–1068, 1071	deposed
Romanos IV Diogenes	1067–1071	deposed, d. 1072
Michael VII Doukas Parapinaces	1071–1078	co-regent, deposed
Nikephorus III Botaneiates	1078–1081	deposed
<i>Komnenian Dynasty</i>		
Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118	
John II Komnenos	1118–1143	co-regent 1092
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180	
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183	
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185	co-regent 1183
<i>Angelos Dynasty</i>		
Isaac II Angelos	1185–1195, 1203–1204	deposed, restored
Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203	deposed
Alexios IV Angelos	1203–1204	deposed, d. 1204
Alexios V Doukas	1204	
<i>Lascarid Dynasty</i>		
Theodore I Laskaris	1205–1221/22	
John III Vatatzes	1222–1254	
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258	
John IV Laskaris	1258–1261	deposed, d. 1305?
<i>Palaiologos Dynasty</i>		
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1258/59–1282	co-regent 1259
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328	co-regent 1272, deposed, d. 1332
Michael IX Palaiologos	1294/95–1320	
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341	co-regent 1325
John V Palaiologos	1341–1376, 1379–1390, 1390–1391	deposed, restored, deposed, restored
John VI Kantakouzenos	1347–1354	deposed, d. 1383
Matthew I Kantakouzenos	1353–1357	deposed, d. 1383
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379	deposed, d. 1385
John VII Palaiologos	1390, 1399–1408	deposed, restored
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425	co-regent 1373
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448	co-regent, 1421
Constantine XI Deragases	1449–1453	

Name	Period	Status
<b>Latin Empire of Constantinople and States in Greece</b>		
<i>House of Flanders</i>		
Baldwin I of Flanders	1204–1205	deposed, d. 1206?
Henry I of Hainault	1206–1216	regent 1205–1206
<i>House of Courtenay</i>		
Peter I of Courtenay	1217	deposed, d. 1218/9
Yolanda (Isabel)	1217–1219	
Robert I of Courtenay	1221–1228	
John of Brienne, co-emperor	1231–1237	
Baldwin II	1240–1261	deposed, d. 1273
<i>Despotate of Epiros</i>		
Michael I Komnenos Doukas	1204–ca. 1215	
Theodore Komnenos Doukas	ca. 1215–1230	
Manuel Angelos	1230–ca. 1240	
John	1240–1244	
Demetrios Angelos Doukas	1244–1246	
<i>Despots of Epiros</i>		
Michael II Komnenos Doukas	ca. 1227–1267/68	
Nikephorus I Komnenos Doukas	1267–1296/98	
Thomas Doukas	1296–1318	
Nicholas Orsini	1318–1323	
John Orsini	1323–1355	
Nikephoros II	1335–1340	
<b>Hungary</b>		
<i>Árpád Dynasty</i>		
Géza	972–997	
Stephen I, Saint	997–1038	
Peter Urseolo or Orseolo	1038–1041, 1044–1046	deposed, restored
Samuel Aba	1041–1044	
Andrew I	1047–1061	
Béla I	1061–1063	
Solomon (Salamon)	1063–1074	
Géza I	1074–1077	
Ladislav I, Saint	1077–1095	
Coloman I	1095–1114	
Stephen II	1114–1131	
Béla II the Blind	1131–1141	
Géza II	1141–1161/62	
Stephen III	1161/62–1172/73	
Béla III	1172/73–1196	
Emeric I	1196–1204	
Ladislav III	1204–1205	
Andrew II	1205–1235	
Béla IV	1235–1270	
Stephen V	1270–1272	
Ladislav IV the Cumanian	1272–1290	
Andrew III	1290–1301	
Interregnum	1301–1307/08	
Wenceslas III Premysl of Bohemia	1305–1306	
Charles Robert I of Anjou	1307/08–1342	
Louis I the Great of Anjou	1342–1382	
Mary of Anjou	1382–1385	
Charles II of Durazzo	1385–1386	
Sigismund of Luxembourg	1387–1437	
Albert II of Habsburg	1437–1439	
Ladislav (Vladislav, Wladysav) I (III) of Poland	1441–1444	

Name	Period	Status
Ladislav V Posthumous	1444/45–1457	
Matthias I Corvinus	1458–1490	
<b>Poland</b>		
<i>Piast Dynasty</i>		
Piast		
Siemowit (Ziemowit)		
Leszek (Lestko)		
Siemomysl (Ziemomysl)		
Mieszko I	ca. 963–992	
Boleslav I the Brave	992–1025	
Mieszko II Lambert	1025–1034	
Interregnum	1034–1039	
Casimir I the Restorer	1039–1058	
Boleslav II the Bold	1058–1079	exiled in 1079
Ladislav I Herman	1079–1102	
Zbigniev	1102–1108	deposed
Boleslav III the Wrymouthed	1102–1138	
<i>Seniors and Dukes of Cracow</i>		
Wladyslav II the Exile	1138–1146	deposed, d. 1159
Boleslav IV the Curly	1146–1173	
<i>Silesian Piasts</i>		
Mieszko III the Old	1173–1177, 1199–1202	deposed, restored
Casimir II the Just	1177–1194	
Leszik I the White	1194–1199, 1202–1227	
Konrad of Mazovia	1229–1232, 1241–1243	deposed, restored, deposed, d. 1247
Henry I the Bearded	1228–1229, 1232–1238	deposed, restored
Henry II the Pious	1238–1241	
Boleslav V the Chaste	1243–1279	
Leszek II the Black	1279–1288	
Henry III Probus	1288–1290	
Vaclav II, king of Bohemia	1289–1292	
Premysl II, duke of Greater Poland	1295–1296	
<i>House of Bohemia</i>		
Wenceslas (Vaclav) II of Bohemia	1290/01–1305	
<i>House of Piast</i>		
Ladislav I the Short	1305–1333	
Casimir III the Great	1333–1370	
<i>House of Anjou</i>		
Louis I the Great of Hungary	1370–1382	
<i>Jagiello Dynasty and House of Lithuania</i>		
Jadwiga (Hedwig) and Ladislav II Jagiello	1382–1399	
Ladislav II (sole ruler)	1399–1434	
Ladislav III	1434–1444	
Interregnum	1444–1446/47	
Casimir IV Jagiellonczyk	1446/47–1492	
John I Albert	1492–1501	
<b>Russia</b>		
<i>Rurik Dynasty (some are only regional)</i>		
<i>Princes of Kiev</i>		
Rurik	862–879	
Oleg	879–912	
Igor I	913–945	

Name	Period	Status
Olga	945–969	
Sviatoslav	962–971/972	
Yaropolk I	973–980	
Vladimir I the Great, Saint	978/80–1015	
Sviatoslav the Damned	1015–1019	
Yaroslav I the Wise	1019–1054	
Iziaslav I	1054–1068, 1069–1073, 1077–1078	deposed, restored, deposed, restored
Vseslav	1068–1069	deposed
Sviatoslav	1073–1076	
Vsevolod I	1076–1077, 1078–1093	deposed, restored
Svatapolk II	1093–1113	
Vladimir II Monomakh	1113–1125	
Mstislav	1125–1132	
Yaropolk II	1132–1139	
Vsevolod II	1139–1146	
Igor II	1146	deposed, d. 1147
Iziaslav (Volyn) II	1146–1154	
Iziaslav III	1154–1155, 1157–1158	deposed, restored
Yurii I Dolgorukii (Suzdal)	1154/55–1157	
Mstislav II	1157–1158, 1167–1169	deposed, restored, deposed, d. 1170
Rostislav I	1159–1161, 1161–1167	deposed, restored
Gleb	1169–1171	
<i>Princes of Vladimir</i>		
Andrei I Bogolyubskii	1157–1174	
Roman	1172–1205	
Michael	1174–1176	
Vsevolod III Big Nest	1176–1212	
Constantine	1212–1218/19	
Yurii II	1212–1238, 1218–1238	deposed, restored
Daniel	1230–1264	
Vasilko	1230–1269	
Yaroslav II	1236/8–1246	
Yaroslav (Tver)	1236–1273	
Sviatoslav	1246–1248	deposed, d. 1253
Andrew II (Suzdal)	1246–1252	deposed, d. 1264
Alexander I Nevsky, Saint	1252–1263	
Yaroslav III	1264–1271	
Vasilii	1272–1277	
Dimitri I	1277–1282, 1283–1294	
Daniel Nevsky	1263–1304	prince of Moscow from 1263
Andrei III	1282–1283, 1294–1304	deposed, restored
Michael II, Saint	1304/05–1319/20	
Yurii III	1318/19–1325	prince of Moscow 1303–1325, deposed
Alexander III	1326–1328	
<i>Grand Princes of Moscow</i>		
Ivan I Kalita	1328–1340/41	prince of Moscow from 1325
Simeon (Semyon) the Proud	1340/41–1353	
Ivan II the Red or the Meek	1353–1359	
Dimitri II	1359–1362	
Dimitri III Donskoi	1362–1389	
Basil (Vasily) Dimitrievitch I	1389–1425	
Basil (Vasily) Dimitrievitch II the Blind	1425–1462	
Ivan III the Great	1462–1505	
<b>Serbia</b>		
John Vlastimir	mid-ninth century	
Mutimir	ca. 891	

Name	Period	Status
Proslav	891–892	
Peter Gojnikovic	892–917	
Paul (Pavel) Branovic	917–920	
Zacharias (Zaharije) Prvoslavljevic	920–ca. 924	
Caslav Klonimirovic	927–after 950	
<i>Zeta Dynasty</i>		
John Vladimir, Saint	d. 1018	
Stephen Vojislav	ca. 1040–ca. 1052	
Michael	ca. 1052–ca. 1081/82	
Constantine Bodin	ca. 1081–ca. 1101	
<i>Rascia and Nemanjici Dynasties</i>		
Vukan	ca. 1083–1114	
Uroš	1125	
Various rulers	ca. 1114–1167	
Stephen Nemanja	ca. 1167–1196	abdicated, d. 1200
Stephen I the First Crowned, Saint	1196–ca. 1228	crowned 1217
Stephen Radoslav	ca. 1228–1233/34	
Stephen Vladislav	ca. 1233/34–1242/44	
Stephen Uroš I	1242/43–1276	
Stephen Dragutin	1276–1282	
Stephen Uroš II Milutin	1282–1321	
Stephen Uroš III Dečanski	1321–1331	
Stephen Dušan	1322–1355	czar from 1345
Stephen Uroš V czar	1355–1371	
Vukašin king,	1366–1371	
Prince Lazar (Stefan)	1371–1389	
Stephen Lazarević	1389–1427	
George (Djuradi) Branković	1427–1456	
Lazar Branković	1456–1458	
<b>Islam</b>		
<i>The First Caliphs</i>		
Abu Bakr	632–634	
Umar ibn Abd al-Khattab	634–644	
Uthman ibn Affan	644–656	
Ali ibn Abi Talib	656–661	
<i>Umayyad Caliphate</i>		
Muawiya I Ibn Abi-Sufyan I	661–680	
Yazid I	680–683	
Muawiya II	683–684	
Marwan I ibn al-Hakam	684–685	
Abd al-Malik	685–705	
al-Walid, Abd al-Malik	705–715	
Sulaiman	715–717	
Umar II ibn Abd al-Aziz	717–720	
Yazid II	720–724	
Hisham	724–743	
al-Walid II	743–744	
Yazid III	744	
Ibrahim	744	deposed, d. 750
Marwan II al-Himar	744–749/750	
<i>Abbasid Caliphate</i>		
Abul-Abbas al-Saffah	749/750–754	
al-Mansur	754–775	
al-Mahdi	775–785	
al-Hadi	785–786	
Harun al-Rashid	786–809	
al-Amin	809–813	

Name	Period	Status
al-Mamun	813–833	
al-Mutasim	833–842	
al-Wathiq	842–847	
al-Mutawakkil	847–861	
al-Muntasir	861–862	
al-Mustain	862–866	deposed
al-Mutazz	866–869	
al-Muhtadi	869–870	
al-Mutamid	870–892	
al-Mutadid	892–902	
al-Muktafi	902–908	
al-Mugtadir	908–932	
al-Qahir	932–934	deposed, d. 950
al-Radi	934–940	
al-Muttaqi	940–944	deposed, d. 968
al-Mustakfi	944–946	deposed, d. 949
al-Muti	946–974	deposed
at-Tai	974–991	deposed, d. 1003
al-Qadir	991–1031	
al-Qaim	1031–1075	
al-Mugtadi	1075–1094	
al-Mustansir	1094–1118	
al-Mustarshid	1118–1135	
al-Rashid	1135–1136	deposed, d. 1138
al-Muqtafi	1136–1160	
al-Mustanjid	1160–1170	
al-Mustadi	1170–1180	
al-Nasir	1180–1225	
al-Zahir	1225–1226	
al-Mustansir	1226–1242	
al-Muztasim	1242–1258	deposed

*The Twelve Imams*

Ali	d. 661
al-Hasan	d. 669
al-Husayn	d. 680
Ali Zayn al-Abidin	d. 714
Muhammad al-Baghir	d. 731
Jafar al-Sadiq	d. 765
Musa al-Kazim	d. 799
Ali al-Rida	d. 818
Muhammad al-Jawad	d. 835
Ali al-Hadi	d. 868
Hasan al-Askari	d. 874
Muhammad al-Muntazar	d. ca. 873

*The Seven Imams*

al-Hasan	d. 669
al-Husayn	d. 680
Ali Zayn al-Abidin	d. 714
Muhammad al-Baghir	d. 731
Jafar al-Sadiq	d. 765
Ismail	d. 760
Muhammad al-Mahdi	

*Fatimid Caliphate*

Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi	909–934
al-Qaim	934–945
al-Mansur	945–952
al-Muizz	952–975
al-Aziz	975–996
al-Hakim	996–1021
al-Zahir	1021–1036

Name	Period	Status
al-Mustansir	1036–1094	
al-Mustali	1094–1101	
al-Amir	1101–1130	
al-Hafiz	1132–1149	
al-Zafir	1149–1154	
al-Faiz	1154–1160	
al-Adid	1160–1171	
Nominal Abbasid rule	1171–1175	
<i>Aghlabids</i>		
Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab	800–812	
Abdallah I	812–817	
Ziyadat Allah I	817–838	
Abu Zikal	838–841	
Muhammad I	841–856	
Ahmad	856–863	
Ziyadat Allah II	863–864	
Muhammad II	864–875	
Ibrahim II	875–902	
Abdallah II	902–903	
Ziyadat Allah III	903–909	
<i>Hafsids</i>		
Yahya I	1229–1249	
Muhammad I	1249–1277	
Yahya II	1277–1279	deposed, d. 1280
Ibrahim I	1279–1283	deposed, d. 1283
Abd al-Aziz I	1283	
Ahmad b. Marzuq	1283–1284	
Umar I	1284–1295	
Muhammad II	1295–1309	
Abu Bakr I	1309	
Khalid I	1309–1311	deposed, d. 1313
Zakariya I	1311–1317	deposed, d. 1326
Muhammad III	1317–1318	deposed
Abu Bakr II	1318–1346	
Ahmad I	1346–1347	
Umar II	1347	
Marinid rule	1347–1350	
al-Fadl	1350	
Ibrahim II	1350–1369	
Khalid II	1369–1370	deposed, d. 1370
Ahmad II	1370–1394	
Abd al-Aziz II	1394–1434	
Muhammad IV	1434–1435	
Uthman	1435–1488	
Yahya III	1488–1489	
Abd al-Mumin	1489–1490	deposed
Zakariya II	1490–1494	
Muhammad V	1494–1526	
<i>Mamluks of Egypt</i>		
<i>Bahri Mamluks</i>		
al-Muizz Aybak	1250–1257	
al-Manzur Ali I	1257–1259	deposed
al-Muzaffir Qutuz	1259–1260	
al-Zahir Baybars I	1260–1277	
al-Said Baraka Khan	1277–1279	deposed
al-Adil Salamish	1279	deposed
al-Mansur Qala'un	1279–1290	
al-Ashraf Khalil	1290–1293	
al-Nasir Muhammad I	1293–1294, 1299–1309, 1310–1340/41	deposed, restored, abdicated, restored

Name	Period	Status
al-Adil Kitbugha	1294–1296	deposed, d. 1303
al-Mansur Lajin	1296–1299	
al-Nasir Muhammad I	1299–1309, 1310–1341	restored; abdicated
al-Muzaffar Baybars II	1309–1310	
al-Mansur Abu Bakr	1341	
al-Ashraf Kujukuk	1341–1342	deposed
al-Nasir Ahmad I	1342	deposed, d. 1344
al-Salih Ismail	1342–1345	
al-Kamil Shaban I	1345–1346	
al-Muzaffar Hajji I	1346–1347	
al-Nasir al-Hasan	1347–1351, 1354–1361	deposed, restored
al-Salih Salih	1351–1354	deposed
al-Mansur Muhammad II	1361–1363	deposed
al-Ashraf Shaban II	1363–1377	
al-Mansur Ali II	1377–1381	
al-Salih Hajji II	1381–1382	deposed
al-Zahir Barquq [Burji]	1382–1389, 1390–1399	deposed, restored, first Burji 1390–1399
al-Muzaffar Hajji II	1389–1390	deposed, d. 1412
<i>Burji Mamluks</i>		
al-Nasir Faraj	1399–1405, 1405–1412	deposed, restored
al-Mansur Abd al-Aziz	1405	deposed, d. 1406
al-Adil al-Mustain	1412	Abbasid caliph in Cairo, deposed, d. 1430
al Muayyad Shaykh	1412–1421	
al-Muzaffar Ahmad II	1421	deposed, d. 1430
al-Zahir Tatar	1421	
al-Salih Muhammad III	1421–1422	deposed, d. 1430
al-Ashraf Barsbay	1422–1438	
al-Aziz Yusuf	1438	deposed
al-Zahir Jaqmaq	1438–1453	
al-Mansur Uthman	1453	deposed
al-Ashraf Inal	1453–1461	
al-Muayyad Ahmad III	1461	deposed
al-Zahir Khushqadam	1461–1467	
al-Zahir Bilbay	1467	deposed, d. 1468
al-Zahir Timuburgha	1467–1468	deposed, d. 1475
al-Ashraf Qaitbay	1468–1496	
al-Nasir Muhammad IV	1469–1498	
al-Zahir Qansuh	1498–1500	deposed
al-Ashraf Janbalat	1500–1501	deposed
<i>Nasrids (Banu-I-Ahmar), Kingdom of Granada</i>		
Muhammad I al-Ghalib	1232–1272/73	
Muhammad II	1272–1302	
Muhammad III	1302–1309	deposed, d. 1314
Nasr	1309–1314	deposed, d. 1322
Ismail	1341–1325	
Muhammad IV	1325–1333	
Yusuf I	1333–1354	
Muhammad V	1354–1359, 1362–1391	deposed, restored
Ismail II	1359–1360	
Muhammad VI	1360–1362	deposed, d. 1362
Yusuf II	1391–1392	
Muhammad VII	1392–1408	
Yusuf III	1408–1417	
Muhammad VIII	1417–1418, 1427–1429	deposed, restored, deposed, d. 1431
Muhammad IX	1419–1427, 1429–1445, 1447–1453	deposed, restored, deposed, restored, deposed
Yusuf IV	1430–1432	deposed

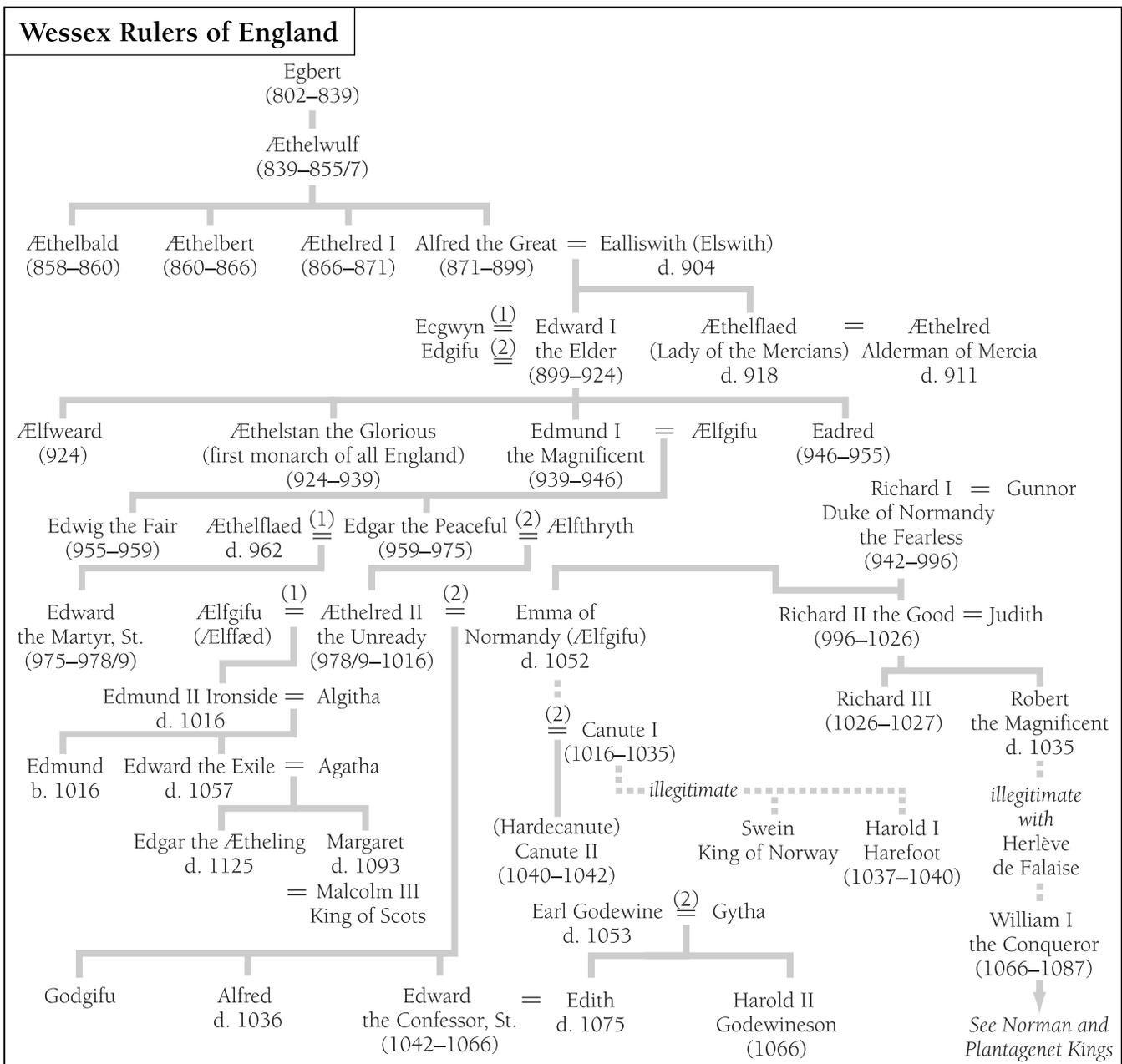
Name	Period	Status
Yusuf V	1445–1446, 1450, 1462–1463	deposed, restored, deposed, d. 1463
Muhammad X	1445–1447	deposed, restored, deposed
Muhammad XI	1448–1454	
Sad	1455–1462, 1462–1464	deposed, restored, deposed, d. 1465
Abu Hasan Ali	1464–1482, 1483–1485	deposed, restored, deposed
Muhammad XII (Bobadilla, Boabdil)	1482–1483, 1487–1492	deposed, restored, d. 1534
Muhammad XIII	1485–1487	deposed, d. 1494
<i>Ottomans</i>		
Uthman I (Osman)	1280–1324/26	
Orhan	1326–1362	
Murad I	1362–1389	
Bayazid I the Thunderbolt	1389–1402	deposed, d. 1403
Isa	1402–1403	
Mehmed I	1402–1421	sole ruler from 1413
Sulayman	1402–1410/11	
Musa	1409–1413	
Murad II	1421–1444, 1446–1451	abdicated, restored
Mehmed II the Conqueror	1444–1446, 1451–1481	abdicated, restored
Bayazid II	1481–1512	deposed
<i>Samanids</i>		
Saman Khuda		
Ahmad I ibn Asad	819–864	
Nasr (Nesr) I	864–92	
Ismail I	892–907	
Ahmad II	907–914	
Nasr II	914–943	
Nuh I	943–954	
Abd al-Malik I	954–961	
Mansur I	961–976	
Nuh II	976–997	
Mansur II	997–999	deposed
Abd al-Malik II	999–1000	deposed
Ismail II	1000–1005	
<i>Seljuk Dynasties</i>		
<i>Great Seljuks</i>		
Tughril Beg, Duqaq Seljuk Mikhail	1038–1063	
Alp Arslan	1063–1072	
Malik Shah	1072/73–1092	
Berkyaruk	1092/94–1104/05	
Malik Shah II	1104	deposed
Muhammad Tapar	1105–1118	
Sanjar	1117/18–1157	
<i>Seljuks of Iraq</i>		
Muhammad Tapar	1105–1118	
Mahmud II	1118–1131	
Daud	1131–1132	
Tughril I	1131/32–1134/35	
Masud	1134–1152	
Malik Shah III	1152–1153	deposed, d. 1161
Muhammad II	1153–1159	
Sulayman Shah	1159–1161	
Arslan Shah	1161–1177	
Tughril II	1177–1194	
<i>Seljuks of Syria</i>		
Taj-ad-Dawla	1078–1094	
Ridwan	1095–1113	

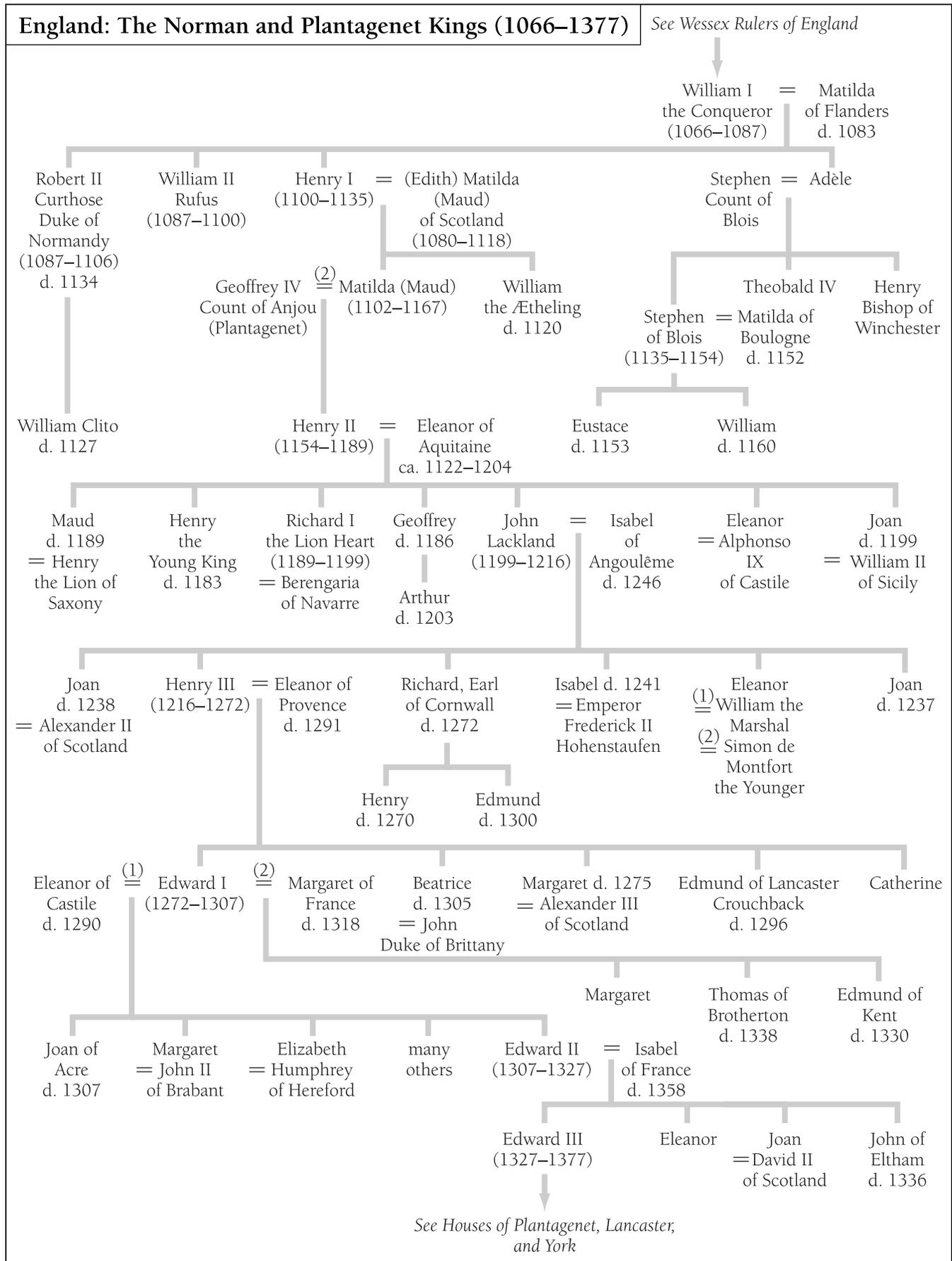
Name	Period	Status
Duqaq	1098–1113	
Alp Arslan	1113–1114	
Sultan Shah	1114–1117	
<i>Seljuks of Anatolia (Rum)</i>		
Sulayman I Shah, of Konya	1077–1186	
Qilich (Kilij) Arslan I	1092–1107	
Malik Shah	ca. 1107–1116	
Masud I	1116–1156	
Qilich Arslan II	1155/56–1192	
Malik II Shah	1192	
Kaykhusraw I	1192–1196, 1204–1210	deposed, restored
Sulayman Shah II	1196–1203	
Qilich (Kilij) Arslan III	1203–1204	
Kaykawus I	1210–1219	
Kayqubadh I	1219–1236/37	
Kaykhusraw II	1236/37–1246	
Kayku'us II	1246–1259	
Qilich (Qilij) Arslan IV	1248–1264	
Kayqubad II	1249–1257	
Kaykhusraw III	1264–1283	
Masud II	1283–1298	
Kayqbad III	1284–1307	
Masud II	1303–1308	
Masud III	1307–1307/08	
<i>Umayyads and Hammudids of Spain</i>		
Abd al-Rahman I	756–788	
Hisham I	788–796	
al-Hakam I	796–822	
Abd al-Rahman II	822–852	
Muhammad I	852–886	
al-Mundhir	886–888	
Abd Allah	888–912	
Abd al-Rahman III	912–961	
al-Hakim (Hakam) II	961–976	
Hisham II	976–1009, 1010–1013	deposed, restored
Muhammad II	1009–1010	deposed, restored
Sulayman	1009–1010, 1013–1016	deposed, restored
Ali ibn Hammud al-Nasir	1016–1018	
Abd al-Rahman IV	1018	
al-Qaim	1018–1021, 1023	deposed, restored, deposed
Yahya al-Mutali	1021–1023, 1025–1027	deposed, restored, d. 1035
Abd al-Rahman V	1023–1024	
Muhammad III	1024–1025	
Hisham III	1027–1031	deposed, d. 1036

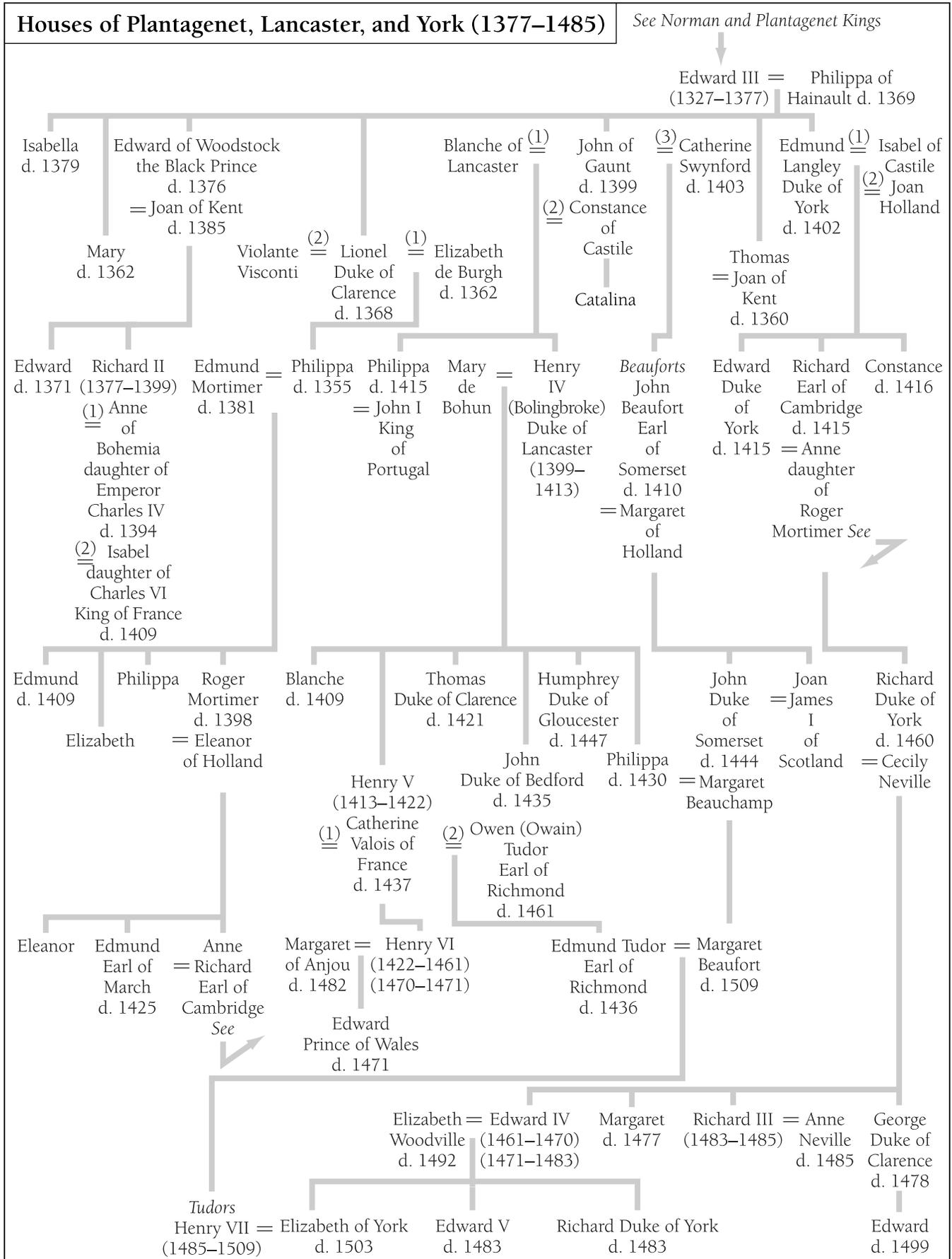
# APPENDIX II

## GENEALOGIES

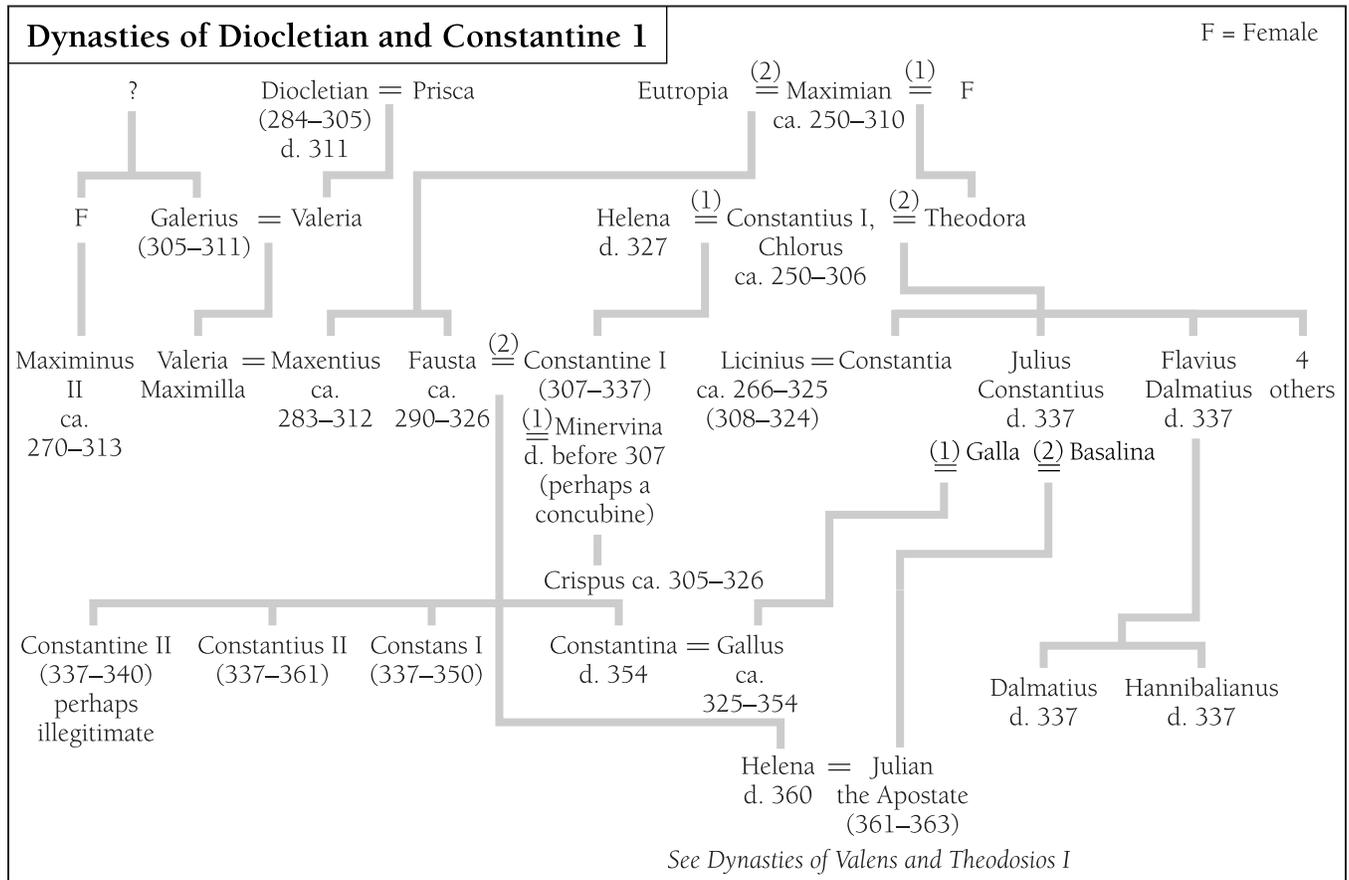
### ENGLAND, DYNASTIES AND RULERS OF (802–1500)

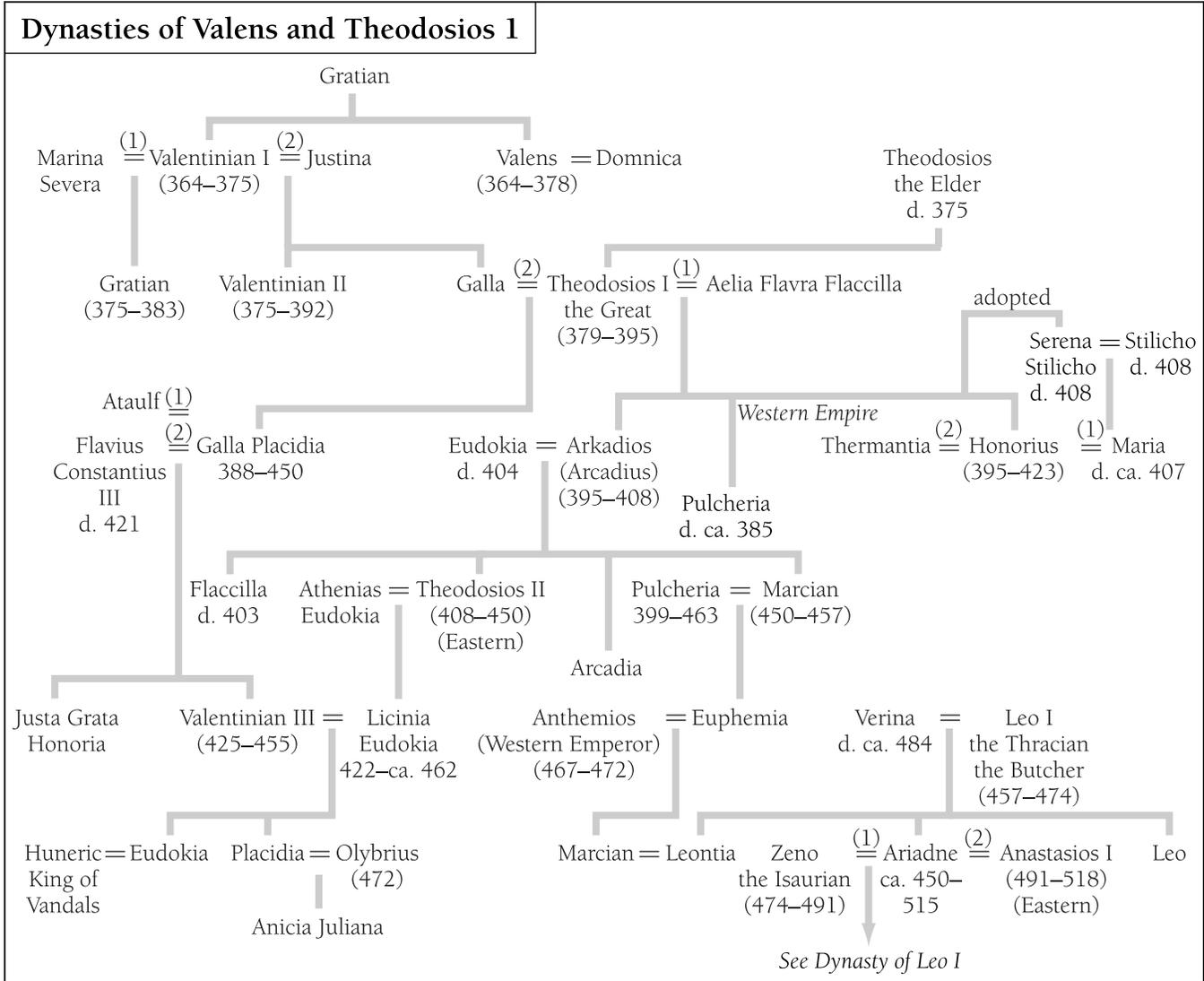


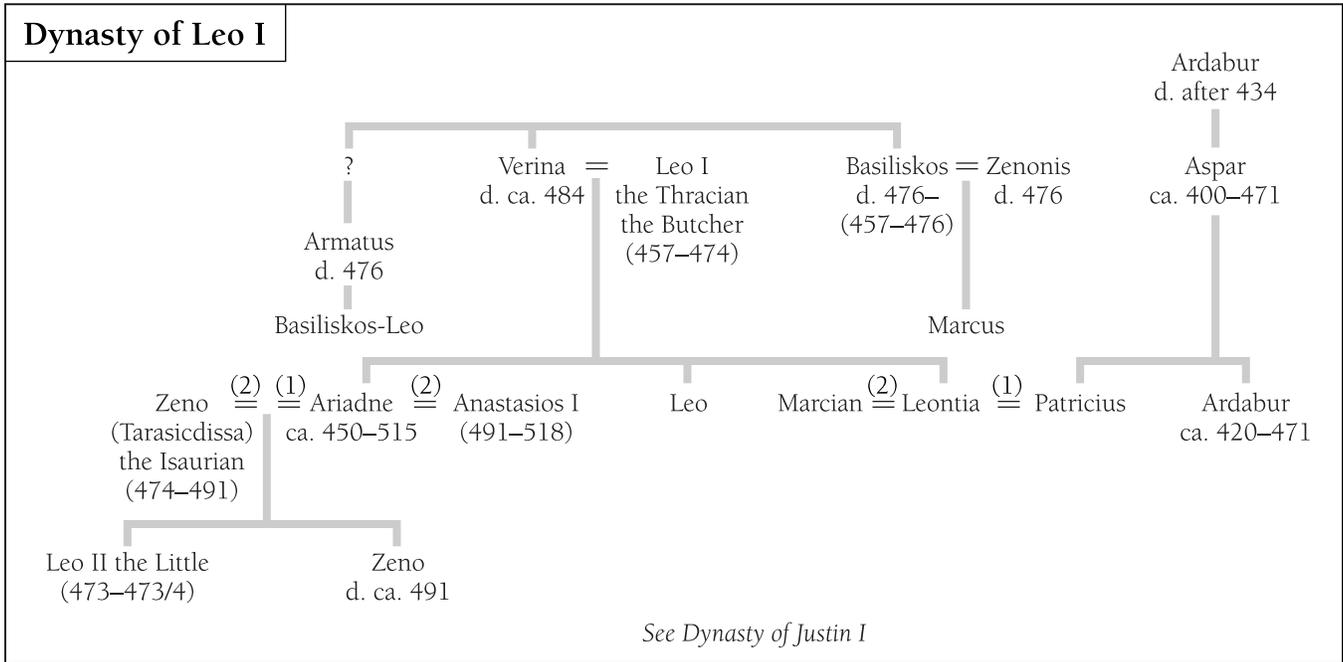




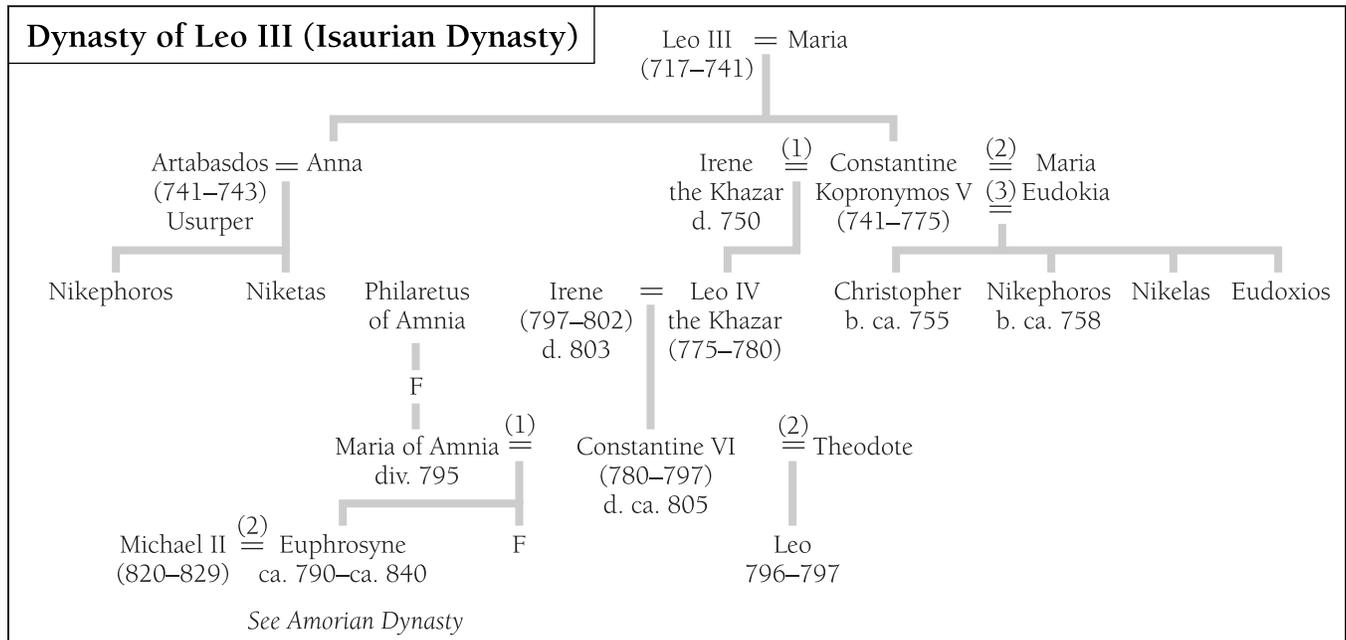
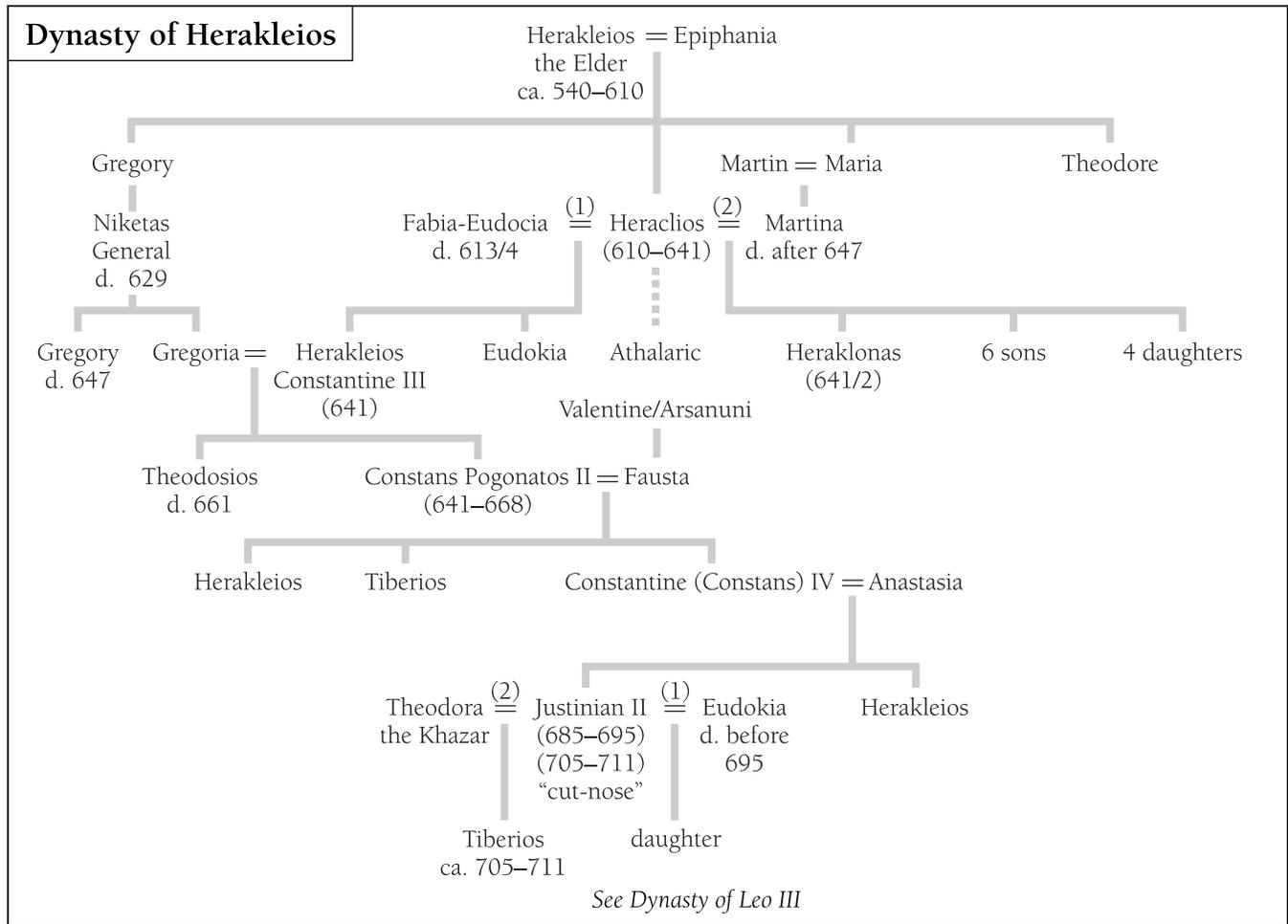
ROMAN AND BYZANTINE DYNASTIES (300–1453)

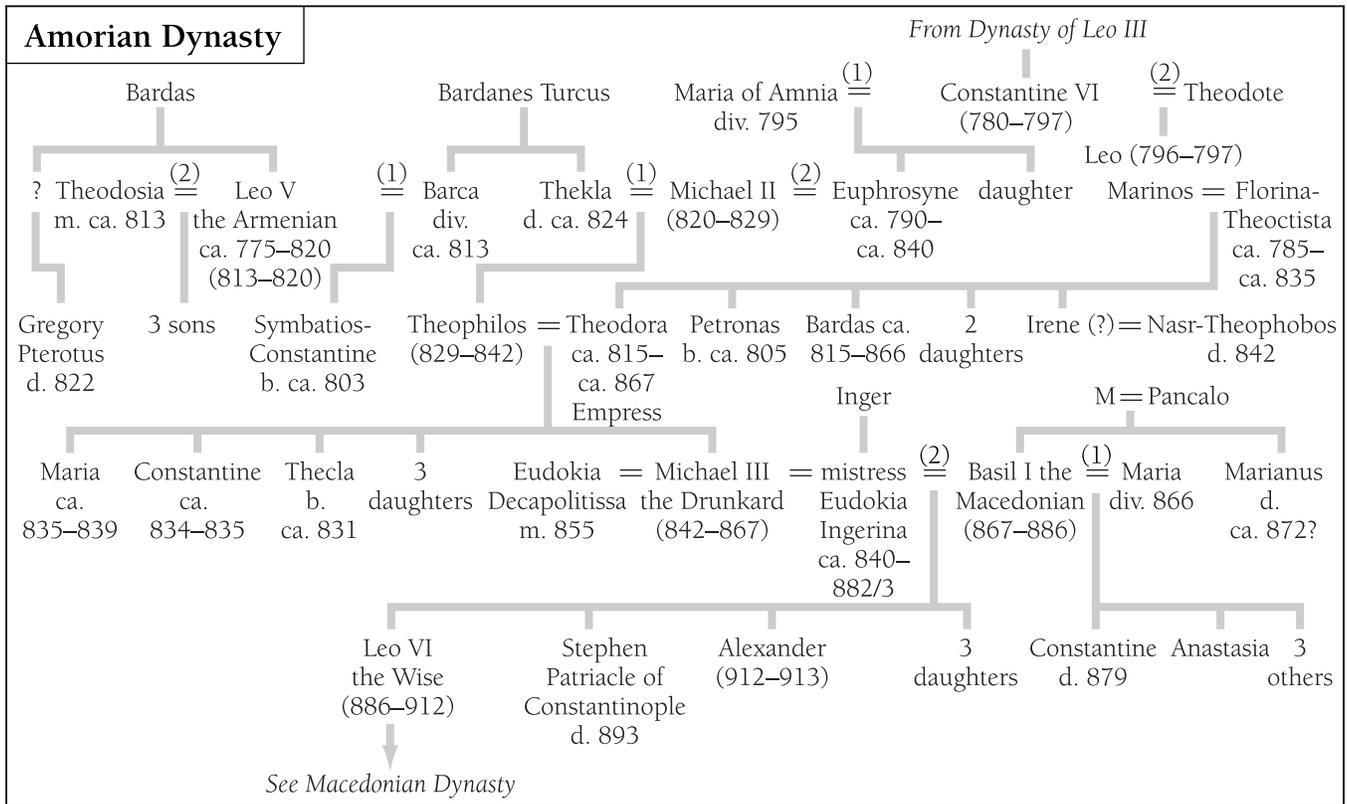


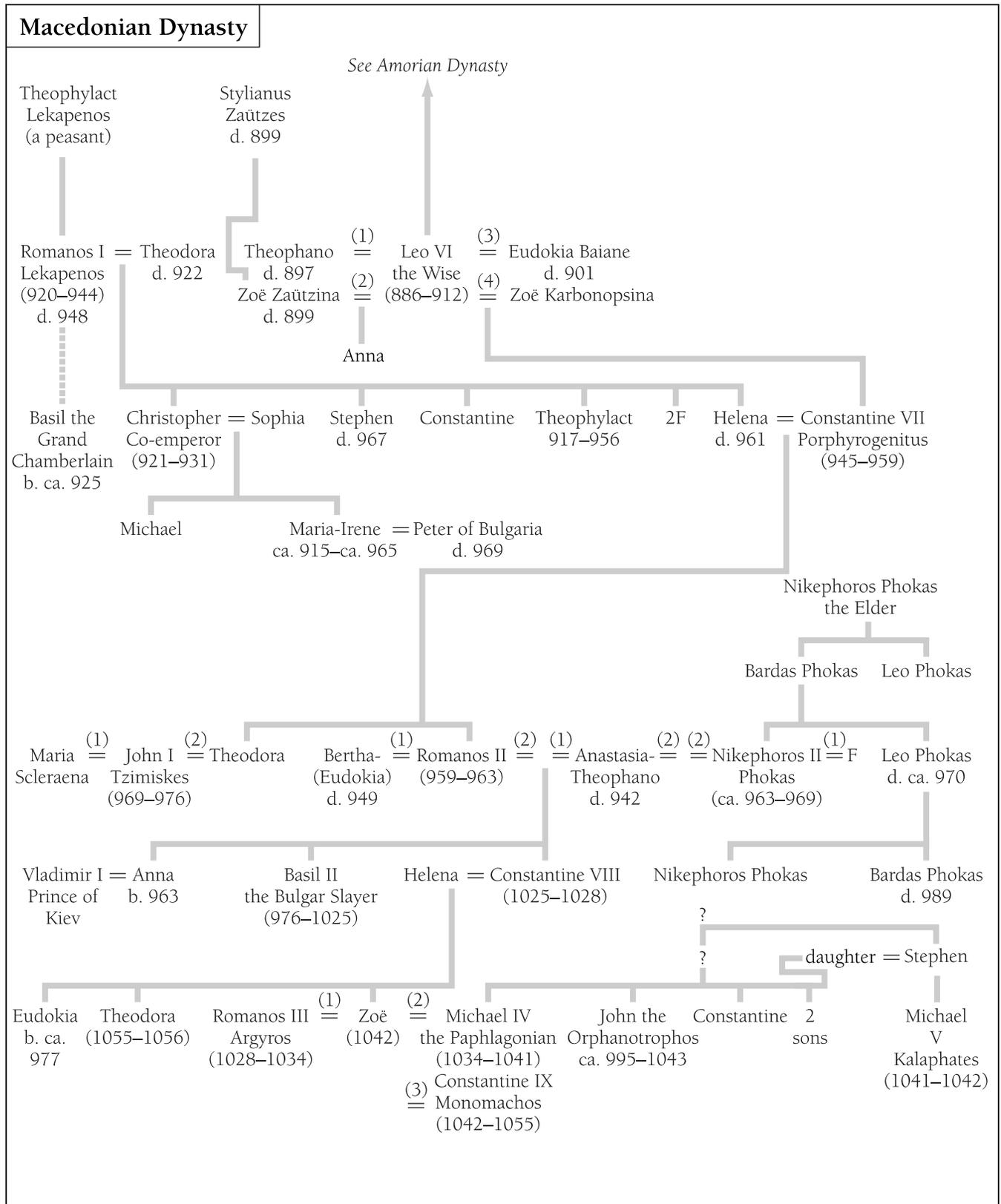


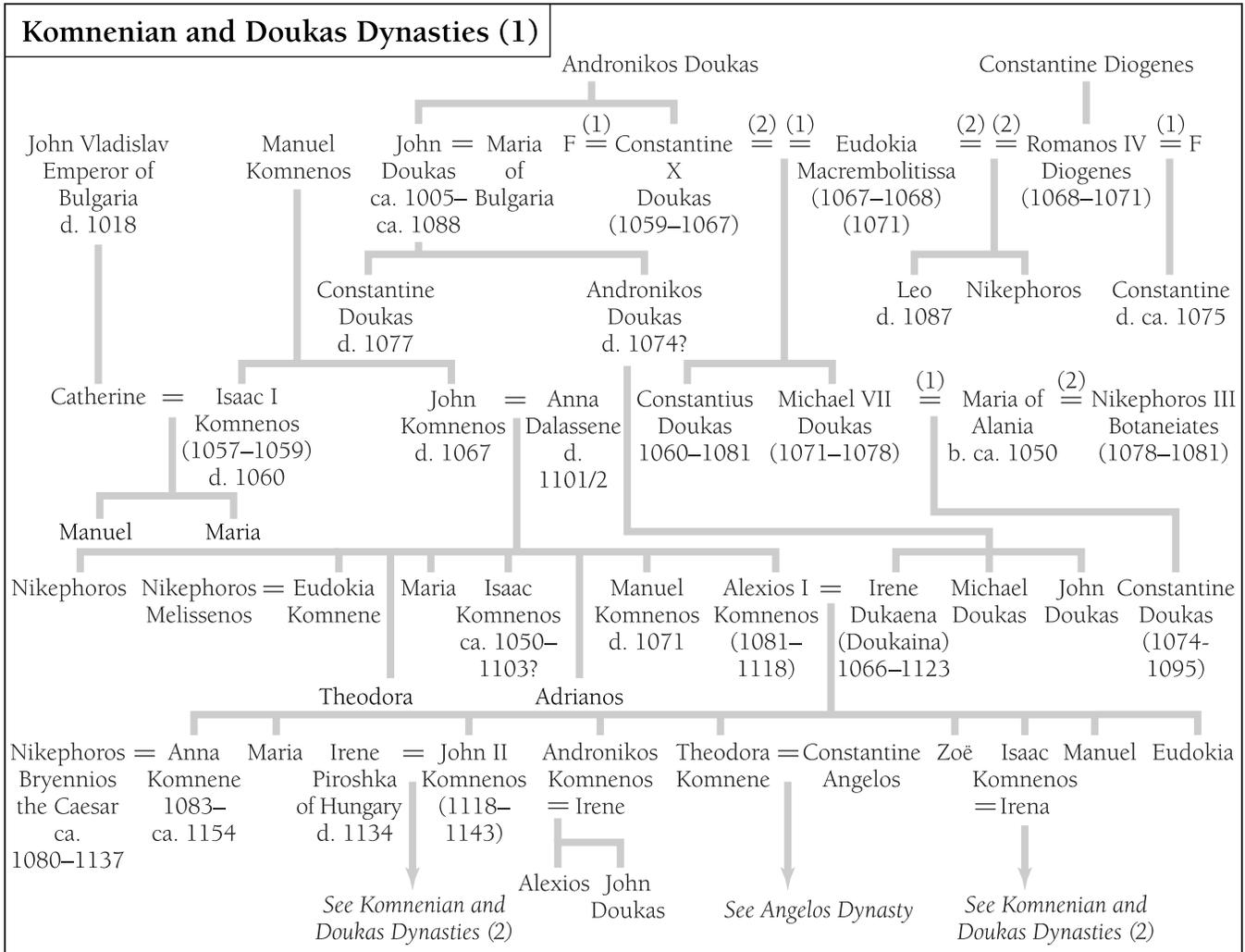


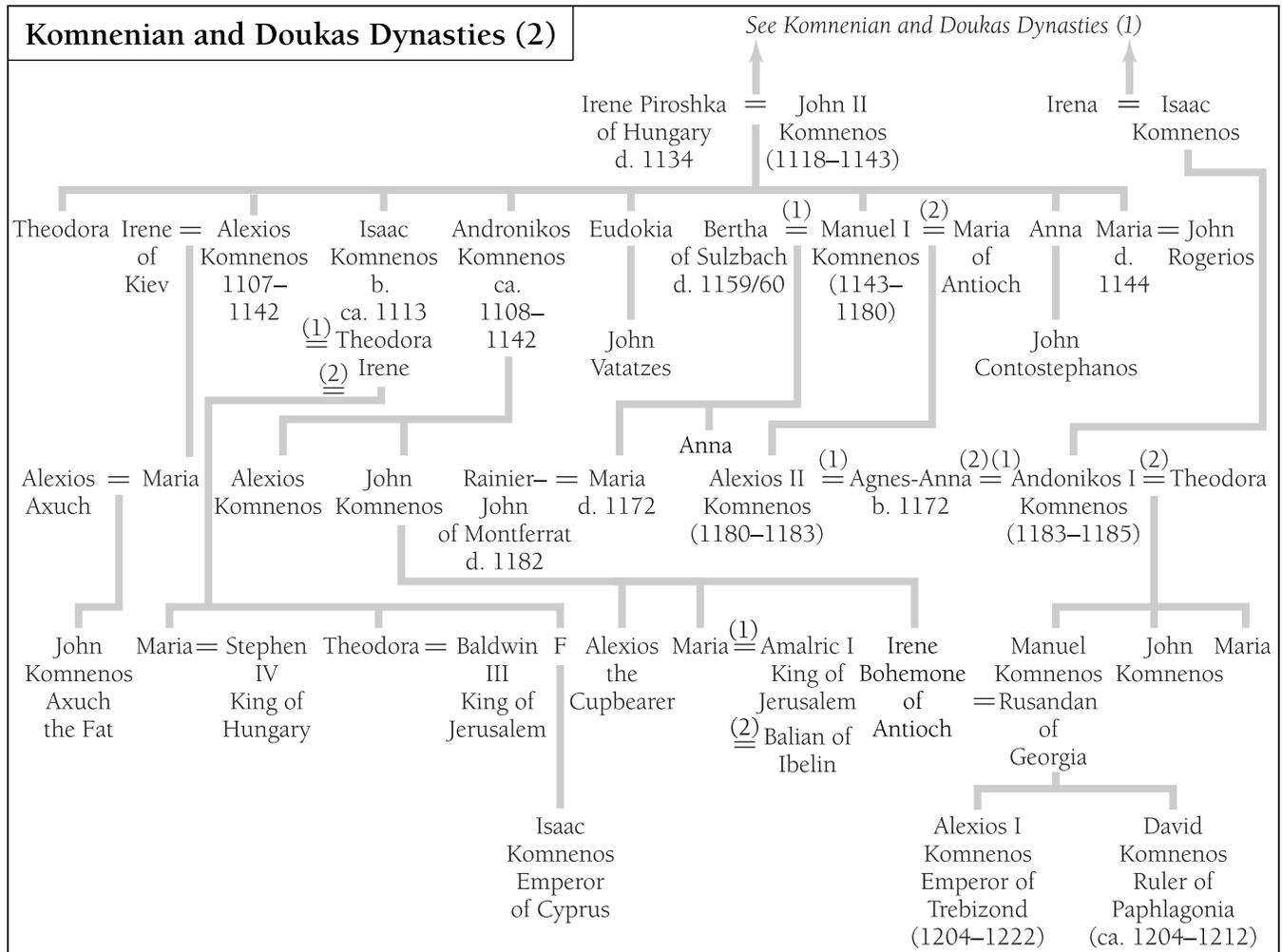


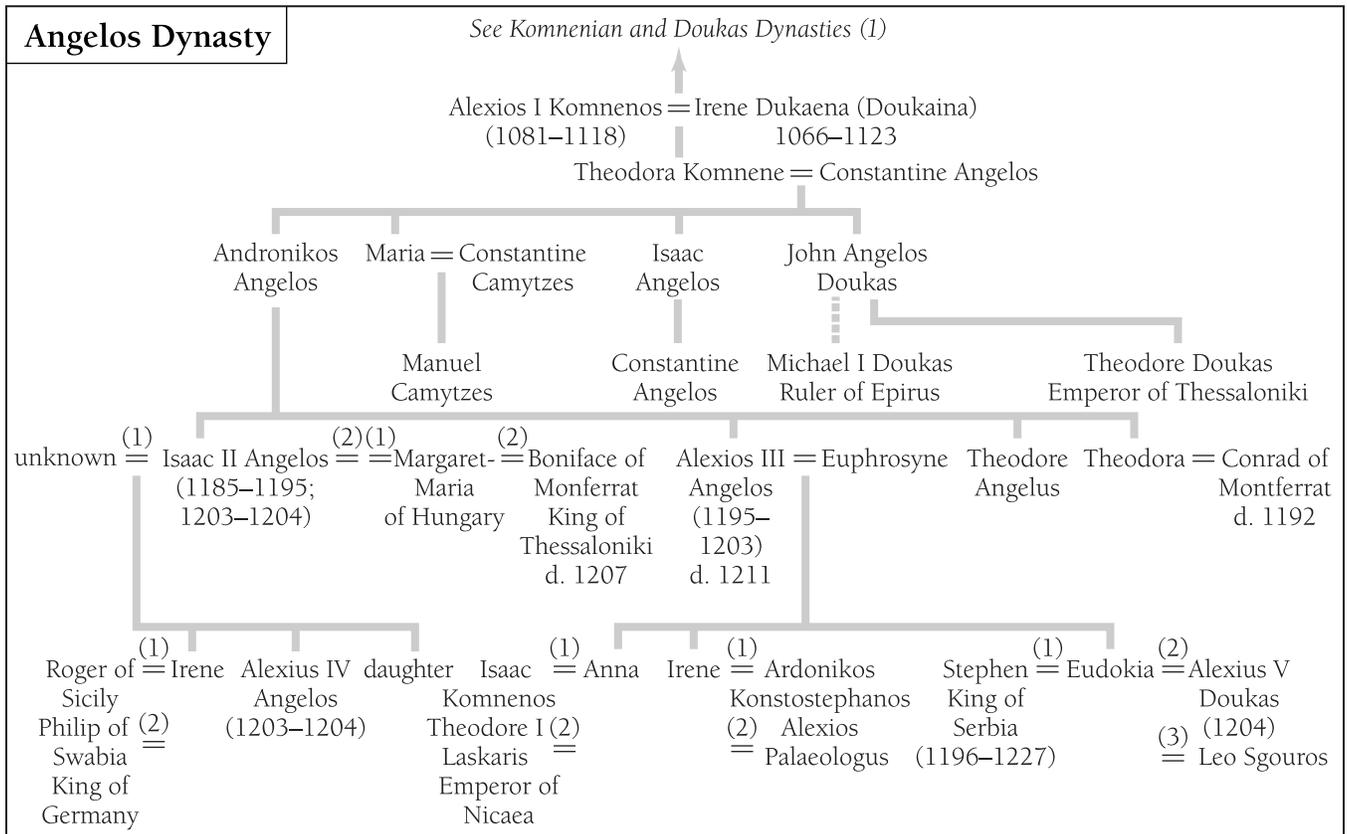


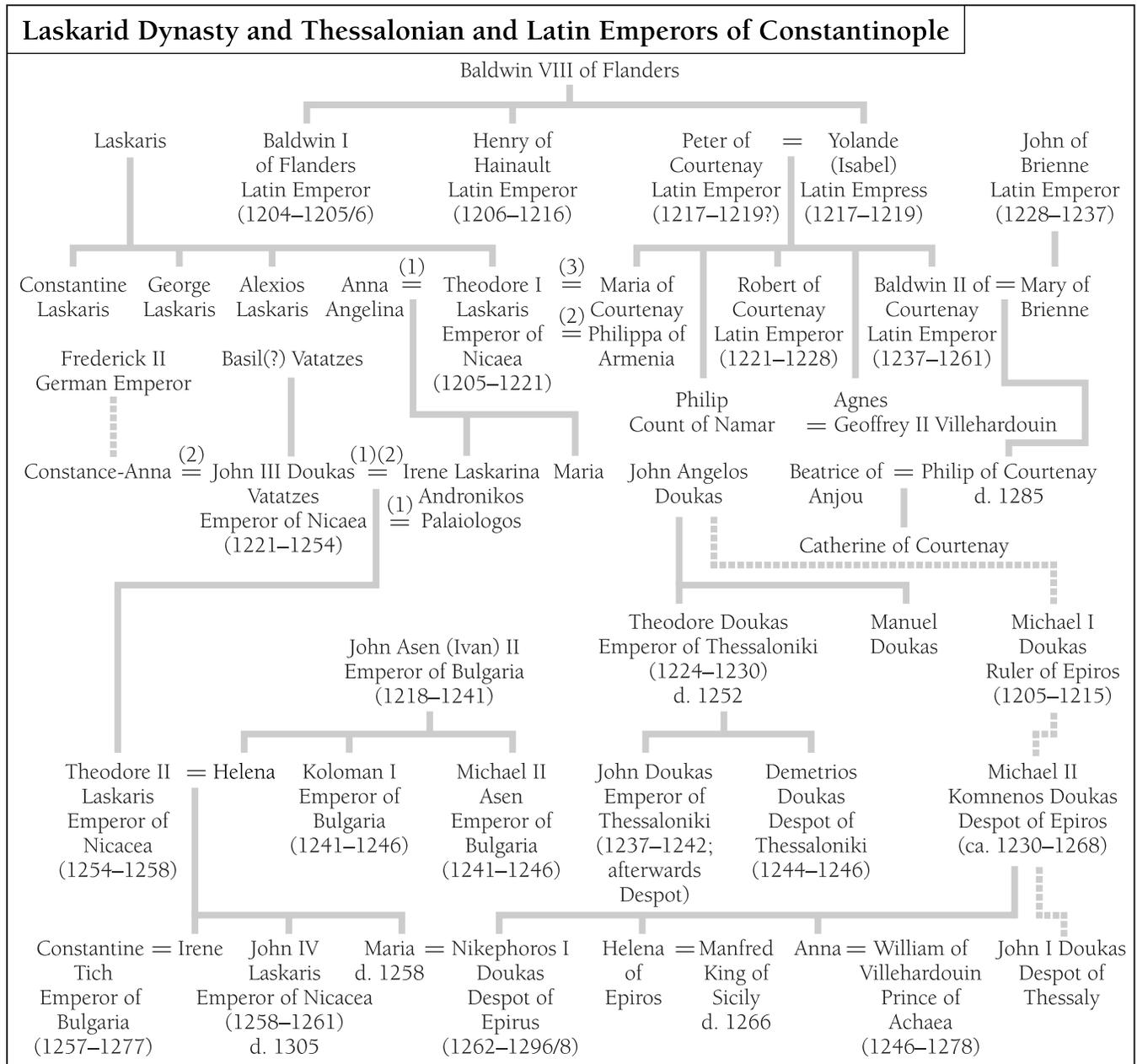




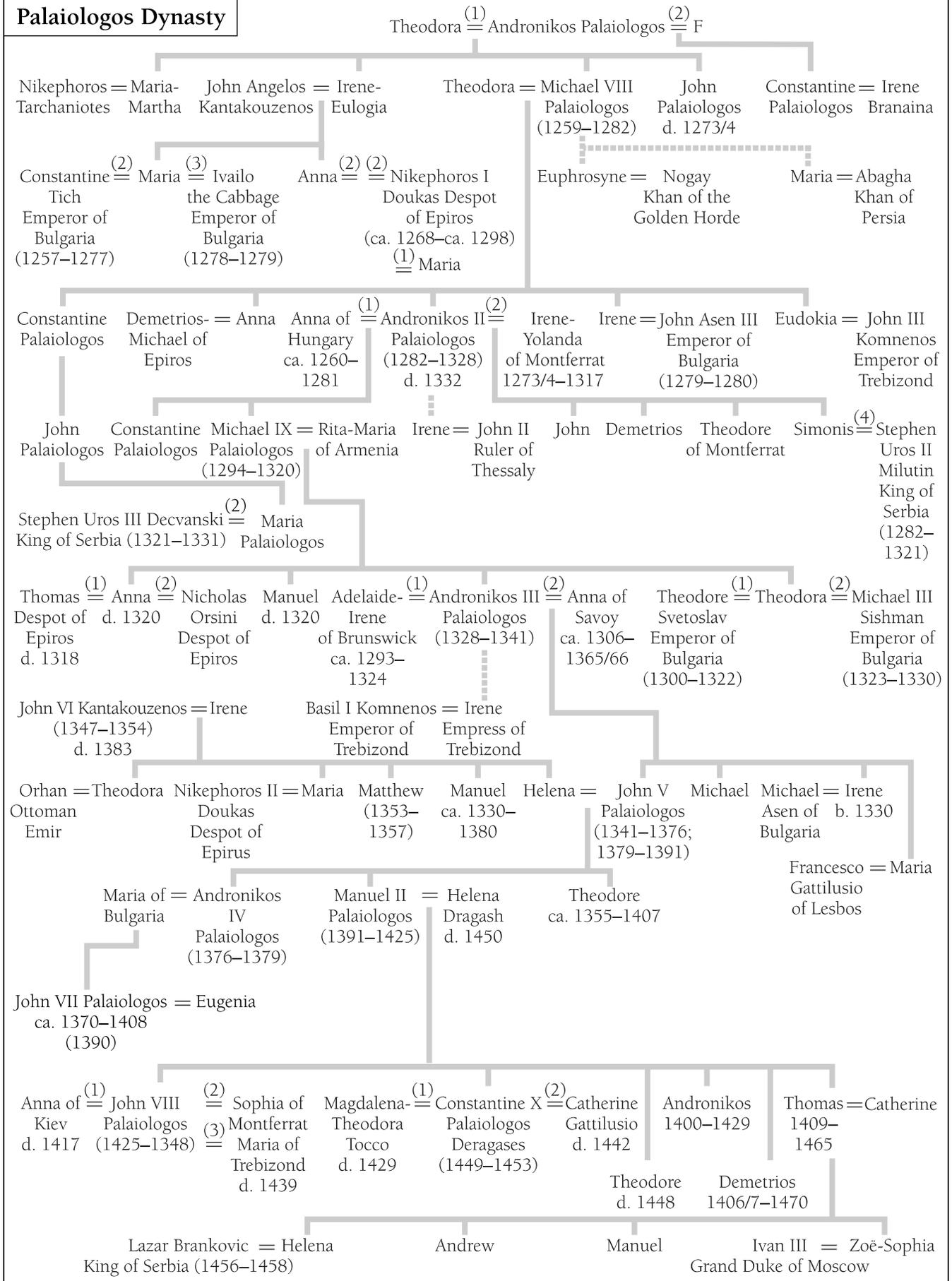




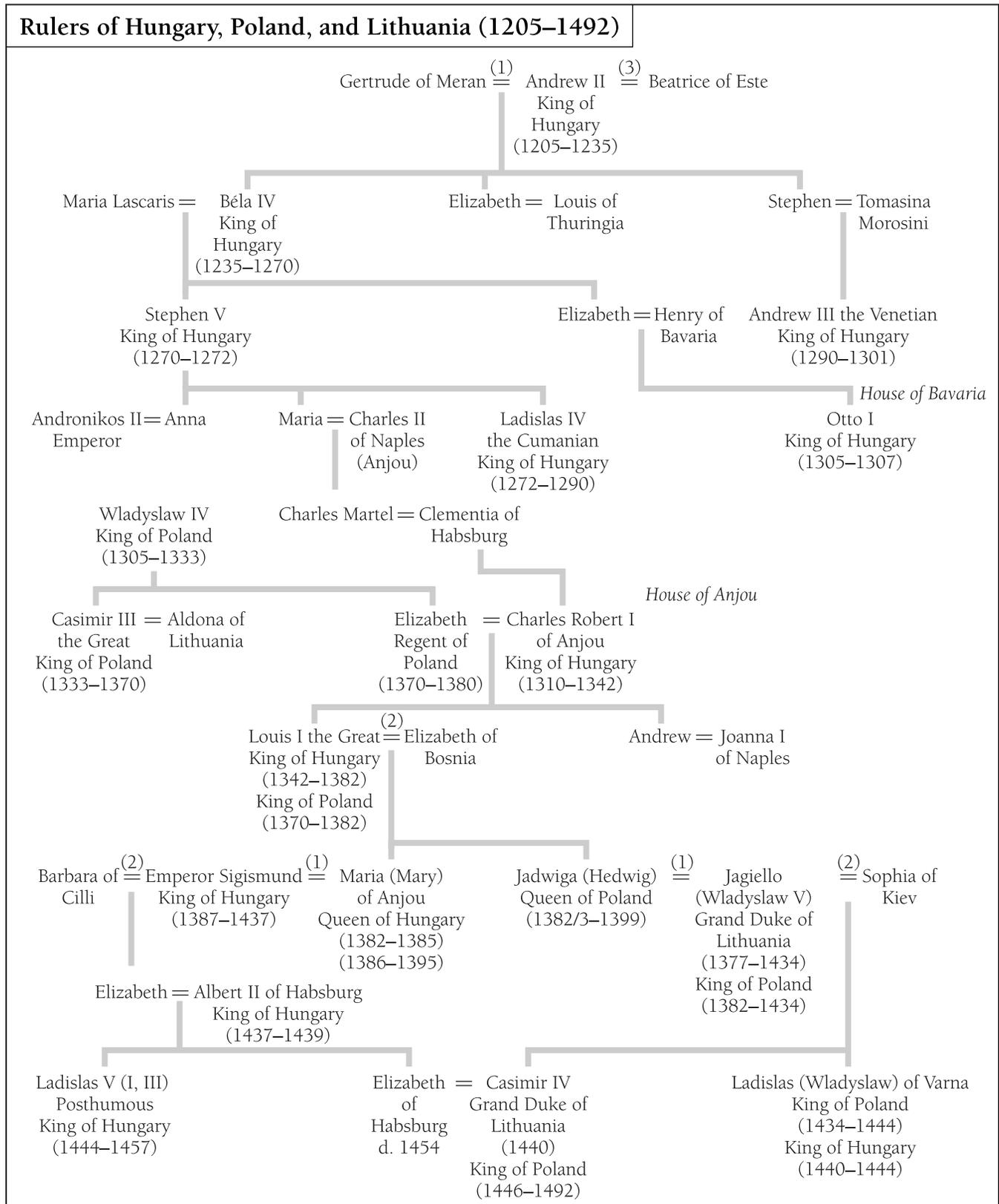




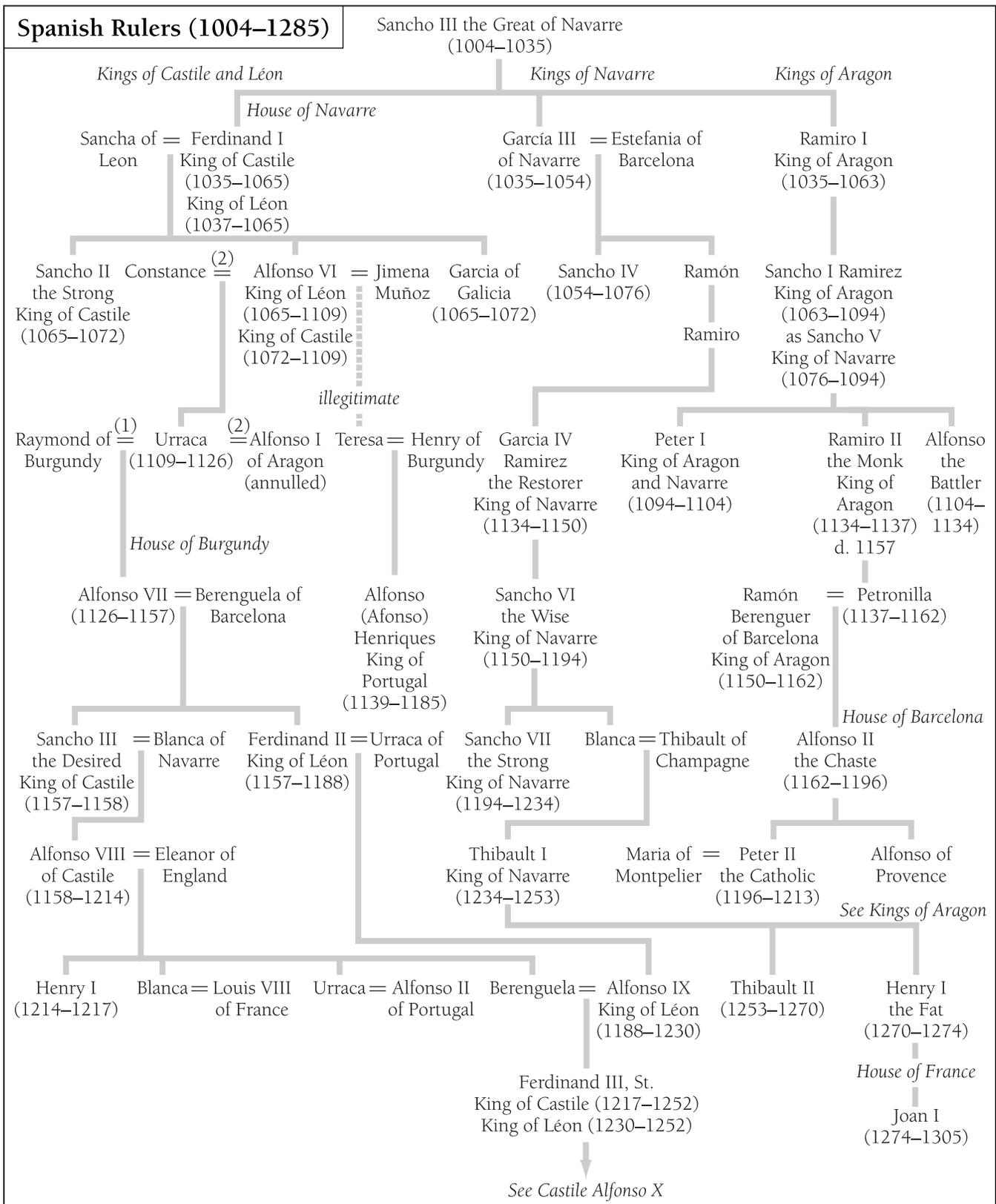
# Palaiologos Dynasty



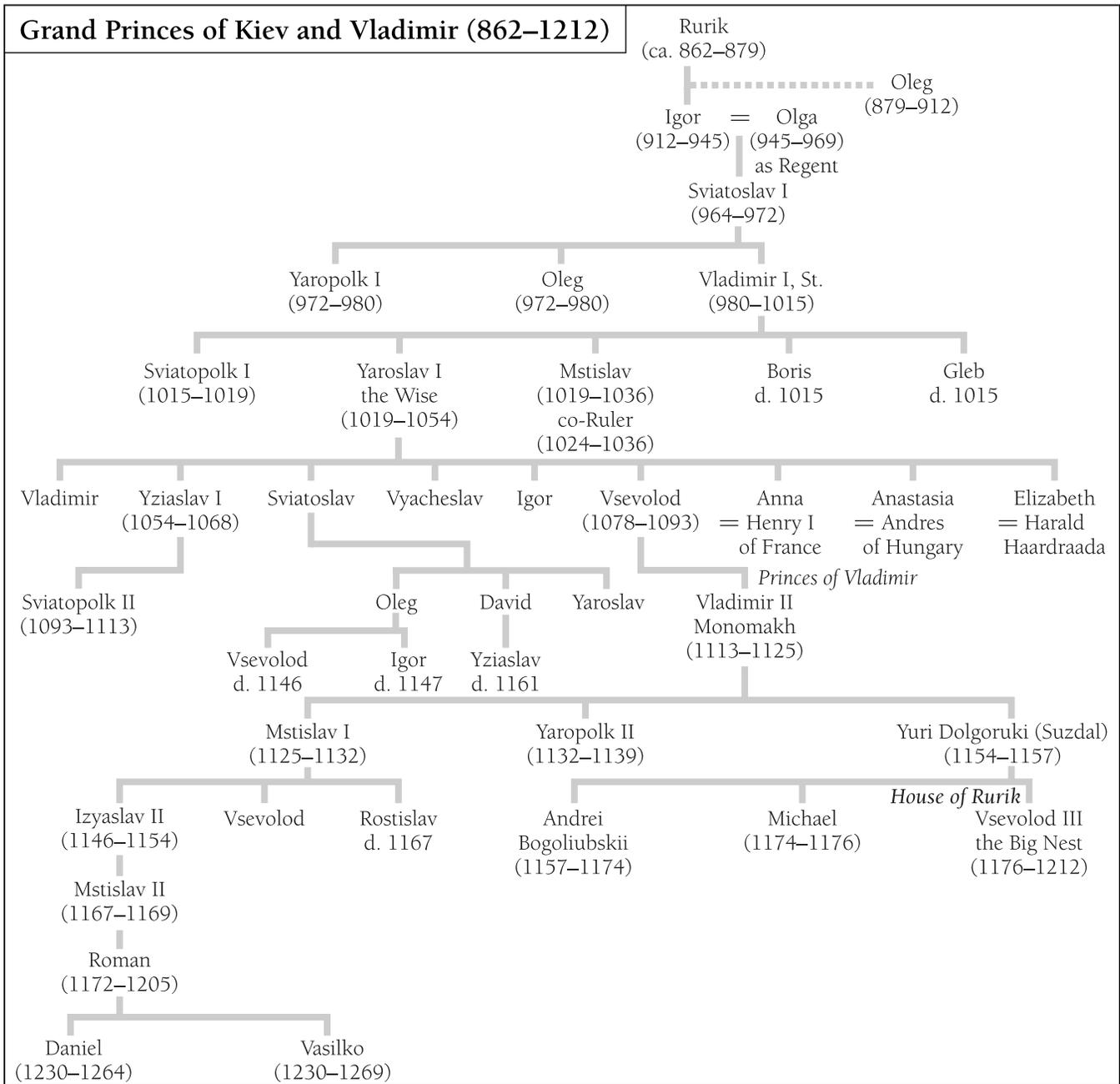
RULING DYNASTIES OF HUNGARY, POLAND, AND LITHUANIA (1205–1492)

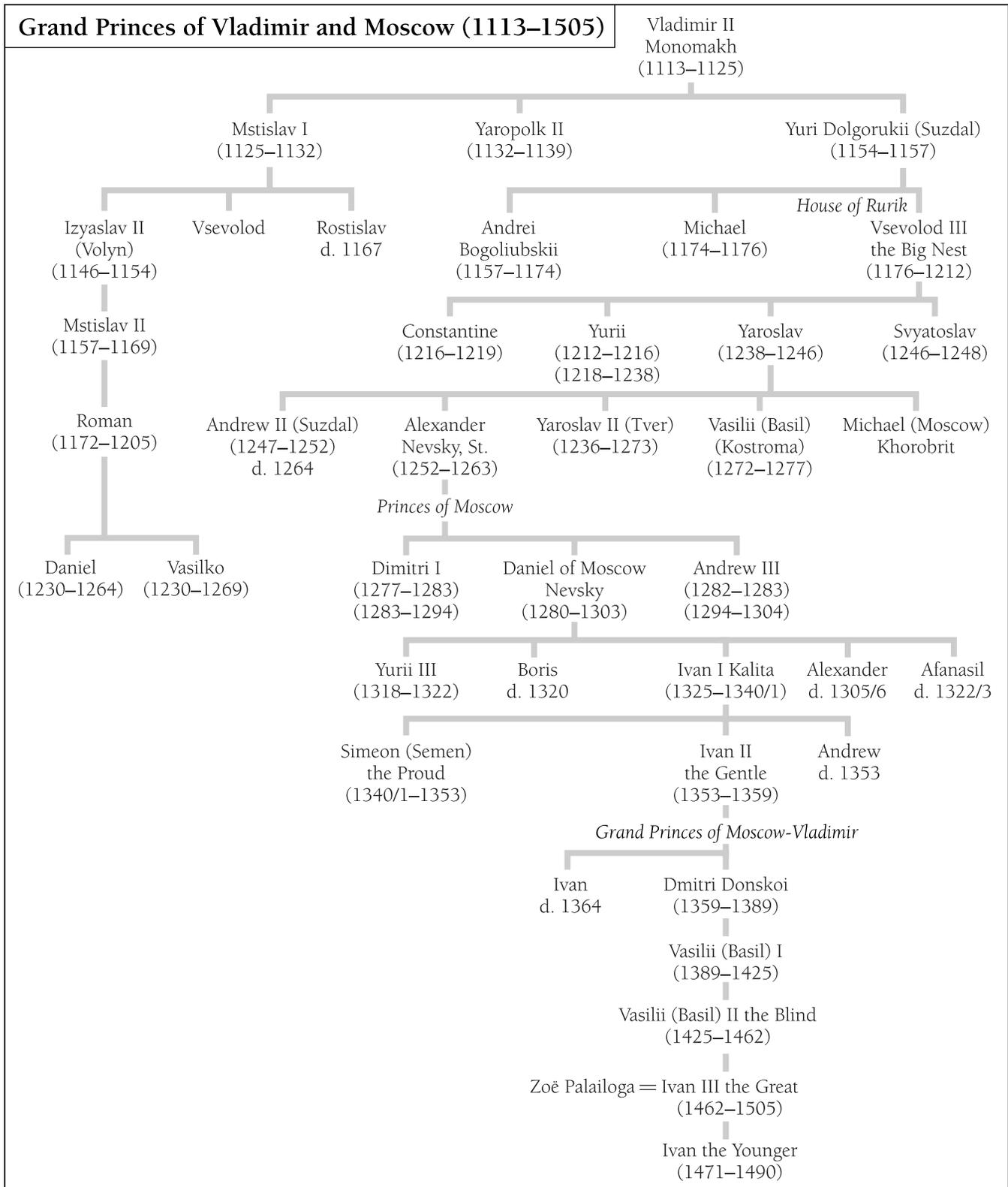


# RULING DYNASTIES OF THE CHRISTIAN IBERIAN KINGDOMS FROM 970 TO THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

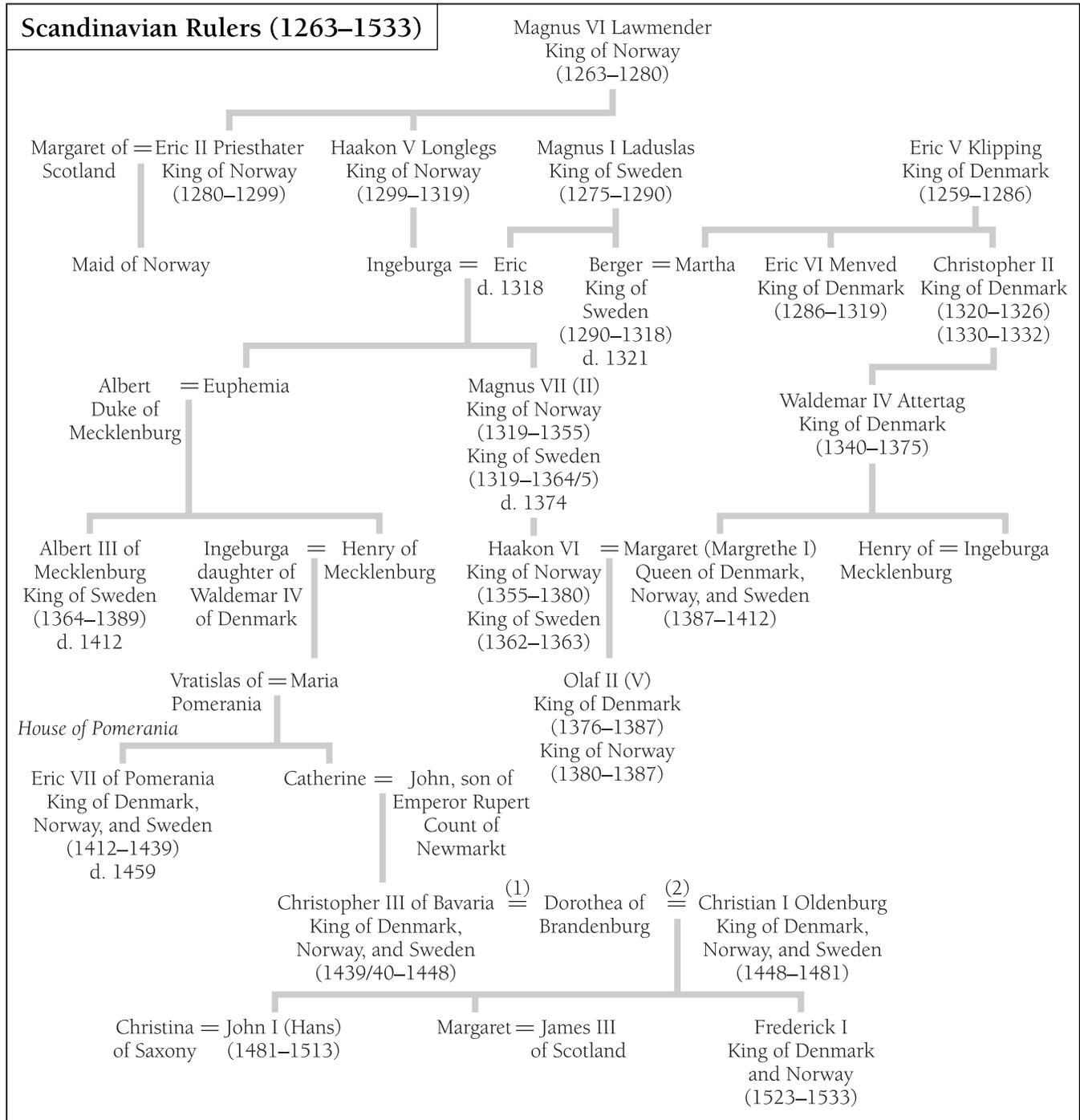


## RULERS AND DYNASTIES OF KIEVAN RUŚ, MOSCOW, AND RUSSIA





## RULERS AND DYNASTIES OF SCANDINAVIA IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES FOR DENMARK, NORWAY, AND SWEDEN



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Encyclopedias, Handbooks, and Dictionaries	814
II. The Medieval World in General	816
III. Art, Architecture, and Manuscript Studies	833
IV. British Isles	838
V. Byzantine Empire and Eastern Europe	842
VI. Jews in the Middle Ages	847
VII. Literature in the Middle Ages	849
VIII. Vikings and Northern Europe	852
IX. Africa, Islam, and Asia	853
X. Women in the Medieval World	859

I. ENCYCLOPEDIAS, HANDBOOKS,  
AND DICTIONARIES

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. *The Dictionary of Global Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.
- Avery, Catherine B. *The New Century Italian Renaissance Encyclopedia*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972.
- Barnavi, Eli, ed. *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People*. New York: Schocken Books, 1992.
- Beinart, Haim. *Atlas of Medieval Jewish History*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.
- Bennett, Matthew, ed. *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval Warfare*. Oxford: Helicon, 1998.
- Bergin, Thomas G., and Jennifer Speake, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. New York: Facts On File, 1987.
- Bowersock, G. W., Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar, eds. "The Alphabetical Guide." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Boyd, Kelly, ed. *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*. 2 vols. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999.
- Broughton, Bradford B. *Dictionary of Medieval Knighthood and Chivalry: Concepts and Terms*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Brown, Mary Ellen, and Bruce A. Rosenberg, eds. *Encyclopedia of Folklore and Literature*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1998.
- Brumble, H. David. *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Bunson, Matthew E. *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. New York: Facts On File, 1995.
- Cannon, John, ed. *The Oxford Companion to British History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Cantor, Norman F., ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. New York: Viking, 1999.
- Chadwick, Henry, and G. R. Evans. *Atlas of the Christian Church*. 1987. Reprint, Oxford: Phaidon, 1990.
- Chilvers, Ian, and Harold Osborne, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*. New edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Cohn-Sherbok, Dan, ed. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Judaica*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Cosman, Madeleine Pelter. *Medieval Wordbook*. New York: Checkmark Books, 1996.
- Crabtree, Pam J., ed. *Medieval Archaeology: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2001.
- Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Dahmus, Joseph. *Dictionary of Medieval Civilization*. New York: Macmillan, 1984.
- Di Bernardino, Angelo, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*. Trans. Adrian Walford. 2 vol. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Drees, Clayton J., ed. *The Late Medieval Age of Crisis and Renewal, 1300–1500: A Biographical Dictionary*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Echols, Anne, and Mary Williams, eds. *An Annotated Index of Medieval Women*. New York: Wiener, 1992.
- The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New ed. 9 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960.
- Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1971–1972.
- Evans, G. R. *Fifty Key Medieval Thinkers*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Fahlbusch, Erwin, et al., eds. *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Farmer, David Hugh, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Ferguson, Everett, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. 2d ed. 2 vols. New York: Garland, 1997.
- Fines, John. *Who's Who in the Middle Ages: From the Collapse of the Roman Empire to the Renaissance*. 1970. Reprint, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1995.
- Fletcher, Richard. *Who's Who in Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1989.
- Fletcher, Stella. *The Longman Companion to Renaissance Europe, 1390–1530*. London: Longman, 2000.
- Freeman-Greenville, G. S. P. *Oxford Atlas of the Middle East*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
- Friedman, John Block, and Kristen Mossler Figg, eds. *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2000.
- Gerli, E. Michael, ed. *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2003.
- Gentry, Francis G. et al., eds. *The Nibelungen Tradition: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Gerritsen, Willem P., and Anthony G. Van Melle, eds. *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes: Characters in Medieval Narrative Traditions and Their Afterlife in Literature, Theatre and the Visual Arts*. 1993. Reprint, Rochester, N.Y.: The Boydell Press, 1998.
- Gillispie, Charles Cordston, ed. *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. 18 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970–1980.
- Glassé, Cyril. *The Concise Dictionary of Islam*. London: Stacey International, 1989.
- Grabois, Aryeh. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Medieval Civilization*. London: Octopus Books, 1980.
- Grendler, Paul, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. 6 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999.
- Haigh, Christopher, ed. *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hale, J. R., ed. *A Concise Encyclopedia of the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Hardin, James, and Max Reinhart, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 179. *German Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation, 1280–1580*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997.
- Hardin, James, and Will Hasty, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 138. *German Writers and Works of the High Middle Ages, 1170–1280*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1994.
- Harty, Kevin J. *The Reel Middle Ages: American, Western and Eastern European, Middle Eastern, and Asian Films about Medieval Europe*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1999.

- Harvey, John Hooper. *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550, Including Master Masons, Carpenters, Carvers, Building Contractors and Others Responsible for Design*. Rev. edition. Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1987.
- Hastings, Adrian, Alistair Mason, and Hugh Pyper, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Hasty, Will, and James Hardin, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 148. *German Writers and Works of the Early Middle Ages, 800–1170*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997.
- Haywood, John. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings*. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Haywood, John. *Historical Atlas of the Medieval World, A.D. 600–1492*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 2001.
- Helteman, Jeffrey, and Jerome Mitchell, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 146. *Old and Middle English Literature*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1994.
- Hicks, Michael A. *Who's Who in Late Medieval England, 1272–1485*. London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1991.
- Hooper, Nicholas, and Matthew Bennett. *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas of Warfare: The Middle Ages, 768–1487*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hornblower, Simon, and Anthony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Hughes, Thomas Patrick, ed. *A Dictionary of Islam: A Cyclopaedia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs, Together with the Technical and Theological Terms, of the Muhammadan Religion*. 1885. Reprint, Clifton, N.J.: Reference Book Publishers, 1965.
- Huyghe, René, ed. *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art*. Rev. ed. London: Hamlyn, 1968.
- Jackson, William T. H., and George Stade, eds. *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 1. *Prudentius to Medieval Drama*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983.
- Jackson, William T. H., and George Stade, eds. *European Writers: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Vol. 2. *Petrarch to Renaissance Short Fiction*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983.
- Jeep, John M., ed. *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2001.
- Johnston, William M., ed. *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. 2 vols. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000.
- Jordan, William Chester, ed. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Supplement 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004.
- Kazhdan, Alexander P., ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Kibler, William W., and Grover A. Zinn, eds. *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 1995.
- Kleinhenz, Christopher, ed. *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2004.
- Konstam, Angus. *Atlas of Medieval Europe*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2000.
- Konstam, Angus. *Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2001.
- Konstam, Angus. *Historical Atlas of the Crusades*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2002.
- Lacy, Norris J., ed. *The New Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 1996.
- Lambdin, Robert Thomas, and Laura Cooner Lambdin, eds. *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Lansing, Richard, ed. *The Dante Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2000.
- Lapidge, Michael, Simon Keyes, and Donald Scragg, eds. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- Lawler, Jennifer. *Encyclopedia of Women in the Middle Ages*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001.
- Lever, Jill. *Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture, 800–1914*. 2d ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1993.
- Lindahl, Carl, John McNamara, and John Lindow, eds. *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*. 2000. Reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Lindow, John, ed. *Scandinavian Mythology: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1988.
- Lindow, John ed., *Norse Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Heroes, Rituals, and Beliefs*. 2001. Reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Loyn, H. R., ed. *The Middle Ages: A Concise Encyclopedia*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.
- MacKay, Angus, with David Ditchburn, eds. *Atlas of Medieval Europe*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*. Maps drawn by John Woodcock. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961.
- McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of African History*. New ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Magill, Frank N., ed. *Dictionary of World Biography*. Vol. 2. *The Middle Ages*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998.
- Magill, Frank N., ed. *Dictionary of World Biography*. Vol. 3. *The Renaissance*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999.
- Magocsi, Paul R. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993.
- Man, John. *Atlas of the Year 1000*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Marwick, Arthur, ed. *The Illustrated Dictionary of British History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- McAuliffe, Jane Dammen, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Quran*. Vol. 1, A–D. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- McGurk, John James Noel. *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms for the Use of History Students*. Reigate: Reigate Press, 1970.
- Murray, Peter, and Linda Murray, eds. *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Murray, Peter, and Linda Murray, eds. *A Dictionary of Christian Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Netton, Ian Richard. *A Popular Dictionary of Islam*. London: Curzon Press, 1992.

- Neusner, Jacob, Alan J. Avery-Peck, and William Scott Green, eds. *The Encyclopedia of Judaism*. 3 vols. New York: Continuum, 1999.
- Newby, Gordon S., ed. *A Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*. Oxford: One World, 2002.
- New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 15 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
- Nicol, Donald. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire*. London: Seaby, 1991.
- Nordstrom, Byron J., ed. *Dictionary of Scandinavian History*. London: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Pallattino, Massimo, ed. *Encyclopedia of World Art*. 17 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959–1987.
- Parry, Ken et al., eds. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- Paxton, John, ed. *Encyclopedia of Russian History: From the Christianization of Kiev to the Break-Up of the U.S.S.R.* Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1993.
- Pulsiano, Phillip, ed. *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 1993.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Atlas of the Crusades*. London: Times Books, 1991.
- Ross, Leslie, ed. *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*. London: Greenwood Press, 1996.
- Rosser, John H., ed. *Historical Dictionary of Byzantium*. London: Scarecrow Press, 2001.
- Roth, Norman, ed. *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 2003.
- Royal Geographical Society. *Oxford Atlas of Exploration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Rundle, David, ed. *The Hutchinson Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. Oxford: Helicon, 1999.
- Sadie, Stanley, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2d ed. 29 vols. New York: Grove's Dictionary, 2001.
- Saul, Nigel. *The Batsford Companion to Medieval England*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1983; reprinted as *A Companion to Medieval England, 1066–1485*. Charleston, S.C.: Tempus, 2001.
- Schulman, Jana K., ed. *The Rise of the Medieval World, 500–1300: A Biographical Dictionary*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Sheehan, Michael M., and Jacqueline Murray, eds. *Domestic Society in Medieval Europe: A Select Bibliography*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990.
- Sinnreich-Levi, Deborah, and Ian S. Laurie, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 208. *Literature of the French and Occitan Middle Ages: Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries*. Detroit: The Gale Group, 1999.
- Sitwell, Gerard, ed. *Spiritual Writers of the Middle Ages*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961.
- Snodgrass, Mary Ellen. *Who's Who in the Middle Ages*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001.
- Stearns, Peter N., ed. *The Encyclopedia of World History: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, Chronologically Arranged*. 6th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.
- Steib, Murray, ed. *Reader's Guide to Music History, Theory, Criticism*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999.
- Storey, R. L. *Chronology of the Medieval World: 800 to 1491*. Oxford: Helicon, 1994.
- Strayer, Joseph, ed. *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. 13 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982–1989.
- Szarmach, Paul E., M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds. *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 1998.
- Tasker, Edward G., ed. *Encyclopedia of Medieval Church Art*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1993.
- Terry, Michael, ed. *Reader's Guide to Judaism*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000.
- Thomas, Anabel. *An Illustrated Dictionary of Narrative Painting*. London: John Murray in association with National Gallery Publications, 1994.
- Turner, Jane, ed. *The Dictionary of Art*. 34 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1996.
- Turner, Jane, ed. *Encyclopedia of Italian Renaissance and Mannerist Art*. 2 vols. in *Grove Encyclopedia of Art*. London: Macmillan Reference, 2000.
- Uden, Grant. *A Dictionary of Chivalry*. New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1968.
- Vauchez, André, with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. 2 vols. Trans. Adrian Walford. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001.
- Vogel, Joseph, and Jean Vogel. *Encyclopedia of Precolonial Africa: Archaeology, History, Languages, Cultures, and Environments*. London: Altamura Press, 1997.
- Wigoder, Geoffrey, ed. *The New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*. 7th ed. New York: Facts On File, 1992.
- Williams, Ann, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain: England, Scotland, and Wales, c. 500–c. 1050*. London: Seaby, 1991.
- Wolf, D. R., ed. *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*. 2 vols. New York: Garland, 1998.

## II. THE MEDIEVAL WORLD IN GENERAL

- Aberth, John. *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting War Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Abou-El-Haj, Barbara. *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Abulafia, David. *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Abulafia, David. *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion*. London: Longman, 1997.
- Abulafia, David, ed. *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–95: Antecedents and Effects*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Abulafia, David, ed. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 5. c. 1198–c. 1300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

- Adelson, Howard L., ed. *Medieval Commerce*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1962.
- Allmand, Christopher T. *Society at War: The Experience of England and France during the Hundred Years War*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973.
- Allmand, Christopher T., ed. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 7. c. 1415–c. 1500. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Amundsen, Darrel W. *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Ariès, Philip, and Georges Duby, eds. *A History of Private Life*. Vol. 2. *Revelations of the Medieval World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Arnold, Benjamin. *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Arnold, Benjamin. *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study of Regional Power, 1100–1350*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Arnold, Benjamin. *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Aston, T. H., and C. H. E. Philpin, eds. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Bachrach, Bernard S., ed. *The Medieval Church: Success or Failure?* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972.
- Bachrach, Bernard S., ed. *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1972.
- Bachrach, Bernard S., ed. *Armies and Politics in the Early Medieval West*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1993.
- Bachrach, Bernard S., ed. *State-Building in Medieval France: Studies in Early Angevin History*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Bachrach, Bernard S., ed. *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Bak, János M. *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Chronological Guide, with a List of Major Letter Collections*. New York: Garland, 1987.
- Bak, János M., ed. *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- al-Bakhit, M. A., L. Bazin, S. M. Cissoko, eds. *History of Humanity, Scientific and Cultural Development*. Vol. 4. *From the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Routledge for UNESCO, 2000.
- Baldwin, John W. *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Baldwin, John W. *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300*. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1971.
- Baldwin, John W. *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Baldwin, John W. *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Ball, Warwick. *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Barber, Malcolm. *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050–1320*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Barber, Richard. *The Knight and Chivalry*. Rev. ed. Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1995.
- Baron, Hans. *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955.
- Baron, Hans. *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Barracough, Geoffrey. *Medieval Germany, 911–1250*. 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1938.
- Barracough, Geoffrey. *The Medieval Empire: Idea and Reality*. London: The Historical Association, 1950. Reprinted in *History in a Changing World*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1956, 105–130.
- Barracough, Geoffrey. *The Origins of Modern Germany*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1957.
- Barracough, Geoffrey. *The Medieval Papacy*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968.
- Barracough, Geoffrey, ed. *Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.
- Barracough, Geoffrey. *The Crucible of Europe: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries in European History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Bartlett, Robert. *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Bartlett, Robert, ed. *Medieval Panorama*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001.
- Bartlett, Robert, and Angus MacKay, eds. *Medieval Frontier Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Becker, Marvin B. *Florence in Transition*. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967–1968.
- Becker, Marvin B. *Medieval Italy: Constraints and Creativity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981.
- Becker, Marvin B. *Florentine Essays: Selected Writings of Marvin B. Becker*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Beckwith, Sarah. *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Beeler, John. *Warfare in Feudal Europe, 730–1200*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Bell, Rudolph M. *Holy Anorexia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Bell, Rudolph M. *How to Do It: Guide to Good Living for Renaissance Italians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Bell-Fialkoff, Andrew, ed. *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe: Sedentary Civilization vs.*

## 818 Bibliography

- "Barbarian" and Nomad. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Bellomo, Manlio. *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000–1800*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995.
- Benson, Robert, and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham, eds. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Berman, Harold J. *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Bernhardt, John W. *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Berschin, Walter. *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*. Trans. Jerold C. Frakes. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1988.
- Bertelli, Sergio. *The Courts of the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Facts On File, 1986.
- Billier, Peter, and A. J. Minnis, eds. *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*. Rochester: York Medieval Press, 1997.
- Billier, Peter, and A. J. Minnis, eds. *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1998.
- Bisson, Thomas N. *Medieval France and Her Neighbours: Essays in Early Institutional History*. London: Hambledon Press, 1989.
- Bisson, Thomas N., ed. *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Biow, Douglas. *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Black, Antony. *Political Thought in Europe, 1250–1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Bloch, Marc. *Feudal Society*. 2 vols. Trans. L. A. Manyon, 1939. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Blumenthal, Uta-Renate. *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Bois, Guy. *The Crisis of Feudalism: Economy and Society in Eastern Normandy c. 1300–1550*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Bolgar, R. R. *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries: From the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.
- Bolton, Brenda. *The Medieval Reformation*. London: Edward Arnold, 1983.
- Bonnassie, Pierre. *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*. Trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Bossy, John. *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Boswell, John. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Boswell, John. *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.
- Boswell, John. *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*. New York: Villard Books, 1994.
- Bouchard, Constance Brittain. *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Bouchard, Constance Brittain. "Those of My Blood": *Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Bowsky, William M. *The Black Death: A Turning Point in History?* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971.
- Brentano, Robert. *Rome before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- Brentano, Robert. *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*. 1968. Reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Brentano, Robert. *A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188–1378*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Brooke, Christopher N. L. *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.
- Brooke, Christopher N. L. *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Brooke, Christopher N. L. *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962–1154*. 3d ed. Harlow: Longman, 2000.
- Brooke, Rosalind B., ed. *The Coming of the Friars*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975.
- Brooke, Rosalind B., and Christopher N. L. Brooke. *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe, 1000–1300*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.
- Brown, Elizabeth A. R. *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*. London: Variorum, 1991.
- Brown, Judith C., and Robert C. Davis, eds. *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*. London: Longman, 1998.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *The Making of Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*. London: Brandeis University Press, 2002.
- Brucker, Gene A. *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Brucker, Gene A., ed. *Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence: The Diaries of Buonaccorso Pitti and Gregorio Dati*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
- Brucker, Gene A., ed. *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Brucker, Gene A. *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Brucker, Gene A. *Florence, the Golden Age, 1138–1737*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1984.
- Brucker, Gene A. *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Brundage, James A. *The Crusades: Motives and Achievements*. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1964.
- Brundage, James A. *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Brundage, James A. *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Brundage, James A. *Medieval Canon Law*. New York: Longman, 1995.
- Bullough, Donald. *The Age of Charlemagne*. London: Elek Books, 1965.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. 2 vols. Trans. S. G. C. Middlemore. Introduction by Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus. New York: Harper, 1958.
- Burke, Peter. *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*. 1972. Reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Burke, Peter. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Burke, Peter. *The Renaissance*. 2d ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Burke, Peter. *The European Renaissance: Centres and Peripheries*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Burns, J. H., ed. *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Burns, J. H. ed. *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Burns, J. H. and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds. *Conciliarism and Papalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Burns, Robert Ignatius. *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Burns, Robert Ignatius. *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Burns, Robert Ignatius. *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.
- Bynum, Carolyn Walker. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Bynum, Carolyn Walker, and Paul Freedman, eds. *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Cadden, Joan. *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Caenegem, R. C. van. *Guide to the Sources of Medieval History*. New York: North-Holland, 1978.
- Cameron, Averil. *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, A.D. 395–600*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Cameron, Averil, and Peter Garnsey, eds. *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. 13. *The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Canning, Joseph. *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300–1450*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Cantor, Norman F. *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World It Made*. New York: Free Press, 2001.
- Carmichael, Ann G. *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Cattin, Giulio. *Music of the Middle Ages*. 2 vols. Trans. Steven Botterill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984–1985.
- Chambers, David, and Trevor Dean. *Clean Hands and Rough Justice: An Investigating Magistrate in Renaissance Italy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Chaunu, Pierre. *European Expansion in the Later Middle Ages*. Trans. Katharine Bertram. Amsterdam: North Holland, 1979.
- Chenu, Marie-Dominique. *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*. Trans. A. M. Landry and D. Hughes. Chicago: H. Regnery, 1964.
- Chenu, Marie-Dominique. *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*. Trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little. 1957. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

- Cheyette, Fredric L. *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. *The Normans*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Christiansen, Eric. *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525*. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Christie, Neil. *The Lombards*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Ciappelli, Giovanni, and Patricia Lee Rubin, eds. *Art, Memory, and Family in Renaissance Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Cipolla, Carlo M. *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700*. 3d ed. New York: Norton, 1993.
- Cobban, Alan B. *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization*. London: Methuen, 1975.
- Cobban, Alan B. *Universities in the Middle Ages*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990.
- Cohn, Samuel Kline, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1980.
- Cohn, Samuel Kline, Jr. *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Cohn, Samuel Kline, Jr. *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Cohn, Samuel Kline, Jr. *Creating the Florentine State: Peasants and Rebellion, 1348–1434*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Colish, Marcia. *Medieval Foundations of the Western Tradition, 400–1400*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Collins, Roger. *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*. London: Macmillan, 1983.
- Collins, Roger. *Early Medieval Europe, 300–1000*. Rev. ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Collins, Roger. *Spain: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Connell, William J., and Andrea Zorzi, eds. *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Connell, William J., ed. *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Constable, Giles. *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Constable, Giles, ed. *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Constable, Giles. *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Constable, Olivia Remie, ed. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Contamine, Philippe. *War in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Michael Jones. 1980. Reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 1984.
- Crane, Susan. *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity during the Hundred Years War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Crocker, Richard. *The Early Medieval Sequence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Crocker, Richard. *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Crocker, Richard, and David Hiley, eds. *New Oxford History of Music*. Vol. 2. *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. Walter Trask. 1948. Reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Davies, Norman. *God's Playground: A History of Poland*. Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Davies, Wendy, and Paul Fouracre, eds. *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Davies, Wendy, and Paul Fouracre, eds. *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- d'Avray, David L. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- d'Avray, David L. *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Dean, Trevor, ed. *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Dean, Trevor, ed. *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Dean, Trevor. *Crime in Medieval Europe, 1200–1550*. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Dean, Trevor, and K. J. P. Lowe, eds. *Crime, Society, and the Law in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Deaux, George. *The Black Death 1347*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969.
- Debby, Nirit Ben-Aryeh. *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th–18th Centuries*. Trans. Eric Nicholson. 1983. Reprint, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- DeVries, Kelly. *Medieval Military Technology*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1992.
- DeVries, Kelly. *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Duffy, Eamon. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Dunbabin, Jean. *France in the Making, 843–1180*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Du Boulay, F. R. H. *Germany in the Later Middle Ages*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Duby, Georges. *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*. Trans. Cynthia Postan. 1962. Reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968.
- Duby, Georges. *The Early Growth of the European Economy; Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth*

- Century. Trans. Howard B. Clarke. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Duby, Georges. *The Chivalrous Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Duby, Georges. *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*. Trans. Elborg Foster. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. 1978. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Duby, Georges. *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*. Trans. Barbara Bray. New York: Pantheon, 1983.
- Duby, Georges. *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Jane Dunnett. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Duckett, Eleanor Shipley. *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.
- Duckett, Eleanor Shipley. *Death and Life in the Tenth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Eamon, William. *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Edgerton, Samuel Y., Jr. *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Edwards, Robert R., and Stephen Spector, eds. *The Olde Daunce: Love, Friendship, Sex and Marriage in the Medieval World*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.
- Elliott, Dyan. *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Elliott, Dyan. *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Ekelund, Robert B. *Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Emery, Kent, Jr. *Monastic, Scholastic, and Mystical Theologies from the Later Middle Ages*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1996.
- Emery, Kent, Jr., and Joseph Wawrykow, eds. *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998.
- Ennen, Edith. *The Medieval Town*. Trans. Natalie Fryde. Amsterdam: North Holland, 1979.
- Erdmann, Carl. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. Trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart. 1935. Reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Evans, Gillian, ed. *The Medieval Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Medieval Period*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Evergates, Theodore, ed. *Feudal Society in Medieval France: Documents from the County of Champagne*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Febvre, Lucien Paul Victor, and Henri-Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*. Trans. David Gerard and ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton. London: N.L.B., 1976.
- Fenster, Thelma, and Clare A. Lees, eds. *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Ferreiro, Alberto, ed. *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Ferruolo, Stephen C. *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Fichtenau, Heinrich. *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*. Trans. Patrick J. Geary. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Findlen, Paula, ed. *The Italian Renaissance: The Essential Readings*. New York: Blackwell, 2002.
- Finucane, Ronald C. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. London: J. M. Dent, 1977.
- Finucane, Ronald C. *Soldiers of the Faith: Crusaders and Moslems at War*. London: J. M. Dent, 1983.
- Finucane, Ronald C. *Appearances of the Dead: A Cultural History of Ghosts*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1984.
- Finucane, Ronald C. *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Fletcher, Richard. *The Barbarian Conversion from Paganism to Christianity*. New York: Henry Holt, 1997.
- Folz, Robert. *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*. 1953. Reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1969.
- Fortin, Ernest L., ed. "Political Philosophy in Christianity." In *Medieval Political Philosophy* ed. Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963, 271–526.
- Fossier, Robert, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1, 350–950. Trans. Janet Sondheimer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Fossier, Robert, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 2, 950–1250. Trans. Stuart Airlie and Robyn Marsack. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Fossier, Robert, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 3, 1250–1520. Trans. Sarah Hanbury Tenison. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- France, John. *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- France, John. *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000–1300*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Freedman, Paul. *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Freedman, Paul. *Images of the Medieval Peasant*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Freund, W. H. C. *The Rise of Christianity*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- Fuhrmann, Horst. *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

## 822 Bibliography

- Gallo, F. Alberto. *Music of the Middle Ages*. Vol. 2, Trans. Karen Ellis. 1977. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Gallo, F. Alberto. *Music in the Castle: Troubadours, Books, and Orators in Italian Courts of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*. Trans. Anna Herklotz and Kathryn Krug. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Ganshof, François Louis. *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*. Trans. Bryce and Mary Lyon. Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1968.
- Ganshof, François Louis. *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy: Studies in Carolingian History*. Trans. Janet Sondheimer. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Ganshof, François Louis. *Feudalism*. Trans. Philip Grierson. 1964. Reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Garin, Eugenio. *Italian Humanism: Philosophy and Civic Life in the Renaissance*. Trans. Peter Munz. Oxford: Blackwell, 1965.
- Garin, Eugenio. *Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance*. Trans. Peter Munz. 1966. Reprint, Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1969.
- Garin, Eugenio, ed. *Renaissance Characters*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. 1988. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Gavitt, Philip. *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Geary, Patrick J. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Geary, Patrick J. *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Geary, Patrick J. *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Gellrich, Jesse M. *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Genicot, Léopold. *Rural Communities in the Medieval West*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Geremek, Bronislaw. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*. Trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Gies, Frances, and Joseph Gies. *Life in a Medieval City*. New York: Crowell, 1969.
- Gies, Frances, and Joseph Gies. *Merchants and Moneymen: The Commercial Revolution, 1000–1500*. New York: Crowell, 1972.
- Gies, Frances, and Joseph Gies. *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.
- Gies, Frances, and Joseph Gies. *Life in a Medieval Village*. New York: Harper & Row, 1990.
- Gieysztor, Alexander, "Medieval Poland." In *History of Poland*, ed. Alexander Gieysztor et al. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1968, 31–165.
- Gillingham, J. B. *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages*. London: Historical Association, 1971.
- Gilson, Étienne. *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938.
- Gilson, Étienne. *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*. New York: Random House, 1955.
- Gilson, Étienne. *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*. Trans. A. H. C. Downes. London: Sheed and Ward, 1936.
- Gimpel, Jean. *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976.
- Given, James. *State and Society in Medieval Europe: Gwynedd and Languedoc under Outside Rule*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Glick, Thomas F. *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Glick, Thomas F. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Glick, Thomas F. *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Goetz, Hans-Werner. *Life in the Middle Ages from the Seventh to the Thirteenth Century*. Trans. Albert Wimmer and ed. Steven Rowan. 1986. Reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.
- Goffart, Walter A. *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Goffart, Walter A. *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Gold, Penny Schine. *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Goldberg, Jonathan. *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Goldthwaite, Richard A. *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Goodich, Michael E. *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought, 1250–1350*. London: University Press of American, 1989.
- Goodich, Michael E. *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Goodich, Michael E., ed. *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Goodman, Anthony, and Angus MacKay, eds. *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*. New York: Longman, 1990.
- Goody, Jack. *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Gottfried, Robert S. *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe*. New York: Free Press, 1983.

- Grant, Edward, ed. *A Source Book in Medieval Science*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Grant, Edward. *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages: Their Religious, Institutional and Intellectual Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Grendler, Paul F. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Grendler, Paul F. *Books and Schools in the Italian Renaissance*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1995.
- Grendler, Paul F. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2002.
- Grubb, James S. *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Grubb, James S. *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Grundmann, Herbert. *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundation of German Mysticism*. Trans. Steven Rowan. 2d. ed. Reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995.
- Gurevich, Aaron J. *Categories of Medieval Culture*. Trans. G. L. Campbell. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Gurevich, Aaron J. *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*. Trans. János M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Gurevich, Aaron J. *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Jana Howlett. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Gurevich, Aaron J. *The Origins of European Individualism*. Trans. Katherine Judelson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Hale, John R. *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.
- Hale, John R. *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620*. London: Fontana, 1985.
- Hale, John R. *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Hale, John R. *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*. New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994.
- Hale, John R., Roger Highfield, and Beryl Smalley, eds., *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*. London: Faber and Faber, 1965.
- Hall, Bert S. *Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Hallam, Elizabeth M., ed. *Chronicles of the Crusades: Nine Crusades and Two Hundred Years of Bitter Conflict for the Holy Land Brought to Life through the Words of Those Who Were Actually There*. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.
- Hallam, Elizabeth M., and Judith Everard. *Capetian France, 987–1328*. 2d ed. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Hamilton, Bernard. *The Medieval Inquisition*. London: Edward Arnold, 1981.
- Hamilton, Bernard. *Religion in the Medieval West*. London: Edward Arnold, 1986.
- Hamilton, Bernard. *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Hampe, Karl. *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors*. Trans. Ralph Bennett. 1968. Reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 1973.
- Hankins, James, ed. *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Haren, Michael. *Medieval Thought: The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the 13th Century*. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Harley, J. B., and David Woodward, eds. *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Harvey, P. D. A. *Medieval Maps*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. 1927. Reprint, New York: Meridian, 1957.
- Haverkamp, Alfred. *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*. 2d ed. Trans. Helga Braun and Richard Mortimer. 1984. Reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Hay, Denys. *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968.
- Hay, Denys. *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Hay, Denys. *The Italian Renaissance in Its Historical Background*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Hay, Denys. *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. 2d ed. London: Longman, 1989.
- Hay, Denys, and John Law. *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1380–1530*. New York: Longman, 1989.
- Head, Thomas, and Richard Landes, eds. *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Heers, Jacques. *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas*. Trans. Barry Herbert. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1977.
- Heers, Jacques. *Parties and Political Life in the Medieval West*. Trans. David Nicholas. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1977.
- Henneman, John Bell. *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France: The Development of War Financing, 1322–1356*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Henneman, John Bell. *The Medieval French Monarchy*. Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1973.
- Herlihy, David. *The Social History of Italy and Western Europe, 700–1500*. London: Variorum, 1978.
- Herlihy, David. *Cities and Society in Medieval Italy*. London: Variorum, 1980.

- Herlihy, David. *Medieval Households*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Herlihy, David. *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*. Edited with an introduction by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Herlihy, David, and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Herrin, Judith. *The Formation of Christendom*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Herrin, Judith, ed. *A Medieval Miscellany*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Illustrated Books, 1999.
- Herrmann, Joachim, and Erik Zürcher, eds. *History of Humanity, Scientific and Cultural Development*. Vol. 3, *From the Seventh Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.* New York: Routledge for UNESCO, 1996.
- Herzstein, Robert E., ed. *The Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages: Universal State or German Catastrophe?* Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1966.
- Highfield, Roger, ed. *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369–1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain*. London: Macmillan, 1972.
- Hill, Bennett D., ed. *Church and State in the Middle Ages*. New York: Wiley, 1970.
- Hill, Boyd H., ed. *The Rise of the First Reich: Germany in the Tenth Century*. New York: Wiley, 1969.
- Hill, Boyd H. *Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972.
- Hillgarth, J. N., ed. *The Conversion of Western Europe, 350–750*. 1969. Reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Hillgarth, J. N. *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*. Vol. 1, *Precarious Balance, 1250–1410*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Hillgarth, J. N. *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*. Vol. 2, *Castilian Hegemony, 1410–1516*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Hodges, Richard. *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement: Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society*. London: Duckworth, 1989.
- Hodges, Richard. *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 500–1000*. 2d ed. London: Duckworth, 1989.
- Hodges, Richard. *Light in the Dark Ages: The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Hodges, Richard. *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*. London: Duckworth, 2000.
- Hodges, Richard, and David Whitehouse. *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Hodges, Richard, and Brian Hopley, eds. *The Rebirth of Towns in the West A.D. 700–1050: A Review of Current Research into How, When, and Why There was a Rebirth of Towns between 700 and 1050*. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988.
- Holmes, George. *The Florentine Enlightenment, 1400–50*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969.
- Holmes, George. *Florence, Rome, and the Origins of the Renaissance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Holmes, George, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Holmes, George. *Renaissance*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Holmes, George. *Europe, Hierarchy and Revolt, 1320–1450*. 1975 2d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Hooper, Nicholas. *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas, Warfare: The Middle Ages, 768–1487*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hopkins, Keith. *A World Full of Gods: The Strange Triumph of Christianity*. New York: Penguin Putnam, 1999.
- Hoppin, Richard H. *Medieval Music*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.
- Horrox, Rosemary, ed. and trans. *The Black Death*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Housley, Norman. *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- Housley, Norman. *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Housley, Norman. *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Housley, Norman, ed. and trans. *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Howell, Martha C. *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Howell, Martha C. *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1550*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Howell, Martha C. and Walter Prevenier. *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Music: The Sixth Liberal Art*. Revised ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Hughes, Anselm, ed. *New Oxford History of Music*. Vol. 2, *Early Medieval Music up to 1300*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Hughes, Anselm, and Gerald Abraham, eds. *New Oxford History of Music*. Vol. 3, *Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300–1540*. 1960. Reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Huizinga, Johan. *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. Trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch. 1921. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Hyde, J. K. *Padua in the Ages of Dante: A Social History of an Italian City State*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966.
- Hyde, J. K. *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000–1350*. London: Macmillan, 1973.
- Hyde, J. K. *Literacy and Its Uses: Studies on Late Medieval Italy*. Ed. Daniel Waley. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

- Itnyre, Cathy Jorgenson, ed. *Medieval Family Roles: A Book of Essays*. New York: Garland, 1996.
- Jackson, Gabriel. *The Making of Medieval Spain*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.
- Jacquart, Danielle, and Claude Thomasset. *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen. *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen. *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen. *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- James, Edward, ed. *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- James, Edward. *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.
- Jantzen, Grace M. *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Jardine, Lisa. *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
- Jardine, Lisa. *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Jones, A. H. M. *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Jones, Philip J. *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Jordan, William Chester. *From Servitude to Freedom: Manumission in the Sénonais in the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
- Jordan, William Chester. *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Jordan, William Chester. *Europe in the High Middle Ages*. London: Allen Lane, 2001.
- Kaeuper, Richard W. *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Kay, Sarah, and Miri Rubin, eds. *Framing Medieval Bodies*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Kedar, Benjamin Z. *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University press, 1984.
- Keen, Maurice. *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*. 3d ed. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Keen, Maurice. *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1965.
- Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Keen, Maurice, ed. *Medieval War: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Kelley, Donald R. *Renaissance Humanism*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991.
- Kent, Francis William. *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- King, Margaret L. *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- King, P. D. *Charlemagne*. London: Methuen, 1986.
- Kirshner, Julius, ed. *The Origins of the State in Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Kleinberg, Aviad M. *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Knighton, Tess, and David Fallows, eds. *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*. London: Dent, 1992.
- Knoll, Paul W. *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East-Central Europe, 1320–1370*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Knowles, David. *From Pachomius to Ignatius: A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Knowles, David. *Christian Monasticism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.
- Knowles, David. *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*. 2d ed. Ed. D. E. Luscombe and C. N. L. Brooke. London: Longman, 1988.
- Kohl, Benjamin G. and Ronald G. Witt. *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
- Kors, Alan C. and Edward Peters, eds. *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100–1700: A Documentary History*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.
- Kosto, Adam J. *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Kraye, Jill, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Kretzmann, Norman, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, and Eleonore Stump, eds. *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism, 1100–1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

- Kretzmann, Norman, and Eleonore Stump, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains*. New York: Harper, 1961.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Renaissance Concepts of Man, and Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning: Three Essays*. Ed. Edward P. Mahoney. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1974.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*. Ed. Michael Mooney. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- Kuehn, Thomas. *Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1982.
- Kuehn, Thomas. *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Kuehn, Thomas. *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Kuttner, Stephan. *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law*. Latrobe, Penn.: Archabbey Press, 1960.
- Laiou, Angeliki E. ed. *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993.
- Lambert, Malcolm. *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323*. London: S. P. C. K. 1961.
- Lambert, Malcolm. *The Cathars*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Lambert, Malcolm. *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*. 3d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Lane, Frederic C. *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.
- Lane, Frederic C. *Venice: A Maritime Republic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Lane Fox, Robin. *Pagans and Christians*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.
- Langholm, Odd. *Economics in the Schools: Wealth, Exchange, Valeu, Money and Usury According to the Paris Theological Tradition, 1200–1350*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.
- Lansing, Carol. *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Larner, John. *Culture and Society in Italy, 1290–1420*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1971.
- Larner, John. *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216–1380*. London: Longman, 1980.
- Latouche, Robert. *The Birth of the Western Economy: Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages*. Trans. E. M. Wilkinson. 1956. Reprint, London: Methuen, 1967.
- Law, John E. *The Lords of Renaissance Italy: The Signori, 1250–1500*. London: Historical Association, 1981.
- Lawrence, C. H. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. New York: Longman, 1989.
- Lawrence, C. H. *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*. New York: Longman, 1994.
- Leclercq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*. Trans. Catherine Misrahi. New York: Fordham University Press, 1961.
- Leclercq, Jean. *Love and Marriage in Twelfth-Century Europe*. University of Tasmania Occasional Papers, 13. Hobart: University of Tasmania, 1978.
- Less, Clare A. ed. *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Leff, Gordon. *Medieval Thought: St. Augustine to Ockham*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958.
- Leff, Gordon. *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250–1450*. 2 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967.
- Leff, Gordon. *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History*. New York: Wiley, 1968.
- Leff, Gordon. *The Dissolution of the Medieval Outlook: An Essay on Intellectual and Spiritual Change in the Fourteenth Century*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. 1977. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Patricia Ranum. 1986. Reprint, New York: Zone Books, 1988.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Medieval Civilization, 400–1500*. Trans. Julia Barrow. 1964. Reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *The Medieval Imagination*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. 1985. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Le Goff, Jacques. ed. *Medieval Callings*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. 1987. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan. 1957. Reprint, New York: Blackwell, 1993.
- Lerner, Robert E. *The Age of Adversity: The Fourteenth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Lerner, Robert E. *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*. Trans. Barbara Bray. 1975. Reprint, New York: George Braziller, 1978.
- Leuschner, Joachim. *Germany in the Late Middle Ages*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1980.
- Leyser, Henrietta. *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150*. London: Macmillan 1984.

- Leyser, Karl J. *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony*. London: Edward Arnold, 1979.
- Leyser, Karl J. *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours, 900–1250*. London: Hambledon Press, 1982.
- Leyser, Karl J. *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*. Ed. Timothy Reuter. London: Hambledon Press, 1994.
- Lilley, Keith D. *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000–1450*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Lindberg, David C. *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Linehan, Peter. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Linehan, Peter, and Janet L. Nelson, eds. *The Medieval World*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Little, Lester K. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Lochrie, Karma, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz, eds. *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Lock, Peter. *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*. New York: Longman, 1995.
- Logan, F. Donald. *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Lomax, Derek W. *The Reconquest of Spain*. London: Longman, 1978.
- Lopez, Robert S., and Irving W. Raymond, eds. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents with Introductions and Notes*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.
- Lopez, Robert S., and Irving W. Raymond, eds. *The Birth of Europe*. New York: Lippincott, 1967.
- Lopez, Robert S., and Irving W. Raymond, eds. *The Three Ages of the Italian Renaissance*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.
- Lopez, Robert S. *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages 950–1350*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Lynch, Joseph H. *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Lynch, Joseph H. *The Medieval Church: A Brief History*. New York: Longman, 1992.
- MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977.
- MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D. 100–400*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984.
- MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Madden, Thomas F. *A Concise History of the Crusades*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.
- Madden, Thomas F. ed. *The Concise History of the Crusades*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Maier, Christoph T. *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Maier, Christoph T. *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Markus, Robert A. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Marenbon, John. *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology, and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Marenbon, John. *Early Medieval Philosophy (480–1150): An Introduction*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1983.
- Marenbon, John. *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150–1350): An Introduction*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1987.
- Marenbon, John. *Medieval Philosophy*. London: New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Martines, Lauro. *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390–1460*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Martines, Lauro, ed. *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972.
- Martines, Lauro. *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979.
- Matthew, Donald. *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Mayer, Hans E. *The Crusades*. 2d ed. Trans. John Gillingham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- McCormick, Michael. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- McCormick, Michael. *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- McGrath, Alister E. *Historical Theology: An Introduction to the History of Christian Thought*. New York: Blackwell, 1998.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1977.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987*. London: Longman, 1983.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Carolingians and the Written Word*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- McKitterick, Rosamond, ed. *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- McKitterick, Rosamond, ed. *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 2. c. 700–900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- McKitterick, Rosamond, ed. *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400–1000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

- McNeil, John T., and Helena M. Gamer *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "Libri poenitentiales" and Selections from Related Documents*. 1938. Reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- McNeil, William H. *Plagues and Peoples*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1977.
- McNeil, William H. *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983.
- Miskimin, Harry A. *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300–1460*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Miskimin, Harry A. *The Economy of Later Renaissance Europe, 1460–1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Mitteis, Heinrich, *The State in the Middle Ages: A Comparative Constitutional History of Feudal Europe*. Trans. H. F. Orton. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1975.
- Molho, Anthony, ed. *Social and Economic Foundations of the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Wiley, 1969.
- Molho, Anthony. *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Mollat, Guillaume, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*. Trans. Janet Love. 1949. Reprint, New York: T. Nelson 1963.
- Mollat, Michael, and Philippe Wolff. *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages*. Trans. A. L. Lytton-Sells. London: Allen and Unwin, 1973.
- Mollat, Michel, and Philippe Wolff. *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Moore, Robert I. *The Origins of European Dissent*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1977.
- Moore, Robert I, ed. *The Birth of Popular Heresy*. London: Edward Arnold, 1975.
- Moore, Robert I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Moore, Robert I. *The First European Revolution, c. 970–1215*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
- Moorhead, John. *Theoderic in Italy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1992.
- Moorhead, John. *Justinian*. London: Longman, 1994.
- Moorhead, John. *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World*. New York: Longman, 1999.
- Moorhead, John. *The Roman Empire Divided, 400–700*. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Morrall, John B. *Political Thought in Medieval Times*. 3d ed. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971.
- Morris, Colin. *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200*. London: S.P.C.K., 1972.
- Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Muir, Edward. *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Muir, Edward. *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Muir, Lynette R. *Literature and Society in Medieval France: The Mirror and the Image, 1100–1500*. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Mundy, John H. *Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1150–1300*. 3d ed. New York: Longman, 2000.
- Mundy, John H., and Peter Riesenbergh, eds. *The Medieval Town*. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1958.
- Munro, John H. A. *Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340–1478*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Murray, Alexander. *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Murray, Alexander. *Suicide in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. *The Violent against Themselves*; Vol. 2. *The Curse on Self-Murder*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2000.
- Murray, Alexander C. *Germanic Kinship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983.
- Murray, Alexander C., ed. *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 2000.
- Murray, Jacqueline, ed. *Love, Marriage, and Family in the Middle Ages*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 2001.
- Musset, Lucien. *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, A.D. 400–600*. Trans. Edward and Columba James. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975.
- Nauert, Charles G., ed. *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Nederman, Cary J., and Kate Langdon Forhan, eds. *Medieval Political Theory—a Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100–1400*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Neillands, Robin. *The Hundred Years War*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Nicholas, David. *The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government and Thought in Europe, 312–1500*. New York: Longman, 1992.
- Nicholas, David. *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century*. New York: Longman, 1997.
- Nicholas, David. *The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500*. New York: Longman, 1997.
- Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Nohl, Johannes. *The Black Death: A Chronicle of the Plague Compiled from Contemporary Sources*. Trans. C. H. Clarke. London: Unwin Books, 1926.
- Noonan, John T., Jr. *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph. *The Cortes of Castile-León, 1188–1350*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

- Oakley, Francis. *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Ohly, Friedrich. *The Damned and the Elect: Guilt in Western Culture*. Trans. Linda Archibald. 1976. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Olson, Glending. *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Oman, C. W. C. *The Art of War in the Middle Ages, A.D. 378–1515*. 1885. Reprint, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953.
- Orme, Nicholas. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066–1530*. London: Methuen, 1984.
- Orme, Nicholas. *Medieval Children*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Ozment, Steven E. *The Age of Reform (1250–1550): An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Ozment, Steven E. *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Painter, Sidney. *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practice in Medieval France*. 1940. Reprint, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino. *The Pope's Body*. Trans. David S. Peterson. 1994 Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Park, Katharine. *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Park, Katharine. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Parry, J. H. *The Establishment of the European Hegemony, 1415–1715: Trade and Exploration in the Age of the Renaissance*. New York: Harper & Row, 1961.
- Parry, J. H. *The Discovery of the Sea*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Partner, Peter. *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1972.
- Pearsall, Derek. *Gothic Europe, 1200–1450*. London: Longman, 2001.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*. Vol. 1. *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)*; Vol. 2. *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–700)*; Vol. 3. *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)*; Vol. 4. *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971–1984.
- Peters, Edward. *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
- Peters, Edward. *Inquisition*. New York: Free Press, 1988.
- Petrucci, Armando. *Public Lettering: Script, Power, and Culture*. Trans. Linda Lappin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Petrucci, Armando. *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*. Ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Petrucci, Armando. *Writing the Dead: Death and Writing Strategies in the Western Tradition*. Trans. Michael Sullivan. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Pfaff, Richard W. *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Phillips, Jonathan. *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Phillips, Jonathan, ed. *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Phillips, Jonathan, and Martin Hoch, eds. *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Phillips, Jonathan. *The Crusades, 1095–1197*. New York: Longman, 2002.
- Piltz, Anders. *The World of Medieval Learning*. Trans. David Jones. Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Trans. Frank D. Halsey. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1925.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. New York: Norton, 1939.
- Pohl, Walter, ed. *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Pohl, Walter, and Helmut Reimitz, eds. *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Pohl, Walter, Ian Wood, and Helmut Reimitz, eds. *The Transformation of Frontiers from Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Poly, Jean-Pierre, and Eric Bournazel. *The Feudal Transformation, 900–1200*. Trans. Caroline Higgitt. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991.
- Poschmann, Bernhard. *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*. Trans. Francis Courtney. Freiburg: Herder and Herder, 1964.
- Postan, Michael M., ed. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 1 *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Postan, Michael M., and Edward Miller, eds. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 2. *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Postan, Michael M., E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller, eds. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 3. *Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Pounds, N. J. G. *An Historical Geography of Europe, 450 B.C.–A.D. 1330*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Pounds, N. J. G. *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*. London: Longman, 1974.
- Powell, James M. *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

- Powell, James M., ed. *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*. 2d ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1992.
- Prawer, Joshua. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.
- Price, B. B. *Medieval Thought: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Pryor, John H. *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981.
- Pryor, John H. *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Pullan, Brian. *A History of Early Renaissance Italy from the Mid-Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century*. London: Allen Lane, 1973.
- Queller, Donald E. *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Queller, Donald E., and Thomas Madden, eds. *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Rabil, Albert, ed. *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Radding, Charles M. *A World Made by Men: Cognition and Society, 400–1200*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- Rashdall, Hastings. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. 3 vols. Ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. 1895. Reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.
- Reddaway, W. E., ed. *The Cambridge History of Poland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126*. Princeton; N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109*. Princeton: N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031–1157*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Medieval Spains*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Renouard, Yves. *Avignon Papacy, 1305–1403*. Trans. Denis Bethell. London: Faber, 1970.
- Reuter, Timothy, ed. *The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century*. New York: North-Holland, 1979.
- Reuter, Timothy. *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056*. London: Longman, 1991.
- Reyerson, Kathryn. *Business, Banking, and Finance in Medieval Montpellier*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985.
- Reyerson, Kathryn. *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Reyerson, Kathryn, and Faye Powe, eds. *The Medieval Castle: Romance and Reality*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1984.
- Reyerson, Kathryn, and John Drendel, eds. *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000–1500*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Reynolds, L. D., and N. G. Wilson. *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Reynolds, Susan. *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Reynolds, Susan. *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Reynolds, Susan. *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Rich, John, ed. *The City in Late Antiquity*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Rich, John, and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, eds. *City and Country in the Ancient World*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Richard, Jean. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. 2 vols. Trans. Janet Shirley. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1979.
- Richard, Jean. *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*. Trans. Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Richards, Jeffrey. *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Riché, Pierre. *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through the Eighth Century*. Trans. John J. Contreni. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Crusades: A Short History*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, and Louise Riley-Smith. *The Crusades, Idea and Reality, 1095–1274*. London: Edward Arnold, 1981.
- Robinson, I. S. *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Roover, Raymond de. *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges, Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers: A Study in the Origins of Banking*. Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1948.
- Roover, Raymond de. *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Roover, Raymond de. *Business, Banking and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Studies of Raymond de Roover*. Ed. Julius Kirshner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Rörig, Fritz. *The Medieval Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

- Rose, Susan. *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000–1500*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Rösener, Werner. *The Peasantry of Europe*. Trans. Thomas M. Barer. 1993. Reprint, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Rousseau, Philip. *The Early Christian Centuries*. New York: Longman, 2002.
- Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Rubinstein, Nicolai. *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434 to 1494)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.
- Ruggiero, Guido. *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980.
- Ruggiero, Guido. *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Ruggiero, Guido, ed. *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*. New York: Blackwell, 2002.
- Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. Vol. 1. *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*; Vol. 2. *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187*; Vol. 3. *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–1954.
- Russell, Frederick H. *The Just War in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Russell, James C. *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity. A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *A History of Medieval Christianity: Prophecy and Order*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton, ed. *Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages*. New York: Wiley, 1971.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages: The Search for Legitimate Authority*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992.
- Saalman, Howard. *Medieval Cities*. New York: Braziller, 1968.
- Salisbury, Joyce E., ed. *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*. New York: Garland, 1991.
- Sapori, Armando. *The Italian Merchant in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Patricia Ann Kernen. New York: Norton, 1970.
- Sawyer, P. H., ed. *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*. London: Edward Arnold, 1976.
- Scammell, Geoffrey Vaughn. *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires, c. 800–1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Scammell, Geoffrey Vaughn. *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion, c. 1400–1715*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Schimmelpfennig, Bernhard. *The Papacy*. Trans. James Sievert. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*. Trans. Martin Thom. 1979. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Setton, Kenneth M. *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388*. Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1948.
- Setton, Kenneth M., ed. *A History of the Crusades*. 6 vols. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–1989.
- Setton, Kenneth M. *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*. 4 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976–1984.
- Shinners, John, ed. *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000–1500: A Reader*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1997.
- Siberry, Elizabeth. *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*. Vol. 1. *The Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Skinner, Quentin, and Eckhard Kessler, eds. *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Smail, R. C. *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*. 2d ed. 1956. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Smalley, Beryl. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. 3d ed. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983.
- Smalley, Beryl. *The Gospels in the Schools, c. 1100–c. 1280*. London: Hambledon Press, 1985.
- Smyth, Alfred P., ed. *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Southern, Richard W. *The Making of the Middle Ages*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Southern, Richard W. *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Southern, Richard W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.
- Southern, Richard W. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Vol. 1. *Foundations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Southern, Richard W. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Vol. 2. *The Heroic Age*. With notes and additions by Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Spufford, Peter. *Money and Its Use in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Spufford, Peter, with Wendy Wilkinson and Sarah Tolley. *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1986.
- Ste. Croix, G. E. M. de. *The Class Struggle in the Classical World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests*. London: Duckworth, 1981.
- Stabel, Peter. *Dwarfs among Giants: The Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages*. Louvain: Garant, 1997.
- Stephens, John. *The Italian Renaissance: The Origins of Intellectual and Artistic Change before the Renaissance*. New York: Longman, 1990.

- Sternfeld, Frederick William, ed. *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*. New York: Praeger, 1973.
- Sterns, Indrikis. *The Greater Medieval Historians: An Interpretation and a Bibliography*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1980.
- Stock, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Strayer, Joseph R. *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Swanson, Robert N. *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Swanson, Robert N. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Tabacco, Giovanni. *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*. Trans. Rosalind Brown Jensen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Tanner, Norman P., ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. 2 vols. London: Sheed and Ward, 1990.
- Tellenbach, Gerd. *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*. Trans. R. F. Bennett. New York: Harper & Row, 1959.
- Tellenbach, Gerd. *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*. Trans. Timothy Reuter. 1988. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Tentler, Thomas N. *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Thomson, John A. F. *Popes and Princes, 1417–1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980.
- Thorndike, Lynn, ed. *University Records and Life in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.
- Tierney, Brian. *Foundation of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.
- Tierney, Brian, ed. *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- Tierney, Brian. *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Todd, Malcolm. *The Northern Barbarians, 100 BC–AD 300*. Rev. ed. New York: B. Blackwell, 1987.
- Todd, Malcolm. *The Early Germans*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Tomasello, Andrew. *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983.
- Trachtenberg, Marvin. *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Trexler, Richard C. *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1980.
- Tyerman, Christopher. *The Invention of the Crusades*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Ullmann, Walter. *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen, 1961.
- Ullmann, Walter. *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1965.
- Ullmann, Walter. *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen, 1972.
- Vale, Malcolm G. A. *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages*. London: Duckworth, 1981.
- Van Dam, Raymond. *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Vaughan, Richard. *Valois Burgundy*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975.
- Vauchez, André. *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: The Eighth to the Twelfth Century*. Trans. Colette Friedlander. 1975. Reprint, Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1993.
- Vauchez, André. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*. Ed. Daniel Bornstein. Trans. Margery J. Schneider. 1987. Reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.
- Vauchez, André. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Trans. Jean Birrell. 1988. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Verbruggen, J. F. *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages: From the Eighth Century to 1340*. 2d ed. Trans. Sumner Willard and R. W. Southern. 1954. Reprint, Woodbridge, England: Boydell and Brewer, 1997.
- Verger, Jacques. *Men of Learning in Europe at the End of the Middle Ages*. Trans. Lisa Neal and Steven Rendall. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- Verhulst, Adriaan. *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Verhulst, Adriaan. *The Carolingian Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Waddell, Helen. *The Wandering Scholars*. 7th ed. London: Collins, 1968.
- Wakefield, Walter L., and Austin P. Evans, eds. *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*. 1969. Reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Waley, Daniel. *The Italian City-Republics*. 3d ed. 1969. Reprint, London: Longman, 1988.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History*. London: Methuen, 1962.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *The Frankish Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M., ed. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *The Barbarian West, 400–1000*. Rev. ed. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1996.
- Ward, Benedicta. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000–1215*. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

- Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, A.D. 300–850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan, and G. P. Brogiolo, eds. *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Weinfurter, Stefan. *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*. Trans. Barbara M. Bowlus. 1991. Reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Weinstein, Donald, and Rudolph M. Bell. *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Weiss, Roberto. *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969.
- White, Lynn, Jr. *Medieval Technology and Social Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- White, Stephen D. *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio parentum" in Western France, 1050–1150*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- Wickham, Chris. *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400–1000*. London: Macmillan, 1981.
- Wickham, Chris. *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Wickham, Chris. *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400–1200*. London: British School at Rome, 1994.
- Wickham, Chris. *Community and Clientele in Twelfth-Century Tuscany: The Origins of the Rural Commune in the Plain of Lucca*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Wieruszowski, Helene, ed. *The Medieval University*. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1966.
- Witt, Ronald G. *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1983.
- Witt, Ronald G. *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Witt, Ronald G., and Benjamin G. Kohl with Elizabeth B. Welles, eds. *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.
- Wolf, Philippe. *The Pelican History of European Thought*. Vol. 1. *The Awakening of Europe*. Trans. Anne Carter. Middlesex: Penguin, 1968.
- Wolff, Philippe. *Western Languages, AD 100–1500*. Trans. Frances Partridge. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.
- Wood, Charles T. *The Quest for Eternity: Medieval Manners and Morals*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1971.
- Wood, Diana. *Medieval Economic Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Wood, Ian N. *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751*. New York: Longman, 1994.
- Wood, Ian, ed. *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective*. San Marino, Calif.: Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 1998.
- Wright, Craig M. *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History*. Henryville, Pa.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979.
- Wright, Craig M. *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Wright, Craig M. *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Young, Charles R., ed. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969.
- Ziegler, Philip. *The Black Death*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969.

### III. ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

- Alexander, J. J. G. *English Illuminated Manuscripts 700–1500*. Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1973.
- Alexander, J. J. G. *Italian Renaissance Illuminations*. New York: Braziller, 1977.
- Alexander, J. J. G. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Alexander, J. J. G., and Paul Binski, eds. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*. London: Royal Academy of Arts in Association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.
- Ames-Lewis, Francis. *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Ames-Lewis, Francis. *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Ames-Lewis, Francis, and Mary Rogers, eds. *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Antal, Frederick. *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background: The Bourgeois Republic before Cosimo de' Medici's Advent to Power: XIV and Early XV Centuries*. New York: Routledge & K. Paul, 1948.
- Arnould, Alain. *Splendours of Flanders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Avril, François. *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century, 1310–1380*. Trans. Ursule Molinaro, with the Assistance of Bruce Benderson. New York: G. Braziller, 1978.
- Backhouse, Janet. *The Illuminated Manuscript*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1979.
- Backhouse, Janet. *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Backhouse, Janet, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster, eds. *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966–1066*. London: British Museum, 1984.
- Barasch, Moshe. *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- Barasch, Moshe. *Light and Color in the Italian Renaissance Theory of Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1978.
- Barasch, Moshe. *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

- Barkan, Leonard. *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Barkan, Leonard. *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Barkan, Leonard. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Baxandall, Michael. *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Beckwith, John. *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1964.
- Beckwith, John. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. 2d ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Belting, Hans. *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*. Trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer. 1981. Reprint, New Rochelle, N.Y.: A. D. Caratzas, 1990.
- Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. 1990. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Benton, Janetta Rebold. *Art of the Middle Ages*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002.
- Bischoff, Bernhard. *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*. Trans. and ed. Michael Gorman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Bony, Jean. *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed, 1250–1350*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Bony, Jean. *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Boyle, Leonard E. *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and Its Medieval Holdings*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972.
- Boyle, Leonard E. *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Branner, Robert. *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*. 1965. Reprint, London: A. Zwemmer, 1965.
- Branner, Robert. *Manuscripts Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Branner, Robert. *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1985.
- Branner, Robert. *The Cathedral of Bourges and Its Place in Gothic Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989.
- Brown, Michelle P. *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Brown, Michelle P., and Patricia Lovett. *The Historical Source Book for Scribes*. London: British Library, 1999.
- Cahn, Walter. *Romanesque Bible Illumination*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Cahn, Walter. *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*. 2 vols. London: H. Miller, 1996.
- Calkins, Robert G. *Monuments of Medieval Art*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Calkins, Robert G. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Calkins, Robert G. *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe: From A.D. 300 to 1500*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Camille, Michael. *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Camille, Michael. *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Camille, Michael. *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.
- Camille, Michael. *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Camille, Michael. *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1998.
- Chambers, D. S., ed. *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Chambers, D. S. *Individuals and Institutions in Renaissance Italy*. Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1998.
- Coldstream, Nicola. *Masons and Sculptors*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Coldstream, Nicola. *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240–1360*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Coldstream, Nicola. *Medieval Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Cole, Alison. *Virtue and Magnificence: Art of the Italian Renaissance Courts*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1995.
- Cole, Bruce. *Sieneese Painting, from Its Origins to the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.
- Cole, Bruce. *The Renaissance Artist at Work: From Pisano to Titian*. London: John Murray, 1983.
- Cole Bruce, *Sieneese Painting in the Age of the Renaissance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- Cole, Bruce. *Italian Art, 1250–1550: The Relation of Renaissance Art to Life and Society*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987.
- Conant, Kenneth John. *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200*. 4th ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Davis-Weyer, Caecilia. *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150: Sources and Documents*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press in Association with the Medieval Academy of America, 1986.
- De Hamel, Christopher. *Scribes and Illuminators*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- De Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. 2d ed. London: Phaidon Press, 1994.
- Demus, Otto. *Romanesque Mural Painting*. Trans. Mary Whittall. 1968. Reprint, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970.

- Deshman, Robert. *Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian Art: An Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984.
- Dodds, Jerrilynn D. *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.
- Dodwell, C. R. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Dodwell, C. R. *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Dodwell, C. R. *Aspects of Art of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. London: Pindar Press, 1996.
- Duby, Georges. *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980–1420*. Trans. Eleanor Leveux and Barbara Thompson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Eco, Umberto. *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*. 1959. Reprint, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain. *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*. Trans. Martin Thom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Fernie, Eric. C. *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983.
- Fernie, Eric C. *Romanesque Architecture: Design, Meaning and Metrology*. London: Pindar Press, 1995.
- Fernie, Eric C. *The Architecture of Norman England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Fleming, John V. *From Bonaventure to Bellini: An Essay in Franciscan Exegesis*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Folda, Jaroslav. *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Folda, Jaroslav. *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Frankl, Paul. *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- Frankl, Paul. *Gothic Architecture*. Revised by Paul Crossley. 1962. Reprint, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Friedman, John Block. *The Monstrous in Medieval Art and Thought*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Friedman, John B., and Jessica M. Wegmann. *Medieval Iconography: A Research Guide*. New York: Garland, 1998.
- Frisch, Teresa Grace. *Gothic Art 1140–c. 1450: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Frugoni, Chiara. *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*. Trans. William McCuaig. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Gameson, Richard. *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Gilbert, Creighton E. *History of Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture throughout Europe*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1973.
- Gilbert, Creighton E. *Italian Art 1400–1500. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
- Gimpel, Jean. *The Cathedral Builders*. Trans. Teresa Waugh. 1980. Reprint, London: Cresset Library, 1983.
- Goldthwaite, Richard A. *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Goldthwaite, Richard A. *Wealth and Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Gombrich, E. H. *Norm and Form*. London: Phaidon, 1966.
- Gombrich, E. H. *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*. 2d ed. London: Phaidon, 1971.
- Gombrich, E. H. *Symbolic Images*. London: Phaidon, 1972.
- Gombrich, E. H. *The Heritage of Apelles: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976.
- Gombrich, E. H. *Means and Ends: Reflections on the History of Fresco Painting*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- Goy, Richard J. *Venetian Vernacular Architecture: Traditional Housing in the Venetian Lagoon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Goy, Richard J. *The House of Gold: Building a Palace in Medieval Venice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Gough, Michael. *The Origins of Christian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.
- Grabar, André, ed. *The Golden Age of Justinian: From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*. Trans. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons. New York: Odyssey Press, 1967.
- Grodecki, Louis. *Gothic Architecture*. Trans. I. Mark Paris. 1978. Reprint, New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1985.
- Grossinger, Christa. *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F. *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F. *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F. *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- Harthan, John P. *Books of Hours and Their Owners*. New York: Crowell, 1977.
- Henderson, George. *Early Medieval*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- Henderson, George. *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel-Books, 650–800*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Henderson, George. *Vision and Image in Early Christian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

- Hills, Paul. *The Light of Early Italian Painting*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Hollingsworth, Mary. *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century*. London: John Murray, 1994.
- Horn, Walter William. *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*. 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- Howard, Deborah. *The Architectural History of Venice*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981.
- Howard, Deborah. *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Humfrey, Peter. *Painting in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Humfrey, Peter, and Martin Kemp, eds. *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hunt, Lucy-Anne. *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*. 2 vols. London: Pindar Press, 1998.
- Jensen, Robin Margaret. *Understanding Early Christian Art*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Johnson, Geraldine A., and Sara F. Mathews Grieco, eds. *Picturing Women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art*. 1939. Reprint, Toronto: Medieval Academy of America, 1989.
- Kempers, Bram. *Painting, Power and Patronage: The Rise of the Professional Artist in Renaissance Italy*. Trans. Beverley Jackson. 1987. Reprint, London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1992.
- Kendrick, Laura. *Animating the Letter: The Figurative Embodiment of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *Crusader Castles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Kent, Francis William, and Patricia Simons, eds. *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Kidson, Peter. *The Medieval World*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
- King, Catherine E. *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300–1550*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. 3d ed. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1975.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Larner, John. *Culture and Society in Italy, 1290–1420*. New York: Scribner, 1971.
- Lasko, Peter. *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*. 2d ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Lasko, Peter. *Studies on Metalwork, Ivories and Stone*. London: Pindar Press, 1994.
- Levey, Michael. *Early Renaissance*. New York: Penguin, 1967.
- Lipton, Sara. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Marks, Richard, and Nigel Morgan. *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200–1500*. New York: G. Braziller, 1981.
- Martindale, Andrew. *Gothic Art from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.
- Martindale, Andrew. *The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.
- Martindale, Andrew. *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting*. London: Pindar Press, 1995.
- Mathews, Thomas F. *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Mayr-Harting, Henry. *Ottoman Book Illumination: An Historical Study*. 2 vols. 2d ed. London: Harvey Miller, 1999.
- Meiss, Millard. *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
- Meiss, Millard. *The Great Age of Fresco: Discoveries, Recoveries, and Survivals*. New York: G. Braziller in Association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.
- Meiss, Millard. *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbours and Their Contemporaries*. New York: G. Braziller, 1974.
- Meiss, Millard. *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Morgan, Nigel J. *Early Gothic Manuscripts*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982–1988.
- Moritz, Bernhard, ed. *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hijra till the Year 1000*. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1986.
- Murray, Peter. *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Schocken, 1963.
- Murray, Peter, and Linda Murray. *The Art of the Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Nees, Lawrence. *From Justinian to Charlemagne: European Art, 565–787: An Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985.
- Nees, Lawrence. *Early Medieval Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Norman, Diana, ed. *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art, Society and Religion, 1280–1400*. 2 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Nussbaum, Norbert. *German Gothic Church Architecture*. Trans. Scott Kleager. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- O'Meadhra, Uaininn. *Early Christian, Viking and Romanesque Art: Motif-Pieces from Ireland*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1979.
- O'Neill, John P., ed. *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

- Os, H. W. van. *Studies in Early Tuscan Painting*. London: Pindar, 1992.
- Os, H. W. van. *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*. Trans. Michael Hoyle. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Pächt, Otto. *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Pächt, Otto. *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Trans. Kay Davenport. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Pächt, Otto. *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*. Ed. Maria Schmidt-Dengler. Trans. David Britt. London: H. Miller, 1994.
- Pächt, Otto. *Early Netherlandish Painting: From Rogier van der Weyden to Gerard David*. Ed. Monika Rosenauer. Trans. David Britt. London: Harvey Miller, 1997.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*. New York: New American Library, 1957.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Renaissance and Resuscitations in Western Art*. London: Paladin, 1965.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*. 1953. Reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Petzold, Andreas. *Romanesque Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.
- Price, Lorna, ed. *The Plan of St. Gall in Brief: An Overview Based on the Three-Volume Work by Walter Horn and Ernest Born*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Radding, Charles, and William W. Clark. *Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning: Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Randall, Lillian M. C. *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- Rosenberg, Charles M., ed. *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250–1500*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990.
- Saalman, Howard. *Medieval Architecture: European Architecture, 600–1200*. New York: Braziller, 1962.
- Sandler, Lucy Freeman. *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Sauerländer, Willibald. *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270*. Trans. Janet Sondheimer. New York: Harry Abrams, 1972.
- Saul, Nigel E., ed. *The Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in the Late Medieval England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Schapiro, Meyer. *Romanesque Art*. New York: G. Braziller, 1977.
- Schapiro, Meyer. *Late Antique, Early Christian and Mediaeval Art*. New York: G. Braziller, 1979.
- Schapiro, Meyer. *The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac*. New York: G. Braziller, 1985.
- Scheller, Robert Walter Hans Peter. *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)*. Trans. Michael Hoyle. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995.
- Scott, Kathleen L. *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*. 2 vols. London: H. Miller, 1996.
- Seidel, Linda. *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Seidel, Linda. *Jan Van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait: Stories of an Icon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Sekules, Veronica. *Medieval Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Shailor, Barbara, A. *The Medieval Book: Illustrated from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. 1988. Reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Simson, Otto von. *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*. 2d ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- Smart, Alastair. *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto: A Study of the Legend of St. Francis in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Smart, Alastair. *The Dawn of Italian Painting, 1250–1400*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Snyder, James. *Medieval Art*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1989.
- Stalley, Roger. *Early Medieval Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Starn, Randolph, and Loren Partridge. *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Swaan, Wim. *The Late Middle Ages: Art and Architecture from 1350 to the Advent of the Renaissance*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Taylor, Harold McCarter, and Joan Taylor. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965–1978.
- Thomas, Anabel. *The Painter's Practice in Renaissance Tuscany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Thompson, M. W. *The Decline of the Castle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Thompson, M. W. *The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600–1600 A.D.* Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1995.
- Tinagli, Paola. *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation, Identity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Wackernagel, Martin. *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market*. 1938. Reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Webster, Leslie, and Janet Backhouse, eds. *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, A.D. 600–900*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Webster, Leslie, and Michelle Brown, eds. *The Transformation of the Roman World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Welch, Evelyn S. *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.

- White, John. *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
- White, John. *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250–1400*. 2d ed. New York: Viking Penguin, 1987.
- Williamson, Paul. *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Wilson, Christopher. *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130–1530*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 1990.
- Wilson, David M. *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1984.
- Wolfthal, Diane. *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting, 1400–1530*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Wolfthal, Diane. *Images of Rape: The “Heroic” Tradition and Its Alternatives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Zarnecki, George. *Romanesque Art*. New York: Universe Books, 1971.
- Zarnecki, George. *Art of the Medieval World, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Sacred Arts*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1975.
- #### IV. BRITISH ISLES
- Aers, David. *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity: English Writing, 1360–1430*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Alexander, J. J. G. *English Illuminated Manuscripts 700–1500*. Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1973.
- Alexander, J. J. G. and Paul Binski, eds. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*. London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.
- Anderson, Alan Orr. *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1922.
- Backhouse, Janet, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster, eds. *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966–1066*. London: British Museum, 1984.
- Baker, John H. *An Introduction to English Legal History*. 3d ed. London: Butterworth's, 1990.
- Barlow, Frank. *The English Church, 1000–1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church*. 2d ed. New York: Longman, 1979.
- Barlow, Frank. *The English Church, 1066–1154: A History of the Anglo-Norman Church*. New York: Longman, 1979.
- Barlow, Frank. *Edward the Confessor*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1979.
- Barlow, Frank. *Thomas Becket*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Barlow, Frank. *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042–1216*. 5th ed. Harlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999.
- Barrell, A. D. M. *Medieval Scotland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Barrow, G. W. S. *Kingship and Unity: Scotland, 1000–1306*. London: Edward Arnold, 1981.
- Bassett, Steven, ed. *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. London: Leicester University Press, 1989.
- Bassett, Steven, ed. *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992.
- Bean, J. M. W. *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- Blair, Peter Hunter. *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Blair, Peter Hunter. *The World of Bede*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Bolton, J. L. *The Medieval English Economy, 1150–1500*. London: J. M. Dent, 1980.
- Bony, Jean. *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed, 1250–1350*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Brentano, Robert. *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Bridbury, A. R. *Economic Growth: England in the Later Middle Ages*. 1962. Reprint, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975.
- Britnell, Richard H. *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000–1500*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Brown, R. Allen. *Origins of English Feudalism*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973.
- Brown, R. Allen. *English Castles*. 3d ed. London: Batsford, 1976.
- Brown, R. Allen. *The Normans*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1984.
- Brown, R. Allen. *The Normans and the Norman Conquest*. 2d ed. Dover, N. H.: Boydell Press, 1985.
- Burton, Janet E. *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000–1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Caenegem, Raoul C. Van. *The Birth of the English Common Law*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Charles-Edwards, T. M. *Early Christian Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. *Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1166*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother, and Lady of the English*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. *Piety, Power, and History in Medieval England and Normandy*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Clanchy, Michael T. *From Memory and Written Record: England, 1066–1307*. 2d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.
- Cobban, Alan B. *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Cobban, Alan B. *English University Life in the Middle Ages*. London: UCL Press, 1999.
- Cosgrove, Art. *Late Medieval Ireland, 1370–1541*. Dublin: Helicon, 1981.
- Davies, R. R. *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282–1400*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

- Davies, R. R. *Conquest, Coexistence and Change, Wales 1063–1415*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Davies, R. R. *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100–1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Davies, R. R. *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Davies, Wendy. *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982.
- Davies, Wendy. *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Deshman, Robert. *Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian Art: An Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984.
- Dodwell, C. R. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Douglas, David C. *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact on England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
- Dixon, Philip. "Part II: Roman Britain and Early Medieval Britain," In *The National Trust Historical Atlas of Britain: Prehistoric and Medieval*. Ed. Nigel Saul. London: Alan Sutton, 1994, 53–112.
- Du Boulay, F. R. H. *An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1970.
- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Duffy, Sean. *Ireland in the Middle Ages*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Duncan, A. A. M. *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1975.
- Dyer, Christopher. *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Fernie, Eric C. *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983.
- Finberg, H. P. R. *The Formation of England, 550–1042*. St. Albans: Paladin, 1976.
- Finberg, H. P. R. ed., *An Agrarian History of England*. Vol. 3. 1350–1500. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Finucane, Ronald C. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1977.
- Fleming, Robin. *Kings and Lords and Conquest England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Ford, Boris ed. *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain: The Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Frame, Robin. *The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100–1400*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Frantzen, Allen J. *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983.
- Gameson, Richard. *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Given-Wilson, Chris. *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics, and Finance in England, 1360–1413*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Given-Wilson, Chris. *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Given-Wilson, Chris, ed. *An Illustrated History of Late Medieval England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Goodman, Anthony. *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society, 1452–97*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Grant, Alexander. *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland, 1306–1469*. London: Edward Arnold, 1984.
- Green, Judith A. *The Aristocracy of Norman England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hale, John R. *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in Its History and Art*. London: Faber and Faber, 1954.
- Hallam, H. E. *Rural England, 1066–1348*. Glasgow: Fontana, 1981.
- Hallam, H. E., ed. *An Agrarian History of England*. Vol. 2. 1042–1350. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Harvey, Barbara. *Living and Dying in England, 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Harvey, Barbara, ed. *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Hatcher, John. *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348–1530*. London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Hatcher, John, and Mark Bailey. *Modeling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Heath, Peter. *Church and Realm, 1272–1461: Conflict and Collaboration in an Age of Crises*. London: Fontana, 1988.
- Hellinga, Lotte, and J. B. Trapp, eds. *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Helmholz, R. H. *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Henderson, George. *From Durrow to Kells: The Insular Gospel-Books, 650–800*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Henderson, George. *Vision and Image in Early Christian England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hicks, Michael. *Bastard Feudalism*. New York: Longman, 1995.
- Hicks, Michael, ed. *Revolution and Consumption in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001.
- Hicks, Michael. *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

## 840 Bibliography

- Hilton, Rodney H. *A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the End of the Thirteenth Century*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966.
- Hilton, Rodney H. *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381*. London: Temple Smith, 1973.
- Hilton, Rodney H. *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Hilton, Rodney H. and T. H. Aston, eds. *The English Rising of 1381*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Holt, J. C. "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 32–35 (1982–1985); 193–212, 193–220, 1–25, 1–29.
- Holt, Richard, and Gervase Rosser, eds. *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200–1540*. New York: Longman, 1990.
- Homans, George C. *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941.
- Horrox, Rosemary, ed. *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Hoskins, W. G. *The Making of the English Landscape*. 1955, Reprint, Baltimore: Penguin, 1970.
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A. *The English Family, 1450–1700*. New York: Longman, 1984.
- Hudson, John. *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Hudson, John. *The Formation of the English Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta*. New York: Longman, 1996.
- Jack, R. Ian. *Medieval Wales*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972.
- Jacob, E. F. *The Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- John, Eric. *Land Tenure in Early England: A Discussion of Some Problems*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1960.
- John, Eric. *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Justice, Steven. *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Keen, Maurice H. *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History*. London: Methuen, 1973.
- Keen, Maurice H. *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348–1500*. London: Penguin, 1990.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Knowles, David. *The Religious Orders in England*. Vol. 1. *The Old Orders, 1216–1340; The Friars, 1216–1340; The Monasteries and Their World*; Vol. 2. *The End of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–1959.
- Knowles, David. *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943–1216*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Lawson, M. K. *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century*. New York: Longman, 1993.
- Lloyd, Simon. *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Loyn, H. R. *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*. London: Longman, 1962.
- Loyn, H. R. *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984.
- Lydon, James F. *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Lydon, James F. *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Maitland, Frederic William. *Domesday and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England*. Reprint, New York: Norton, 1966.
- Marks, Richard, and Nigel Morgan. *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200–1500*. New York: G. Braziller, 1981.
- Martin, John E. *Feudalism to Capitalism: Peasant and Landlord in English Agrarian Development*. London: Macmillan, 1983.
- Macfarlane, Alan. *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978.
- Macfarlane, Alan. *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300–1840*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.
- Maund, K. L. *Ireland, Wales, and England in the Eleventh Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991.
- Mayr-Harting, Henry. *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*. 3d ed. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.
- McFarlane, K. B. *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- McFarlane, K. B. *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.
- McKisack, May. *The Fourteenth Century, 1307–1399*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- McKisack, May. *Medieval History in the Tudor Age*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Mertes, Kate. *The English Noble Household, 1250–1600: Good Governance and Political Rule*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988.
- Miller, Edward, and John Hatcher. *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086–1348*. London: Longman, 1978.
- Miller, Edward, and John Hatcher. *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce, and Crafts, 1086–1348*. London: Longman, 1995.
- Milsom, S. F. C. *Historical Foundations of the Common Law*. 2d ed. London: Butterworth's, 1981.
- Milsom, S. F. C. *Sources of English Legal History: Private Law to 1750*. London: Butterworth's, 1986.
- Nicholls, K. W. *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972.
- Nicholson, Ranald. *Edward III and the Scot: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327–1335*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

- Nicholson, Ranald. *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1974.
- Nightingale, Pamela. *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and Trade of London, 1000–1485*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Ó Cróinin, Dáibhí. *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200*. New York: Longman, 1995.
- Orme, Nicholas. *English Schools in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen, 1973.
- Orme, Nicholas. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066–1530*. London: Methuen, 1984.
- Otway-Ruthven, Annette Jocelyn. *The Native Irish and English Law in Medieval Ireland*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1951.
- Otway-Ruthven, Annette Jocelyn. *A History of Medieval Ireland*. 2d ed. London: E. Benn, 1980.
- Palmer, Robert C. *The County Courts of Medieval England, 1150–1350*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Palmer, Robert C. *The Whilton Dispute, 1264–1380: A Social–Legal Study of Dispute Settlement in Medieval England*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Palmer, Robert C. *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348–1381: A Transformation of Governance and Law*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- Pantin, W. A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*. 1955. Reprint, Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963.
- Parsons, John Carmi. *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Platt, Colin. *The English Medieval Town*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1976.
- Platt, Colin. *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to A.D. 1600*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Platt, Colin. *The Abbeys and Priors of Medieval England*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1984.
- Platt, Colin. *The National Trust Guide to Late Medieval and Renaissance Britain: From the Black Death to the Civil War*. London: G. Philip, 1986.
- Platt, Colin. *The Architecture of Medieval Britain: A Social History*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Platt, Colin. *King Death: The Black Death and Its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Pollard, A. J. *The Wars of the Roses*. 2d ed. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave, 2001.
- Pollock, Frederick, and Frederic William Maitland. *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Poole, Austin Lane. *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Postan, Michael M. *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain, 1100–1500*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.
- Postan, Michael M. *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Pounds, N. J. G. *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Powicke, Maurice. *The Thirteenth Century, 1216–1307*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Prestwich, Michael. *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I*. London: Faber, 1972.
- Prestwich, Michael. *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377*. London: Methuen, 1980.
- Prestwich, Michael. *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century*. Houndmills, England: Macmillan, 1990.
- Prestwich, Michael. *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Raban, Sandra. *England under Edward I and Edward II, 1259–1327*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Raftis, J. Ambrose. *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organization*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1957.
- Raftis, J. Ambrose. *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Mediaeval English Village*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1964.
- Raftis, J. Ambrose. *Peasant Economic Development within the English Manorial System*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- Razi, Zvi. *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval English Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270–1400*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Razi, Zvi, and Richard Smith, eds. *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Reynolds, Susan. *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Richardson, H. G., and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta*. Edinburgh: University Press, 1964.
- Rigby, S. H. *Chaucer in Context: Society, Allegory, and Gender*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Rigby, S. H. *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Roffe, David. *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Rosenthal, Joel T. *The Purchase of Paradise*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Rosenthal, Joel T. *Nobles and the Noble Life, 1295–1500*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976.
- Rosenthal, Joel T. *Patriarchy and Families of Privilege in Fifteenth-Century England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Rowley, Trevor. *The High Middle Ages, 1200–1550*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986.
- Saul, Nigel. *Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280–1400*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Saul, Nigel, ed. *Age of Chivalry*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

## 842 Bibliography

- Saul, Nigel. "Part III: Medieval Britain." In *The National Trust Historical Atlas of Britain: Prehistoric and Medieval*. Ed. Nigel Saul. London: Alan Sutton, 1994, 113–204.
- Saul, Nigel, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Simms, Katharine. *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987.
- Smith, Brendan, ed. *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Smith, Richard M., ed. *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Smyth, Alfred P. *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850–880*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Smyth, Alfred P. *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80–1000*. London: Edward Arnold, 1984.
- Stafford, Pauline. *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. London: Edward Arnold, 1989.
- Stafford, Pauline. *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.
- Stenton, F. M. *Anglo-Saxon England*. 3d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Strohm, Paul. *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Swanson, Heather. *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.
- Swanson, R. N. *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance before the Reformation*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Taylor, Harold McCarter, and Joan Taylor. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965–1978.
- Thomson, John A. F. *The Transformation of Medieval England, 1370–1529*. London: Longman, 1983.
- Thrupp, Sylvia L. *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948.
- Titow, J. Z. *English Rural Society, 1200–1350*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969.
- Tout, Thomas Frederick. *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals*. 6 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920–33.
- Tuck, Anthony. *Crown and Nobility, 1272–1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England*. 2d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- Tyerman, Christopher. *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Virgoe, Roger, ed. *Private Life in the Fifteenth Century: Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family*. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.
- Walker, David. *Medieval Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Ward, Jennifer C. *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*. London: Longman, 1992.
- Warren, Michelle R. *History on the Edge: Excalibur and the Borders of Britain, 1100–1300*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Warren, W. L. *Henry II*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Warren, W. L. *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England, 1086–1272*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Watt, John A. *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Watt, John A. *The Church in Medieval Ireland*. 2d ed. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1998.
- Waugh, Scott L. *The Lordship of England: Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics, 1217–1327*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Waugh, Scott L. *England in the Reign of Edward III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Webster, Bruce. *Medieval Scotland: The Making of an Identity*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Webster, Leslie, and Janet Backhouse, eds. *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture, AD 600–900*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Weiss, Roberto. *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*. 3d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1967.
- Williams, Gwyn A. *Medieval London: From Commune to Capital*. London: University of London Press, The Athlone Press, 1963.
- Wilson, David M. *The Anglo-Saxons*. Rev. ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.
- Wilson, David M., ed. *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Methuen, 1976.
- Wilson, David M. *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1984.
- Charles T. Wood. *Joan of Arc and Richard III: Sex, Saints, and Government in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

## V. BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE

- Allen, Jelisaveta S., ed. *Literature on Byzantine Art, 1892–1967*. 2 vols. London: Mansell for the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1973–1976.
- Angold, Michael J. *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Angold, Michael J., ed. *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*. Oxford: B.A.R., 1984.
- Angold, Michael J. *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History*. 1984. 2d ed. New York: Longman, 1997.
- Arbel, Benjamin, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby, eds. *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*. London: Frank Cass, 1989.
- Barker, Ernest. *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium from Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Barker, John W. *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

- Bartusis, Mark C. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.
- Baynes, Norman Hepburn. *The Byzantine Empire*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1925.
- Beckwith, John. *The Art of Constantinople: An Introduction to Byzantine Art 330–1453*. London: Phaidon, 1961.
- Beckwith, John. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. 2d ed. New York: Penguin, 1970.
- Blöndel, Sigfús. *The Varangians of Byzantium: An Aspect of Byzantine Military History*. Translated, revised, and rewritten by Benedikt S. Benedikz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Blum, Jerome. *Lord and Peasant in Russia: From the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Boba, Imre. *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs: Eastern Europe in the Ninth Century*. The Hague: Mouton, 1967.
- Brand, Charles M. *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Browning, Robert. *Justinian and Theodora*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Browning, Robert. *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study across the Early Medieval Frontier*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Brubaker, Leslie. *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Brubaker, Leslie, and Robert Ousterhout, eds. *The Sacred Image East and West*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Brumfield, William Craft. *A History of Russian Architecture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Bury, J. B. *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1965.
- Cameron, Alan. *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Cameron, Alan. *Literature and Society in the Early Byzantine World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Cameron, Alan, and L. L. Conrad. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*. 3 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1992–1995.
- Carter, Francis W., ed. *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*. London: Academic Press, 1977.
- Carter, Francis W., and David Turnock, eds. *The States of Eastern Europe*. 2 vols. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Cavallo, Guglielmo, ed. *The Byzantines*. Trans. Thomas Dunlap, Teresa Lavender Fagan, and Charles Lambert. 1992. Reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Chadwick, Nora K., ed. *Russian Heroic Poetry*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964.
- Charanis, Peter. *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*. London: Variorum, 1972.
- Cheetham, Nicolas. *Mediaeval Greece*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Cormack, Robin. *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons*. London: George Philip, 1985.
- Cormack, Robin. *Byzantine Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Cross, Samuel Hazard, and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*. Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1953.
- Crummey, Robert O. *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304–1613*. New York: Longman, 1987.
- Curcic, Slobodan. *Art and Architecture in the Balkans: An Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984.
- Demus, Otto. *Byzantine Art and the West*. New York: New York University Press, 1970.
- Demus, Otto. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*. 1953. Reprint, New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Bros., 1976.
- Dennis, George, trans. *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.
- Dennis, George, trans. *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection, 1985.
- Dmytryshyn, Basil, ed. *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 900–1700*. 3d ed. Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1991.
- Doukas, Michael. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks: An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina"*. Trans. Harry J. Magoulias. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975.
- Durand, Jannic. *Byzantine Art*. London: Hi Marketing, 1999.
- Dvornik, Francis. *The Photian Schism, History and Legend*. 1948. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Dvornik, Francis. *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962.
- Dvornik, Francis. *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1966.
- Dvornik, Francis. *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. 2d ed. Gulf Breeze, Fla.: Academic International Press, 1974.
- Dvornik, Francis. *Origins of Intelligence Services: The Ancient Near East, Persia, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, the Arab Muslim Empires, the Mongol Empire, China, Muscovy*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1974.
- Evans, Helen C., and William D. Wixom, eds. *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.
- Evans, J. A. S. *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Fedotov, G. P. *The Russian Religious Mind*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946–1966.
- Fennell, John L. I. *The Emergence of Moscow, 1304–1359*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Fennell, John L. I. *Early Russian Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Fennell, John L. I. *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304*. New York: Longman, 1983.

## 844 Bibliography

- Fennell, John L. I. *A History of the Russian Church to 1448*. London: Longman, 1995.
- Fine, John V. A. *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Fine, John V. A. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Foss, Clive, and Paul Magdalino, eds. *Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford: Elsevier-Phaidon, 1977.
- Franklin, Simon, and Jonathan Shepard. *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200*. New York: Longman, 1996.
- Fryde, Edmund. *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–c. 1360)*. New York: Brill, 2000.
- Garland, Lynda. *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966.
- Gill, Joseph. *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979.
- Gimbutas, Marija Alseikaitė. *The Slavs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- Gjuzelev, Vasil. *The Proto-Bulgarians: Pre-History of Asparouhian Bulgaria*. Sofia: Sofia Press, 1979.
- Gjuzelev, Vasil. *Medieval Bulgaria: Byzantine Empire, Black Sea Venice, Genoa*. Villach: Verlag Baier, 1988.
- Haldon, John F. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Haldon, John F. *Warfare, State, and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*. London: UCL Press, 1999.
- Halperin, Charles J. *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- Halperin, Charles J. *The Tatar Yoke*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica, 1986.
- Hamm, Michael F., ed. *The City in Russian History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976.
- Harvey, Alan. *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Head, Constance. *Justinian II of Byzantium*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.
- Head, Constance. *Imperial Twilight: The Palaiologos Dynasty and the Decline of Byzantium*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977.
- Hendy, M. F. *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Herrin, Judith. *Woman in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2001.
- Hill, Barbara. *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology*. New York: Longman, 1999.
- Hunt, Lucy-Anne. *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*. 2 vols. London: Pindar Press, 1998.
- Hussey, Joan M. *The Byzantine World*. London: Hutchinson, 1961.
- Hussey, Joan M., ed. *The Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 4. *The Byzantine Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Hussey, Joan M. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- James, Liz. *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- James, Liz, ed. *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Jenkins, Romilly. *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, AD 610–1071*. New York: Random House, 1966.
- Kaegi, Walter. *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Kaiser, Daniel H. *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Karger, M. *Novgorod the Great*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973.
- Kartsonis, Anna D. *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Kazhdan, A. P., and Ann Wharton Epstein. *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Kazhdan, A. P., and Giles Constable, eds. *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1982.
- Kazhdan, A. P., and Simon Franklin. *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Kennedy, George Alexander. *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Kitzinger, Ernest. *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Kitzinger, Ernest. *Byzantine Art*. Oxford: E. Kitzinger, 1994.
- Kochan, Lionel, and Richard Abraham. *The Making of Modern Russia*. 2d ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Kollmann, Nancy Shields. *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. 3d ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Laiou, Angeliki E. *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Laiou, Angeliki E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Period: A Social and Demographic Study*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Laiou, Angeliki E., and Henry Maguire, eds. *Byzantium: A World Civilization*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992.

- Lilie, Ralph-Johannes. *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*. Trans. J. C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings. 1981. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Lock, Peter. *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*. New York: Longman, 1995.
- Lowden, John. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. London: Phaidon, 1997.
- Lurier, Harold E., ed. and trans. *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Magdalino, Paul. *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Maguire, Henry, ed. *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997.
- Mango, Cyril, ed. *Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents*. 1972. Reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Mango, Cyril. *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.
- Mango, Cyril. *Byzantine Architecture*. 1976. Reprint, London: Faber and Faber, 1986.
- Mango, Cyril, ed. *The Oxford History of Byzantium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Martin, Janet. *Medieval Russia, 980–1584*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Mathew, Gervase. *Byzantine Aesthetics*. New York: Viking, 1964.
- Mathews, Thomas J. *Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.
- Mathews, Thomas J. *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1998.
- McGeer, Eric. *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.
- Meyendorff, John. *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Matters*. London: Mowbrays, 1974.
- Meyendorff, John. *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Meyer, Peter. *Byzantine Mosaics: Torcello, Venice, Monreale, Palermo, Cafalù*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Miller, Dean A. *Imperial Constantinople*. New York: Wiley, 1969.
- Miller, T. S. *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Milner-Gulland, Robin. *The Russians*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997.
- Moorhead, John. *Justinian*. New York: Longman, 1994.
- Morris, R. *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1972.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The End of the Byzantine Empire*. London: Edward Arnold, 1979.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Nicol, Donald M. *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Noonan, Thomas S. *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings, 750–900: The Numismatic Evidence*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1998.
- Nordhagen, Per Jonas. *Studies in Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting*. London: Pindar, 1990.
- Norwich, John Julius. *Byzantium*. Vol. 1. *Byzantium: The Early Centuries*; Vol. 2. *Byzantium: The Aposee*; Vol. 3. *Byzantium: The Decline and Fall*. New York: Knopf, 1988–1996.
- Obolensky, Dimitri. *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Obolensky, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Slavs*. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1994.
- Ostrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. Trans. Joan Hussey. Oxford: Blackwell, 1956.
- Ostrowski, Donald. *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Petravich, M. B. *History of Serbia*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, 1976.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine*. Vol. 2. *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600–1700)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Portal, Roger. *The Slavs: A Cultural and Historical Survey of the Slavonic Peoples*. Trans. Patrick Evans. 1965. Reprint, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969.
- Pritsak, Omeljan. *The Origin of Rus'*. Vol. 1. *Old Scandinavian Sources Other than the Sagas*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Pritsak, Omeljan. *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History*. London: Variorum, 1981.
- Rice, Tamara Talbot. *A Concise History of Russian Art*. New York: Praeger, 1963.
- Rodley, Lyn. *Byzantine Art and Architecture: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Rowell, S. C. *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Runciman, Steven. *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*. London: G. Bell, 1930.
- Runciman, Steven. *Byzantine Civilization*. London: St. Martin's Press, 1933.

- Runciman, Steven. *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the 11th and 12th Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Runciman, Steven. *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
- Runciman, Steven. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Runciman, Steven. *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Runciman, Steven. *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- Runciman, Steven. *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of 10th-Century Byzantium*. 1929. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Safran, Linda, ed. *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.
- Sahas, Daniel, ed. *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth Century Iconoclasm*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Shchapov, Iaroslav Nikolaevich. *State and Church in Early Russia, 10th–13th Centuries*. Trans. Vic Shneierson. New Rochelle, N.Y.: A. D. Caratzas, 1993.
- Sedlar, Jean W. *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000–1500*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.
- Shahīd, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984.
- Shahīd, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989.
- Shahīd, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.
- Simeonova, Liliana. *Diplomacy of the Letter and the Cross: Photios, Bulgaria and the Papacy, 860s–880s*. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1998.
- Stephenson, Paul. *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Stratos, Andreas N. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*. Vol. 1. 602–634. Trans. Marc Ogilvie-Grant. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968.
- Subotic, Gojko. *Art of Kosovo: The Sacred Land*. New York: Monacelli Press, 1998.
- Taft, Robert F. *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992.
- Talbot Rice, David. *The Art of Byzantium*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1959.
- Talbot Rice, David. *The Art of Byzantium: Text and Notes*. New York: Harry Abrams, 1959.
- Talbot Rice, David. *The Byzantines*. New York: Praeger, 1962.
- Talbot Rice, David. *Art of the Byzantine Era*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1963.
- Talbot Rice, David. *Byzantine Art*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968.
- Talbot Rice, David. *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase*. New York: Dial Press, 1968.
- Talbot Rice, David. *The Appreciation of Byzantine Art*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Teteriatnikov, Natalia. *Russian Icons of the Golden Age, 1400–1700*. Huntingdon, Pa.: Juniata College, 1988.
- Tougher, Shaun. *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Toynbee, Arnold. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Treadgold, Warren. *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Treadgold, Warren. *Byzantium and Its Army, 284–1081*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Treadgold, Warren. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Urbanczyk, Przemyslaw, ed. *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*. Warsaw: Semper, 1997.
- Vaña, Zdeněk. *The World of the Ancient Slavs*. Trans. Till Gottheiner. London: Orbis, 1983.
- Vasiliev, A. A. *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453*. 2 vols. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952.
- Vernadsky, George A. *The Mongols and Russia*. New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Vernadsky, George A. *Kievan Russia*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Vernadsky, George A. *Ancient Russia*. 1943. Reprint, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964.
- Vernadsky, George A., ed. *Medieval Russian Laws*, 1947. Reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1965.
- Vernadsky, George A. *The Origins of Russia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Vlasto, A. P. *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Vryonis, Speros, Jr. *Byzantium and Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1967.
- Vryonis, Speros, Jr. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Walter, Christopher. *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*. London: Variorum, 1982.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. *Classical Heritage in Byzantine and Near Eastern Art*. London: Variorum, 1981.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. *Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium*. London: Variorum, 1982.
- Wellesz, Egon. *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery, a Comparative Study of Four Provinces*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.
- Whitting, Philip D., ed. *Byzantium: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1972.
- Whittow, Mark. *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

- Wilson, N. G., ed. *An Anthology of Byzantine Prose*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971.
- Wilson, N. G. *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1973.
- Wilson, N. G. *Scholars of Byzantium*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Wilson, N. G. *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Wilson, N. G., and L. D. Reynolds. *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. 3d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Winnifrieth, Tom J. *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Woodhouse, C. M. *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Zenkovsky, Serge A., ed. and trans. *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*. 2d ed. New York: Dutton, 1974.
- VI. JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES**
- Abulafia, Anna Sapir. *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Abulafia, Anna Sapir, ed. *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Agus, Irving A. *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe: A Study of Organized Town-Life in Northwestern Europe during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries Based on the Responsa Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1965.
- Agus, Irving A. *The Heroic Age of Franco-German Jewry: The Jews of Germany and France of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, the Pioneers and Builders of Town-Life, Town-Government, and Institutions*. New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1969.
- Agus, Irving A. *Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg: His Life and Works as Sources for the Religious, Legal and Social History of the Jews of Germany in the Thirteenth Century*. 2 vols. New York: Ktav, 1970.
- Avi-Yonah, Michael. *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1976.
- Bachrach, Bernard S. *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
- Bachrach, Bernard S. *Jews in Barbarian Europe*. Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1977.
- Baer, Yitzhak F. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. 2 vols. Trans. Louis Schoffman. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961–1966.
- Berger, David. *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979.
- Berger, David. *History and Hate: The Dimensions of Anti-Semitism*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986.
- Berger, David. "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages"; Jeremy Cohen, "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom"; Gavin Langmuir, "Comment." *The American Historical Review* 91 (June 1986): 576–591, 592–613, 614–624.
- Bonfil, Robert. *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy*. Trans. Jonathan Chipman. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1993.
- Bonfil, Robert. *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*. Trans. Anthony Oldcorn. 1991. Reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Bosworth, C. E. "The Protected Peoples (Christians and Jews) in Medieval Egypt." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 62 (Autumn, 1979): 11–36.
- Bowman, S. B. *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204–1453*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985.
- Boyarin, Daniel. *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Boyarin, Daniel. *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Brann, Ross. *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- Brann, Ross, ed. *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1997.
- Brann, Ross. *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Burns, Robert I. *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Societies in Symbiosis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Burns, Robert I. *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Carmichael, Joel. *The Satanizing of the Jews: Origin and Development of Mystical Anti-Semitism*. New York: Fromm International, 1992.
- Carpenter, Dwayne E., ed. *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete partidas 7.24 "De los judios."* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Carroll, James. *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews, a History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.
- Chazan, Robert. *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Chazan, Robert. *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages*. New York: Behrman House, 1980.
- Chazan, Robert. *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Chazan, Robert. *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Chazan, Robert. *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Chazan, Robert. *In the Year 1096: The First Crusade and the Jews*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996.

## 848 Bibliography

- Chazan, Robert. *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Anti-Semitism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Chazan, Robert. *God, Humanity and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Chronicles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Cohen, Jeremy. *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Cohen, Jeremy. *Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master It: The Ancient and Medieval Career of a Biblical Text*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Cohen, Jeremy, ed. *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to the Reformation*. New York: New York University Press, 1991.
- Cohen, Jeremy. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Cohen, Mark R. *Jewish Self-Government in Medieval Egypt: The Origins of the Office of Head of the Jews, ca. 1065–1126*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Cohen, Mark R. *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Constable, Olivia Remie, ed. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Dobson, R. B. *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*. York: St. Anthony's Press, 1974.
- Dundes, Alan, ed. *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- Eidelberg, Shlomo. *Jewish Life in Austria in the XVth Century: As Reflected in the Legal Writings of Rabbi Israel Isserlein and His Contemporaries*. Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1962.
- Eidelberg, Shlomo, trans. *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.
- Goitein, S. D. *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. 6 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993.
- Goitein, S. D., ed. *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Grayzel, Solomon. *The Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1989.
- Holtz, Barry W., ed. *Back to the Sources: Reading the Classic Jewish Texts*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984.
- Hood, John Y. B. *Aquinas and the Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Jordan, William C. *The French Monarchy and Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- Kanarfogel, Ephraim. *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
- Kisch, Guido. *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status*. 2d ed. New York: Ktav, 1970.
- Langmuir, Gavin I. *History, Religion, and Antisemitism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Langmuir, Gavin I. *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Lassner, Jacob. *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba: Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Lerner, Ralph, ed. "Political Philosophy in Judaism." In *Medieval Political Philosophy*. Ed. Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963, 188–270.
- Lerner, Robert E. *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Jews of Islam*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Linder, Amnon, ed. *The Jews in the Legal Sources of the Early Middle Ages*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997.
- Mann, Vivian B., Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: George Braziller, 1992.
- Marcus, Ivan G. *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany*. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Marcus, Ivan G. *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Marcus, Jacob R. *The Jew in the Medieval World, A Source Book: 315–1791*. New York: Meridian, 1938.
- Melammed, Renée Levine. *Heretics or Daughters of Israel?: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Moore, Rebecca. *Jews and Christians in the Life and Thought of Hugh of St. Victor*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.
- Mundill, Robin. *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Poliakov, Léon. *The History of Anti-Semitism*. Trans. Richard Howard. 1956. Reprint, New York: Vanguard Press, 1965.
- Poliakov, Léon. *Jewish Bankers and the Holy See from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Century*. Trans. Miriam Kocham. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1977.
- Praver, Joshua. *Crusader Institutions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- Praver, Joshua. *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

- Rabinowitz, Louis I. *The Social Life of the Jews of Northern France in the XII–XIV Centuries as Reflected in the Rabbinical Literature of the Period*. London: Edward Goldston, 1938.
- Richardson, H. G. *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings*. London: Methuen, 1960.
- Rosenthal, E. I. J. *Judaism and Islam*. New York: T. Yoseloff, 1961.
- Roth, Norman. *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Roth, Norman. *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Rubin, Miri. *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Saperstein, Marc, ed. *Jewish Preaching, 1200–1800: An Anthology*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Shatzmiller, Joseph. *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Shatzmiller, Joseph. *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Simonsohn, Shlomo. *The Apostolic See and the Jews, Documents*. Vol. 1. 492–1401; Vol. 2. 1394–1464; Vol. 3. 1464–1521. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988–1990.
- Simonsohn, Shlomo, ed. *The Jews in Sicily*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Stow, Kenneth R. *The “1007 Anonymous” and Papal Sovereignty: Jewish Perceptions of the Papacy and Papal Policy in the High Middle Ages*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1984.
- Stow, Kenneth R. *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Stow, Kenneth R. “The Jewish Family in the Rhineland in the High Middle Ages: Form and Function.” *The American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 1085–1110.
- Taitz, Emily. *The Jews of Medieval France: The Community of Champagne*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Trachtenberg, Joshua. *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1943.
- Wood, Diana, ed. *Christianity and Judaism*. Studies in Church History, 29. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Aitken, Adam J., Matthew P. McDiarmid, and Derick S. Thomson, eds. *Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1977.
- Akehurst, F. R. P., and Judith M. Davis, eds. *A Handbook of the Troubadours*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Ashtiany, Julia, et al., ed. *‘Abbasid Belles-Lettres*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Auerbach, Eric. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Barron, W. R. J. *English Medieval Romance*. London: Longman, 1987.
- Baldwin, John W. *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Bayless, Martha. *Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Beadle, Richard, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Beeston, A. F. L. *Samples of Arabic Prose in Its Historical Development: A Manual for English-Speaking Students*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Beeston, A. F. L., ed. *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Bennett, J. A. W. *Middle English Literature*. Ed. Douglas Gray. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Bevington, David, ed. *Medieval Drama*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975.
- Birnbaum, Henrik. *On Medieval and Renaissance Slavic Writing: Selected Essays*. The Hague: Mouton, 1974.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval French Literature and the Law*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Boase, Roger. *The Troubadour Revival: A Study of Social Change and Traditionalism Late Medieval Spain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Bogin, Magda. *The Women Troubadours*. New York: Paddington, 1976.
- Boitani, Piero. *English Medieval Narrative in the 13th and 14th Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Boitani, Piero, and Torti, Anna, eds., *Poetics: Theory and Practice in Medieval English Literature*. The J. A. W. Bennett Memorial Lectures. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991.
- Bolton, W. F. *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 597–1066*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

## VII. LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

- Aers, David. *Community, Gender, and Individual Identity: English Writing, 1360–1430*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Aers, David, ed. *Culture and History, 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992.
- Aetsen, Henk, and Alasdair A. MacDonald, eds. *Companion to Middle English Romance*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990.

## 850 Bibliography

- Bolton, W. F., ed. *The Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. London: Sphere Reference, 1986.
- Bond, Gerald A. *The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Brand, Peter, and Lino Pertile, eds. *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Brewer, Derek, ed. *Studies in Medieval English Romances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Brown, Peter. *A Companion to Chaucer*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000.
- Bumke, Joachim. *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*. Trans. Thomas Dunlap. 1986. Reprint, New York: Overlook Press, 2000.
- Burns, E. Jane. *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Burrow, J. A. *Medieval Writers and Their Work: Middle English Literature and Its Background, 1100–1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Burrow, J. A. *Essays on Medieval Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Cazelles, Brigitte. *The Lady as Saint: A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Chambers, E. K. *The Medieval Stage*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
- Coleman, Janet. *English Literature in History, 1350–1400: Medieval Readers and Writers*. London: Hutchinson, 1981.
- Copeland, Rita. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Crane, Susan. *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Romance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Dinshaw, Carolyn. *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
- Dronke, Peter. *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Dronke, Peter. *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Dronke, Peter. *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Dronke, Peter, ed. *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric*. 3d ed. Woodbridge, England: D. S. Brewer, 1996.
- Edwards, A. S. G., ed. *Middle English Prose: Essays on Bibliographical Problems*. New York: Garland, 1981.
- Edwards, A. S. G., ed. *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984.
- Ellis, Roger, assisted by Jocelyn Price, Stephen Medcalf, and Peter Meredith, eds. *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge, England: D. S. Brewer, 1989.
- Famiglietti, R. C. *Tales of the Marriage Bed from France (1300–1500)*. Providence, R.I.: Picardy Press, 1992.
- Fennell, John Lister Illingworth. *Early Russian Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.
- Fenster, Thelma S., ed. *Arthurian Women: A Casebook*. New York: Garland, 1996.
- Ferrante, Joan M. *The Conflict of Lover and Honor: The Medieval Tristan Legend in France, Germany and Italy*. The Hague: Mouton, 1973.
- Ferrante, Joan M. *In Pursuit of Perfection: Courtly Love in Medieval Literature*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975.
- Ford, Boris, ed. *Medieval Literature: Chaucer and the Alliterative Tradition*. The New Pelican Guide to English Literature, Vol. I, part I. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982.
- Garbáty, Thomas J. ed. *Medieval English Literature*. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1984.
- Gaunt, Simon. *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Gaunt, Simon, and Sarah Kay, eds. *The Troubadours: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Gellrich, Jesse M. *Discourse and Dominion in the Fourteenth Century: Oral Contexts of Writing in Philosophy, Politics, and Poetry*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Gibbs, Marion E., and Sidney M. Johnson. *Medieval German Literature: A Companion*. New York: Garland, 1997.
- Godden, Malcolm, and Michael Lapidge, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Godman, Peter, ed. *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*. London: Duckworth, 1985.
- Godman, Peter. *The Silent Masters: Latin Literature and Its Censors in the High Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Gold, Barbara K., Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, eds. *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*. Albany: State University Press of New York, 1997.
- Gradon, Pamela. *Form and Style in Early English Literature*. London: Methuen, 1971.
- Gravdal, Kathryn. *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Green, Dennis H. *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature, 800–1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Green, Richard Firth. *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

- Green, Richard Firth. *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Griffiths, Jeremy, and Derek Pearsall, eds. *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Hanning, Robert W. *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Hansen, Elaine Tuttle. *Chaucer and the Fictions of Gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Havely, Nick. "Literature in Italian, French and English: Uses and Muses of the Vernacular." In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Vol. 6. c. 1300–c. 1415. Ed. Michael Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 257–70.
- Huot, Sylvia. *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Irwin, Robert, ed. *Night and Horses and the Desert: An Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature*. New York: Anchor Books, 1999.
- Jack, R. D. S., and P. A. T. Rozendaal, eds. *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature, 1375–1707*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997.
- Jackson, W. T. H. *The Literature of the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.
- Jackson, W. T. H. *Medieval Literature: A History and a Guide*. New York: Collier Books, 1966.
- Jackson, W. T. H., ed. *The Interpretation of Medieval Lyric Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Kahrl, Stanley J. *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*. London: Hutchinson, 1974.
- Kay, Sarah. *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Kelly, Douglas. *The Art of Medieval French Romance*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.
- Kelly, Douglas. *Medieval French Romance*. New York: Twayne, 1993.
- Krueger, Roberta L. *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Lapidge, Michael, and Malcolm Godden, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Leupin, Alexandre. *Barbarolexis: Medieval Writing and Sexuality*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Lewis, C. S. *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Lewis, C. S. *The Discarded Image. An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Lomperis, Linda, and Sarah Stanbury, eds. *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Loomis, Roger Sherman, ed. *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Loomis, Roger Sherman. *The Development of Arthurian Romance*. London: Hutchinson, 1963.
- Machan, Tim William. *Textual Criticism and Middle English Texts*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994.
- McCracken, Peggy. *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Meale, Carol M., ed. *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Mehl, Dieter. *English Literature in the Age of Chaucer*. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, eds. *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Minnis, A. J. *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Minnis, A. J., and Charlotte Brewer, eds. *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Minnis, A. J., and A. B. Scott, eds. *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Moore, John C. *Love in Twelfth-Century France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.
- Moser, Charles A., ed. *The Cambridge History of Russian Literature*. Rev. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Muir, Lynette R. *Literature and Society in Medieval France: The Mirror and the Image, 1100–1500*. London: Macmillan, 1985.
- Newman, F. X., ed. *The Meaning of Courtly Love*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969.
- Oakden, J. P. *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*. 2 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930–1935.
- Olson, Glending. *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Owst, G. R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Paden, William D., ed. *The Voice of the Trobairitz: Perspectives on the Women Troubadours*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- Patterson, Lee. *Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Pearsall, Derek. *Old English and Middle English Poetry*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1977.
- Scaglione, Aldo. *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Schultz, James A. *The Shape of the Round Table: Structures of Middle High German Arthurian Romance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

## 852 Bibliography

- Simon, Eckehard, ed. *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Solterer, Helen. *The Master and the Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Stroh, Paul. *Social Chaucer*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Stroh, Paul. *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Swanton, Michael James. *English Literature before Chaucer*. London: Longman, 1987.
- Szittyá, Penn R. *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Taylor, John. *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Trapp, J. B., Douglas Gray, and Julia Boffey, eds. *Medieval English Literature*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Tydemán, William. *The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800–1576*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Tydemán, William. *Medieval English Drama*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1986.
- Vance, Eugene. *Mervelous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
- Vinaver, Eugène. *The Rise of Romance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Vitz, Evelyn Birge. *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire*. New York: New York University Press, 1989.
- Wack, Mary Francis. *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The "Viaticum" and Its Commentaries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.
- Wallace, David, ed. *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Walshe, Maurice O'C. *Medieval German Literature: A Survey*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Wright, Roger. *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*. Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1982.
- Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.
- Young, M. J. L., J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant, eds. *Religion, Learning, and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- VIII. VIKINGS AND NORTHERN EUROPE**
- Aðalsteinsson, Jón Hnefill. *Under the Cloak: The Acceptance of Christianity in Iceland with Particular Reference to the Religious Attitudes Prevailing at the Time*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1978.
- Almgren, Bertil, et al., eds., *The Viking*. Gothenburg: Tre Tryckare, 1967.
- Benedictow, Ole Jørgen. *Plague in the Late Medieval Nordic Countries: Epidemiological Studies*. 2d ed. Oslo: Middelalderforlaget, 1993.
- Brønsted, Johannes. *The Vikings*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960.
- Byock, Jesse L. *Feud in the Icelandic Saga*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Byock, Jesse L. *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Byock, Jesse L. *Viking Age Iceland*. London: Penguin Books, 2001.
- Byock, Jesse L. "Saga Form, Oral Prehistory, and the Icelandic Social Context." *New Literary History* 16 (1984): 153–173.
- Christiansen, Eric. *The Norsemen in the Viking Age*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002.
- Clover, Carol J. *The Medieval Saga*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Clover, Carol J. "Family Sagas, Icelandic." In *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984, 4.612–619.
- Clover, Carol J. "Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe." *Speculum* 68 (1993): 363–382.
- Clover, Carol J., and John Lindow, eds. *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Ellis Davidson, H. R. *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1964.
- Fitzhugh, William W., and Elisabeth Ward, eds. *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000.
- Foote, Peter G., and David M. Wilson. *The Viking Achievement: The Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1970.
- Frank, Roberta. "Marriage in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Iceland," *Viator* 4 (1973): 473–484.
- Gelsinger, Bruce E. *Icelandic Enterprise: Commerce and Economy in the Middle Ages*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981.
- Glubok, Shirley. *The Art of the Vikings*. New York: Macmillan, 1978.
- Graham-Campbell, James, and Dafydd Kidd, eds. *The Vikings*. New York: W. Morrow, 1980.
- Graham-Campbell, James et al., *The Viking World*. New Haven, Conn.: Ticknor and Fields, 1980.
- Hastrup, Kirsten. *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland: An Anthropological Assessment of Structure and Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Ingstad, Anne Stine. *The Norse Discovery of America*. 2 vols. Trans. Elizabeth S. Seeberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Jesch, Judith. *Women in the Viking Age*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991.
- Jochens, Jenny M. *Women in Old Norse Society*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Jochens, Jenny M. "The Church and Sexuality in Medieval Iceland." *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 377–392.
- Jochens, Jenny M. "The Medieval Icelandic Heroine: Fact or Fiction?" *Viator* 17 (1986): 35–50.
- Jochens, Jenny M. "Marching to a Different Drummer: New Trends in Medieval Icelandic Scholarship: A Review

- Article." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993): 197–207.
- Jochens, Jenny M. *Old Norse Images of Women*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- Jóhannesson, Jón. *A History of the Old Icelandic Commonwealth: Íslendinga Saga*. Trans. Haraldur Bessason. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1974.
- Jones, Gwyn. *A History of the Vikings*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Logan, F. Donald. *The Vikings in History*. 2d ed. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Loyn, H. R. *The Vikings in Britain*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1977.
- Melnikova, E. A. *The Eastern World of the Vikings: Eight Essays about Scandinavia and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*. Gothenburg: Litteraturvetenskapliga Institutionen, Göteborgs Universitet, 1996.
- Miller, William Ian. *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Miller, William Ian. "Choosing the Avenger: Some Aspects of the Bloodfeud in Medieval Iceland and England." *Law and History Review* 1 (1983): 159–204.
- Miller, William Ian. "Some Aspects of Householding in the Medieval Icelandic Commonwealth." *Continuity and Change* 3 (1988): 321–355.
- Nordal, Sigurður. *Icelandic Culture*. Trans. Vilhjalmur T. Bjarnar. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- O'Meadhra, Uaininn. *Early Christian, Viking and Romanesque Art: Motif-Pieces from Ireland*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1979.
- Page, R. I. *Chronicles of the Vikings: Records, Memorials, and Myths*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Roesdahl, Else. *The Vikings*. 2d ed. Trans. Susan M. Margeson and Kirsten Williams. London: Penguin, 1998.
- Roesdahl, Else, and David M. Wilson, eds. *From Viking to Crusader: The Scandinavians and Europe, 800–1200*. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.
- Sawyer, Brigit, and Peter Sawyer. *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Sawyer, Peter H. *The Age of the Vikings*. 2d ed. London: Edward Arnold, 1971.
- Sawyer, Peter H. *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe, A.D. 700–1100*. London: Methuen, 1982.
- Sawyer, Peter H., ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Smyth, Alfred P. *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850–880*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Sørensen, Preben Meulengracht. *Saga and Society: An Introduction to Old Norse Literature*. Trans. John Tucker. Odense: Odense University Press, 1993.
- Strömbäck, Dag. *The Conversion of Iceland*. Trans. Peter Foote. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1975.
- Wilson, David M. *The Vikings and Their Origins: Scandinavia in the First Millennium*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.
- Wilson, David M., ed. *The Northern World: The History and Heritage of Northern Europe, AD 400–1100*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.

## IX. AFRICA, ISLAM, AND ASIA

- Ahmed, Sheikh. *Muslim Architecture: From the Advent of Islam in Arabia to the Rise of the Great Ummayyad Khilafat in Spain*. Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Arts and Design of Book Production, 1974.
- Ali, Wijdan. *The Arab Contribution to Islamic Art: From the Seventh to the Fifteenth Centuries*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999.
- Allsen, Thomas T. *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Allsen, Thomas T. *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Amitai-Preiss, Reuven. *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-İlkhānid War, 1260–1281*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Anderson, Margaret. *Arabic Materials in English Translation: A Bibliography of Works from the Pre-Islamic Period to 1977*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980.
- Arnold, Thomas Walker. *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928.
- Ashtiany, Julia et al., ed. *'Abbasid Belles-Lettres*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Ashtor, Elyahu L. *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*. London: Collier's, 1976.
- Ashtor, Elyahu L. *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Aslanapa, Oktay. *Turkish Art and Architecture*. London: Faber, 1971.
- Atil, Esin. *Art of the Arab World*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975.
- Atil, Esin, ed. *Turkish Art*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980.
- Atil, Esin, ed. *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.
- Axelson, Eric. *Congo to Cape: Early Portuguese Explorers*. Ed. John Woodcock. London: Faber and Faber, 1973.
- Babinger, Franz. *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*. Trans. Ralph Manheim. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Bahnassi, Afif. Jami' al-Umawi al-Kabir. *The Great Omayyad Mosque of Damascus: The First Masterpieces of Islamic Art*. Trans. Batrechia McDonel and Samir Tower. Damascus: Tlass, 1989.
- Beckingham, C. F. *Between Islam and Christendom: Travelers, Facts, and Legends in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. London: Variorum, 1983.
- Beeston, A. F. L. *Samples of Arabic Prose in Its Historical Development: A Manual for English-Speaking Students*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Beeston, A. F. L., ed. *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

- Bentley, Jerry H. *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Berkey, Jonathan P. *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Birashk, Ahmad. *A Comparative Calendar of the Iranian, Muslim Lunar, and Christian Eras for Three Thousand Years: 1260 B.H.–2000 A.H./639 B.C.–2621 A.D.* Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, in Association with Bibliotheca Persica, 1993.
- Black, Antony J. *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Blair, Sheila, and Jonathan M. Bloom. *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Bloom, Jonathan. *Minaret, Symbol of Islam*. Oxford: Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, 1989.
- Boswell, John. *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The Islamic Dynasties*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967.
- Bosworth, Clifford Edmund. *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1976.
- Bovil, E. W. *The Golden Trade of the Moors: West African Kingdoms in the Fourteenth Century*. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Boyle, John Andrew, ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 5. *The Saljuk and Mongol Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Boyle, John Andrew. *The Mongol World Empire, 1206–1370*. London: Variorum, 1977.
- Brann, Ross. *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- Brann, Ross, ed. *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1997.
- Brann, Ross. *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Brend, Barbara. *Islamic Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Brent, Peter. *The Mongol Empire*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976.
- Brett, Michael, and Elizabeth Fentress. *The Berbers*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Brett, Michael, and Werner Forman. *The Moors: Islam in the West*. London: Orbis, 1980.
- Bulliet, Richard W. *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islam*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Bulliet, Richard W. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Bulliet, Richard W. *The Camel and the Wheel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Cahen, Claude. *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rûm, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*. Trans. P. M. Holt. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Campbell, Mary B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Cardini, Franco. *Europe and Islam*. Trans. Caroline Beamish. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
- Chamberlain, Michael. *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Chambers, James. *The Devil's Horsemen*. Rev. ed. London: Cassell, 1988.
- Chaudhuri, K. N. *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Chaudhuri, K. N. *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Christopher, John B. *The Islamic Tradition*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- Chiappelli, Fredi, ed. *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Cipolla, Carlo M. *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion, 1400–1700: European Culture and Overseas Expansion*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1970.
- Collins, Roger. *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.
- Constable, Olivia Remie. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Constable, Olivia Remie, ed. *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Corbin, Henry. *History of Islamic Philosophy*. Trans. Liadain Sherrard. London: Kegan Paul International, 1993.
- Creswell, K. A. C. *A Bibliography of Painting in Islam*. Cairo: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1953.
- Creswell, K. A. C. *Early Muslim Architecture*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Creswell, K. A. C. *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*. 2 vols. 1952–1959. Reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979.
- Creswell, K. A. C. *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*. Rev. ed. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989.
- Crone, G. R. *The Discovery of the East*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972.
- Crone, Patricia. *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Crone, Patricia. *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Crone, Patricia. *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Crone, Patricia, and Martin Hinds. *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

- Curtin, Philip D. *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Daftary, Farhad. *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Daftary, Farhad, ed. *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960.
- Daniel, Norman. *Islam, Europe and Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966.
- Daniel, Norman. *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*. 2d ed. London: Longman, 1979.
- Daniel, Norman. *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984.
- Davidson, Basil. *A History of West Africa 1000–1800*. London, Longmans, 1967.
- Dols, Michael W. *The Black Death in the Middle East*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Donner, Fred M. *The Early Islamic Conquests*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Donner, Fred M. *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1998.
- Echevarria, Ana. *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- El Fasi, Muhammad, ed. *General History of Africa*. Vol. 3. *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press for UNESCO, 1988.
- Endress, Gerhard. *Islam: An Historical Introduction*. 2d ed. Trans. Carole Hillenbrand. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Espósito, John L. *Islam and Politics*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1984.
- Espósito, John L., ed. *The Oxford History of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Ettinghausen, Richard. *Treasures of Asia: Arab Painting*. Lausanne: Skira, 1962.
- Ettinghausen, Richard. *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World: Three Modes of Artistic Influence*. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Ettinghausen, Richard, and Oleg Grabar. *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650–1250*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987.
- Fage, J. D. ed. *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Vol. 2. *From c. 500 BC to AD 1050*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Fletcher, Richard A. *Moorish Spain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Frishman, Martin, and Hasan-Uddin Khan, eds. *The Mosque: History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2002.
- Frye, R. N., ed. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 4. *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Gabrieli, Francesco. *Muhammad and the Conquests of Islam*. Trans. Virginia Luling and Rosamund Linell. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.
- Gibb, H. A. R. *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Gibb, H. A. R. *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Gibb, H. A. R. *Arabic Literature: An Introduction*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Gibson, M. *Genghis Khan and the Mongols*. London: Wayland, 1973.
- Goldziher, Ignaz. *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*. Trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Goodwin, Jason. *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire*. New York: H. Holt, 1999.
- Grabar, Oleg. *City in the Desert*. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Grabar, Oleg. *The Foundation of Islamic Art*. Rev. ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Grube, E. J. *Islamic Pottery*. London: Faber and Faber, 1976.
- Guillaume, Alfred. *Islam*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1954.
- Guthrie, Shirley. *Arab Social Life in the Middle Ages: An Illustrated Study*. London: Saqui Books, 1995.
- Hale, John R. *Age of Exploration*. New York: Time, 1966.
- Handler, Andrew. *The Zirids of Granada*. Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1974.
- Harvey, L. P. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- al-Hassan, Ahmad Yusuf. *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Hattstein, Markus, and Peter Delius, eds. *Islam: Art and Architecture*. Trans. George Ansell et al. Cologne: Könemann, 2000.
- Hayes, J. R. *The Genius of Arab Civilization*. London: Phaidon, 1978.
- Hill, Derek. *Islamic Architecture and Its Decoration A.D. 800–1500: A Photographic Survey*. 2d ed. London: Faber, 1967.
- Hillenbrand, Carole. *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Hillenbrand, Robert. *Islamic Art and Architecture*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
- Hitti, Philip K. *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*. 9th ed. London: Macmillan, 1966.
- Hitti, Philip K. *Capital Cities of Arab Islam*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973.
- Hoag, John D. *Western Islamic Architecture*. New York: G. Braziller, 1963.
- Hoag, John D. *Islamic Architecture*. 1975. Reprint, New York: Harry Abrams, 1977.
- Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam, Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 1. *The Classical Age of Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

- Hodgson, Marshall G. S. *The Venture of Islam, Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 2. *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Holt, P. M., Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, eds. *The Cambridge History of Islam*. Vol. 1. *The Central Islamic Lands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Holt, P. M., ed. *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977.
- Holt, P. M. *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Hourani, Albert H., and S. M. Stern, eds. *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970.
- Hourani, Albert H. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Hourani, George Fadlo, ed. *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975.
- Hoyland, Robert G. *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997.
- Humble, Richard. *Marco Polo*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1975.
- Humphreys, R. Stephen. *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977.
- Humphreys, R. Stephen. *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*. Rev. ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Hunt, Lucy-Anne. *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*. 2 vols. London: Pindar Press, 1998.
- Inalcik, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age*. Trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber. London: Phoenix Press, 1973.
- Inalcik, Halil. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Vol. 1. *1300–1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Ipsiroglu, M. S. *Painting and Culture of the Mongols*. Trans. E. D. Phillips. London: Thames and Hudson, 1967.
- Irwin, Robert. *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.
- Irwin, Robert. *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*. London: Allen Lane, 1994.
- Irwin, Robert. *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the Literary World*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997.
- Jackson, Peter, and Laurence Lockhart, eds. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 6. *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Julien, Charles-André. *History of North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco*. Trans. John Petrie and ed. C. C. Stewart. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kennedy, Edward S. *Studies in the Islamic Exact Sciences*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1983.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*. New York: Longman, 1996.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *Mongols, Huns and Vikings: Nomads at War*. London: Cassell, 2002.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- Khalidi, Tarif. *Classical Arab Islam: The Culture and Heritage of the Golden Age*. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1985.
- Khalidi, Tarif. *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Khan, Gabriel Mandel. *Arabic Script: Styles, Variants, and Calligraphic Adaptions*. Trans. Rosanna M. Giammanco Frongia. New York: Abbeville Press, 2001.
- Kobishchanov, Yuri M. *Axum*. Ed. Joseph W. Michaels and trans. Lorraine T. Kapitanoff. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979.
- Kühnel, Ernst. *Islamic Art and Architecture*. Trans. Katherine Watson. London: Bell 1966.
- Kühnel, Ernst. *The Minor Arts of Islam*. Trans. Katherine Watson. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Lapidus, Ira M. *A History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Lapidus, Ira M. *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*. Student ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Lev, Yaacov. *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- Lev, Yaacov, ed. *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Levtzion, Nehemia. *Conversion to Islam*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979.
- Levtzion, Nehemia, and J. F. Hopkins, eds. *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*. Trans. J. F. P. Hopkins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Lewis, Archibald, ed. *The Islamic World and the West, A.D. 622–1492*. New York: Wiley, 1970.
- Lewis, Archibald. *Nomads and Crusaders, A.D. 1000–1368*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Middle East and the West*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1964.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Lewis, Bernard, ed. *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.
- Lewis, Bernard, ed. *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*. New York: Norton, 1982.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Political Language of Islam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

- Lewis, Bernard. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Arabs in History*. 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Lewis, Bernard. *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Lindholm, Charles. *The Islamic Middle East: An Historical Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Lunenfeld, Marvin, ed. *1492—Discovery, Invasion, Encounter: Sources and Interpretations*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1991.
- Madelung, Wilferd. *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Mahdi, Muhsin, ed. "Political Philosophy in Islam." In *Medieval Political Philosophy*. Ed. Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963, 21–186.
- Makdisi, George. *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West with Special Reference to Scholasticism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Mann, Vivian B., Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: George Braziller, 1992.
- Marshall, Robert. *Storm from the East: From Ghenghis Khan to Khubilai Khan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Masalouf, Amin. *The Crusades through Arab Eyes*. Trans. Jon Rothschild. New York: Schocken Books, 1984.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. Boston: Little, Brown, 2002.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, eds. *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Meyerson, Mark D., and Edward D. English, eds. *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.
- Morgan, David. *The Mongols*. New York: Blackwell, 1986.
- Morgan, David. *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797*. London: Longman, 1988.
- Muldoon, James. *The Expansion of Europe: The First Phase*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.
- Muldoon, James. *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study*. [s.l.]: World of Islam Festival Publishing, 1976.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, ed. *Islamic Spirituality*. 2 vols. New York: Crossroad, 1987–1991.
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, and Oliver Leaman, eds. *History of Islamic Philosophy*. 2 vols. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Niane, Djibril Tamsir, ed. *General History of Africa*. Vol. 4. *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press for UNESCO, 1984.
- Nicholson, Reynold A. *A Literary History of the Arabs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Oliver, Roland, ed. *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Vol. 3. *From c. 1050 to c. 1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Oliver, Roland, and Anthony Atmore. *Medieval Africa, 1250–1800*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Pagden, Anthony. *Peoples and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration, and Conquest, from Greece to the Present*. New York: Modern Library, 2001.
- Pereira, José. *Islamic Sacred Architecture: A Stylistic History*. New Delhi: Books and Books, 1994.
- Petry, Carl F. *The Civialian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Phillips, E. D. *The Mongols*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.
- Phillips, J. R. S. *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*. 1988. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Powell, James, M., ed. *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Quinn, David B., ed. *North American Discovery, circa 1000–1612*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.
- Quinn, David B. *European Approaches to North America, 1450–1640*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate/Variorum, 1998.
- Raby, Julian. *The Art of Syria and the Jazira, 1100–1250*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, 1985.
- Raymond, André. *Cairo*. Trans. Willard Wood. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Rahman, Habib Ur. *A Chronology of Islamic History, 570–1000 CE*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1989.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Context of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Rey, Louis, ed. *Unveiling the Arctic*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1984.
- Rice, David Talbot. *Islamic Painting: A Survey*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971.
- Rice, David Talbot. *Islamic Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975.
- Robinson, Neal. *Christ in Islam and Christianity: The Representation of Jesus in the Qur'an and the Classical Muslim Commentaries*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991.
- Robinson, Chase F. *Islamic Historiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Robinson, Francis, ed. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Rodenbeck, Max. *Cairo: The City Victorious*. New York: Vintage, 1998.
- Rodinson, Maxime. *Muhammad*. 1971. Trans. Anne Carter. 1971. Reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- Rogers, Michael. *The Spread of Islam*. Oxford: Elsevier-Phaidon, 1976.
- Russell, P. E. *Portugal, Spain, and the African Atlantic, 1343–1490: Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to*

## 858 Bibliography

- Henry the Navigator. Aldershot, England: Variorum, 1995.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Salibi, Kamal S. *A History of Arabia*. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980.
- Saunders, J. J. *A History of Medieval Islam*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Saunders, J. J., ed. *The Muslim World on the Eve of Europe's Expansion*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- Saunders, J. J. *The History of the Mongol Conquests*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Schacht, Joseph, and C. E. Bosworth, eds. *The Legacy of Islam*, 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Schafer, Edward. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. *Islamic Names*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989.
- Schwoebel, Robert. *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk, 1453–1517*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967.
- Semann, Khalil I., ed. *Islam and the Medieval West: Aspects of Intercultural Relations*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980.
- Shahid, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984.
- Shahid, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989.
- Shahid, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.
- Shatzmiller, Maya, ed. *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- Shaw, Stanford J. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976–1977.
- Sicker, Martin. *The Islamic World in Ascendancy: From the Arab Conquests to the Siege of Vienna*. London: Praeger, 2000.
- Sinor, Denis. *Inner Asia and Its Contacts with Medieval Europe*. London: Variorum, 1977.
- Sinor, Denis, ed. *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Soucek, Svat. *A History of Inner Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Southern, Richard W. *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Spuler, Bertold. *History of the Mongols: Based on Eastern and Western Accounts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. Trans. Helga Drummond and Stuart Drummond. New York: Dorset Press, 1968.
- Stanton, Charles Michael. *Higher Learning in Islam: The Classical Period, A.D. 700–1300*. Savage, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1990.
- al-Tabarī. *The Early 'Abbāsī Empire*. Vol. 1. *The Reign of Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr A.D. 754–775*. Trans. John Alden Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- al-Tabarī. *The Early 'Abbāsī Empire*. Vol. 2. *The Son and Grandsons of al-Mansūr: The Reigns of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī and Hārāū al-Rashī*. Trans. John Alden Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Taha, 'Abd al-Wahid Dhannun. *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Talbot Rice, Tamara. *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*. New York: Praeger, 1961.
- Thornton, John Kelly. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Tolan, John V., ed. *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*. New York: Garland, 1995.
- Tolan, John V. *Saracens: Muslims in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Tracy, James D., ed. *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Trimingham, J. Spencer. *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*. London: Longman, 1979.
- Udovitch, Abraham L. *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Verlinden, Charles. *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization: Eleven Essays with an Introduction*. Trans. Yvonne Freccero. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Von Grunebaum, Gustave E. *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation*. 1946. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Von Grunebaum, Gustave E. *Classical Islam: A History, 600–1258*. Trans. Katherine Watson. Chicago: Aldine, 1970.
- Vryonis, Speros. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Wasserstein, David. *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002–1086*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Wasserstein, David. *The Caliphate in the West: An Islamic Political Institution in the Iberian Peninsula*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. *Islamic Philosophy and Theology: An Extended Survey*. 2d ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. *Muslim-Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. trans. *Islamic Creeds: A Selection*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. *A Short History of Islam*. Oxford: Oneworld, 1996.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1998.
- Westrem, Scott D., ed. *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*. New York: Garland, 1991.

- Whitfield, Susan. *Life along the Silk Road*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Young, M. J. L., J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant, eds. *Religion, Learning, and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Ziadeh, Nicola A. *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks*. Beirut: American Press, 1953.
- X. WOMEN IN THE MEDIEVAL WORLD**
- Anderson, Sarah M., with Karen Swenson, eds. *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology: A Collection of Essays*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Arjava, Antti. *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Atkinson, Clarissa W. *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Baker, Derek, ed. *Medieval Women*. Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978.
- Bell, Rudolph M. *Holy Anorexia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Bennett, Judith M. *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Bennett, Judith M. *A Medieval Life: Cecilia Penifader of Brigstock, c. 1295–1344*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002.
- Bennett, Judith M. et al., eds. *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Bitel, Lisa M. *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400–1100*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Blamires, Alcuin, ed. *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Blamires, Alcuin. *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Bogin, Magda. *The Women Troubadours*. New York: Paddington, 1976.
- Brooten, Bernadette J. *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Bornstein, Daniel, and Roberto Rusconi, eds. *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Trans. Margery J. Schneider. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Brown, Judith C. *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Burns, E. Jane, ed. *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Clark, Gillian. *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life Styles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Cohn, Samuel K., Jr. *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Dillard, Heath. *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Dronke, Peter. *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Duby, Georges. *Women of the Twelfth Century*. 3 vols. Trans. Jean Birrell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997–1998.
- Edwards, Robert, and Vickie Ziegler, eds. *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*. Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 1995.
- Elm, Susanna. "Virgins of God": *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Ennen, Edith. *The Medieval Woman*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.
- Erler, Mary, and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds. *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988.
- Ferrante, Joan. *Woman as Image in Medieval Literature: From the Twelfth Century to Dante*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.
- Ferrante, Joan. *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Fiero, Gloria K., Wendy Pfeffer, and Mathé Allain, ed. and trans. *Three Medieval Views of Women: "La contenance des fames," "Le biendes fames," "Le blasme des fames."* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Gilchrist, Roberta. *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Gold, Penny Schine. *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Goldberg P. J. *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300–1520*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Gravdal, Kathryn. *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Grubbs, Judith Evans. *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Hanawalt, Barbara A. *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Herlihy, David. *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990.
- Howell, Martha C. *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Jochens, Jenny M. *Women in Old Norse Society*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Jochens, Jenny M. *Old Norse Images of Women*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

## 860 Bibliography

- Johnson, Penelope D. *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Jordan, William C. *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial and Developing Societies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Kaplan, Marion A. *The Marriage Bargain: Women and Dowries in European History*. New York: Harrington Park Press, 1985.
- Kelly, Joan. "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" In *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, 19–50.
- King, Margaret L. *Women of the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Kirshner, Julius, and Suzanne F. Wemple, eds. *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, ed. *A History of Women*. Vol. 2. *Silences of the Middle Ages*. 1990. Reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1992.
- Krueger, Roberta L. *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Kuehn, Thomas. *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Labalme, Patricia H. *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*. New York: New York University Press, 1980.
- Larrington, Carolyne, ed. *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Lewis, Gertrud Jaron. *By Women, for Women, about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996.
- Lomperis, Linda, and Sarah Stanbury, eds. *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Maclean, Ian. *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- McCash, June Hall, ed. *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- Mate, Mavis E. *Women in Medieval English Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Migiel, Marilyn, and Juliana Schiesari, eds. *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Mirrer, Louise, ed. *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
- Newman, Barbara. *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Nicholas, David. *The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.
- O'Faolain, Julia, and Lauro Martines, eds. *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- Paden, William D. *The Voice of the Trobairitz: Perspectives on Women Troubadours*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- Panizza, Letizia, ed. *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*. Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2000.
- Parsons, John Carmi, ed. *Medieval Queenship*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Petroff, Elizabeth Alvilda, ed. *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Petroff, Elizabeth Alvilda. *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Power, Eileen. *Medieval Women*. Ed. Michael Postan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Rasmussen, Ann Marie. *Mothers and Daughters in Medieval German Literature*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997.
- Rosenthal, Joel T., ed. *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- Salisbury, Joyce E. *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Sautman, Francesca Canadé, and Pamela Sheingorn, eds. *Same Sex Love and Desire among Women in the Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Schulenberg, Jane. *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Shahar, Shulamith. *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Chaya Galai. London: Methuen, 1983.
- Stafford, Pauline. *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983.
- Stuard, Susan Mosher, ed. *Women in Medieval Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976.
- Thiébaux, Marcelle, ed. *The Writings of Medieval Women: An Anthology*. 2d ed. New York: Garland, 1994.
- van Houts, Elisabeth. *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Vernade, Bruce. *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Ward, Jennifer, ed. *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry, 1066–1500*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Wemple, Suzanne Fonay. *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500–900*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Wilson, Katharina M., ed. *Medieval Women Writers*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984.